
ZAMBIA - GENERAL

1990

Lessons from the East

THE next few months will tell whether or not leaders of Africa's more than 30 one-party states will learn some lessons from the rapidly unfolding events in Eastern Europe.

So far few of them have commented on the continuing political changes in Eastern Europe, where the one-party system seems to be falling apart after having dominated the political scene unchallenged for 40 years.

With the coming of a new-look Eastern Bloc, African one-party state leaders have lost allies and will have a hard time justifying the discredited system in their countries.

The demand by Eastern European countries are various but they all agree the one-party system must go, while socialism could be reformed or left intact.

One of the few African leaders who have commented on these changes and their likely effect on Africa is Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, whose country has been a one-party state for 16 years.

In a radio and television interview with Zambian media chiefs Kaunda said there was no need for Zambia to abandon its one-party system, as the system in

Changes in Eastern Europe offer little encouragement to sole rule in African states

Cyprian 2/1/90

Zambia provided the freedoms Eastern Europeans were hankering for.

Kaunda stressed that the multi-party system which Zambia practised from independence in 1964 until 1973 only bred violence between supporters of rival political parties at election time.

The Zambian system, Kaunda contended, differed from the Eastern European one in that the executive was headed by an elected president while an elected legislature exercised its functions independent of the executive.

The judiciary was free, he said. The president appointed the chief justice while the rest of the judges were appointed by the judicial service commission and the executive could not dismiss a judge without a recommendation by the commission.

Further checks on the executive, Kaunda said, were provided by reli-

gious groups and the Press, which he claimed was free from executive directives in the editorial policies. All this was unlike Eastern Europe. In Zambia the Press is officially free, but officials at all levels violate this freedom.

The state-controlled media in Zambia could, for instance, not immediately report the food riots on the Copperbelt in 1986 in which 15 people were killed. The local media reported the disturbances two days later than the foreign Press.

Editors failed to convince the authorities that suppressing the news would erode public credibility in the national media.

Another example of the "freedom of the Press" came in September last year when the national media failed to report Kaunda's youngest son Kambarange shot and killed his girlfriend. The killing was reported two months lat-

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er, after Kaunda admitted it while being questioned at a Press conference.

But in a rare show of independent thinking, the government-owned *Times of Zambia* recently called for political reform if Africa's economic problems were to be overcome.

"Africa today has a surfeit of one-party states and many Africans enjoy believing this is the panacea. Yet Africa is receding further into the doldrums. Virtually every African country today is begging, bowl in hand," the paper editorialised.

It noted that almost everywhere in Africa the story was of stagnation, polarisation and coups. (There are currently 31 one-party states in Africa and between 1963 and 1985 68 successful coups were carried out.)

The *Times of Zambia* continued: "What is happening in Eastern Europe today is bound

to spread to Africa. There is just too much polarisation on the continent precisely because people feel there is no way views will be heard unless they belong to the usually discredited sole political party."

Claude Ake, in his book *A Political Economy of Africa* argues the one-party system is one of the ways ruling classes in Africa use to monopolise political power and depoliticise the people.

"The one-party system emerged as a classical form of the depoliticised African society. It allows the ruling class to dispense with the substance of democratic participation while retaining its formal aspects," Ake says.

This view has been proved in Eastern Europe and it is unlikely the African masses will wait 40 years to assert their right to competitive political participation. — ANO.



Kenneth Kaunda... Zambia's one-party state is unlike Eastern Europe

Airline plans loan of \$90m for aircraft

MANDY JEAN WOODS

ZAMBIA Airlines was not \$40m in the red — it in fact had an after-tax profit of about \$5m last year and was arranging a \$90m loan from international banks to buy new aircraft, Zambia Airways MD M G Mulundia said at the weekend.

In a statement he denied reports that the airline needed \$40m in hard currency to pay foreign charges or face losing its routes to Europe, the Middle East and the US.

It was reported last week Bank of Zambia director of operations Cuthbert Siyangwe told a transport tribunal, chaired by Judge Lombe Chibesakunda a number of nations were planning to bar overflight and landing facilities to the airline until they received outstanding charges about \$40m.

Zambia Airlines recorded an after tax profit of kwacha 95m (about \$5m) for the year ended March 1989. "International lending institutions have full confidence in Zambia Airways and are currently arranging a \$90m facility for Zambia Airways' acquisition of new wide body aircraft," he said.

Canadian takes over Zambian bank, plans economic reform

LUSAKA — A Canadian banker took control of Zambia's central bank yesterday and pledged to support pro-Western economic reforms in one of Africa's most indebted nations.

Appointed governor of the Bank of Zambia in November, Jacques Bussieres said the task ahead of him was "a great challenge" and told reporters he intended to improve the bank's operations to enable it to play a key role in economic programmes.

"There is much work to be done to put Zambia on a proper economic path.

"I think there is need to build and improve upon the existing structure at the central bank and I am looking forward to doing that," he said.

Bussieres, a former aide to the governor of the Canadian central bank arrived in Lusaka on Wednesday and said he would emphasize the need for Zambia to diversify its economy.

In the past, Zambia has relied mainly on earnings derived from its copper mines. Efforts to diversify into agriculture and manufacturing have met with little real success.

The Canadian banker is the first foreigner appointed to run the bank since Northern Rhodesia became black-governed Zambia in 1964. *B/Dm 5/1/90*

President Kenneth Kaunda said Bussieres' appointment marked the first "De-Zambianisation" of the economy. *360*

Kaunda publicly conceded that Zambians themselves appeared unable to oversee the state banking body which had long been plagued by mismanagement and alleged corruption. — Sapa-AP.

gency regulations.

The whereabouts of the six the couple to flee.

leased soon.

ANC wings meet in Lusaka for crucial talks

By John Ryan, The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other internal leaders of African National Congress arrive in Lusaka today for a week of re-union and crucial deliberation with the external leadership.

It will be the first meeting of the internal and external wings.

But, although tactics in dealing with the "reformist" South African Government under President de Klerk are high on the agenda, ANC spokesmen insist this will not be the time to discuss the pecking order of their own hierarchy to accommodate the former old guard. The ANC's national consultative

conference is due in June and the leaders in exile say any leadership questions will have to be addressed then. "And in any event," a spokesman said yesterday, "making those decisions should pose no problems."

"We are not two separate governments. These (the contingent from South Africa) are people who have been members and who will be getting back into the ranks."

Despite ANC attempts to play down the personal aspects of today's reunion, there are likely to be scenes of great emotion when parents meet the sons they have not seen for more than a quarter of a century. Mr Sisulu will be reunited with

his 42-year-old son, Max, who fled South Africa in 1963.

And Mr Govan Mbeki, who was also found guilty at the Rivonia trial, will be meeting his son, Thabo, who is effectively now third in seniority in the external ANC. The two have not seen each other for 27 years.

A contingent of more than 100 international journalists will be on hand to record the meeting between the two fathers and sons.

During the week, the group from South Africa will meet other ANC members based in Zambia, said to number more than a thousand, in encounters which will also be highly emotional.

Mr Sisulu and his party, together with members of the Mass Democratic Movement, are due to arrive at 2 pm on a Zambian Airways aircraft and be driven to meet President Kenneth Kaunda.

The party's programme for the rest of the week is still under discussion but Mr Sisulu is due to speak at the United States embassy on Wednesday.

The South African ANC members will leave Zambia at the weekend for Dar es Salaam and Addis Ababa. They will then fly to Sweden to visit ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo who is undergoing treatment in a clinic there after suffering a stroke.



Zambia hosts historic meeting

Emotional reunion for ANC leaders

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — It rained on the ANC's parade in Lusaka yesterday when the organisation's recently released leaders arrived for their historic meeting with the leadership in exile.

Pelting rain and raised umbrellas spoilt the world media's vision of the long-awaited reunion between two fathers and sons, Walter and Max Sisulu and Govan and Thabo Mbeki.

But the weather could not dampen the high emotions of the occasion.

ANC cadres, banners and clothes drenched from more than an hour's waiting on the apron, toyi-toyed through the puddles shouting slogans and waving raised fists.

Schoolchildren, the sons and daughters of ANC members, were almost trampled by a hoard of TV crews as they

rushed forward to present flowers to the arriving veterans.

As it turned out, the father and son reunions were somewhat different in character.

Mr Max Sisulu, the former ANC secretary-general's oldest son, rushed forward to embrace his father and handed him his young granddaughter. The eyes of both men were moist.

Formal

Max, now aged 42 and an official in the ANC's economics department, had not seen his father since 1963.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the organisation's foreign affairs department and son of recently released Mr Govan Mbeki, had to wait in line with 32 other members of the National Executive Committee who formed the main welcoming party.

When the Mbekis came abreast they shook hands rather formally and exchanged words.

Then they hugged each other. The two last met in 1962.

The reception at Lusaka's airport was of the sort Zambia usually reserves for heads of states. Groups of women in the colours of the ruling United National Independence Party danced alongside the ANC's youth wing.

Drums provided the background music from noon until the rain came just after 3 pm, dispersing all except the ANC cadres in a crowd of about 700.

The Sisulu party was met by Mr Grey Zulu, the most senior politician in Zambia after President Kenneth Kaunda.

Most of the local diplomatic corps were also present.

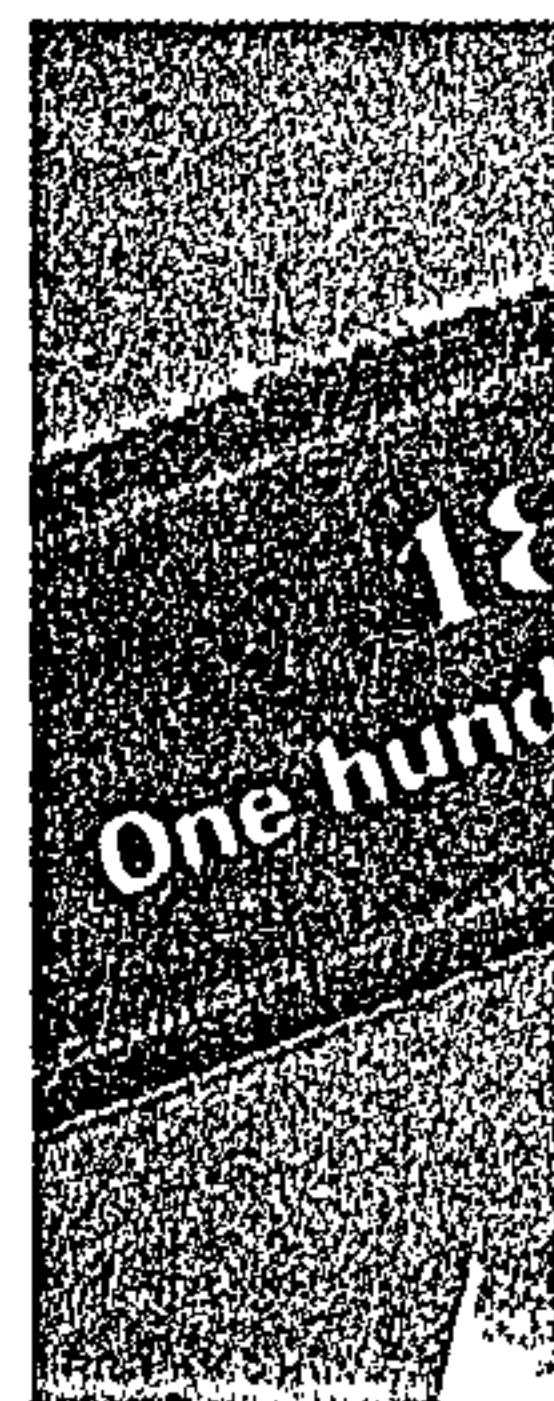
After a brief press conference, the party went to a private reception given by President Kaunda at State House.

The group will hold meetings and discussions with the National Executive between now and the weekend.

They will also meet the other rank and file members of the ANC in Zambia said to number more than a thousand.



Walter Sisulu (right) and two African National Congress leaders give clenched fist salutes after arrival in Lusaka yesterday.



WHEN Zambian MP Wezi Kaunda, son of President Kenneth Kaunda, flew to his rural constituency in the east of the country recently he was met at the airport by a four-wheel-drive Toyota sent by a group of local tribal chiefs.

The vehicle was chauffeured by a distinguished-looking driver named Kunda Bulaya.

A congenial man of middle age, Bulaya's confident bearing and intelligence make him seem unlikely material for a local government car pool.

Indeed, he is no ordinary driver. His job behind a steering wheel comes after 16 years of a quite different and highly successful career: by the time he was finally caught last year with a Kalashnikov assault rifle deep in the bush of the South Luangwa National Park, he had slaughtered almost 1 000 elephants and 200 rhinos.

Bulaya sold the ivory and horns to Malawian and Senegalese nationals acting as middle-men in a well-organised chain of illicit international sales. Although he received only about 1% of their world market value, he became a wealthy man compared with his neighbours. In the Luangwa Valley — rich in wildlife but otherwise impoverished — the risky business of poaching has, since colonial days, been one of the few alternatives to a meagre life of sub-

Fighting poaching with profits

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sistence agriculture.

One horrifying statistic, however, shows that even from a purely economic point of view poaching is no solution to the area's long-term problems: in the last decade, illegal hunting has reduced the valley's elephant population — once the largest in Africa — from 100 000 to 25 000. If the activity continues on the same scale, there will be no elephants left within 10 years. Poaching has already made rhinos virtually extinct in the Luangwa Valley.

Bulaya's re-integration into the local community is not some bizarre miscarriage of justice. Rather, it is one of the more dramatic results of an innovative plan designed not only to halt the destruction of animal herds, but, through their rational exploitation, to provide a basis for rural economic development.

By showing men such as Bulaya that they stand to gain more from rationally managing wildlife than by destroying it, the Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP) aims to re-establish a profitable relationship between rural

communities and the natural resources around them.

For LIRDP director Richard Bell the wall between the two can be and — in the 13 000km² LIRDP area — is being broken down.

For wildlife conservation and rural development policies to be coordinated and sustainable Bell says control must be put back into local people's hands. "In receiving an income from wildlife they do not only have an incentive to protect it, but also obtain the necessary funding for broader-based rural development."

This type of approach has proved successful in other countries, including Zimbabwe and SA; its adoption has been all the more pressing in Zambia because of the country's economic decline and inability to control poaching.

In practical terms, this means killing a certain number of animals, including elephants, in "game management areas" adjacent to the valley's national parks.

Based on calculations that will allow the maintenance of wildlife populations, these hunting quotas gener-

ate licence-fee profits that are then ploughed back into the community according to its own priorities.

When Bulaya drove Kaunda to meet local chiefs, it was to observe them deciding how to allocate licences to the various safari, commercial culling, and village meat-hunting interests involved. Instead of going to central government coffers, these and other local revenues now stay within the community.

The LIRDP revolving fund set up to finance development schemes and projects gets 60% while 40% goes directly to the community to fund such projects as schools and clinics. In 1988, its first year of operation, LIRDP revenues from the commercialisation of wild-life were \$136 000 (\$85 000). This year they will total more than \$200 000.

LIRDP is being supported over a five-year period by a \$12.3m grant from the Norwegian aid agency Norad, but once all programmes are in place it will be run on a self-sustaining basis.

The project faces a number of challenges. One is getting poaching,

already much reduced, fully under control. (The National Parks and Wildlife Service with which LIRDP works faces problems of its own.) Another challenge is a budget which, given the investment needed, is minimal. Managerial expertise is also in short supply. In addition, relations with government ministries — many reluctant to relax centralised control — are sometimes contentious.

The project depends heavily on the personal support of President Kaunda, who is conscious of Zambia's poor conservation image overseas but who must also take into account power politics at home.

Despite the obstacles, much progress has been made. LIRDP's success depends in good part on a factor outside its control: the threat of a long-term, world-wide ban on trade in ivory. Two months ago, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species banned trade in elephant products.

While pressure from southern African countries that have managed their wild-life successfully might affect a policy review in 1991, the right to sell ivory remains an uncertain linchpin to LIRDP's future.

The Luangwa Valley is shaping up as an all-too-rare Zambian success story, much now depends on the outside world. — Financial Times.

BOOKS

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CAPT. TINKS 17/1/90

Zambian general on trial

LUSAKA. — Zambia's army commander gave evidence against his predecessor yesterday in the trial of four Zambian army officers accused of plotting to overthrow the government of President Kenneth Kaunda.

Lieutenant-General Gary Kalenge, 45, was the first state witness to give evidence against Lieutenant-General Christon Tembo, 45, a former army commander and ambassador to West Germany, Lieutenant-Colonels Bizwayo Newton Nkunika, 40, and Chongo

Shula, 37, and Major Epyrious Knight Mulenga, 36.

The state prosecutor said the four had held meetings, sought money and recruited other army officers in an attempt to overthrow the government.

The prosecution says General Tembo was the chief conspirator behind the planned coup.

The four accused have pleaded not guilty to the treason charges. The trial is expected to last several months. — Sapa-Reuter

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Court told of Zambian coup plans

25/1/90 The Star's
Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and several Zambian MPs were yesterday named as alleged supporters of a 1988 plot to overthrow the Zambian government.

At the same time, it was alleged that four senior army officers were to use West German aid to finance plans to overthrow Mr Kaunda.

The allegations were made when a State witness in the trial of four senior army officers gave evidence yesterday.

The state witness was code named "Sugar" for his own protection and identified only as a senior serving army officer.

The men on trial are former Zambian army commander and former ambassador to West Germany Lieutenant-General Christon Tembo (46), Lieutenant-Colonel Bizwayo Nkunka (41), Lieutenant-Colonel Shula Chongo (38) and Major Knight Mulenga (37). They have all pleaded not guilty.

The State witness told the court that Zimbabwe had offered to accommodate the families of the coup plotters while the take-over in Zambia was in progress.

The trial continues.

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(360)

Officers 'plotted to oust Kaunda'

LUSAKA — Four senior army officers planned to use West German aid to finance plans to overthrow the government, the state alleged in the Lusaka High Court yesterday.

The officers planned to "redirect" \$1.5 billion intended for health service improvements into a scheme to abolish state medical fees as a move to win support for the coup, an unidentified state witness alleged.

Another \$6.3 million in West German aid intended for Zambia's railroad network was to be channeled into private bank accounts abroad by the former commander of the Zambian Army, Lieutenant General Christon Tembo (46), and three fellow officers, the witness said in evidence submitted before Judge Weston Muzyamba.

The witness, code-named "Mister Sugar" for his own protection, was identified only as a senior army officer.

AMBASSADOR

General Tembo, a former Zambian ambassador to West Germany, Lieutenant Colonel Bizwayo Nkunika (41), Lieutenant Colonel Shula Chongo (38), and Major Knight Mulenga (37), have pleaded not guilty to treason charges arising from the alleged coup plot in late 1988.

The witness alleged the officers told him they planned to appoint former ruling party Secretary-General, Mr. Humphrey Mulemba, as vice president to General Tembo if the plot to overthrow President Kenneth Kaunda succeeded.

He also alleged the officers claimed they approached President Robert Mugabe for his backing.

The hearing continues tomorrow — Sapa-AP.

Zambia's anti-sanctions flights

SANCTIONS-busting Flight QZ401 gathered speed down the runway at Jan Smuts International Airport, and took the giant Zambia Airways DC-10 winging its passengers towards New York as it has been doing twice a week for the past two years.

QZ401 is one of the more brazen examples of the chasm that exists between the anti-apartheid rhetoric of black African states and the realities of their business practices.

Zambia was prominent among black African nations which urged the US Congress to introduce the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Among the Act's main provisions was the cancellation of landing rights in the US for SAA in order to tighten the isolation of the white government.

But within months of the implementation of the legislation Zambia Airways was drawing up plans to fly jumbo jets right through the very legislation it had urged upon Congress," said one Lusaka-based western diplomat.

Zambia Airways plugs its sanctions-busting departures to the Big Apple openly within SA, reminding passengers that they are the only direct flights across the Atlantic to the US. Maury Lieberman, a US government mental health administrator based in Washington, his wife Leslie and brother Freddie were among US passengers on one of the Johannesburg-New York direct flights.

"We caught a lot of disapproval

How Zambia Airways breaks the sanctions barrier

FRED BRIDGLAND of the London Sunday Telegraph reports from Johannesburg

when we said we were going on holiday to SA," said Lieberman. "They were even more surprised that we were flying directly by Zambia Airways."

He said he was not sure whether his liberal friends disbelieved such a flight existed or whether they were being unconsciously racist by fearing for his safety aboard a black African jetliner.

Lieberman discovered the direct flight to SA in a tiny classified advertisement placed by a California travel agency in the New York Times.

He was curious, since every other airline advertised stopovers in Europe en route to SA and their economy return fare was \$1 700 or more against the \$1 200 offered on Zambia Airways.

"I got a real education, thanks to Zambia Airways," said Lieberman. "The month I spent in SA was a humbling experience for an American. It undermined some of my smugness."

On the return flight from Jan

Smuts the first short stopover at Lusaka was extended by three hours to allow a late flight from Northern Zambia to connect. It gave travellers the chance to experience just how sad are the economic ills of President Kenneth Kaunda's country; and to see they have compelled Zambia to breach the spirit of US airline sanctions against SA.

Passengers sweated in the luxury transit lounge because the air-conditioning was not working in the mid-summer humid heat. Beer and soft drinks had run out.

Outside, in the general transit lounge, broken light fittings hung drunkenly from the ceiling, workmen struggled with an escalator that has not worked for several months and airport cleaners drank tea from empty baked-bean cans.

Zambia, which entered independence full of promise 25 years ago, has one in four of its workforce unemployed; inflation is at 130%, twice as many children die of malnutrition as a decade ago; spending on education is down more than 60% from 1980; and per capita income has fallen from \$600 in 1981 to \$200.

A black American bishop, whose missionary district includes Zambia, shook his head and said: "Life is very difficult for our flock here. I don't understand how things can be put right in a one-party system, where there is no real debate about what is wrong."

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SOME
14/2/90

Lusaka indaba on FW's reforms

By Ken Vernon, The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — For the past few days, while the eyes of the world have been focused on a free Nelson Mandela, the external leaders of the ANC have been making their way to Lusaka for what might be the most crucial meeting of their long exile.

The 34 members of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) will meet today to try to formulate a response to the challenge thrown down to them by President de Klerk's reform initiatives.

Announced only two weeks ago, the speed of developments since then has been so breathtaking that there is immense pressure on the ANC to make some major reciprocal gesture of reconciliation.

Conspicuously absent from the meeting will be ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, still recuperating from a brain seizure suffered last year. Also absent, it seems, will be Mr Mandela — much to the chagrin of the many eager journalists assembled in Lusaka.

However, it is the 34 largely unknown members of the NEC who will decide what the next words will be that emerge from that famous mouth.

Indeed, Mr Mandela's release from prison is one of the factors making the deliberations of the NEC particularly complicated. While he might not put in a physical appearance at the meeting, he can hardly be ignored. He and the other internal leaders of the ANC will have to be consulted and, to an extent, heeded by the NEC in its deliberations.

SM 14/2/90 (36)

Reforms in SA positive, says Sebina

The Star's Africa News Service
LUSAKA — The measures so far taken by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, were positive and showed him as a man of "serious consciousness" who had visualised that the future of South Africa depended on equal participation by all, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina has said.

Speaking on the eve of a meeting of the ANC leadership, Mr Sebina said although Mr de Klerk's measures had been expected, the timing had been "more than dramatic".

He also praised Mr de Klerk for warning the right wing that they could not derail the process of democratising South Africa.

Mr Sebina said Mr Nelson Mandela was expected in Lusaka early next week.

Today's meeting of the ANC's national executive committee would study the reply of the ANC to the Government moves.

Lusaka set for celebrations

WORLD attention will shift to Lusaka on Tuesday when Nelson Mandela arrives in Zambia.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has declared the day a public holiday in honour of the ANC leader.

The visit will be Mandela's first outside South Africa since 1962, when he visited Tanzania.

A number of Frontline heads of state will converge on Lusaka on Monday to welcome Mandela.

During the visit Mandela will discuss his future political role and the next course of action with the ANC National Executive Committee. - ANO

Zambia agrees to austerity deal

LUSAKA — Zambia has reached agreement with the IMF and the World Bank on an economic austerity programme, says a government report.

Edward Jaycox, World Bank vice-president for Africa, said last week the Bank and the IMF were happy with Zambia's economic reforms, introduced three years ago after the collapse of an earlier IMF-backed austerity package.

The programme includes devaluation, cuts in public spending and food subsidies and tightening money supply.

A two-tier foreign exchange rate to en-

courage exports and increase hard currency earnings will be introduced.

Zambia, crippled by a \$7 billion foreign debt, which includes \$1 billion in repayment arrears to the two institutions, needs the blessing of the World Bank and the IMF to persuade other donors to back the programme.

"We are quite satisfied with where the government is on the issues we were negotiating," said Mr Jaycox.

Zambian finance officials will meet potential creditor countries in Paris in April. — Sapa-Reuter

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Inside the 'Temporary' Lusaka headquarters

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN: Lusaka

NOTHING symbolises the temporary exiled nature of the ANC better than the state of its headquarters in Zambia.

Situated in a dingy back-alley in downtown Lusaka, it is not the sort of place where one would expect decades of resistance against successive South African Governments have been planned.

It is slightly bigger than an average house, supplemented by a few outbuildings which double as a conference facility or waiting rooms.

Inside it is sparse — almost spartan. Only the bare essentials of cables, chairs and bookcases are scattered across dimly lit rooms.

Posters of Fidel Castro share the walls with those of Nelson Mandela and the Freedom Charter — all badly in need of some fresh sticky-tape.

"We have always regarded our accommodation as temporary,"

says ANC spokesman Tom Sebina, who himself last saw the Johannesburg skyline 25 years ago.

The scene just off "cha-cha-cha road, near the five-star shop", to which Lusaka taxi drivers are directed, was one of normality this week. Normal? After the momentous events of the past few days?

Almost too normal for an organisation which is seeing the outlines of the capital of the promised land after nearly 80 years in the political desert.

The most notable feature of the headquarters is the almost complete lack of security. It is surrounded by a four-metre high wall with pieces of broken glass embedded in the top to prevent intruders from scaling it.

But the heavy metal gate providing access to the premises stands open and unguarded most

of the time.

Visitors come and go as they please without being checked or searched for weapons — the only form of control being a book which must be signed.

Inside the compound where the row of recently acquired Toyotas and Renaults wait to transport senior members of the organisation, people come and go as they please.

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"Visitors are always surprised by the sparseness of our surroundings," says Mr Sebina. "But they forget that this is only temporary accommodation. Our home is in South Africa and that's where we want to return to."

"Home" and "return" were the words most frequently used. President F.W. de Klerk's announcement that the ANC has been unbanned and that exiled members may return has caused a

frenzy of excitement among the rank and file.

Take the case of "Richard", 34, who fled South Africa as a young Soweto student in the first weeks of the 1976 uprising. Thirteen years without a single contact with family or loved ones can be a very long time.

"The De Klerk speech was the best news we ever heard," he said this week. "The day after the news broke there were scores of people clamouring at the doors of the leadership asking, 'Where can we get tickets? When do the flights leave?'"

Richard joined the ANC in Swaziland in 1976. He received military training in the Soviet Union and eventually landed an administrative position at headquarters. "The mood of the ordinary

members is overwhelmingly in favour of 'turning,' he said.

"We know there are practical difficulties and it may take some time before it becomes a reality... but we cannot wait too long."

It is this mood which the executive of the ANC will have to take into account when it meets this week to discuss its response to the De Klerk initiative.

The secretary for information and research, Pallo Jordan, concedes that the offer of amnesty has caused a great deal of excitement among the membership.

"But it is not an easy matter that can be resolved within a few days," he says.

Apart from the political questions that must still be answered — who can return and who is still liable for arrest and prosecution — there are a number of nuts-and-bolts issues that have to be sorted out. "Will they have permanent

places to stay? Are jobs available? Won't they be scattered all over the country, which may make it difficult for us to mobilise them politically?"

Conservative estimates are that there are between 15 000 and 20 000 ANC members in exile with about half of them members of the "army" — Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The bulk of the members are in frontline states — Zambia, Angola and Tanzania but diplomatic personnel are as far away as the Soviet Union and Japan.

But the optimism that the South African diaspora may be nearing its end is growing.

"We have always held the view that we are only visitors in our host countries. We seldom built permanent structures or invested in property or buildings," says Sebina.

"When the go-ahead for our return comes, I will be ready within an hour."

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8/24/15/2/90

Zambia opts for two rates of exchange

LUSAKA — Zambia's central bank said yesterday it was introducing a two-tier foreign exchange rate system to try to attract more hard currency into the economy.

Bank of Zambia Governor Jacques Bussieres said in a statement that with effect from Monday the two-window exchange rate system would comprise an official exchange rate and a market exchange rate.

The market rate for buying and selling would be fixed at 40 kwacha to one dollar until further notice. The official rate is now 23 kwacha to the dollar.

The dual rate system is being introduced to promote the growth of non-traditional exports, attract private foreign investment, encourage donor balance of payment support and reduce black market dealing.

Economists said the measures, part of an economic adjustment programme, fell short of business community demands for a free-market system with less government participation. —
Reuter.

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23/2/90

HOW KAUNDA SANK ZAMBIA

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Murray Hofmeyr is chairman of JCI and personally witnessed Zambia's mines nationalisation experiment. This article is drawn from his comments to the FM.

Towards the end of 1969, just five years after independence, President Kenneth Kaunda announced that government wished to acquire 51% of shares in the Zambian copper industry. It was then performing extremely well and with the tax rate at 73% government was in a position to finance many new developments from this source.

It was clearly the wish of government to achieve control of the copper industry with minimum disruption. However, the dilemma was that it obviously could not confiscate the assets of the shareholders — and had no wish to do so — but was not willing to negotiate the acquisition on a normal commercial basis. So copper companies were advised that the terms of the acquisition were not negotiable. It would be made on the basis of net asset value and the companies were not allowed to write up these assets in a realistic fashion.

Government bonds were to be issued to

shareholders for 49% of their individual interests. These would carry interest at the rate of 6% a year and be redeemed over 12 years. In essence, therefore, the acquisition was being paid for out of future dividends.

The mining industry in Zambia has since declined and the country has not been successful economically.

Important contributory factors have been the continuing base metal low prices in the latter half of the Seventies and the introduction of a one-party State. However, the decline is in large measure due to Zambia being cut off from foreign investment and technology. Copper production has fallen from almost 750 000 t in 1970 to about 400 000 t now.

Government believed that taking control of the mines would enable it to obtain better prices for its products and a better relationship with trade unions. It did not prove possible to enter into constructive relationships with other copper-producing countries and normal labour negotiating procedures were destroyed.

Indeed, the trade unions were placed under various restrictions and some of the leadership imprisoned. ■

Zambia to have holiday to mark Mandela's visit

ZAMBIA'S President Kenneth Kaunda has declared a national public holiday on Tuesday, the day Nelson Mandela arrives to meet leaders of the Frontline states and the African National Congress.

The arrival of Mandela and other ANC leaders — in a jet specially laid on by Kaunda — promises to be a spectacular reunion of African leaders.

Waiting on the tarmac will be the heads of five Frontline States. Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, Mocambique's Joaquim Chissano, Botswana's Quett Masire, Tanzania's Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Angola's Jose Eduardo Dos Santos are expected to arrive in the Zambian capital on Monday.

To mark the occasion, Kaunda has declared Tuesday "Nelson Mandela Day".

Mandela, his colleague Walter Sisulu, and two others members of the group set up to oversee the restructuring of the movement as an above-ground organisation, Cyril Ramaphosa and Kgalima Molanta, both of the National Union of Mineworkers, are expected to meet the Frontline states leaders after a reception at State House on Tuesday.

On Wednesday, they begin a meet-

By GAYE DAVIS, Lusaka

ing with the ANC external leadership. National executive committee member Aziz Pahad said he expected the meeting to last "a minimum of two days — but it could go on for longer," he said.

Heading the agenda will be the composition and strategy of the delegation the ANC has is sending to see State President F W de Klerk to clear obstacles in the way of negotiation.

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's secretary for foreign relations, said the meeting with De Klerk would not deal with "how to get the process of arriving at a new constitution going" but rather aim at "creating a situation of equal opportunity among all the parties involved."

One of the delegation's main aims will be to win the release of political prisoners convicted of, or facing trial for, acts excluded from De Klerk's recent amnesty.

A second ANC delegation is to follow that intended to meet De Klerk. It will hold talks with democratic anti-apartheid forces, including the Democratic Party, Mbeki said.



Nelson Mandela

Mandela is in Zambia today

KUALA LUMPUR.- Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad left yesterday for Zambia to meet Nelson Mandela and leaders of SA's neighbouring countries.

Mahathir, Canadian

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Sridath Ramphal were invited by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda to attend the meeting in Lusaka today and tomorrow, foreign ministry officials said.

Mahathir was accompanied by Abdul Majid Mohamed, deputy secretary-general of the foreign ministry.

Last week, Mahathir said that while welcoming the SA government's release of Mandela from prison and lifting of the ban on the ANC, Malaysia felt that all sanctions must continue until apartheid is completely dismantled.

Mahathir said he regretted that Britain had lifted sanctions blocking new investments to SA.

Sapa-AP

360

0104 27/1/90

Zulu king's special envoys deliver secret message to Kaunda

CHARLENE SMITH

LUSAKA — A four-person Inkatha delegation left Lusaka yesterday after delivering a message from King Goodwill Zwelithini to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

The visit, the first to Lusaka by members of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, did not include formal discussions with the ANC.

However, yesterday morning they held a brief informal meeting with ANC presidential affairs secretary Anthony Mongalo.

KwaZulu Health Minister Frank

Mdaloze, who headed the delegation, said he could not reveal the purpose of the visit, nor the contents of the message to Kaunda from the Zulu king.

The other members of the delegation included KwaZulu Justice Minister the Rev C. J. Mketwa, Deputy Welfare and Pensions Minister Prince Gideon Zulu, and protocol officer Ruth Makiwane. The members of the delegation are all Inkatha Central Committee members.

Mdaloze said he was more hopeful than ever for a peaceful outcome to the present peace talks in Natal.

He said Inkatha hoped to have meetings soon between the presidents of the ANC, Inkatha, UDF and Cosatu and their respective delegations, as well as talks at a lower level between chiefs and leaders in strife-torn Natal.

"It is needed that all sides realise they cannot bash their opposition into accepting their philosophy.

"We have to live and let live with our

differences and our differing political ideologies," Mdaloze said.

Mdaloze said Inkatha would be happy to formally meet the ANC.

However, he said, no response had yet been received to an invitation for talks sent to the ANC by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in August last year.

He said Inkatha would like to take part in negotiations, although they were not sure whether or not the ANC wanted them to take part.



Mandela (centre) with wife Winnie (far right) and Murphy Morobe (far left) in crowd at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving for Lusaka.

Hero's welcome in Lusaka

LUSAKA - Nelson Mandela received a hero's welcome yesterday as he set foot on foreign soil for the first time in 28 years.

The freed black nationalist embraced exiled leaders of the African National Congress and seven African presidents in an emotionally charged ceremony on the tarmac at the main Lusaka airport.

President Kenneth

Kaunda of Zambia, whose Southern African nation has hosted the ANC's external headquarters for almost two decades, was first to greet Mandela and his wife Winnie moments after the Zambia Airways twin-prop Fokker Friendship touched down.

To the throb of drums, Mandela was garlanded with red and white flowers by the children of ANC exiles as dozens of young ANC guerillas in

shirts and military-green fatigues looked on.

Kaunda, 64, current chairman of the six-member grouping of African Frontline nations neighbouring South Africa, last saw Mandela before he was jailed in 1962.

Crowds of upwards of 10 000 people, including many South African ex-

● To page 2

Hero's welcome

● From page 1

iles, cheered and waved the ANC's distinctive black, green and gold colors when Mandela descended the steps of his plane raising a clenched fist salute.

After embracing acting ANC president Alfred Nzo and donning an ANC scarf, Mandela told well-comers he was happy to be visiting a city that had become the second home of exiled ANC leaders who moulded the organisation into a powerful political and military force.

"They have led and directed our people to the point where we are on the verge of a breakthrough in our struggle for freedom," Mandela said.

He commended Kaunda as a peacemaker who tried to persuade successive governments in Pretoria to open dialogue with the ANC which was also committed to peace.

But "if we are compelled to resort to arms ... the responsibility for this lies firmly on the shoulders of the Government," he said.

To chants of "One Africa, one revolution", Kaunda described Mandela as a freedom fighter and a truly great son of Africa. - Sapa.

Sowetan - 28/2/90

Winnie plays opposite tune to Mandela

CHOLA CHIMBANO

360

3/3/90

Star

LUSAKA — Nelson Mandela's new authority as deputy president of the African National Congress ran into its first challenge yesterday — from his fiery wife Winnie.

She sounded a dissident note after he lectured several thousand Zambian university students on a need for discipline.

Forced to speak by enthusiastic students shouting "Winnie, Winnie", she told them with a grin: "I don't know if I agree totally with the remarks by deputy president Nelson Mandela. We shall subject ourselves to discipline as much as possible for as long as the authorities listen to us."

Mandela told the students, whose campus has often been closed because of class boycotts and demonstrations, to have self-control if they hoped to be future leaders. —

Reuter

Mandela given the freedom of Lusaka

NELSON Mandela, new deputy president of the ANC, heard himself compared to Jesus Christ yesterday when he visited Lusaka's civic centre to be honoured by his Zambian hosts. *cf Press 4/3/90*

"Like it was with Jesus when he was crucified, his persecutors believed they were putting an end to his fame. Alas they did not realise that his name was to become famous worldwide. You have done exactly that, not for yourself but your country and mankind," said district governor Rupiah Banda.

Mandela, thanking his hosts for a silver key and scroll, replied: "You are granting me the freedom

of the city. Yet in my own city of Johannesburg I do not have a vote in the city council elections. It is shameful that in this day and age blacks do not even have a vote in local government elections."

Mandela told the crowd, including Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, that even when the ANC returned home to Johannesburg, "part of us will always remain behind."

The ANC decided on Friday to make plans for a new headquarters at a meeting where Mandela became deputy president, and in effect the movement's internal leader. — Sapa-Reuter.

Kaunda clash over one-party rule? 360

LUSAKA. — Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday headed for a clash with his ruling party after rejecting demands for a return to multi-party democracy.

Dr Kaunda told a party congress, called to review the country's political system, that one-party Zambia was the correct path.

"How can any sane person compare the Zambian experience with that of the Soviet Union or with that of other Eastern Bloc countries," he told startled delegates.

The three-day convention of the United National Independence Party, Zambia's only legal political group since 1973, had been expected to consider restoring multi-party democracy.

Reacting, the head of Zambia's trade unions, Mr. Frederick Chiluba, said a referendum should be held on one-party rule. — Sapa-Reuter

SA's economy and international finance.

A statement issued by the Commonwealth Secretariat said the centre's purpose was to study and report on all aspects of SA's international financial relations.

It said the London-based centre would bring together experts in economics and finance to "assess the evolving state of SA's international financial relations with a view to making them

"The assessment will include new medium- and long-term leading and export credits to SA, external debt repayments, and SA's efforts to circumvent existing financial sanctions."

The centre would also evaluate the effect of these financial relations on the country's economy and examine a post-apartheid SA's economic prospects.

"This will include an initial exploration of the possibilities for an international effort to mobilise resources for

SA upon evidence of clear and irreversible change," the statement said.

UK Junior Trade Minister John Redwood said yesterday at least 50 000 British jobs depended on exports to SA.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons, he said the figure involved both full and part-time workers.

"This is a broad estimate based on the level of visible trade with that country and an assumption about the relationship between output and employment," he added. — Sapa.

Zambia looks at restoring a multi-party democracy

B/D 1573/90 360



● KAUNDA... fitting response

LUSAKA — Inspired by reforms in Eastern Europe, Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) opened a three-day convention yesterday to consider restoring multi-party democracy.

The country's only legal party since 1973, Unip scheduled the extraordinary national council session to discuss widespread demands for a critical look at one-party rule.

President and party leader Kenneth Kaunda told foreign journalists two weeks ago: "The national convention will decide on a fitting response to the political reforms in Eastern Europe."

Secretary of State for Defence and Security Alex Shapi told a seminar last week: "We should not turn a blind eye to these changes in Eastern Europe."

"It is prudent that we look at each issue with rational consideration."

The West African country of Benin installed a new, non-communist government earlier this week.

Former prime minister Daniel Lisulo, now a businessman, said: "My ambition throughout my political career

has been that there should be a review of the entire political structure."

Lisulo suggested an independent review leading to a referendum, saying it would be wrong for the present leadership to decide the country's political future.

Former foreign minister Vernon Mwaanga said: "We need to get away from this central theme that the leaders know what is good for the people."

"Ideas must come from the people," he said.

Under Kaunda and Unip, Zambia, which once boasted a prosperous copper-based economy, has become one of the poorest countries in Africa.

Unip prescribes policies to be implemented by Kaunda's appointed government.

Former Unip secretary-general Humphrey Mulemba summed up the general feeling by saying: "What we want to see come out of the convention is for the leadership to say whether they have decided that Zambia becomes multi-party or whether they want to give a chance to the people of Zambia to make that decision." — Reuter.

Multi-party plans rejected by Kaunda

LUSAKA - President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia yesterday firmly rejected the possibility of a multi-party state being reintroduced in Zambia.

He told a national convention of Zambia's ruling UNIP party that the mechanisms which Eastern Europe was trying to introduce already existed in Zambia.

There had been widespread speculation that Unip's fifth national convention would call for the introduction of a multi-party state in Zambia.

"Both economically and politically, perestroika and glasnost are moving those for whom this is new thinking to the very position we in Zambia already stand for," Kaunda, who has ruled Zambia since independence in 1964, told the conference.

However, Kaunda said "possible adjustments" could be introduced but added that "the party wants no-one in Zambia to fall into confusion over these current events in the older socialist

countries".

Zambia's own philosophy of humanism was a socialist programme with its own firm and unique Zambian characteristics which had rejected some of the concepts of communism.

After Kaunda's speech a prominent church leader, Bishop John Mambo, warned that there will be demands for a multi-party state if the ruling party does not reform itself.

He told Kaunda to re-examine the capabilities of some of his advisors as untold suffering had been brought to Zambia by the appointment of wrong leaders.

"It is time the president buys a new broom and sweeps the entire house," he said.

A former member of parliament, Mr Stevem Malama, warned against the reintroduction of a multi-party system saying it would not bring an automatic solution to the country's problems.

What was needed, he said, was a

Buthelezi gets place at table

31 Times 18/3/90
Sunday Times Reporters (360)

IN a dramatic development, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has won the endorsement of Dr Kenneth Kaunda as an important player in the South African peace initiative.

The boost from the Zambian President — who also feted ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela a fortnight ago and sees himself as a mediator in the South African conflict — will strengthen Chief Buthelezi's claims to a place at the table when the country's future is negotiated.

In an unannounced move the man whom many feared would be left out in the cold flew to Lusaka in a private jet on Friday to attend a formal state banquet in his honour at State House.

It was his first official reception in Zambia since 1974.

Last night he met privately over dinner with Dr Kaunda.

The Zambian president called him a "key player" with a "major" role to play in South Africa's future.

"We in Zambia hold you in high esteem as a fellow freedom fighter."

Overwhelmed

"Now we have our brother Nelson Mandela out of prison, now we have President De Klerk... I believe we now have three men in South Africa who should be able to do something for us and hence your coming here makes us very proud indeed," Dr Kaunda said.

And Mr Mandela, who flew home yesterday after two weeks abroad, welcomed the news that Chief Buthelezi had been to Lusaka, saying President Kaunda was "a senior statesman".

Mr Mandela said it was "urgent" for him to meet Chief Buthelezi, but this would not be possible before Namibian independence on Wednesday.

Chief Buthelezi was accompanied by three KwaZulu officials — Interior Minister Denis Madide, Health Minister Frank Mdhloso and Education Minister Oscar Dhlomo.

He said he had been overwhelmed by the invitation to visit Zambia.

"For us it symbolises something I cannot express in words as far as the liberation of all the people of South Africa are concerned."

ZAMBIAN President Kenneth Kaunda this week headed for a clash with his ruling party after rejecting demands for a return to multi-party democracy.

Kaunda told a party congress, called to review the country's political system, a one-party Zambia was the correct path.

"How can any sane person compare the Zambian experience with that of the Soviet Union or with that of other Eastern Bloc countries?" he asked delegates.

The three-day convention of the United National Independence Party (Unip), Zambia's only legal political group since 1973, had been expected to consider restoring multi-party democracy.

Reacting to Kaunda's speech, the head of Zambia's trade unions said a referendum should be held on one-party rule.

Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) chairman Frederick Chiluba, disagreed with Kaunda's rejection of political parallels between Zambia and Eastern Europe.

"The ZCTU believes strongly that it is not one leader who can create democracy, however good," he said.

Kaunda said Zambia had already moved ahead of one-party States now demanding political and economic reform.

Unip called the meeting amid

Kaunda in clashes over multi-party democracy

widespread demands for a critical examination of one-party rule. Under Unip and Kaunda's rule, Zambia - which once boasted a prosperous copper-based economy - has been reduced to one of the poorest countries in Africa.

Demands for a fresh look at Zambia's political system have been growing.

"What we want to see come out of the convention is for the leadership to say whether they have decided that Zambia becomes multi-party or whether they want to give a chance to the people of Zambia to make that decision," former Unip secretary-general Humphrey Mulemba said.

Other leading Unip officials agreed.

Former Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga said: "We need to get away from this central theme that the leaders know what is good for the people. Ideas must come from the people." - Sapa-Reuters.

Kaunda is honest broker — Buthelezi

870x 19/3/90 360
The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday returned from what he described as a "high-level reception" in Zambia where President Kenneth Kaunda has set himself up as a mediator between Inkatha and the ANC.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return, Chief Buthelezi said that although he had not asked President Kaunda to act as mediator between the two groups, he was seen as an honest broker and the only person with the necessary credentials to act as mediator.

"He has the confidence of the ANC leadership and I have always had confidence in him, and he has had no problem with me over the years," Chief Buthelezi said.

HUMBLE

He would not elaborate on what role Dr Kaunda saw for him in South Africa's future, saying the president was "a humble man". But his invitation to Chief Buthelezi was a "measure of the high esteem" in which the Zulu leader was held and signified that he was considered a "player" in the future.

As far as talks on the violence in Natal between himself and ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela were concerned, he said no date had been set and such a date would be a "matter for negotiation" between Mr Mandela and the Zulus' King Goodwill Zwelethini.

Mr Mandela had last contacted him on February 17 when he telephoned to inform Mr Buthelezi that he had been released from jail.

Mr Mandela had told him he would again contact him once

he had returned from Stockholm.

In his speech to Dr Kaunda Chief Buthelezi addressed economic rather than political issues, saying that the South African economy should be linked to the economies of the entire sub-continent.

He spoke of "free market forces" and the stimulation of economic development and said the highest possible degree of industrialisation in South Africa was vital for the whole of southern Africa.

"Africans must do to this southern African region what the Japanese did to Japan and what the Germans did to Germany after World War 2," he said.

He added that every African could become a cog in the "productive machine" and that he was adamant that the final victory against apartheid should not destroy the economy of the country.

DANGER

As a priority, there had to be a redistribution of wealth after political victories.

"Anyone who pretends that this simply means taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots is a danger to man and society."

He also made conciliatory statements aimed at whites, saying racism should be "scrubbed out of our souls".

He warned against "political adventurism" and said he was heartened by Dr Kaunda's call for a cessation of violence in SA.

"It is now time to lay down arms. It is now time to stop war talk." — Sapa.

Kaunda mediator between Inkatha, ANC Buthelezi

360

AKG 45
19/3/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has returned from what he described as a "high-level reception" in Zambia where President Kenneth Kaunda had set himself up as mediator between Inkatha and the ANC.

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groups, he was seen as an honest broker and the only person with the necessary credentials to act as mediator.

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Meeting ^{AKUS} De Klerk ^{22/3/90} extremely useful ³⁶⁰ — Kaunda

TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

WINDHOEK. — After meeting President F W de Klerk last night Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda told me it had been "extremely useful".

While not foreseeing an immediate or dramatic improvement in relations between South Africa and the rest of Africa, he indicated that such meetings helped to reduce tensions and strained relations.

He again paid tribute to Mr De Klerk as a sincere man. A new stage was being set for South Africa.

He said the value of such meetings was that "we get to know each other better every time we meet."

"We are really trying to deal with a matter of life and death where we want to avoid bloodshed and create conditions for negotiations".

Referring to the peaceful lowering of the South African flag over Namibia he said that contacts made in Windhoek this week could be enlarged. There was, however, no point in "seeing each other just for the sake of meeting."

The coming talks between the South African government and the ANC was a step forward.

Dr Kaunda said he could not act as an intermediary but pointed out that the Organisation of African Unity had appointed an ad hoc monitoring group to watch what Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela were doing and to report to member states.

Meanwhile, he was sticking to his view that sanctions should not be lifted at this stage. To maintain them could help Mr De Klerk as well as Mr Mandela.

Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said the meeting with Dr Kaunda had been excellent.

He said a wide range of subjects, including the security situation, the vision for a new South Africa, economic development and regional development had been discussed.

24/3/90

2 Cape Times, Satu

360

44 killed, 23 hurt in Zambian bus crash

LUSAKA. — A bus of the state-owned transport company overturned on a road east of Lusaka, killing 44 people and injuring 23 others, a Zambian newspaper reported yesterday.

The accident occurred at Luangwa, 400km east of Lusaka, on Wednesday night, when a bus of the United Bus Company of Zambia overturned while traveling from Lundazi District in the country's Eastern Province, the Zambia Daily Mail reported.

The dead included five children and two pregnant women. The 23 seriously injured survivors were taken to Lusaka's University Teaching Hospital, the report said.

"This is one of the most horrific accidents we have had in recent times," Lusaka Division Police Chief Hobson Simasiku told the newspaper.

In June last year, 25 people died and 21 others were injured when a bus collided with an oil truck in the northern Ndola province. —

UPI

NT

Where angels fear to tread in Zambia

CANADIAN banker Jacques Bussieres arrived alone and relaxed to take up his new job as Governor of the Central Bank of Zambia. He stepped into the airport VIP lounge and immediately faced sharp questions from the handful of reporters wanting to know what exactly

his role would be.

With calculated ease, he declared: "To put the house in order. To help with matters of cutting down inflation and stimulate economic growth. I look forward to everyone's support."

If he found the reporters' questions at all embarrassing, then he must have felt positively unwelcome when the

labour movement's sharp criticisms started.

Labour leaders said: "No one wants an expatriate to run the bank at the expense of many capable Zambians. It's a strange change of policy and a terrible precedent."

But he did not have to answer that.

President Kenneth Kaunda, who had secured Bussieres under a bilateral agreement with Canada, said before he arrived: "Our fellow Zambians have failed us."

Kaunda said the appointment was a temporary measure. Bussieres would need two to five years to "set professional norms and train Zambians to take over from him."

Supporters of Kaunda's move agree with him that "little has been achieved under successive Zambian leadership" and change is desperately needed.

A major exporter said the bank had "become a citadel of hardened bureaucracy, and the Foreign Exchange Management Committee (FEMAC) is the bank's monstrous killer of export initiative".

Currently very little moves — be it money remittances abroad, opening letters of credit, setting rules in motion to attract foreign investment or curbing the huge hard currency black market.

Importers and exporters complain that "almost everything the bank does for you is behind schedule, too rigid and unattractive for serious business".

They attack, among other things, cumbersome procedures for obtaining foreign exchange, the 50

Problems at the Central Bank of Zambia have piled up unsolved for years, ever worsening the country's sick economy. In a major shift of policy President Kenneth Kaunda has de-Zambianised the top post and offered it to a Canadian banker. But the appointment has stirred up a storm, reports ELIAS NYAKUTEMBA:

percent retention limit on export earnings, excessive duty of imported goods and restrictions on imports.

Kangwa Nsuluka, general secretary of the Zambia National Council of Commerce and Industry, said: "If we are serious with the export drive, we need liberal policies and to free businessmen from such inhibitions as the 50 percent retention limit."

Bussieres' appointment is part of a whole government austerity reform package which includes heavy devaluations of the kwacha, phasing out subsidies, stringent cuts on public spending and tight money supply controls lined up for the next few years.

Tight rope

Bussieres needs to walk a tight rope between carefully pushing his masters along while not hurting ordinary people too much.

His first tricky moments came when he announced the Multiple Exchange Rate Systems (MERS). The market exchange rate was pegged initially at K40 per US dollar while the official rate remains at K27.

The government, Bussieres said, was using the new mechanism to boost non-copper exports, attract foreign investment, encourage donor balance of payments support and curb unlawful dealings in foreign exchange.

Under MERS, exporters, tourist establishments and private foreign investors can buy foreign exchange at the higher market exchange rate.

Tourists, non-resident and resident Zambians are not allowed to keep for-

eign currency accounts at commercial banks. The money can be in the form of salary, fees, commission or other emoluments earned legally abroad.

The general public can sell their hard currency through the market exchange rate window on a no-question-asked basis while official transaction use the lower official rate.

But it has quickly become clear that Bussieres will have to do more than just introduce MERS.

Lusaka Chamber of Commerce Chairman Ronald Penza said: "It now means more misery and worsening unemployment. It is quite cosmetic unless the monopolies are removed and the government plays a bigger role to create conditions conducive to attract foreign investment."

Akashambwa Mbiku-ſita-Lewaika, chairman of the Economists Association of Zambia, said: "These measures are just another empty austerity nail in the coffin of the national economy."

Social services

"MERS is a short-term measure, concerned with simple monetary balances and is useless unless it complements a whole package of programmes based on the broadest and most meaningful involvement by the people."

"Development does not come from simply reducing budget deficits even at the expense of essential social services such as education and health."

Lewanika attacked what he saw as a diversion from policies and plans of the Fourth National Development Plan to MERS, which favours borrowing.

"Economic power does

not come from simply being current on debt servicing or attaining a borrowing certificate from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), even at the expense of maintaining and developing productive resources," he said.

Even so, Bussieres does not lack support.

A Kitwe economist said: "It means more exports, the expansion of foreign investments and lower landed costs which will increase the availability of goods and eventually lower price."

Bussieres faces many real road-blocks. He has for instance, to tackle entrenched inertia and seal the loopholes which allow pilfering.

Real tape

As an expatriate, he runs the danger of being isolated or even mislead. He has to crack mountains of red tape at the bank and at state level before he can push through his pragmatic ideas.

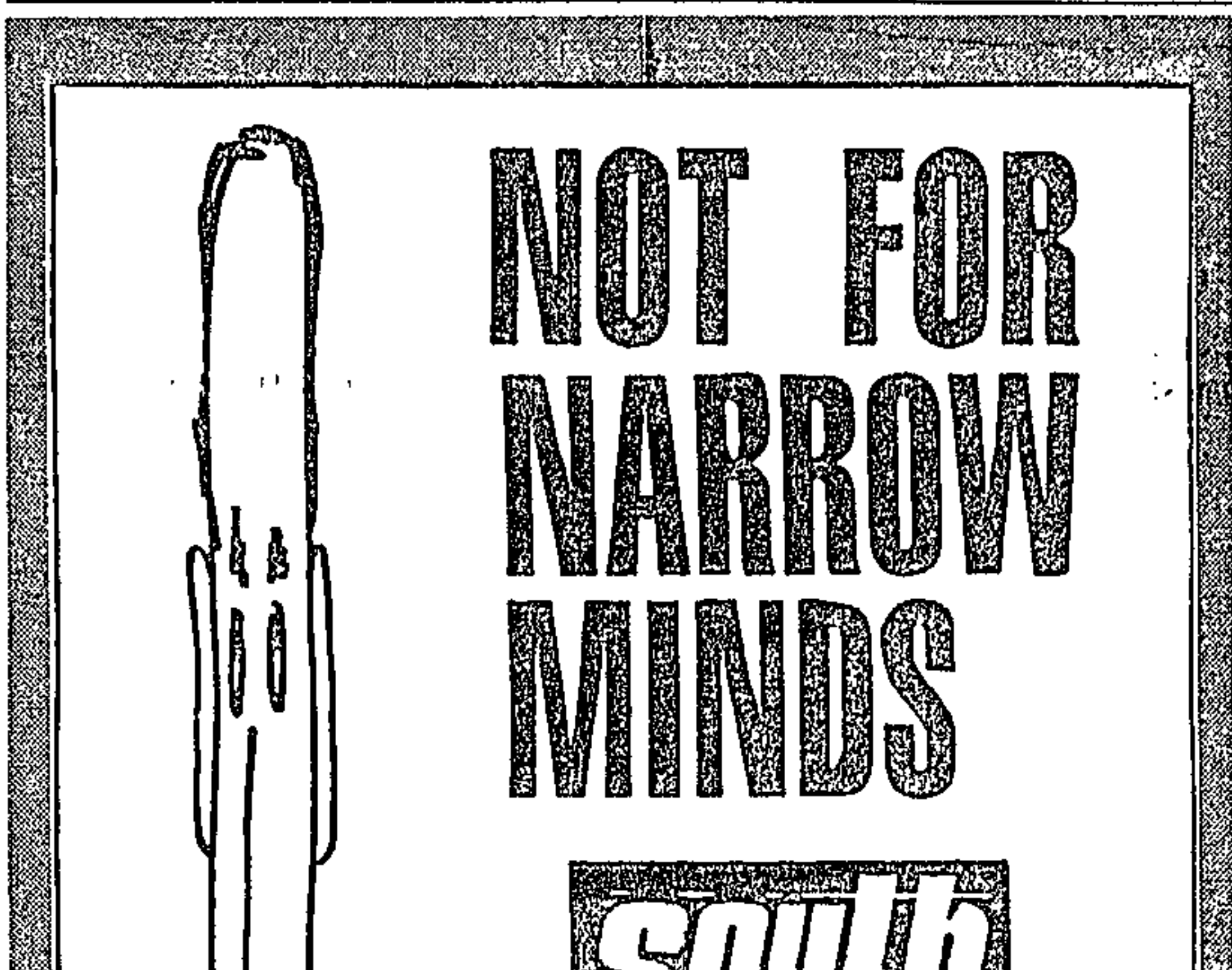
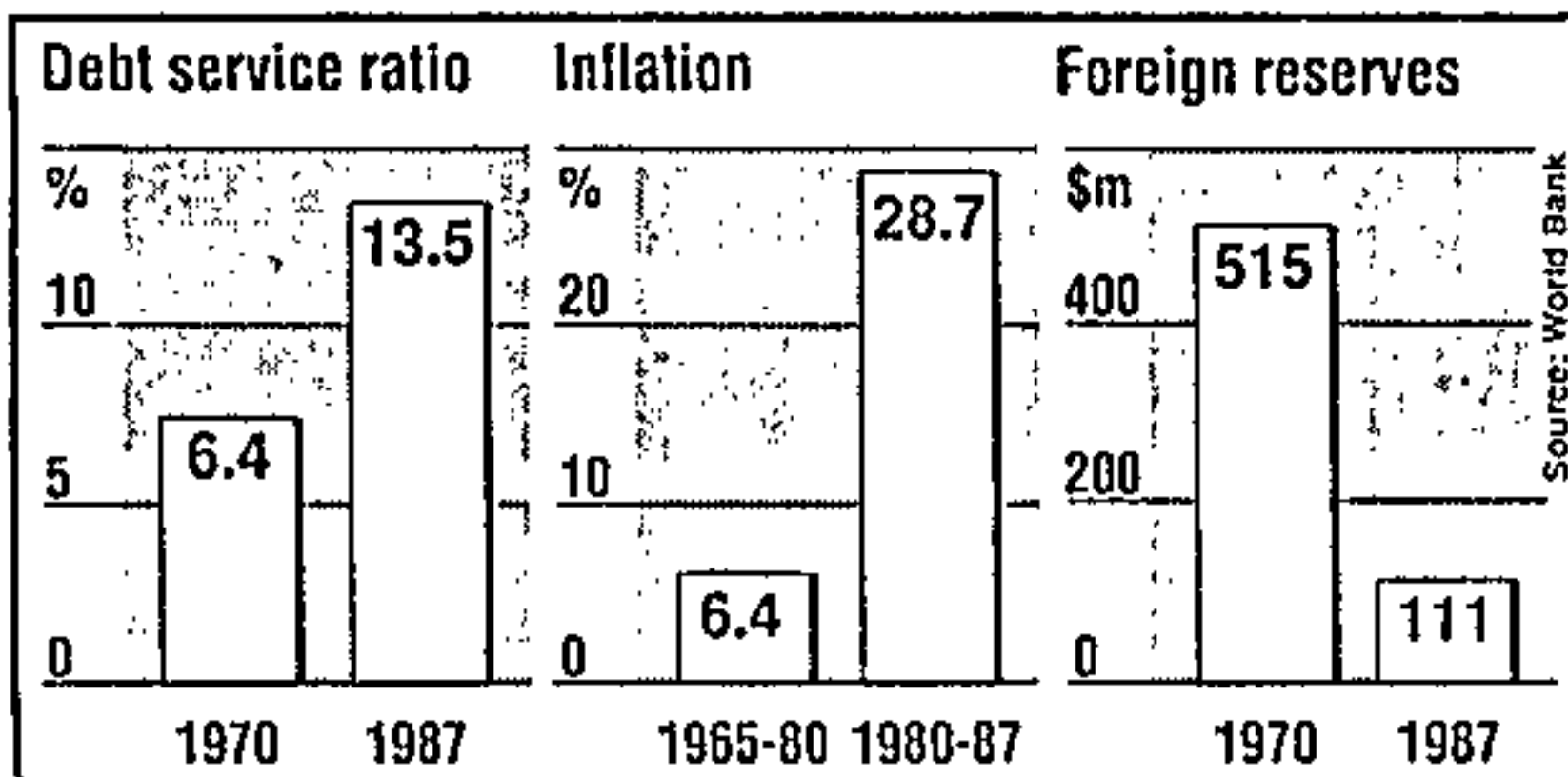
Holiday allowances have long been banned and people depend on black-market cash to travel.

As soon as MERS was announced, the dollar's black-market rate moved from around K50-55 to K75.00. Dealers of imported goods and even marketers increased their prices by more than 40 per cent in the absence of any price controls.

One shop in Lusaka was selling imported suits at K9 000.

Nsuluka said: "Bussieres is where the angels fear to tread. His position is like that of a sitting duck. Unless he treads carefully, it will be the sad story of the foreigner tomorrow." — GEMINI NEWS

Zambia's economic decline



ANC fugitives in Zambia

LUSAKA - Eight of the nine fugitive ANC cadres who escaped from a South African prison at the weekend have arrived in Zambia.

Senior ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina introduced the eight to the *Zambian Press* yesterday morning.

Sebina said the prisoners escaped on February 18 and only reached Lusaka on March 27.

They are Rodney Toka (27), Francis Pitje (25), Joseph Nkosi (30), George Mathe (23), Reginald Logodi (24), Reuben Khosi (25), Alfred Kgasi (26) and Johannes Malek (25). All are members of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

360

Security guards

The eight described their escape as a "victory of the South African people against apartheid."

The prisoners escaped on a Sunday morning after overpowering three security guards at the prison's entrance using a pistol that had been smuggled to them by the ANC underground. They fled in a prison warden's car.

According to the eight their escape and travelling to Zambia had been planned by the ANC underground formations inside South Africa.

Edleston believed SA would experience a deep recession if 5% of its population

surrounding the disease should not be politicised, he said.

Administrators stopgap for council resignations

GERALD REILL

PRETORIA — Administrators have been appointed in three black towns where councillor resignations — mostly because of intimidation — have deprived the councils of quorums. MEC in charge of local government Olaus van Zyl said here yesterday. Last week he said 43 councillors were forced to resign. 10/04/90

The executive committee decided to appoint administrators immediately instead of holding by-elections.

The three towns are Kwagaga near Witbank, Tokoza near Alberton and Motleng near Delmas.

Van Zyl emphasised the committee viewed democratically chosen councillors as of utmost importance and by-elections would be held as soon as possible.

The administrators' appointments are valid until March 31 next year or until by-elections are held. They will have all the powers and duties of a local authority.

Administrators at three other towns — Bela Bela near Warmbaths, Leboheng near Leandra and Takane near Brakpan — will be appointed soon.

Nine prison escapees flee to Zambia

NINE members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who escaped from an SA prison earlier this year, have arrived in the Zambian capital of Lusaka. 10/04/90

The nine men, who were arrested for terrorism and treason in 1988, said their escape from Modderbee Prison and secret trip to Lusaka had been organized by their underground colleagues in SA.

They said a pistol was smuggled into the prison and they had escaped after overpowering their guards and stealing one of their cars. — Sapa.

360

Mandela in Lusaka to consult executive

5/4/90 (360)
LUSAKA — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived at his organisation's headquarters in Lusaka yesterday for consultations with the exiled leadership on recent developments in South Africa.

Mr Mandela was accompanied by his wife, Winnie, ANC military intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma and UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe.

Mr Mandela, who is expected to return to South Africa tomorrow, will hold talks with members of the ANC's national executive committee today.

Last Thursday's meeting between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk brought back on track exploratory talks that had been postponed by the ANC from April 11 in protest against the shooting of at least 17 blacks at Sebokeng.

The talks between the South African Government and the ANC will now take place in Cape Town from May 2 to 4.

Sources close to the ANC said the Lusaka meeting would look at Mr de Klerk's suggestion that he would raise the issue of the armed struggle with the ANC at the May talks.

The ANC has said the South African Government should clear obstacles to negotiations before an agreement is possible to end hostilities.

The ANC demands the lifting of the state of emergency, release of remaining political prisoners, scrapping of repressive laws and the removal of troops from black townships. — Sapa-Reuter.

Teens flee to Lusaka

By RYAN CRESSWELL

ABOUT 210 young people have fled Natal fearing for their lives and have sought refuge at the ANC's Lusaka headquarters. 360

About 150 had trickled into the organisation's Zambian headquarters by Tuesday and another 60 teenagers arrived on Friday. More are believed to be en route to Lusaka.

Said ANC spokesman Tom Sebina: "There is a steady stream of kids aged between 10 and 23 fleeing to Swaziland and asking to be sent to our Lusaka headquarters." 270

"Most of those I have spoken to say they left Natal because of general insecurity. They claim to have been attacked in their classrooms and in the streets by Inkatha, vigilantes or kitskonstabels." 270

"The ANC had nothing to do with their departure."

"I have talked to a number of students in the group, including three who were at Durban Technikon, and they wish to continue studying." 5/11/90 2214/90

Mr Sebina said provision would be made for refugee students to continue their studies in other African countries.

States out of step in Africa

When even the workers start opposing the one-party state it would seem to be in trouble, if not doomed.

Demands for the concept to be abandoned have come recently from trade unions in both Zambia, where President Kaunda's Unip has outlawed any rivals for the past 17 years, and Zimbabwe, which President Mugabe seems determined to make the exclusive preserve of his Zanu (PF).

The trade unionists' demands reflect a growing tendency in Africa to question the viability of the one-party rule that has predominated in the continent and to look at alternatives that are closer to the Western definition of democracy.

In Zimbabwe even university students have demanded that Mr Mugabe abandon his plans for a one-party state.

Departing radically from his long-maintained stance, President Kaunda last month promised to hold a referendum on whether Zambia should continue under Unip's exclusive rule or allow other political parties to seek election.

Rather than having revised his own views, he appears to have bowed to pressure for change from within, not only from trade unionists but also from businessmen and others. His promise to hold a referendum came only six weeks after he had firmly rejected at a Unip convention any thought of a multi-party system and following a demand for one by the chairman of the Congress of Trade Unions.

Whether both sides of the controversy will be fairly canvassed before any referendum is held remains to be seen. If they are, however, the voters will become aware of the dilemma that has bothered political leaders in Africa ever since the end of the colonial era.

African politicians have often had grave doubts about whether multi-party systems and Western-style democracy are suitable for Africa,

The one-party system seems to be doomed

Advocates of the one-party state are getting increasingly out of step with the rest of Africa as disillusionment with the concept grows, writes **GERALD L'ANGE**, editor of the *The Star's Africa* News Service.

especially in the early years of independence.

Some leaders have never been overly concerned about the issue; they simply saw the single-party system as a way to entrench themselves in power and feed their vanity and their Swiss bank accounts without interruption.

Others, of a kind probably represented by Mr Mugabe, genuinely felt that multi-party systems would not serve the interests of their people as well as single-party systems. They felt that a multiplicity of parties, rather than promoting stability and prosperity, would tend to promote the factionalism and conflict inherent in African states, which invariably are composed of fragments of different, and often mutually hostile, tribes thrown together within the artificial boundaries drawn by European colonialists.

In countries where liberation movements won power, they have invariably enforced a one-party system but there are signs that even this trend is being reversed, notably in Mozambique.

But it has still to be shown that multi-party systems will be any more beneficial to the peoples of Africa than single ones have been. Considering the dismal record of the latter, however, the people of many African states, including Zambia, might well feel they have nothing to lose by giving multi-partyism a go.

Those in Africa, and in South Africa,

who still idealise the one-party state might consider the fact that a list of one-party states that have brought peace and prosperity to their people would be very short, if it could be compiled at all.

One of the main advantages of a multi-party system is, of course, that if the ruling party's policies are seen to have failed, and human imperfection dictates that often they will, the people can try those of another party.

The counter argument is that that very imperfection dictates that the people will end up with nothing but a succession of weak or incompetent governments.

Multi-party systems do have more advantages, however, than mere variety of misgovernance. Historically, they have been far less prone to the arrogance and corruption that seem inevitably to overtake even the most high-principled party when it knows it cannot be unseated by the voters, as Africans have come to know to their bitter cost.

No more effective way of making government responsive to the desires of the governed has ever been found than the threat of dismissal by a dissatisfied electorate.

And no better way has been found for a government to be kept from straying into excesses and follies than the existence of a parliamentary opposition, and, of course, the existence of a press free to criticise

the government; the two usually go together in truly democratic states.

The failure of the one-party system in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, is due mainly to the absence of accountability to the people.

Invariably, Africa's governments have ended up, even if they did not start that way, beyond the reach of the people they professed to govern and answerable to nobody except the military, who ultimately threw them out of office, and then, being even less accountable to the people than the politicians, ran the government themselves with even more disregard for the popular will.

The traditional rationale behind monopoly in Africa was put in a nutshell by President Mugabe last week when he said multi-party systems caused unnecessary rivalry and that if people were to differ "let us differ in one house, in one family".

Proponents of multi-party systems would argue, however, that it is the very absence of rivalry, of competition, that has made single-party systems prone to inefficiency, complacency, corruption, official bullying and disregard of human and individual rights.

The multi-party systems enshrined in most Western countries evolved over centuries of often bloody trial and painful error which led eventually to the realisation that there is no better way than strict accountability of governments to peoples through regular elections open to all.

Most African countries are still far less developed than those of the West. Whether the systems employed in the West can work in Africa, including South Africa, is one of the major questions to be answered in the next few decades.

But there is no good evidence to suggest that Africa will be better off without Western-style democracy any more than the countries of Europe were. Or that they will evolve a better system.

But Zambia clings to its one-party rule

EW critics expected changes when the special convention of the United National Independence Party (Unip) met for a special convention in Lusaka recently.

Although there was plenty of discussion, Unip played safe and decided to preserve one-party rule which had served Zambia "remarkably well".

Observers were not surprised at the resolutions passed, pointing out that 90 percent of those attending the convention were nominees of the existing leadership and were, therefore, not expected to make critical observations in matters concerning government policy.

"It would be asking a little too much during these days of mass unemployment to expect any of them to stick out their necks and address themselves to the true state of the nation when so much personal benefit is at stake—a free car, free fuel, free house and other crumbs that go with the privilege of working for the ruling party," former Information Minister Sikota Wina told *New African*.

As far as President Kenneth Kaunda was concerned, there were no adjustments that Zambia could make as a result of worldwide perestroika and glasnost.

The vociferous labour movement, generally considered to be Kaunda's most dangerous source of opposition in one-party Zambia, replied to the president by saying it was not the people in power who should influence and direct change in the political structure and forms of government, but the ordinary masses.

Chairman of the Zambia Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU) Frederick Chiluba, who has openly declared his intention of contesting the presidency under a multi-party system, cited the Soviet Union where, he said, it was not the ideology that was changed but the political structure.

There was a consensus among government critics at the convention that the party had usurped too much power. In his paper to the convention, Zambia's first Finance Minister, Arthur Wina, now a businessman, suggested that the negation of the supremacy of the

Although Zambia's sole United National Independence Party called a special convention to discuss democratisation of the system in response to changes sweeping other parts of the world, the party stalwarts preferred not to rock the boat, but to stick with the comforts and privileges they have built up over the years. SYLVESTER CHIKWANDA reports.

party central committee and its organs above all other institutions should be considered.

"I propose that Unip reverts to its original status as a political party which depends solely on its supporters and from its investments, party subscriptions and donations for funding and for material apparatus to carry out its functions as a party," he said.

Wina charged that experience had shown that one-party rule had "denied every common man and woman their full rights of citizenship and has left the common man without legal constitutional rights except those which he enjoys under the discretion of the party".

Wina's sentiments were echoed by two other former ministers, Vernon Mwaanga, who was his country's charismatic Foreign Minister, and Alesancer Chikwanda, who held various portfolios including that of finance.

The convention adopted a resolution recommending that the government should lift the State of Emergency. Even if the government considers the emergency still necessary, it must ensure that no person was detained for more than 90 days unless charged with a criminal offence. Detainees should also have access to review tribunals within six months, instead of the present 12 months.

Mwaanga and Chikwanda were joined by the chairman of the Economic Association of Zambia, Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika, in criticising lack of consultation in the economic decisions taken by the government.



Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda.

Critics say the president frequently fails to consult his colleagues on the central committee.

Observers believe the lack of consultation on the part of the president united the people attending the convention in recommending that appropriate machinery be set up to consult the people directly.

As the convention has no constitutional or legal powers to enforce its resolutions, it now remains for the National Council of the ruling party—the most powerful policy-making body—to debate the resolutions from the convention before they can be forwarded to Parliament to be enacted into law.

But as Sikota Wina pointed out, the National Council is "equally a rubber stamp of government policies as it is completely dominated by government and party nominees". — *NEW AFRICAN* magazine.

IMF oversees Zambian aid

LUSAKA — Teams from the IMF and World Bank have arrived here to review Zambia's economic recovery plans following a pledge of support by donor countries last month.

Sources close to the ministry of finance said the two teams would help Zambia use an aid package of \$450m worked out by donors at a meeting in Paris which approved its 1990-94 economic recovery plan.

"They are here essentially to see which way the money will go and to ensure everything is in place for the full implementation of the restructuring programme," said one source.

Zambia is faced with \$7.2bn in external debt and falling living standards.

The plan commits Zambia to radical steps, including lifting a freeze on prices, cutting subsidies, trimming public services and introducing business incentives. — Reuter.

Zambia's hopes lie in a free SA

cf/mw 20/5/90 360

ZAMBIANS are keeping their fingers crossed for the swift abolition of apartheid in South Africa hoping that "uhuru" here will result in an instant cure for their sick economy.

This view is widely held by a cross-section of the Zambian population, from a taximan and office orderly to senior government officials, and even President Kenneth Kaunda himself.

Taxi operator Joseph Simwanza described South Africa as the region's economic powerhouse, saying that if that country were to gain freedom, the economic problems currently plaguing countries in the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) would be solved overnight.

"I look forward to post-apartheid South Africa with tears of joy because we here in Zambia are suffering. Our economy has slumped to an unreasonable level and our kwacha is but a worthless piece of paper.

"I am confident that a post-apartheid South Africa would reverse the downward trend our economy has taken," Simwanza said.

Mulenga Chola, an office orderly with an engineering firm in Lusaka, said freedom for South Africans would mean economic freedom for all the peoples of the Southern African region. "I look forward to the day the SADCC countries will become one country and turn the region into Afri-

Zambians groaning under a bankrupt economy, escalating prices, and a shortage of basic commodities confidently expect that a liberated South Africa could "rescue" them from their economic plight. GIFT SIPHO SISO reports on why the Zambians are looking for salvation from such an unexpected quarter.

ca's economic power-house," he said.

Even Kaunda himself is on record as having said that a free South Africa could go a long way to curing Zambia's economic ills.

"We have a lot of potential trade with South Africa, but at present we cannot venture into that because of the racial policies of that country which degrade our fellow black brothers," Kaunda said at one of the many State House functions organised for Mandela.

Zambia has a critical shortage of commodities like soap, margarine, sugar, toothpaste, cooking oil, washing powder, vehicles and spare parts.

Zambians flock in huge numbers to neighbouring countries such as Botswana to do their shopping for these goods. "I hope South Africa gains its freedom and can prescribe an instant cure for our sick economy," says *Daily Mail* senior reporter Hastings Nyasulu.

He claims that up to 20 journalists a year leave Zambia to seek greener pastures in the Frontline States and abroad.

Nyasulu said he hoped the new Prime Minister of Namibia, Hage Geingob, whom he had known well in Zambia, would now give him a job in Namibia.

"Here we are virtually living from hand to mouth. When you get paid you blow it all in one go," he said.

He added: "It is pointless to save money in the bank, because you can deposit 10 000 kwacha one day only to find it worthless the following day."

Food, transport and clothes are unbelievably expensive to Zambians. A decent meal in a middling hotel in Lusaka costs about K400 (R40), a cup of tea K20 (R2), while a decent pair of shoes costs K1 000 (R100) and a smart pair of trousers about K800 (R80). Yet the average salary for the working Zambian is about K800 (R80) a month. From that he is expected to pay rent, water, electricity bills, food, clothes, transport to work, and help less fortunate relatives in rural areas.

Taxi fares for a five kilometre trip cost K80 and a little over half that for a mini-bus ride. The

20 km trip from the airport costs about K400 by day, but after 11pm it costs something like K600 for a single journey. There is no airport bus and passengers have to use battered taxis aptly nicknamed "wrecks" which fight to negotiate the potholed streets, where no maintenance work seems to have been done since independence.

Zambia is further penalised by acting as host to millions of refugees who have poured into the country from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and even South Africa. The refugee population has strained resources.

Yet when Zambia gained independence in 1964 it was considered one of the wealthiest nations in Africa. Since then it has witnessed a quarter of a century of economic disintegration. Zambia's per capita income of more than \$250 (about R650) in 1964 is now much the same but inflation has made the amount much less valuable in real terms. Its per capita income has actually been declining by 2,7 percent a year since 1967.

Its reserves which were over \$500 million (about R1,3 billion) in 1970, are now worth less than \$100 million (about R265 million). Meanwhile foreign debt has grown to \$5,8 billion (about R15 billion) or \$805 (R2 093) for every man, woman and child.

- NEW AFRICAN magazine.

Zambian govt to sell parastatal shares to public

360
Biday 29/5/90
LUSAKA — The Zambian government is to sell shares in parastatal companies in which it has a controlling interest, President Kenneth Kaunda announced yesterday.

He also said that as part of the parastatal reform programme a stock exchange was to be established in the country.

Kaunda said following the strides made in the economic field by Zambians the party and its government had been reviewing the policy of state participation in commerce and industry.

Affected in the first category are public utilities and social service enterprises including Zambia Railways, the Tanzania/Zambia Railway Authority, Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation, the University Teaching Hospital and Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation.

According to Kaunda, the government had decided that initially the public would be offered 40% shares in undertakings falling under the above category.

He said in the mining, industrial and commercial enterprises under the Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation 49% shares would be offered to the public.

As an incentive to workers in the various enterprises, consideration would be given to the creation of a certain class of shares to be held by the workers under share purchase schemes.

Kaunda said the main objective of the parastatal reform programme was to give economic power to the people.

He said the sale of shares in parastatal companies would raise revenue for the government budget.

The revenue would go a long way in rehabilitating and expanding the social services infrastructure.



● KAUNDA

The president also ordered the establishment of a stock exchange without which, he said, it would be impossible to implement the shareholding scheme to the general public.

The proposed stock exchange would form a mechanism by which shares and stocks would be sold and purchased. — ANO.



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Marine West (F**

her with a
chest.

"Luckily, after a terrible fight I managed to kick him and he let me go," she

wards Ficks Pool
and kept her car

Zambians to vote on multi-party system

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Following the lead taken by many other African countries, Zambia decided yesterday to hold a referendum on whether or not to change to a multi-party system of government.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said an extraordinary meeting of the National Council — the ruling Unip's top policy-review body — had decided a referendum should be held on the multi-party issue.

But the president, who has retained power since the country's independence in 1964, added that the party would uphold the present system of one-party "participatory democracy" and encourage the people to vote for it as their "best option".

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Zambia to set up stock exchange

Rev 30/5/90

360

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The Zambian government is to set up a stock exchange in the country and sell up to 49 per cent of some government controlled companies as part of an economic reform programme.

Announcing the reform initiative at the opening of an extra-ordinary session of the National Council here, President Kenneth Kaunda said the aim of the reforms was to give economic power to the people.

Under the programme up to 49 percent of shares in the mining, industrial and commercial concerns of the Zambia Industrial and Mining corporation, Zimco, would be offered to the public, while up to 40 percent of public utilities and social service enterprises such as the railways and electricity supply authority would be on offer.

Dr Kaunda said a stock exchange would be established to facilitate buying and selling of shares. He said maximum limits would be introduced for shareholdings by individuals and syndicates.

Zambia is carrying out reforms drawn up by its experts, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. It commits Zambia, among other steps, to cut subsidies to state firms.

The reform programme comes as Zambia is debating the possibility of returning to a multi-party system after almost 20 years of one party rule.

the 114 refugees.

CM 705 31/5/76 360
Referendum for Zambia

LUSAKA. — President Kenneth Kaunda's ruling Unip Party has decided to hold a nationwide referendum on whether to restore a multi-party democracy in Zambia. The president vowed to campaign vigorously against multi-party politics.

Kaunda: the loser destined to win

Star

11/6/90

360

LUSAKA — President Kaunda has urged a special session of Zambia's National Council to reject any notion of introducing the "dirty politics" of a multi-party system in the country, but at the same time has reiterated his call for a referendum on the topic.

His strident defence of the single-party system he introduced in 1972, and has headed since, underlined a fierce debate being waged in Zambia over the political future of the country following the dramatic changes in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

Mr Kaunda's original promise to propose a referendum came just weeks after he had led a congress of his ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) in rejecting the possibility of other parties being legalised.

Last week he told the National Council that by continuing to support a one-party system it would be fighting the evils of tribalism and class division.

He dismissed the proponents of multi-partyism as a "small band of people" who had insulted the government when, in accepting the referendum, they dared suggest that independent observers be brought in to oversee the fairness of the vote.

The flip-flop on the issue by the man who has ruled Zambia for the past 26 years is perhaps an indication of the pressure he is under to come up with solutions to the seemingly intractable economic problems that have arisen during his rule.

In the 26 years of Mr Kaunda's rule the country has fallen from being relatively rich by African standards to a beggar nation.

There are chronic shortages of most consumer goods and violent crime is increasing.

Not surprisingly all this has led to protest against the single-party government, and the most articulate proponents of multi-party politics are the

Zambia is one of several southern Africa countries to experience internal pressure for the abandonment of the single-party system of government, but KEN VERNON of The Star's Africa News Service reports that even if the system goes, President Kaunda will probably remain.

trade union movement and student bodies.

Last week students at the University of Zambia petrol-bombed a room occupied by Unip's Youth League on the campus as part of their protests against the one-party concept, moving Mr Kaunda to use their actions as an example of the "terrible" things that could happen under multi-partyism.

It was the insistent voice of trade unionists that refused to bow to government pressure to remain silent on the state of the economy and of its political causes that forced Mr Kaunda to give in to the idea of testing public opinion on the multi-party issue.

This week the president announced that a limited percentage of shares — up to 49 per cent — in the government-owned corporations that control Zambian industry and commerce will be put on sale to the public.

The move was another step backwards from the socialist-style government he has created, and was seen as a bow to the International Monetary Fund from which the country is seeking a stand-by loan facility to allow it to meet its commitments through to 1991.

In spite of all of these ills, Mr Kaunda remains as popular as ever with the Zambian people as a whole.

People blame the government, the party, the presidential advisers — almost anyone — for the sorry state of their country, but not the president.

It seems that while Unip might fall in a multi-party system, Mr Kaunda would somehow remain in power.

WAS 11 1970

Zambian media ban on political campaigning

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360

LUSAKA. — Ruling party officials have banned campaigning for a return to Western-style multi-party rule, media executives said yesterday.

Senior editors at state-owned radio and television and Zambia's two state-controlled newspapers were ordered not to publicise the issue by Information Minister Mr Arnold Simuchimba, said a newspaper executive who requested anonymity.

He said Mr Simuchimba told the editors not to air any views either for or against multiparty rule until a government commission is formed to oversee a referendum on the country's political future.

On Tuesday the ruling party's top policy review body, the National Council, decided to allow a referendum on mounting calls for the dismantling of the one-party system headed by President Kenneth Kaunda. No date for the referendum was announced. — Sapa-AP

Zambian party bans campaign

360

Sowetan 1/6/90

LUSAKA - Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party has banned all campaigning for or against the one-party system in the country until after a commission is appointed to formulate the rules for a referendum on the issue.

President Kenneth

**Sowetan Africa
News Service**

Kaunda two months ago proposed a referendum on the issue after trade unions and student bodies had severely criticised the system and demanded a return to democracy in Zambia.

Since then Kaunda has campaigned against the

referendum, but nevertheless the National Council last week voted in favour of the referendum idea.

No date has yet been set for the vote, and those in favour of a multi-party system have asked that an independent international body be asked to monitor the referendum to ensure that it is free and fair.

Investors will scoff at State share scheme

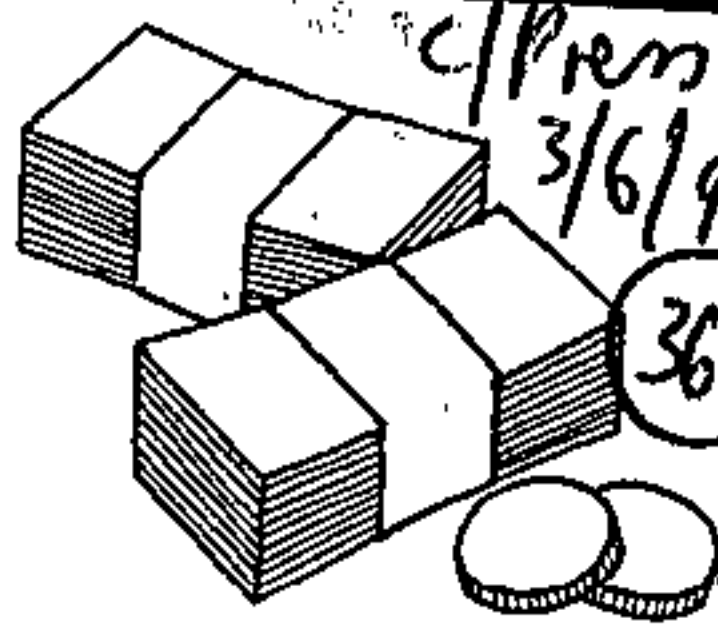
ZAMBIAN President Kenneth Kaunda's decision to sell shares in State-controlled enterprises to the public represents little change in his "municipal" economic policies.

When he announced this in Lusaka this week, Kaunda pointed out that the sale of shares in State corporations would provide much-needed cash to the government. Revenue would go a long way to "rehabilitate" and expand social services.

The idea is to convert State corporations like Zambian Railways, the Tanzam Railway Authority and the University Teaching Hospital, into companies and then sell off 40 percent of the shares to the public.

In the case of mining, industrial and commercial enterprises, up to 49 percent of the shares would be sold to the public.

In other words, control will remain in the hands of civil servants and politicians.



MONEY TALK

So what exactly does Kaunda mean when he says the new scheme will bring economic power to the people?

Not many years ago Kaunda claimed the nationalisation of businesses and mines in Zambia would give economic power to the masses!

It is understandable that the Zambian government wants to obtain money by selling off State assets. But if the experience of Nigeria - whose programme of privatising State assets is far more advanced - is anything to go by, the Zambian government still has to do

plenty of homework.

The Nigerian programme has proved that high-sounding phrases such as the economic empowerment of the people may draw cheers at political meetings, but it does not sell shares to the public.

The simple reason is that an individual must fork out hard-earned savings to buy those shares.

Why should he invest money in a State corporation if he earns a handsome income from interest at a bank?

Most of the the State-controlled corporations in Zambia are not profitable and are badly managed.

In Nigeria the whole idea of privatisation is to get expert management into corporations which have been a drain on State coffers for years.

Chances are Zambian investors will not part with their savings if State corporations remain under State control.

with a 10-year-old girl

Capl Tm 15 8/6/90
Kaunda fires minister

360

LUSAKA. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda fired Defence Minister Fredrick Hampunda yesterday, apparently for favouring an end to one-party rule. "He has been ineffective ... I am dropping him entirely on merit," Mr Kaunda told a news conference.

Zambian police fire on students

360

Sovetan 26/6/90

LUSAKA - Police opened fire yesterday on hundreds of stone-throwing university students who were protesting a doubling of the price of Zambia's staple food, corn meal.

No details were immediately available on injuries or arrests.

But residents of Kalingalinga suburb in the capital, Lusaka, said they saw at least two people fall when police fired volleys from rifles at demonstrators.

Residents told reporters police fired teargas canisters as well as live ammunition.

SAPA-AP

Police made several assaults through a maze of narrow roads in the densely populated low-income suburb, they said. It was unclear how many protesters were arrested.

Eyewitnesses said several groups of students were beaten with truncheons and rifle butts before being forced onto police trucks at gunpoint.

Smashed

One eyewitness who asked not to be identified said many residents fled to open fields nearby to escape running battles between police and students.

The windows of several police vehicles were smashed and fist-sized rocks and broken glass littered the roads.

On June 19, the government more than doubled the price of corn meal, the staple food known locally as mealie meal.

Protests

The increase, in line with the recommendations of international financial institutions and donor nations, sparked protest marches, panic buying and a threat of labour unrest.

Yesterday's student demonstration followed a protest meeting at the Lusaka campus on Sunday that condemned the price increase and called for the resignation of prime minister Malimba Masheke who announced the new corn meal price last Tuesday.

The meeting also



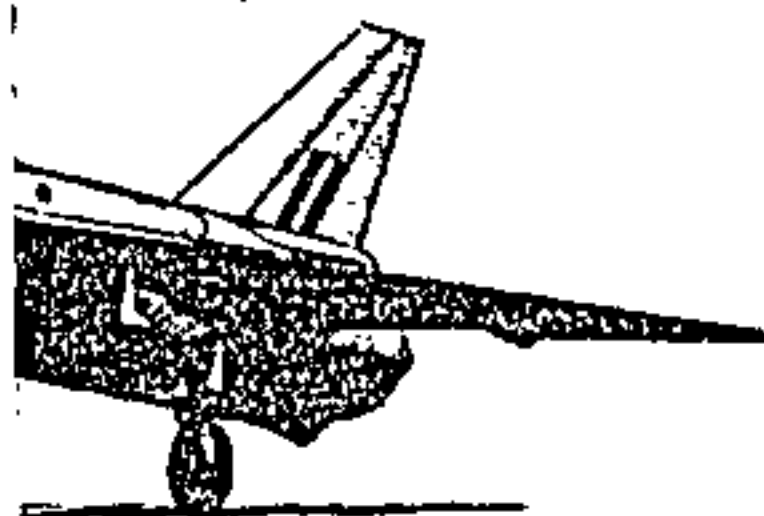
KENNETH KAUNDA

called for an end to the one-party political system that has been headed by President Kenneth Kaunda for nearly two decades.

Zambia is one of Africa's poorest and most indebted nations.

Comparable food price increases in December 1986 led to violent clashes between troops and protesters that left 15 people dead. Anti-government demonstrations by students in the past have sometimes led to the closure of the university.

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Curfew in Lusaka as death toll reaches 14

Riots pose major threat to Kaunda

Star 27/6/90 (360)

Lusaka

Thousands of heavily armed soldiers and police patrolled the Zambian capital today as President Kenneth Kaunda faced his greatest threat since taking power in 1964.

The death toll in two days of riots and looting — sparked by the doubling of the mealie-meal price — has risen to 14, prompting the government to impose a nightly 12-hour curfew.

Heavy security force patrols were also reported in the Copperbelt towns, where four people were reported killed in a brief flare-up of protest on Monday.

The Copperbelt was the scene of the last major food riots in 1986, which were also set off by an increase in the mealie-meal price.

Gunfire was heard repeatedly in Lusaka last night. At least 150 people are reported to have been treated at the central hospital for gunshot wounds since the trouble broke out on Monday. Police, who initially used teargas and rubber bullets against the protesters, switched to live ammunition as the protests spread.

Poorer townships

Sections of Lusaka were cordoned off by police in an apparent attempt to prevent the spread of the violence, which initially occurred mainly in the poorer townships. Yesterday it was reported to have spread into more affluent areas, however, and widespread looting has been reported.

Unconfirmed reports said policemen had been seen encouraging and even joining in the looting.

Early today the streets were quiet and people were beginning to go to work despite an apparent absence of public transport. President Kaunda, who cancelled a holiday at a country retreat to return to Lusaka yesterday, was expected to address the nation on television last night but by early today had made no statement.

Impromptu demands for his resignation were being openly expressed in Lusaka's streets yesterday, although no formal request has yet come from any recognised body. The long-simmering resentment over Zambia's severe economic problems appears now to be directed increasingly at the 66-year-old President.

Diplomats and businessmen said previous outbreaks of unrest in Zambia had never before united students and townsfolk in a spontaneous protest against government policy.

The increase in the mealie-meal price is part of an economic pact supported by the IMF and which has already seen the devaluation of the kwacha. — The Star's Africa News Service and Sapa-Reuter.



Icy maiden . . . Miss South Africa Suzette van der Merwe wraps herself up again that has the country in its grip. The weatherman predicted fine, mild weather too chilly mornings and evenings would continue.

© Picture

Sowetan 27/6/90

Lusaka tense in wake of rioting

360

LUSAKA - The situation remained tense in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, yesterday morning following a day of riots and looting in which several

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

people are reported to have died.

Police fired at looters and fought running battles

with demonstrators in Lusaka's shopping area and in the city's townships following demonstrations against the government's decision to increase the price of maize meal by more than 100 percent.

The protests were started by about 3 000 university students who wanted to march to State House to protest against the increases.

The protest rapidly spread to Mutendere, a high density residential area two kilometres from the campus and to the city's shopping area where demonstrators attacked and looted shops.

Heavily armed riot police, police reservist and para-military units, supported by helicopters

fought running battles with the looters and demonstrators repeatedly firing at them.

Police cordoned off the central area of Lusaka.

Unconfirmed reports said a para-military officer was hacked by students.

Cars were stoned by mobs of demonstrators, with police vehicles and cars driven by whites the main targets.

Kaunda cancels holiday after food, political riots in Lusaka

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda cancelled a holiday and rushed back to Lusaka yesterday after food riots in which at least four people died.

The capital was a ghost town following Monday's widespread riots and looting. Thousands of police and soldiers patrolled the deserted streets and occasional gunshots could still be heard.

Kaunda left Lusaka on Monday morning for a 10-day holiday at Mfue in eastern Zambia, but he flew back on hearing of the disturbances.

"We are looking at the situation to see what can be done, depending on how he assesses it," his political assistant Milimo Punabantu said.

Shortly after Kaunda left Lusaka on Monday, several thousand university students marched on State House to protest at a sharp rise in food prices and demand the introduction of a multiparty system.

They were blocked by police and the resulting clash sparked off riots and looting by residents. Security force members used guns, tear gas and helicopters to regain control.

Sporadic gunfire echoed through several parts of Lusaka during the night and occa-

sional shots could still be heard yesterday morning.

Most people stayed at home as police and troops patrolled the deserted city centre. Shops, petrol stations and businesses were closed and public transport was unavailable.

Sources at Lusaka's University Teaching Hospital said four people, including a policeman, were killed and 41 were injured during Monday's disturbances.

Depressed

(360)

The government, which last week doubled the price of mealie meal, Zambia's staple food, has not yet commented on the riots.

Rioting also accompanied the government's previous attempt to abolish food subsidies and sharply increase mealie meal prices in December 1986.

The disturbances persuaded Kaunda to abandon an IMF austerity programme a few months later and reimpose heavy state controls on Zambia's depressed economy.

Over the past year, he has moved back towards traditional IMF-type austerity policies. — Reuter.

Police stations attacked

The streets of Lusaka were deserted today following the introduction of a 36-hour curfew from yesterday evening which will end tomorrow morning. People were allowed on the streets with special passes issued by the police.

Rioters yesterday barricaded most streets leading to Lusaka's townships, attacked at least two police stations, burned military vehicles and looted hundreds of shops in several areas.

"It is real war now. The police are shooting at random," said a resident of Matero township, one of the centres of violence since residents took to the streets on Monday after student protests against Dr Kaunda's one-party state.

Diplomats and businessmen said previous outbreaks of unrest in Zambia had never united students and townsfolk in a spontaneous protest against government policy.

"Let them (the government) not look for scapegoats because there is no one person or group which is behind this. When a government takes the wrong approach to policies it should expect reaction from the people," a businessman said.

Also destroyed in yesterday's violence was Dr Kaunda's former home in Chilenge township, just three kilometres from his present home and office at State House.

Police were reported to be patrolling the volatile northern Copperbelt towns, where 15 people died in 1986 during riots sparked by the government's previous attempt to abolish food subsidies and raise the price of maize.

After the 1986 riots Dr Kaunda abandoned an International Monetary Fund austerity programme and reimposed heavy controls on Zambia's depressed economy.

Over the past year he has moved back towards traditional IMF-style austerity policies and a debate has begun on the future of Zambia's one-party political system.

Dr Kaunda opposes multi-party politics, but has promised a referendum on the issue.

Resignation call

● Argus Africa News Service reports that he was expected to address the nation on television last night but by early today had made no statement.

Demands for his resignation were being openly expressed in Lusaka's streets yesterday, although no formal request has yet come from any recognised body.

The long-simmering resentment over Zambia's severe economic problems appears now to be directed increasingly at the 66-year-old president, who has dominated the only legal party, Unip, since independence in 1964.

360 Ser 28/6/90

BACKGROUND

Economic crisis is at root of discontent

The businessman was angry: "Zambia is not only a one-party state," he said. "We have a one-man party and it's time for that man to go."

As mobs rampaged through the streets of Lusaka this week, looting shops and attacking symbols of wealth, President Kenneth Kaunda faced one of the most severe tests of his 26-year rule.

During much of this time, the president has been preoccupied by events beyond his borders — wars in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa.

With characteristic starchy white handkerchief in hand, and frequently weeping when his emotions overcome him, Mr Kaunda has often been on the world stage in his search for peace in southern Africa.

Frustration

What must also be worrying for President Kaunda and his ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) — the sole legal party since 1972 — are reports that some in the security forces were encouraging rioters. It is still unclear, however, whether any organisation is behind the unrest other than the banned university students' union.

But what is striking is the extent of popular frustration with the government among the urban population, which has grown as the economic climate has deteriorated.

The vast majority of city residents have seen their living standards plunge as export earnings from copper declined, diversification into agriculture failed, and mismanagement of

State-owned enterprises took its toll.

Essential commodities have been in short supply or beyond their reach because of black marketeering. Inflation has soared, and a shortage of foreign exchange has caused industry and other business to go

under or shed workers, swelling the numbers of unemployed.

Anti-government criticism is now directed at President Kaunda personally. Once almost immune from attack, he is today seen as almost entirely responsible for the failings of a party over which he exerts

near absolute control.

His philosophy of humanism, a Christian-influenced, broadly socialist doctrine that calls for love, social justice and an end to exploitation, is mocked by many Zambians for whom daily reality is starkly different.

The continuing trial of senior army officers on treason charges arising from an alleged plot last year has provided a platform for allegations of high-level corruption, while newspapers have carried stories which suggest that his sons have been involved in shady deals.

There is no evidence Mr Kaunda himself is implicated. Nevertheless, his reputation has been tarnished. And it is open to question whether UNIP is capable of presiding over changes to a new political system.

Mr Kaunda will now need all his skills if he is to ride the current crisis. He was able to defuse the last serious challenge in 1986, when several people died in riots protesting against food price increases, by argu-

ing that the austerity measures were forced on him by the International Monetary Fund.

Mr Kaunda suspended the IMF programme and sought what was described as a Zambian solution to the country's economic problems.

The latest programme was presented to the Zambian public in precisely these terms, though the measures have a familiar ring. This time, however, Mr Kaunda may be unable to divert the blame for the hardships it involves.

He is thus in a dilemma. Zambia's go-it-alone policy adopted after 1986 failed, forcing the country back to the structural adjustment policies it has fitfully pursued.

But if he is to stay in power, the austerity measures the current reforms require — notably cuts in subsidies and a privatisation programme which, if implemented, would see substantial labour cut-backs — will almost certainly have to be suspended or postponed.

The question now is whether they can channel popular dissatisfaction into a coherent opposition to Mr Kaunda. — The Financial Times News Service.



Kenneth Kaunda (below), one of Africa's political survivors, faces the most severe test of his rule, report MIKE HALL and MICHAEL HOLMAN from Lusaka.

ANARCHY Zambians loot shops for food

LUSAKA. — Parts of Lusaka were in a state of anarchy yesterday, with food rioting and looting spreading to other parts of Zambia.

The official death toll had risen to 25 but relatives of victims claimed that about 30 died — including several policemen — and 200 were injured.

Police swamped the capital and detained more than 550 people after nearly three days of anti-government riots which have seriously challenged President Kenneth Kaunda's leadership.

Most outlying districts were "extremely tense". A stretch of the Lusaka-Harare highway was closed. Two vehicles were burnt out in streets in Kafue, about 50km south of the capital, and there were looting in nearby Kabwe.

Police, para-military units and armed vigilantes patrolled the streets of Lusaka. The windows of most stores in the downtown shopping district have been smashed in "devastating looting". Some looters were shot by shopkeepers.

Unconfirmed reports claimed 12 police were killed in an attack by rampaging mobs on Chainama police station, east of the city centre.

"There is confusion in Lusaka. You go in at your own risk," a policeman told a Reuter reporter on his way from Harare at the last roadblock before the capital.

Mobs or police had thrown up makeshift roadblocks in some city areas using burnt-out cars or broken masonry and troop reinforcements in armoured personnel carriers positioned themselves at strategic points.

Dr Kaunda last night refused to scrap the food price hikes that triggered the riots.

"We know the instigators of these criminal stampedes. They want to use loose thugs to disrupt the economic recovery programme of the party," he added.

Dr Kaunda, who cut short a holiday to rush back to Lusaka on Tuesday, imposed a dawn-to-dusk curfew after students and residents, outraged by the doubling in price of Zambia's staple maize meal food and demanding an end to the country's one-party system, clashed with troops and police.

Danger list

He promised tough action against those responsible for the violence as trouble spread to other parts of Zambia and police said three more rioters were shot dead when security forces opened fire on crowds trying to loot a maize-milling plant.

Officials at Lusaka's University Teaching Hospital said five riot victims died during the night and others among a total of 156 people admitted were on the danger list.

Diplomats said there had been sporadic looting in the Copperbelt town of Kitwe on Monday, but order had been maintained. — Sapa-Reuter

Boris wins as SA crashes out



NEXT ROUND ... Titleholder Boris Becker dropped the first set on a tie-break to Wally Masur and then moved mercilessly into top gear to race into the third round at Wimbledon yesterday. Elna Reinach also surged through but the South African challenge lost ground as Monday's hero, 18-year-old Wayne Ferreira, as well as Christo van Rensburg and Danie Visser, were all losers. **Full Report — BACK PAGE**

Turmoil in Zambia

Southern 28/6/90 (360)
LUSAKA - President Kenneth Kaunda, who has held power in Zambia for 26 years, faced growing, though informal, demands for his resignation yesterday as the death toll rose to 14 in riots and looting sparked by a doubling of the price of maize meal.

Heavily-armed soldiers and police patrolled the capital city yesterday after a night-time curfew during which gunfire was heard repeatedly.

Heavy security force patrols were reported in the Copperbelt towns, where four people were reported killed in a brief flare-up of protest on Monday. The Copperbelt was the scene of the last major food riots in 1986, which were also set off by an increase in the maize meal price.

President Kaunda, who cancelled a holiday at a country retreat to return to Lusaka yesterday, was expected to address the nation on television yesterday.

Impromptu demands for his resignation were being openly expressed in Lusaka's streets yesterday, although no formal request has yet come from any recognised body. The long-simmering resentment over Zambia's severe economic problems appears now to be directed increasingly at the 66-year-old president, who has dominated the only legal party, Unip, since independence in 1964.

WORLD

360

Claims of up to 20 dead in Zambian food riots

LUSAKA — The death toll in two days of food riots that have rocked the Zambian capital has reportedly risen to 20. *B.Dan 28/6/90*

Hospital sources confirmed that more than 130 people, including an unnamed Cuban diplomat, were seriously injured during the violence in Zambia on Monday and Tuesday. In addition, 150 rioters, mostly children, were detained by police.

On Tuesday the government imposed a 36-hour curfew in Lusaka in a bid to contain the rioting and looting which drifted from the city centre to the townships. Demonstrators are now demanding the resignation of President Kenneth Kaunda and his government.

The riots were sparked on Monday by a Zambia University students' protest against the more than 100% price rise on the staple food, maize meal.

Zambian Prime Minister Gen Malimba Masheke admitted in Parliament that the situation was very serious and appealed to the nation for tolerance.

Parliament has demanded an official government statement on the rioting and looting, which has brought business and industrial activity in Lusaka to a standstill.

A cabinet office spokesman said yesterday Kaunda would address the nation later, but did not elaborate.

As the fighting raged on between armed police and the rioters, Kaunda's former home in old Chilenje, now a monument, had its windows smashed, and furniture and crockery destroyed. A vehicle used by Kaunda and colleagues was set alight and gutted. — ANO.



Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, whose government is under mounting pressure. Picture: REUTER

Soviet communist congress unlikely to be delayed

B.Dan 28/6/90
MOSCOW — Soviet ideology chief Vadim Medvedev said yesterday the Communist Party congress, which is likely to pit reformers against hard-liners, would probably go ahead from July 2 despite calls for a delay.

Medvedev told a news conference the party's policy-setting central committee would make a final decision at the end of the week.

The congress, the 28th of the national party, would be the first since 1986 when party leader and now President Mikhail Gorbachev launched his "perestroika" programme.

Earlier, a spokesman for the 250-member central committee said he expected the body would meet in a plenum tomorrow.

Russian Federation president Boris Yeltsin, an outspoken opponent of Gorbachev, said on Tuesday he expected there would be hot debate between radicals and conservatives at the plenum.

Hard-liners are in full cry after taking control of the new Russian Communist Party last week. — Sapa-Reuters.

Kaunda's ultimatum

AP 6/5 1246/90 360

No alternative to price rises, he says after 23 die in food riot

LUSAKA. — Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda told a restive nation there was no alternative to steep food price rises that triggered riots which killed 23 people.

In his first public comments since cutting short a holiday and rushing back to Lusaka on Tuesday to face the worst crisis of his 26-year-rule, President Kaunda said on television the price rises were vital and unalterable.

"Our economic recovery programme is assured. Nothing at all can stop it," he declared.

Outraged

He accused unnamed political opponents of stirring up troubles which started when students and Lusaka residents, outraged at the doubling in price of Zambia's staple maize meal and demanding an end to the country's one-party system, clashed with troops and police in the streets on Monday.

President Kaunda said the increase, which pushed the cost

of a 25kg bag of meal to 269 kwacha (about R23.40) from R10.60, was necessary to divert resources to production.

He promised tough action against those responsible for the violence as trouble spread to other parts of Zambia.

Police said three more rioters were shot dead when security forces opened fire on crowds trying to loot a maize milling plant.

"We know the instigators of these criminal stampedes. They want to use loose thugs to disrupt the economic recovery programme of the party," added President Kaunda, who has been in power since Zambia won independence from Britain in 1964.

There were several outbreaks of looting in Kabwe, about 200 km from Lusaka, but police said security forces were in control.

Hospital officials in Lusaka said the death toll in the capital stood at 20.

Police spokesman Mr An-

drew Kaishita said about 500 people had been arrested.

In his television address, President Kaunda made no mention of the death toll.

He also sidestepped calls for an end to the one-party political system in force since 1973, saying only that his United National Independence Party (Unip) was committed to serving the people.

R19,08-billion debt

Diplomats said President Kaunda's headline response risked further alienating Zambians, already angered by falling living standards and the country's tottering economy and keen for a more generous dose of political freedom.

Over the past year, President Kaunda has edged back towards austerity as Zambia struggles to repay its R19,08-billion debt.

Removing subsidies on maize meal was an important part of the programme, President Kaunda said. — Sapa-Reuter.



AFTERSHOCK: An Asian storekeeper with the rubble from his looted shop.

Defiant ³⁶⁰ ^{NR645 29/6/90} ~~Zambian~~ students call for Kaunda to resign

From KEN VERNON

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Zambian university students have signalled their opposition to the rule of President Kenneth Kaunda by festooning anti-Kaunda placards and signs along a kilometre of one of Lusaka's busiest roads.

The placards were hoisted yesterday afternoon as a 6pm-to-6am curfew was imposed on the capital that has been rocked by rioting and looting since the price of maize was doubled on Monday.

"TYRANT"

"Don't shoot us Kaunda, just resign" said one three-metre banner, while "Down with the tyrant" said many others along the side of the university campus facing busy Independence Avenue.

There was no apparent police or army presence in the area in spite of large numbers of students on the lawns behind the fence.

Traffic in the city appeared to



DEFIANT: Zambian university students make their feelings clear.

be almost back to normal and the roadblocks reported over the past few days had disappeared — at least from the major roads in Lusaka.

Two burnt-out vehicles still blocked the entrance to the university and the remains of a burnt-out truck stood on the road leading from the airport.

People were only too willing to speak about the riots that

had rocked the city, and said that initial anger at the maize price increase had turned into opposition to Dr Kaunda.

It now appears that "government" stores were the main target of looters rather than Asian-owned stores. Many Asians armed themselves and guarded their property at the height of the unrest.

Kaunda bows to multiparty referendum

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda has pledged to call a national referendum on whether to restore a multiparty political system in Zambia. (360)

The announcement followed the worst rioting in the country since it gained independence in 1964. 6/10/90 29/6/90

Kaunda said he would give a date today for a referendum on whether the country should restore multiparty democracy, which ended with his declaration of a one-party state in 1972.

As many as 30 people were reportedly

killed in the widespread looting and protests, most of them hit by police gunfire.

After visiting looted business in central Lusaka, Kaunda said: "Under no circumstances will these criminal stampedes be tolerated."

Kaunda has also stressed his commitment to the economic reform programme. The steep increase in the price of maize meal was announced as part of the programme aimed at reducing government subsidies and making Zambia's economy more commercially viable.

● See Page 4

No quick fix for ailing Zambian economy

W/M mp
29/6/90

360

ZAMBIA was once one of Africa's most prosperous countries, a shining example of independent Africa's promise, boasting a high per capital income and high standards of living. Now it's economy is a tarnished warning of the dire effects of mismanagement.

After a 15-year unabated downward slide, Zambia is considered to be one of the continent's worst case scenarios.

The essential problem with Zambia's economy is one common to many other Third World countries: it is based on a single raw commodity that is subject to the fluctuations of the world market. More than 90 percent of Zambia's total export earnings come from copper.

Zambia's rich copper deposits first brought British mining interests to exploit the mineral in the 1920s. Copper prices were high at the time of Zambia's independence in 1964 and enabled President Kenneth Kaunda to fund popular health, education and social service programmes. The Kaunda government nationalised the mines, purchasing them from Anglo-American and others, and took control of other major businesses. It created jobs with an expanding civil service.

Today Zambians look back fondly on those heady days when independence was fresh and copper was shining.

"I remember when schoolchildren were given free milk in class," said a priest in the Copperbelt, Zambia's northern mining region. "Now we can't even afford to repair broken windows in the school buildings. High school fees are charged and many children come to school hungry."

The trouble began in 1975 when the world market for copper collapsed and prices plummeted to about 50 percent of the previous level. Zambia's earnings were halved but the Kaunda

Lusaka's shopkeepers have swept up the broken glass but more than housecleaning is needed to address the economic and political problems that caused the two-day riots.

ANDREW MELDRUM

reports

government continued to spend. Expecting the prices to go back up, the government decided, as Kaunda said in a candid speech in 1984, "to carry on as before. Namely to keep importing and to hope for the best".

The best never came. But Zambia found help from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and donor countries. Since 1978 more than \$1.5-billion has been lent to this country. The international institutions suggested economic reforms, such as reducing the budget expenditure and devaluing the currency, but they also expected the copper prices to rise again. Their lending without basic reforms became part of the problem.

"It must be admitted that both the acuteness and duration of the decline in copper prices were grossly underestimated by all parties," said the World Bank in a 1985 report on Zambia. "As a result, the scope and character of the policy and institutional reforms that were set in motion were never commensurate with the gravity of the crisis."

An additional economic problem was posed by the Rhodesian war. Kaunda severed relations with the country's largest trading partner and its transport link to the world.

By 1980 the average Zambian was feeling the effects of the economic de-



Kenneth Kaunda

cline. Jobs were scarce, prices were rising and services became unavailable. The IMF called for structural adjustment but when Kaunda dramatically hiked the price for maize meal in December 1986 food riots broke out in the Copperbelt cities which left 15 dead. Kaunda blamed it on the IMF and pulled out of its programme, declaring that Zambia would develop its own economic recovery plan. By 1989, Kaunda had returned cap in hand to the IMF, admitting that the country's economic ails could only be remedied by the bitter medicine of reduced government spending, reduced food subsidies, currency devaluation and increased agricultural production.

Zambia's flexibility in rebuilding its economy is hindered by the fact that so many of its 7.2-million people live in the cities. Lured by good jobs on the mines, Zambians flocked to the Copperbelt. Now more than 40 percent of Zambia's population live in urban centres, representing one of Af-

rica's highest urbanisation rates. An estimated 30 percent of these city-dwellers are unemployed. When food prices double they do not have a rural garden to fall back on.

The "compounds", the colonial term still widely used for Zambia's overcrowded township residential areas, have deteriorated. Water, sewage and garbage collection services hardly operate. Early this year, during the rainy season, a cholera epidemic broke out in Lusaka's townships and 100 people died.

Another obstacle to effective economic recovery is the government itself. Zambia is burdened by a creaking, stultified bureaucracy that cannot respond quickly to the most simple request, let alone the daunting job of revitalising a moribund economy. In fact Zambia has two bureaucracies: the government's civil service and the many layers of functionaries in Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP). The government payroll is an unhealthy 20 percent of Zambia's gross domestic product and the salaries keep the civil servants in a comfortable lifestyle that is out of reach for the rest of the population.

And it appears that things can get worse. The quality of Zambia's copper is declining and mineral experts give the gloomy prediction that Zambia's deposits will be depleted shortly after the year 2000. Copper prices finally rose substantially in 1989 but not enough to make up for 15 years of economic decline.

Although no "quick fix" glimmers for the Zambian economy, the country does have valuable resources in its abundant land with rich soil and regular rainfall. But Zambia's agriculture has suffered from years of neglect. Instead of being the region's breadbasket, the country regularly imports staple foods.

Recent reforms were quickly taken advantage of by the small band of white commercial farmers who are exporting tobacco and horticultural products. It will take much more to stimulate the country's rural peasant agriculture. A rural road network, regular supplies of seeds and fertilizers, a team of agricultural advisers and rural services must be developed so Zambians can survive the country's current economic morass.

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Kaunda lifts curfew after death riots

360
Southeast
29/6/90

LUSAKA - Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, facing the worst crisis of his 26-year rule, partially lifted a blanket curfew imposed after food riots killed at least 23 people.

Business and offices re-opened in the capital Lusaka yesterday after the government eased restrictions on the movement of people in Lusaka to be-tween 6pm and 6am for an indefinite period.

Heavily-armed soldiers patrolled the city centre but a reporter saw people going back to work in several areas and little military presence on the outskirts.

Offices re-opened and life was returning to normal in the townships, barricaded by residents at the height of the violence to keep out police and

SAPA-REUTER

troops. There were also long queues at fuel stations which had re-opened after a two-day closure.

Zambians outraged by a doubled price for maize meal, the staple food, went on the rampage on Monday and Tuesday looting shops and demanding a multi-party system.

Kaunda, who cut short a holiday to rush back to Lusaka on Tuesday, refused to reverse the price increase and side-stepped calls for an end to the one-party political system in force since 1973.

Kaunda said in a television address on Wednesday political opponents were to blame for the violence and promised

tough action against those responsible.

Only his United Na-tional Independence Party (UNIP) was committed to serving the people, he added.

The 66-year-old leader, in power since in-dependence from Britain in 1964, told the nation on Wednesday scrapping of subsidies was a major part of a programme to reform the economy.

He said there was no alternative to the sharp price rises which pushed the cost of a 25-kg bag of meal to more than double the previous cost.

The president said the increases, needed to divert resources to pro-duction to resuscitate the country's depressed econ-omy, was irreversible. "Our economic recovery programme is assured. Nothing at all can stop it."

MPs ratify (362) constitution

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The Zimbabwean Parliament yesterday ratified what Justice Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa described as "our solemn constitutional declaration of independence".

The deletion of British-designed entrenched sections of the 1980 Lancaster House constitution was approved by 108 votes to two.

Mnangagwa told the House that with the removal of the Lancaster House provisions, which President Robert Mugabe's government had "honoured over the past 10 years", he would shortly be able to introduce a Bill to amend the declaration of rights "relating to protection from deprivation of property".

He referred to promises in the March general election to redistribute land from farmers to overcrowded peasants.

Political observers have noted that the government will also be able to rescind, by a vote of 100 of the 150 MPs, the guarantees of freedom of association preventing promulgation of a one-party state.

Toll in Zambian riots now put at 30

LUSAKA — The death toll after three days of food rioting in Zambia was reported to have reached 30, with about 200 people seriously wounded.

More than 1 000 people, including young children have been detained.

The Zambian government yesterday lifted a 36-hour curfew slapped on on Tuesday evening but has instead imposed an indefinite dusk to dawn curfew.

Some Lusaka business and industrial districts opened for business today after three days of forced closure but the majority still remained closed.

Isolated gunfire was heard in the satellite townships of the city. Generally, Lusaka was relatively quiet but civic leaders were taking stock of the damage.

President Kenneth Kaunda's nationwide radio and television broadcast on Wednesday night did not placate the situation because he did not address himself to the maize meal price increases.

Kaunda's critics dismissed his broadcast as meaningless. "He said nothing new but empty rhetoric without realistic and intellectual fervour," said one observer.

Kaunda accused some "power-hungry men" of inciting people to riot against the maize meal price increases of more than 100%, announced last week.

He claimed: "We know the instigators of these criminal stampedes. They hope in

that way they can disrupt the now successful economic recovery programme."

Kaunda warned that they would be ruthlessly suppressed.

MPs, meanwhile, have demanded a government explanation of why children under the age of 10 had their bones broken by security forces and policemen.

Police, soldiers and party officials of the ruling United National Independence Party were reportedly also involved in looting. Some soldiers and police had looted several hundreds crates of beer, cooking oil and other essential commodities.

Accusing

Rioting has also erupted in the town of Kabwe in central Zambia, where police shot three looters who ransacked a maize meal depot on Wednesday.

In Kafue, 40km south of Lusaka, rioters burnt a foreign-registered truck carrying inflammable liquid from SA.

Lusaka police commanding officer Hobson Simasiku said the situation was calm yesterday but reports reaching the business district indicated that looting and rioting would continue as long as Kaunda did not reduce the maize price.

People are also calling for the resignation of Kaunda, accusing him of overstaying and usurping power through constitutional fraud. — ANO.



Contrav

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Kaunda will call referendum today

WMAZ 3916190

360

LUSAKA: Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday he would announce the date today of a referendum on introducing multi-party rule.

He made the announcement during a one-hour tour of central Lusaka as thousands of curious residents flooded into the city centre, sealed by police and troops when the government imposed a curfew on Tuesday evening.

Hundreds of troops with fixed bayonets stood guard on the main roads, keeping people off some pavements, and cordoned off traffic from Cairo Road, the main shopping street, during Kaunda's one-hour visit.

Most businesses were closed and the crowds watched quietly as a serious-looking Kaunda, who has promised to be ruthless with people accused of inciting violence, moved from shop to shop with an entourage of officials.

But the quiet of central Lusaka contrasted sharply with a noisy demonstration at the University of Zambia, three km away, where about 1 000 students shouted anti-government slogans and called on Kaunda to resign.

Some slogans pasted on buildings read: "Kaunda don't shoot, resign" and "Hang Kaunda".

The students accused Kaunda, who has ruled Zambia since independence from Britain in 1964, of gross incompetence. "He must go because he has failed," one student told reporters.

Business and offices reopened in Lusaka yesterday after the government eased restrictions on the movement of people there to between 6 pm and 6 am for an indefinite period.

In a radio and television address on Wednesday night, the Zambian leader blamed the riots on political enemies.

However, he subsequently announced that he would give a referendum date today on introducing multi-party rule, which he opposes. "The party programme is still on track," he said. — Sapa-Reuter



Pallbearers drop the coffin of Communist urban guerrilla Benjamin Tabuena, who was killed last week, as masked gunmen with assault rifles and handguns fire into a crowd of funeral marchers in Manila, capital of the Philippines. Two of the mourners, one a pallbearer, were killed. The gunmen then arrested a number of the mourners

Photo: AP

ZAMBIA F/M 29/6/90

Trouble up north (360)

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was this week fighting for his political life. Fierce gun battles raged in Lusaka on Tuesday as the aged African leader faced a rebellion over rising food costs.

On Monday night, at Lusaka's international airport, passengers were warned by Zambian officials that streets had been blockaded and cars were being stoned, overturned and set alight. Debris was lying across the road to the city centre. An air force truck was still burning when we passed; another burnt-out government vehicle was on its side.

A Soviet diplomat told the *FM* late on Tuesday that doctors from the Soviet embassy were working round the clock. A Bulgarian diplomat saw a shoot-out between police and rioters. Another eyewitness saw looting and the resultant police action: he told the *FM* that police were firing live rounds into the crowds.

What sparked the violence — seven people dead at the latest count, among them a three-month-old baby and a policeman — was the announcement that the price of mealie-meal had rocketed from 114,50 to 269

kwacha for a 25 kg bag.

However, the *FM* was told by sources in Lusaka the price rise had only triggered the open dissent. Resentment towards Zambia's one-party system is the main cause of the wave of unrest. Though a referendum on whether to return to a multiparty system has been promised, government has apparently cracked down on efforts by other groups to support a multiparty State.

This is the second time Kaunda has faced a political crisis over the one-party system. In the late Sixties he resigned on what has become known as the Night of the President. For two days Zambia was without a head of state — and then parliament supported Kaunda.

This week the Copper Belt Party and government leaders held a closed meeting with editors of *Icengelo* magazine, which has been accused by Alex Shapi, Zambia's Secretary of State for Defence & Security, of promoting the interests of multiparty activists.

Free speech

The two main State-owned morning newspapers did report Monday night's fighting and looting. The *Daily Mail* said government has generously offered to help the unemployed to resettle on land to make a productive living.

The newspaper criticised the looters, saying they could have found a better way to express displeasure.

On Tuesday morning heavy automatic gunfire was heard in and around the Lusaka business district and an air force helicopter hovered over the area. At the Intercontinental Hotel the pool area was closed and guests were warned about stray bullets. Fax facilities at the hotel were down and the hotel operator said they were battling to get outside telephone lines.

Meanwhile, Kaunda, who had left earlier for a nine-day working holiday at a nearby game reserve, returned to State House on Tuesday. Diplomatic observers thought his return might prompt rioters to turn their attention to the presidential residence. It was feared police could then get even tougher.

In 1986, Zambia suffered riots in the Copper Belt after a rise in food prices. Latest reports are that the present rioting has also spread to the two main towns in that area, Kitwe and Ndola.

The unrest may seriously harm Kaunda's position in Africa as elder statesman and mediator in conflicts. He has also apparently had a good relationship with President F W de Klerk, so an unstable Zambia may be cause for concern in Pretoria. *Eddie Botha*



President Kaunda faces his gravest crisis in

ZAMBIA'S President Kenneth Kaunda is facing the worst crisis of his 26-year rule as food riots and discontent over one-party rule threaten his leadership.



Rioting in Lusaka, and other parts of the country this week which killed at least 23 people was sparked by steep food price rises, but also underlined mounting opposition to Kaunda's rule.

But the wily 66-year-old president's hold over his people is looking increasingly vulnerable. Last February students at the University of Zambia jeered openly when African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela praised Kaunda as a "great son of Africa."

In 1986 Kaunda survived a round of rioting over maize meal price rises by giving in to popular anger and cancelling them. He threw out a recovery plan backed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in favour of a home-grown mix of policies.

Two years later the home-grown recipe was abandoned in a switch which took Zambia back like a repentant sinner into the IMF's stern embrace.

This time, President Kaunda is being closely watched by Western donors

APU's 20/6/90

From JOHN MORRISON

in Lusaka

and does not have the option of conjuring up another u-

He told Zambians in a Wednesday night television broadcast that the price increases were essential to the country's economic recovery.

Zambia's debt of 7.2 billion dollars, including 1.3 billion to the IMF and the World Bank, is probably the world's biggest when measured against

the size of its population and relative poverty.

His back-to-the-wall speech, in which he blamed "enemies and ill-wishers" for stirring up the riots, brought scant comfort for the plight of ordinary Zambians.

"Kaunda's reaction to the riots conveys the message that he does not understand what is happening," said a Lusaka-based Western diplomat. "He does not show any recognition that people are suffering."

Some aspects of the riots, including attacks on police

stations, have pointed clearly to political as well as economic frustrations.

Because of its economic decline, Zambia is probably more vulnerable than any other southern African nation to the shockwaves of political change sweeping through Africa.

In Gabon, Ivory Coast, Benin and Zaïre, leaders once revered as demigods are now finding their power bases crumbling under a surge of popular pressure.

After a quarter of a century living inside the red brick

walls of Lusaka's State House, ringed with its own peacocks roam the fairways, Kaunda is seen by many Zambians as out of touch with their problems.

President Kaunda's decision last month to offer Zambians a referendum on a return to multi-party politics was seen as a way of nipping democratic pressures in the bud.

The president is personally opposed to a multi-party system and no date has been set for the referendum. —Reuter.

26 years



AFTERSHOCK: An Asian storekeeper with the rubble from his looted shop.

Defiant Zambian students call for Kaunda to resign

From KEN VERNON

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — **Zambian** university students have signalled their opposition to the rule of President Kenneth Kaunda by festooning anti-Kaunda placards and signs along a kilometre of one of Lusaka's busiest roads.

The placards were hoisted yesterday afternoon as a 6pm-to-6am curfew was imposed on the capital that has been rocked by rioting and looting since the price of maize was doubled on Monday.

"TYRANT"

"Don't shoot us Kaunda, just resign" said one three-metre banner, while "Down with the tyrant" said many others along the side of the university campus facing busy Independence Avenue.

There was no apparent police or army presence in the area in spite of large numbers of students on the lawns behind the fence.

Traffic in the city appeared to



DEFIANT: Zambian university students make their feelings clear.

be almost back to normal and the roadblocks reported over the past few days had disappeared — at least from the major roads in Lusaka. had rocked the city, and said that initial anger at the maize price increase had turned into opposition to Dr. Kaunda.

Two burnt-out vehicles still blocked the entrance to the university and the remains of a burnt-out truck stood on the road leading from the airport.

People were only too willing to speak about the riots that

It now appears that "government" stores were the main target of looters rather than Asian-owned stores. Many Asians armed themselves and guarded their property at the height of the unrest.

RIOTS: CHOICE FOR KAUNDA

Zambia may have to slow a painful austerity programme after the death of 23 people in a riot caused by a rise in the price of food. This report from Harare.

IT was the second fatal riot over food price rises in Zambia in four years, but observers say the government is likely to stick to its austerity plan while slowing its implementation to secure more aid.

"It would be suicidal for the president to go back on the programme," said a Harare economist who monitors events in Zambia.

"At best the government will slow implementation of some elements of the plan and appeal for softer conditions on the sensitive ones to cushion the blow."

Under the measures the price of staple maize meal shot up to 269 kwacha (R9) for a 25kg bag, from 114 kwacha (R4) after subsidies were scrapped to cut public spending.

Calm returned to Lusaka's streets after the government enforced a curfew to quell disturbances.

Zambia, struggling to repay a crushing 7.2-billion dollar foreign debt and revive its depressed economy, started to implement its austerity programme last year.

Working closely with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, it plans drastic cuts in spending to try to win Western aid for debt relief and economic revival.

Prices and exchange rates have been partially freed, winning Zambia 450 million US dollars for vital imports at a donors' meeting in Paris this year, and more reforms are planned.



**President
Kenneth Kaunda**

Zambia needs a huge infusion of aid to reverse declining growth but donors have insisted the country sticks to an IMF-supervised programme. Zambia abandoned one such plan in 1987, arguing that it was too harsh.

President Kenneth Kaunda, who reversed a similar maize-meal price rise four years ago after 15 people died in riots, was unlikely to do the same now, economists said.

ZAMBIA'S economy went into a tailspin in the early 1970s following a collapse in the price of copper, the main foreign exchange earner.

Copper production plunged from about 600 000 tons in the early 1970s to about 460 000 tons now, forcing the government to borrow heavily to sustain growth and to import food, sold at heavily subsidised prices.

The subsidies inflated public spending, starving the state of money to improve services.

As a result living standards have fallen and public services have almost collapsed.

The Harare economist said: "It's a typical Catch-22. Raise prices and face riots or keep subsidies and lose aid desperately needed to raise living standards." — Sapa-Reuter.

Thousands take to streets in Lusaka

LUSAKA. — Thousands of people took to the streets of Lusaka today to celebrate after reports of a coup, but the government of veteran President Kenneth Kaunda said within a few hours that it was in control.

Heavily armed soldiers guarding Lusaka city centre since three days of food riots earlier this week in which at least 27 people died, appeared confused, but some joined in the celebrations, waving their rifles and echoing the crowds' chants of "Viva".

Dr Kaunda's deputy Mr Grey Zulu said on State radio that a coup announcement broadcast in the early hours was the work of "one undisciplined soldier. He has no friends or supporters in what he announced."

"Everything is peaceful"

He gave no indication of what had happened to the soldier, named as Lieutenant Mwamba Luchembe, whose broadcast on Radio Zambia said the army had seized power.

"Everything in the country is peaceful," Mr Zulu said, adding that Dr Kaunda's programme was unchanged and he would open a trade fair in the Copperbelt town of Ndola this afternoon.

The man who announced the coup attempt described himself as Lieutenant-Colonel (rather than Lieutenant) Mwamba Luchembe of the Signals Corps.

His brief broadcast was repeated several times over a period of nearly four hours before an announcer described it as a fabrication.

"Colonel" Luchembe was captured by fellow soldiers and escorted from Radio Zambia's studio on the outskirts of the capital about 90 minutes later.

"Kaunda's puppets"

A man wearing the uniform of a Zambian lieutenant was seen being marched from the main doors to an army vehicle.

"I wanted to take over the government but Kaunda's puppets stopped me," he said, pointing to the soldiers surrounding him.

Truckloads of people and others on foot had raced to the city from surrounding townships after the coup announcement, waving their fists and chanting: "Viva Tembo, Kaunda down".

Tembo is Lieutenant-General Christone Tembo, a former army commander and ambassador to West Germany, who is on trial for treason.

General Tembo, 45, was detained in October 1988 for allegedly plotting to overthrow Dr Kaunda. He and three other army officers have pleaded not guilty. — Sapa-Reuter.

TURMOUT IN ZAMBIA

36/6/90
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Kaunda gives in on multi-party referendum

Star 30/6/90 (360)

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, under pressure after a week of rioting in which 23 people have died, yesterday announced a referendum in October on whether to return to a multi-party system.

The decision to hold the referendum had been taken earlier this year, but no date had been fixed. Government officials hope that fixing a date may help defuse the tension of the past week, when many of the protesters were calling for the reintroduction of the multi-party system, abolished in 1972 leaving the United National Independence Party as the sole legal party.

Crushed

Security forces yesterday crushed the last remaining protest by storming Lusaka university campus, detaining at least 25 students.

Students have alleged that several fellow students were badly beaten by the para-military units. The heavily armed soldiers kicked in doors and dragged students out of their beds in the pre-dawn raid, students said.

On Thursday students had declared the campus a liberated area and were reported to have been making petrol bombs. But it appears soldiers met no resistance yesterday.

Hundreds of posters calling for President Kaunda's resignation were discreetly removed by police from roadside fences before dawn.

About a thousand campus residents were herded into an open space near the university gates, and ringed by troops. Later in the day, many were taken to Lusaka's central bus station and ordered home, while others clutching boxes of books and suitcases left on foot.

KEN VERNON and FINANCIAL TIMES

Some students were issued passes allowing them to return to take exams in two weeks, others tore them up and vowed to continue their protests in the townships.

The move against the students came at the end of a week of protests — led by students — against President Kaunda's rule. The protests and rioting were sparked off by an announcement on Monday that the price of maize meal was doubling.

Many government stores and private shops were looted by mobs that surged through Lusaka's main streets — taking authorities by surprise.

The government had apparently expected the maize price hike to ignite trouble on the volatile copper belt and had moved to pre-empt it by granting wage increases to miners.

No one foresaw that Lusaka would, however, erupt in some of the worst violence in its history, leaving at least 23 dead, hundreds injured and many arrested.

Yesterday many city shops remained closed, their shutters barred and locked.

Curfew

Most people had returned to work by yesterday, although businesses closed their doors early to allow workers returning to outlying homes at the start of a four-day holiday weekend to beat a 6 pm curfew that remains in force.

President Kaunda yesterday blamed the riots on advocates of a multi-party system, describing them as "mischievous people who have no desire to serve the people sincerely".

Kaunda on the rack

S/Times 1/7/90

(360)

By EDDIE BOTHA in Lusaka

PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda was clinging to power last night after making an impassioned speech in which he sang and quoted verses from the Bible.

Opening a trade fair in Ndola yesterday, he acknowledged for the first time that there had been an abortive coup during the previous night.

President Kaunda — famous for his tearful, emotional outbursts in public — thanked God for the failure of the coup, which he said was the work of cowards who wanted "to kill all of us".

"Those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword," he said, quoting the Bible. He declared: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want," and sang verses from the well-known psalm.

Earlier yesterday there was confusion over the coup attempt, which brought thousands of Lusaka residents on to the streets in joyful but short-lived celebration.



THIS WEEK IN ZAMBIA... a plush Lusaka hotel's pool deck deserted by tourists... and military vehicles destroyed by rioters tell their own story

Control

The coup plotters, led by army lieutenant, won control of Zambia radio and telephones for more than three hours to broadcast a brief message that the military seized power.

But Lieutenant Mwamba, who was overpowered and taken away by loyalist soldiers at around 7.00am, said it quickly became apparent that the government was in full control.

Kaunda's deputy Grey later made a TV broad-

cast claiming that the coup was the work of one disciplined soldier who enjoyed no support. "Not one life has been lost," he said.

At dawn, news of the coup brought thousands of Zambians into the streets of Lusaka — but their celebration was short-lived. The fate of the plotters is not known.

As with the riots in the Copperbelt in 1986, this week's upheaval was sparked

by a doubling in mealie meal prices.

Lusaka resembled a war zone yesterday after a week of bloody rioting left 30 dead and scores injured.

Vendetta

The Zambian capital was littered with burnt out vehicles, broken glass and bodies. On the road to the airport a wrecked air force

truck on which someone had written "Destroy UNIP" testified to the mood of the people.

Anti-Kaunda posters on the walls of the university campus echoed the tension, with the once beloved KK now seen as the scourge of the nation.

As if to illustrate their vendetta against their leader, looters in the Old Chilenje area turned on President

Kaunda's former home.

Part of the house, declared a national monument, was burnt down with personal items stolen and the Land-rover which KK used during the struggle before independence set alight.

When reporters visited the scene policemen were still patrolling the property. A block further down the dusty street, rowdy youths at a pub were drinking beer, some

dancing to the sounds of a ghetto blaster.

The same mood prevailed at another local drinking place, close to the township which was once home to members of the African National Congress.

Drinkers I spoke to were more concerned how they would pass the time after the 6pm curfew than the state of the nation.

At about 3pm our taxi

driver became frantic. He insisted we return to the hotel, apparently more concerned about his own safety than ours.

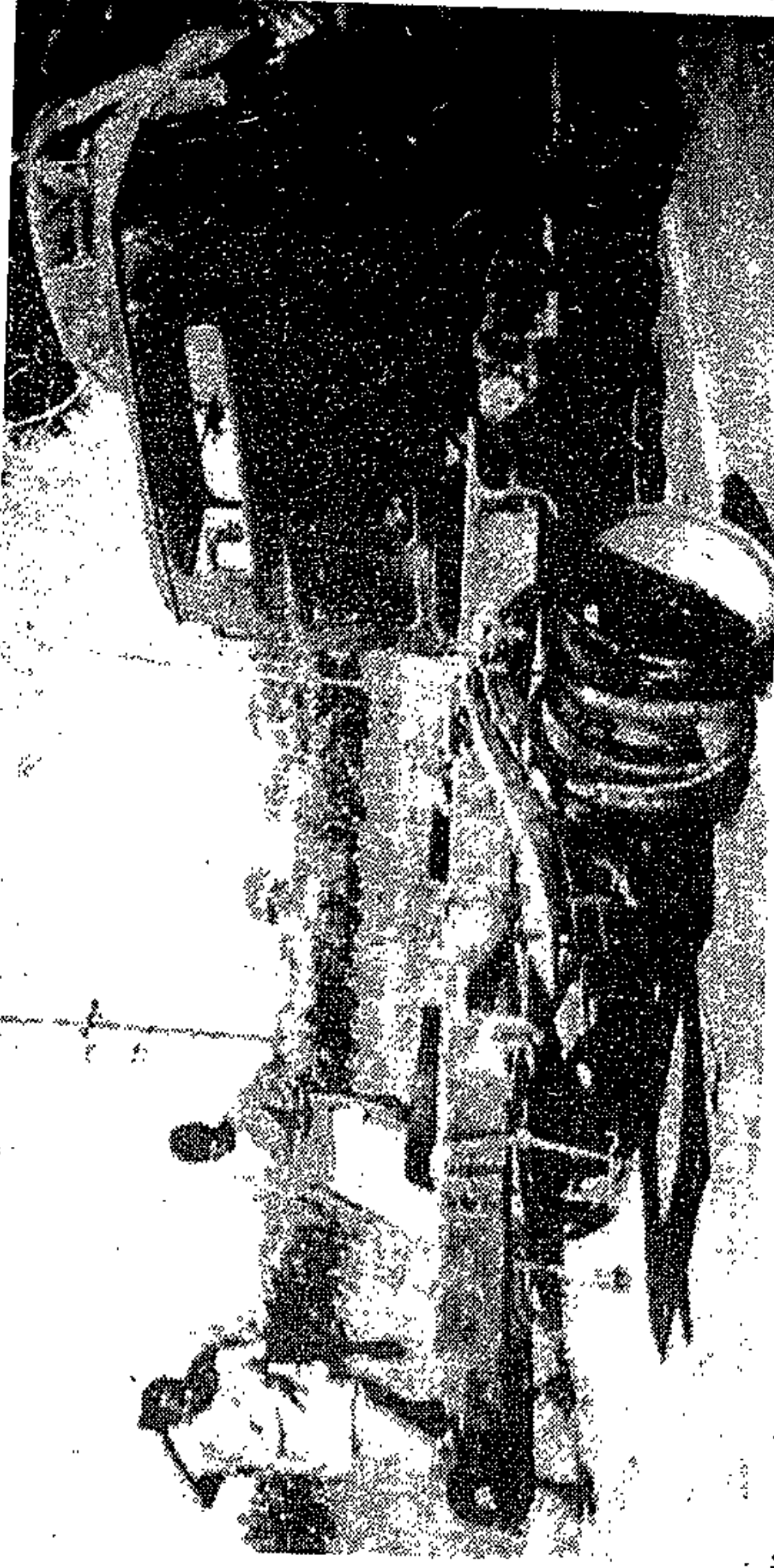
White

Maybe he was right. On the way our vehicle was virtually forced off the road by three army vehicles carrying heavily armed soldiers on the back.

In the central business

district the tension was tangible. Scores of people were walking because they feared being stoned if they used public transport. Armed troops and policemen — some with automatic rifles fitted with bayonets — guarded every corner.

Most shops were still closed and long queues were formed in front of all the leading banks, which never opened during the day.



Pictures: JAMES SOULLIER

Official response to our request for press accreditation was tersely denied. A police officer told us that it would be dangerous to be on the streets. "Especially because you are white," he warned.

On Wednesday gunfire heard in the streets close to the Intercontinental Hotel before a 36-hour curfew was imposed had died down.

The only evidence of the riots was a dark cloud of smoke rising above the far-off townships and the occasional air force helicopter circling the area.

STimes

1/7/90

lounge around, some waiting for the armed escorts which would accompany their buses to the airport.

Incite

After 6pm faces became familiar as casual visitors disappeared and registered guests flocked to the bars and restaurants which were cleared of the local prostitutes — at least for the duration of the curfew.

On Friday the university of Zambia was closed and locals said that as many as 50 had been killed.

A Soviet diplomat said some bodies had been taken by the rioters to the townships to incite more people to join in the looting, stone-throwing and arson.

He told how the young son of an East German diplomat had been flown by a Soviet Aeroflot plane out of Zambia for treatment after a diplomatic vehicle had been stoned.

President Kaunda looked sullen on Zambian TV when he met with visiting Namibian President Sam Nujoma. Kaunda's televised address to the nation portrayed him as a worried man.



CELEBRATING 'COUP' ... Young Zambians in Lusaka celebrate the news of President Kaunda's overthrow on Saturday. The coup attempt failed. Picture: REUTER

Kaunda sacks his army commander

Capt Tuts 2/7/90 360

LUSAKA. — President Kenneth Kaunda sacked his army commander and reshuffled Zambia's top military leadership yesterday following an unsuccessful military coup.

State television reported that more than 1000 civilians had been arrested for curfew violations since dusk-to-dawn restrictions on movement were imposed last Tuesday.

The capital of Lusaka and other cities and towns were calm after five days of student-led rioting against food price hikes and in favour of a return to Western-style democracy.

Paramilitary police and army soldiers who clashed with protesters through the week patrolled the streets here as the government ordered a rare Sunday opening of banks and state stores, closed at the height of the violence.

President Kaunda, 67, flew back to Lusaka late on Saturday night from the central Copperbelt province city of Ndola where he opened the Zambia International Trade Fair.

The president, who landed unannounced at a military airfield near his official State House residence, faces his gravest political

HARARE. — Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe reaffirmed one-party rule at the weekend when he opened a meeting of the ruling Zanu-PF party's national consultative assembly at the party's new headquarters here.

Delegates, who meet twice a year, are to review the 1989 general election and the implementation of resolutions adopted at the last Zanu-PF national congress, Ziana national news agency reports.

President Mugabe told delegates new measures had been formulated to redress the imbalances in land distribution.

National chairman Mr Joseph Msika called on delegates to provide Zanu-PF's leadership with views from "critical sections of the society". — Sapa

crisis since he led the British colony of Northern Rhodesia to independence as Zambia with promises of a better deal for all.

In his first public appearance since then, he announced at a swearing-in ceremony for military officers that army commander Gary Kalenge was being transferred to another post. His

replacement was named as Maj-Gen Francis Sibamba, the former deputy army chief.

Dr Kaunda also appointed former air force commander Lt-Gen Hanniah as new defence minister, a portfolio that has been vacant since Frederick Hapunda was dropped in a cabinet shuffle three weeks ago.

Dr Kaunda, who also appointed new chiefs for the air force and the police, said Kalenge would be "deployed in another area".

He made no direct reference to the coup attempt early on Saturday in which an army lieutenant and three accomplices took over radio Zambia for three hours and broadcast an announcement that the army had seized power.

Apart from the lieutenant, police in Ndola also placed in custody anti-government activist Mr Peter Bwalya, a former detainee, for allegedly organising protests against the president after the broadcasts.

Authorities have repeatedly insisted that no one was hurt on Saturday. But diplomats and witnesses said at least three civilians were shot dead by guards near State House after they joined crowds celebrating President Kaunda's reported overthrow. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Kaunda survives botched plot

Augus 2/7/90

From MELINDA HAM
in Lusaka

PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda sacked his army commander and reshuffled Zambia's top military leadership yesterday following an abortive military coup.

He replaced Lieutenant-General Gary Kalenge as army commander with his deputy, Major-General Francis Sivamba.

President Kaunda also swore in former air force commander Hananiah Lungu to fill the job of defence minister, vacant since he dropped Frederick Hapunda last month.

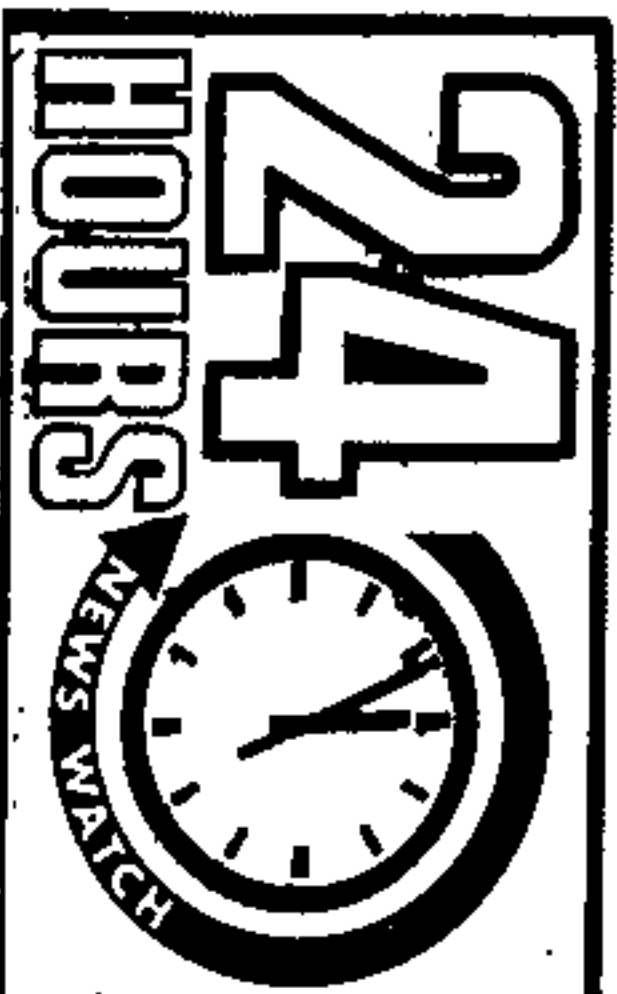
Dr Kaunda, who also appointed new chiefs for the air force and the police, said Ka-
lunge would be "deployed in another area."

He made no direct reference to the coup attempt early on Saturday in which an army lieutenant and three accomplices took over radio Zambia for three hours and broadcast an announcement that the army had seized power.

Food riots

Paramilitary police and army troops patrolled the streets of Lusaka a day after mutinous soldiers mounted an aborted coup to oust veteran the president.

The capital and other cities and towns were calm after five days of student-led rioting against food price hikes



and for a return to Western-style democracy.

President Kaunda, 67, founder of the nation in 1964, flew back to Lusaka at the weekend from the central Copperbelt province city of Ndola where he opened the Zambia International Trade Fair.

He landed unannounced at a military airfield near his official State House residence.

Before he left Ndola, a visibly-shaken Kaunda told a banquet he would not budge on his decision last month to more than double the price of staple corn meal.

He also said he would consult the central committee of the United National Independence Party, the only legal political movement in Zambia since a one-party state was imposed in 1972, on the fate of the coup plotters.

President Kaunda hinted he might act more harshly than in the past when his foes have been detained, imprisoned or rebuked.

"I'm beginning to ask myself whether we have been right in this, whether we shouldn't take a different stance," he told the dinner.



An army lieutenant who identified himself as Mwama Luchembe of the Signals Corps was detained by fellow soldiers at dawn Saturday after making several broadcasts from state radio that Kaunda had been toppled in a coup.

Troops in armored personnel carriers cruised Lusaka streets about the same time with loud-hailers saying a new president had been installed.

While Dr Kaunda has referred to "coup plotters" since

then, official spokesmen and the government media have reported only two arrests.

Apart from the lieutenant, police in Ndola also placed in custody anti-government activist Peter Bwalya, a former detainee, for allegedly organizing protests against the president after the broadcasts.

State television reported that at least two other soldiers were with the lieutenant when he made the announcements. Their fate is not known.

Authorities have repeatedly insisted that noone was hurt Saturday. But diplomats and witnesses said at least three civilians were shot dead by guards near State House after they joined crowds celebrating Kaunda's reported overthrow.

The state-owned Sunday Times of Zambia reported there were similar scenes of short-lived jubilation in poor black townships in Ndola and the nearby mining city of Kitwe.

The paper also offered an



ORDERED OUT: University students leave the campus (above left) after it was closed during the crisis in Zambia. Above: Zambian women prepare "nshima", the staple food made from maize. The price of maize doubled triggering riots and a coup attempt in Lusaka.

insight into the confusion that followed the broadcasts at Radio Zambia's station in the Mass Media Complex on the outskirts of the capital.

Information and Broadcasting Services Minister Arnold Simuchimba raced to the complex in his official Toyota Landcruiser to investigate.

But he was forced to turn back when troops loyal to the government fired on his vehicle.

The botched plot followed five days of the bloodiest urban violence in Zambia's history, triggered Monday by student rioting. — Sapa-AF Reuter.

Domestic crisis diverts Kaunda's attention from Frontline policy

360
BIDAM 2/7/90

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — For 26 years, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has championed freedom for blacks in SA. Today, he may be wishing he had applied the same policy back home.

In the wake of an aborted coup and a week of Zambia's worst civil unrest since independence, Kaunda has been forced to divert attention from Frontline policy and address his own domestic crisis.

This time his carefully nurtured reputation as a peace-loving, elder statesman is not going to help much.

The riots, in which at least 23 people were killed and 150 injured when security forces opened fire, were punctuated by calls for multiparty reform and Kaunda's resignation.

Then, on Saturday, mutinous soldiers mounted an aborted coup to oust him. There was dancing in the streets of Lusaka after an army lieutenant broadcast on state radio that Kaunda had been toppled in a coup.

At the same time, troops in armoured personnel carriers cruised Lusaka streets with loud-hailers say-

ing a new president had been installed.

Two arrests have been reported and authorities said there were no injuries in the attempted coup, but diplomats said at least three civilians were shot dead by guards near State House, Sapa-Reuter reported.

Yesterday, paramilitary police and army troops patrolled the streets, but the capital and other towns were reported to be calm.

Poor

Kaunda flew back to Lusaka on Saturday night from the central copper belt city of Ndola, where he had opened a trade fair.

Zambia, once rich on the proceeds of copper mining, has been poor since copper prices plummeted at the end of the Vietnam war.

More than half the country's 7.5-million people live in urban areas on low wages, relying on subsidised food

from state-run shops. A week ago the price of maize meal was doubled, provoking a student protest in Lusaka on Monday. That in turn sparked-off widespread rioting.

The speed with which the protest turned into anti-government riots indicates growing resentment against Kaunda's monopoly of Zambian politics through his ruling United National Independence Party. Many middle class citizens are said to have sympathised with the poor, unemployed township youths who looted supermarkets in rich suburbs.

Like many African heads of state, Kaunda has not recognised the hypocrisy of advocating political freedom in SA but not at home. Nor, in the light of Eastern Europe, does he recognise the wisdom of changing with the times.

But the riots may have brought home the urgent need for reforms that will appease his restive population. Kaunda has promised a referendum on the one-party system, but has not yet set a date. — Daily Telegraph.

'Reschedule African debt'

MAASTRICHT — Former World Bank president Robert McNamara has called for rescheduling of African debt to industrialised nations.

"There's very little reason to believe that current development programmes will reverse the trends of exploding population, poverty, and damage to the continent's environment," McNamara told reporters on Sunday on the eve of a 70-nation conference on the African economic crisis.

McNamara and Botswana's President Quett Masire are chairing the three-day meeting, which ends tomorrow.

The total debt of sub-Saharan countries grew to \$134bn in 1988 from \$6bn in 1970, according to the World Bank.

McNamara said Africa would be hurt by interest rates rising in Europe as a side effect of investment in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. — AP-DJ.

Kaunda plays golf as unrest fades

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda played golf yesterday as Zambia returned uneasily to normal after five days of anti-government riots and an aborted coup by mutinous troops.

Long lines formed before dawn outside state stores, private supermarkets and petrol stations that were closed after student-led rioting over food price hikes erupted last Monday.

Paramilitary police and troops patrolled the streets of Lusaka and other cities and towns but there were no signs of unrest yesterday.

While officials insisted no-one was killed during the coup attempt on Saturday, witnesses and diplomats said three civilians celebrating Kaunda's reported demise were shot dead near State House.

The government has retained a dusk-to-

dawn curfew.

Kaunda, 67, was in the central Zambian city of Ndola in the early hours of Saturday morning when a signal corps lieutenant announced on state radio the army had seized power.

But the soldier and at least four other officers involved in an alleged plot to oust Kaunda were detained by loyalist troops.

The government has officially acknowledged the arrests of only two people, Lt Mwanba Luchembe and an ex-detainee who staged an anti-government demonstration in Ndola.

The broadcasts prompted thousands of joyful Zambians to take to the streets.

In last week's protests angry Zambians demanded that the price hikes be rescinded, Kaunda resign immediately and Western-style multiparty democracy be re-

stored.

With his impoverished nation's economy in ruins, analysts say Kaunda's only hope is a recovery programme proposed by the IMF, World Bank and western creditors who are jointly owed \$7.5bn in debts.

Part of the salvage operation was the lifting of subsidies on mealie meal.

State television on Sunday night also reported that more than 1 000 people had been arrested, mainly for alleged curfew violations, in the week of violence.

But witnesses said many people were arrested in daylight during protests.

On Sunday night Kaunda replaced army commander Lt-Gen Gary Kalenge with deputy commander Maj-Gen Francis Sibamba without explanation. Analysts said it was clearly a result of the aborted coup. — Sapa-AP.

White businessmen back Mugabe's one-party socialist state plans

HARARE — President Robert Mugabe

yesterday received unexpected backing for his plans for a socialist one-party state from an organisation representing the white-dominated industrial sector.

Confederation of Zimbabwean industries (CZI) president John Deary told a Press conference: "We accept the (ruling) party's views on the desirability of a one-party state, but we certainly do not believe it is necessary to introduce it when govern-

ment has in effect achieved that." Deary was reacting to statements at the

weekend by Mugabe comparing pro-Western elements in the ruling ZANU (PF) leadership to Judas Iscariot for warning of loss of foreign investment and economic support should he ignore Western objections to political developments here.

Deary said the CZI supported "some" aspects of a one-party state.

"There will obviously be both a measure of loss of investment potential, and probably it will affect grant aid and loans,"

Deary, who said Zimbabwe's estimated 1,2-million to 1,5-million unemployed would be the major concern of this week's annual CZI congress, believed Mugabe would continue to heed the private sector.

Mugabe had stressed his desire for "a Zimbabwean type of socialism," which included a place for the private sector.

"We still have to find out exactly what that means in the terms of a structural adjustment," said Deary, referring to government promises of extensive economic liberalisation over the next five years.

Geingob optimistic

WINDHOEK — Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob says he is optimistic that the dispute between SA and Namibia over Walvis Bay will be resolved amicably soon.

Geingob said in an interview that Namibia regarded Walvis Bay as part and parcel of Namibia, although it was still officially SA territory.

Geingob said that he envisaged joint economic projects with SA once it had resolved certain political difficulties.

Before then, Namibia would try to loosen its economic dependency on SA. He also indicated that SA might be one of the countries targeted for the first Namibian diplomatic missions.

Lack of finance prevented Namibia from opening offices elsewhere. As yet, Namibia had no diplomatic representation in other countries. — Sapa.

Deary noted the challenge a post-apartheid SA would pose Zimbabwe, but said it would offer Zimbabwean businessmen huge potential in its expanded market.

Worrisome numbers of skilled Zimbabweans were being attracted by job offers in educational facilities, he said.

"The South Africans have already been doing a great deal to recapture their markets in the region and we will face tough competition," said Deary.

Kaunda plays golf as calm returns

CHM Times 3/17/80

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LUSAKA. — President Kenneth Kaunda played golf yesterday as Zambia returned uneasily to normal after five days of anti-government riots and an aborted coup by mutinous troops.

Long queues formed before dawn outside state stores, private supermarkets and petrol stations that were closed after student-led rioting over food price hikes erupted on June 25.

Paramilitary police and troops, who killed at least 23 protesters in Zambia's bloodiest urban violence, patrolled the streets of Lusaka and other cities and towns.

While officials insisted no one was killed during the coup attempt on Saturday, witnesses and diplomats said three

civilians celebrating Mr Kaunda's reported death near State House were shot dead.

There were no signs of unrest yesterday. The government has retained a dusk-to-dawn curfew.

Dr Kaunda, who flew back to the capital on Saturday night looking shaken and agitated, played golf yesterday while his 7.5 million people were enjoying the first of two days of annual public holidays.

At the weekend the president vowed to crack down on his enemies and refused to budge on 120% state-ordered price increases of staple corn-meal, a move that triggered riots and looting in most cities and towns.

On Sunday night Dr Kaunda replaced army commander Lieutenant-General Gary Kalenge with deputy commander Major-General Francis Sibamba without explanation. Analysts said it was clearly a result of the aborted coup.

Former air force chief Lieutenant-General Hanniah Lungu was at the same time appointed defence minister, a post vacant since Mr Frederick Hapunda was dropped three weeks ago.

Military sources said President Kaunda might be right in suspecting the army was divided in its loyalty to him. "The air force is 100% with KK, but the army is another question," one senior officer said. — Sapa-AP



WORLD

Zambia rejects riots criticism

AMCS
5/7/90

360

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Zambia has hit back at Zimbabwean accusations that "years of economic mismanagement" led to the anti-government riots there last week.

The Zambia High Commission in Harare said the Herald newspaper had made "uncharitable, sweeping, false and unsubstantiated allegations" about Zambia when expressing concern about a similar situation arising in Zimbabwe.

A letter from the High Commission said it was simplistic and naive to blame economic mismanagement for the trou-

ble Zambia found itself in.

The complex problem included the familiar international economic crises which afflicted many developing countries, the inherited mono-economy in which Zambia found itself with a drastic fall in copper prices, and the fact that Zambia had had to pay dearly for the liberation struggle in southern Africa, including Zimbabwe.

Economic adjustment was a common phenomenon in most developing countries and Zambia had faced the reality of the need to revitalise its economy.

It was wrong to say price increases had been imposed without wage increases.

All categories of workers had in fact been awarded salary increases with public service workers getting 85 percent rises from July 1.

In an editorial yesterday the Herald said Zambians were lucky that the attempted coup at the weekend was crushed immediately.

The paper said: "No matter how much civilian administrators blunder, the answer is never to allow the generals to save you from your politicians."

"The answer is in creating political institutions that are democratic enough to purge the system through the ballot box."

The multiparty genie rises

LUSAKA — Of all the African countries which have sunk into a slough of political and economic despondency, Zambia is perhaps the most depressing.

Uganda had civil wars, Tanzania had no resources, coups, and the cocoa price ruined Ghana. But Zambia had everything: fertile land, a small population with a skilled elite, a relatively good infrastructure and copper.

Twenty years ago, basking in a high copper price and awash with development aid, there was a freshness of spirit in Zambia which matched the new office blocks shooting up along Cairo road, Lusaka's main thoroughfare.

Today that road exudes a sense of pathos, like a broken new toy. Until they were smashed in last week's riots, those windows which still had something for sale were grey with grime. Their goods gathered dust, unfashionable clothes at prices few could afford, tools few needed.

Only airline offices — the ways of

If Zambians are given a free choice in a referendum promised for October to decide between the one-party state and multiparty democracy, they will be giving a verdict on 26 years of Kenneth Kaunda's rule, writes **RICHARD DOWDEN**.

escape — seemed alive.

By every indicator Zambia is heading for the buffers, at a time when the rest of the world is deeply unsympathetic to economic mismanagement. The people will bear the brunt of the government's failure.

Rioting

For them the most important political fact is the price of maize, the staple food. Zambia is a mainly urban country, and the government subsidised the maize price to keep the urban workers happy. But as the copper price fell and Zambia's debt rose, the government came under increasing pressure from Western aid donors and the International Monetary Fund to remove subsidies.

The first attempt to do so, in 1986, resulted in rioting. Mr Kaunda simply reversed the price rises. Western aid donors, led by Britain, made it clear that if Zambia wanted any more aid it would have to agree to IMF rules and abolish subsidies.

So the price began to rise in July last year. It doubled, and two weeks ago doubled again, rising to the equivalent of R19 for a 25 kg bag. It will last a family two weeks. The low-paid earn between the equivalent of R4 and R8 a week. It is not surprising that the people rioted last week. It is astonishing it has not happened before.

The discontent naturally turned against the government and the ruling party, and the words "multiparty democracy" began to be bandied about.

There is no better symbol of the failure of the one-party state than the bare concrete and brick block, like an unfinished multistorey car park, near Lusaka's town centre. Begun by the Chinese, it has stood for years in a state of semi-abandonment, cranes frozen over it and elephant grass rising round it. Despite constant appeals from President Kaunda, the people are not willing to pay for its completion.

Mr Kaunda has always ruled Zambia with arbitrary authority cushioned by paternalism. Ironically, it was Nelson Mandela who inadvertently picked the illusion. During his visit in February, he spoke of democracy and freedom, votes and multiparty democracy in South Africa.

Mr Kaunda was forced to concede the possibility of granting to Zambia what Mr Mandela was demanding for South Africans. The multiparty genie was out of the bottle.

The president remains firmly against it, warning that different parties will reawaken tribalism and the unity of Zambia will be broken. It is difficult to know what tribal currents still flow beneath the surface, but a whole generation has grown up in the urban melting pots, and young Zambians see themselves as Zambian, not Bemba or Losi.

Past elections to endorse or vote against Mr Kaunda and his United National Independence Party have always been won by a majority of 90 percent or more. Analysis of the returns shows fewer than half the potential electors have voted for him.

If those who have stayed away in the past are allowed to organise and register, he could be defeated. Indications so far, however, suggest that anyone who preaches multiparty democracy in public will find themselves harassed and even attacked, while the president and his supporters will have the state and party machinery at their disposal.

— The Independent News Service.

ZAMBIA

KK on the rack

■ Trying to soften the blow of economic adjustment has weakened Kaunda

On June 26, the *Times of Zambia* had this to say about Mikhail Gorbachev: "What he started — perestroika and glasnost — with good intentions and as forward-looking policies, have more or less turned the world inside out for him." The *Times* could have been — and possibly was — talking about Kenneth Kaunda.

The newspaper is owned by Kaunda's United National Independence Party (Unip) and, at the time of the editorial, the first shots by police were fired after thousands of rioters took to the streets of Lusaka, the Zambian capital, to loot, burn and stone in protest against economic measures imposed by KK, the senior African elder statesman.

In a week, perhaps 70 people (official toll 23) have been killed. And while diplomats in the capital rate Kaunda's chances of surviving the onslaught as good — he has the support of the armed forces, they say — the *FM* believes otherwise. Our senior political editor, Eddie Botha, was in Lusaka throughout the unrest.

The initial protests were against State cuts in subsidies for mealie meal, a staple food for most 7.5m Zambians. But demonstrators later demanded Kaunda's resignation and a return to multiparty democracy. Before he left Ndola to open a trade fair, a visibly shaken Kaunda told a banquet he would not budge on his decision to more than double the price of the commodity.

Last Friday night, at the Mass Media Centre, a junior army officer invaded the radio station and declared an end to Kaunda's rule. The rebellion had spread further than the 67-year-old president (and some diplomats) wanted to believe. There were reports of armoured personnel carriers cruising Lusaka with loudhailers proclaiming a new president.

Kaunda had to sack Lt-Gen Gary Kalenge, his army commander, and reshuffle the top military leadership two days after the abortive coup. "The leadership is intact, the president is continuing with his programme ... There is no cause for panic," declared Unip secretary-general Grey Zulu.

Kaunda's dilemma is indeed similar to Gorbachev's. The mealie meal price rise was an integral part of his economic reform programme, forced on him by warnings of economic collapse and pressure by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and donor countries.

In exchange for international assistance, Kaunda was forced to accept IMF adjustment proposals in 1985-1986, involving a three-year programme aimed at shifting Zambia towards a market economy. It included proposals to auction off foreign exchange on a weekly basis and the gradual abolition of subsidies on 12 commodities.

Previously, a government committee had allocated forex to importers according to an official rate — an unrealistic Kwachas 2,3 per US dollar. The auction system provided for the rate to be established each week and \$9m were put up every Thursday.

By March 1987, the rate was K23/\$ and the majority of bidders, understandably, feverishly imported consumer goods. That propensity was a major reason why the programme was scrapped — and replaced by a new economic policy which rested on the official fiction of K8/\$. Relations with the IMF and World Bank were severed and the majority of donor countries ceased their support of Zambia. Annual aid of \$100m was suspended.

Kaunda was informed that any resumption of relations between his country and the IMF would be subject to approval by the world body. At the same time, his position in Unip was being seriously undermined by the rise in the cost of living. At a party conference in August 1988, the president announced that subsidies on various commodities had been instituted again in direct opposition to IMF proposals. Kaunda received a further five-year mandate to rule.

Nonetheless, Kaunda's recovery programme — presented as national policy — had similarities with IMF policy. By last summer, adjustments had brought the official foreign exchange rate down to K40/\$, while the black market priced the dollar at K70. Some now feel that if Kaunda had not formally

abolished the IMF programme in 1987, the situation could have been more favourable for him. He must now personally take blame for the adjustments, though they are in most cases merely variations on the IMF prescription.

In effect, Kaunda abolished subsidies on 11 commodities, excluding mealie meal, after the 1987 conference. A complex coupon system was introduced and last week's riots were mainly the result of government's failure to increase the value of the coupons to

match a more than 100% hike in the price of mealie meal. Initially, all Zambians received coupons, but this was changed to benefit those earning less than K22 500 a year (about R1 100).

However, members of the security forces, the backbone of Kaunda's support, were entitled to buy mealie meal from co-operative shops at a considerable rebate. And last month, government successfully negotiated wage agreements between itself, trade unions and government employees. Wages in some cases increased by up to 85% and trade union members were not active in the riots.

But the depth of support for Kaunda within the armed forces and trade unions must be open to doubt. Zambian trade union president Frederick Chiluba is seen by many in the diplomatic corps as perhaps Kaunda's most formidable opponent. The Copperbelt, home to some nine unions, has long been the centre of industrial and political unrest.

Free to choose

Many observers feel Kaunda's problems do not rest solely on the price increase of mealie meal. After almost two decades of one-party rule, most Zambians favour a return to a multiparty system — a choice they will be permitted to make in October.

In a debate last week, Mwense MP Felix Kapapula said government should listen to criticism from members of parliament and change its policies. Kapapula said Lusaka had been told to improve vital services like health and education, but that nothing had been done. "What do you want us to do — start looting?"

In the same debate, Kasama MP Daniel Kapapa, more sensibly, asked that the number of governors and ministers be reduced and the money be spent on services.

"You cannot only reduce on food," he charged. However, both he and Kapapula would undoubtedly attempt to reintroduce subsidies.

Kaunda needs to continue his economic reform programme to save his already bankrupt country from collapse. At the same time, he faces stark opposition by the masses unable to survive further hardship. Trade union opponents have been put on hold — but only for a while until their position is affected too. And his army support shows signs of disintegrating.

It is difficult to believe, however, that those poised to take over from him have the answer either; certainly not in the economic sphere.

Compliance with the dictates of economic reform will lead to a period of unavoidable social turbulence — and then Kaunda's enemies can be expected to strike. ■



Kaunda

Zambians³⁶⁰ try to soften price blow

Cpl 7/1/90 7/7/90
LUSAKA. — The Zambian government, following food riots last week, said it would try to cushion a sharp rise in the price of maize meal, the country's staple food.

At least 26 people were killed and more than 120 injured in the riots, which erupted after the government doubled the price of maize meal.

The government said the value of its maize meal coupons, restricted to workers earning less than R1 400 a year, will be increased by a third to about R3.

Student-led rioting against food price hikes and for a return to Western-style democracy culminated on June 30 in an abortive coup by mutinous soldiers to oust President Kenneth Kaunda.

Scores of alleged rioters appeared in court yesterday as a formality to prepare for full trials later this month.

Sapa-Reuter-AP G-4 MB
scartart

Verbal flak's flying across the Limpopo

5/Times 8/7/90
THERE are signs that tempers are beginning to fray among the allies north of the Limpopo as economic problems increase.

The Zambian High Commission in Harare last week accused the government-controlled newspaper The Herald of being "malicious and self-righteous" in its comments on the Lusaka food riots.

And a furious row has broken out among officials of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference secretariat in Gabor-

By DON JACOBS
Harare

one over an alleged perks scandal.

Three top SADCC officials from Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania, who were fired for a lack of financial discipline, have blamed the organisation's Zimbabwean secretary-general, Dr Simba Makoni, for their dismissals.

"It is quite clear that you seek to make me a scapegoat for the so-called irregular doings, in which you yourself have participated, in order to

placate the public and remove attention from yourself," Zambian SADCC appointee Wisdom Bowa reportedly raged at Mr Makoni during an inquiry into the secretariat's finances.

The three officials are alleged to have made private purchases totalling R22 000 with secretariat funds.

The probe found no evidence of fraud but said the SADCC's lax system was wide open to abuse.

The sacked officials claim, however, that Mr Makoni himself used R6 000 of SADCC funds to buy air tickets for his family and in-laws on the same "gentleman's understanding" that he would repay the organisation.

Mr Makoni is also accused of tolerating irregular tender procedures.

Vice

Deep-rooted Zambian resentment of the Zimbabwean establishment, which dates back to President Kenneth Kaunda's support for Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu in the 1972-80 Rhodesian war, boiled over last week when The Herald alleged there were "fundamental differences between the Zambian situation and what is happening here".

The paper also charged Mr Kaunda's government with years of "economic mismanagement".

This was "a vice Zimbabwe presumably does not have", shot back the High Commission.

"You either deliberately chose to be malicious or innocently exhibited ignorance about the Zambian situation," the Zambian spokesman chided the paper.

He added that, not least among Mr Kaunda's troubles, was the fact that "Zambia had to pay dearly for the liberation struggle in southern Africa, including that in Zimbabwe".

Kaunda's love cord breaking

THE fourth and latest attempt at a coup in Zambia does not seem to have been a very serious affair, mainly centering on the broadcasts of one officer. *South 12/17-18/190*

But that, and the unprecedented riots it followed, have cast a dark shadow over President Kenneth Kaunda, who has been in power since independence in 1964.

A referendum that could end the one-party system he still supports is one of the many problems he now confronts.

For a long time now, Kaunda has been walking a tightrope. He nearly fell off in the last month.

Against his will he has had to accept holding a referendum on October 17 for Zambians to decide whether they want a multiparty system or the continuing of his single-party "participatory democracy".

Until recently, there was still a cupful of truth in the sweeping pre-independence slogan: "Kaunda is like a sweet — everyone loves him."

Kaunda's human approach in dealing with enemies has always won him praise at home. Most former opposition leaders are now in his government.

Yet the Kaunda love cord is at breaking point. Most Zambians now live on one not-so-nutritious meal a day. Only a few well-off have decent shelter and



Kenneth Kaunda: facing problems

360

clothing. Unemployment is above three million in a country of 8.4 million and Kaunda himself recently admitted the number of illiterates has soared to two million.

Kaunda has been known to say that, for as long as "the people want me to lead, I will lead". After the latest coup attempt at the end of June, he said: "Nothing will shake me from leading God's people in Zambia. Nothing." — **GEMINI NEWS**

AP-7-12-79 12/7/79
**Renamo
kills three
Zambians**

LUSAKA. — Renamo guerillas shot dead three Zambian civilians in ambush after striking across the border and evading army patrols on their second killing raid in four days, officials said yesterday.

On Saturday Renamo killed seven people and wounded 20 at almost the same spot along a road near the border town of Nyimba, in an action aimed at avenging recent military action against them by Lusaka, police said.

The raiders mounted their latest attack on Tuesday, when they fired on a truck and burnt it out, killing all the occupants. On Saturday they gutted seven trucks.

Zambian army units have been patrolling the Nyimba road. Zambian officials refused to say yesterday if action into Mozambique was planned. — UPI

Zambia to ask for debt relief

The Star's Africa

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News Service

LUSAKA — The Zambian government, shaken by recent food riots and pro-democracy protests, is to ask creditors in Paris to ease its R19,5 billion debt burden, one of the heaviest in the world.

The meeting will enable Zambia to gauge donor countries' reaction to last month's unprecedented violence, followed by a coup attempt, after the partial

withdrawal of subsidies on maize meal as part of the government's economic reforms.

Since the protests, in which at least 26 people were killed, politicians have continued to emphasise commitment to a tough recovery programme launched last year with the blessing of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other donors.

In April, bilateral donors pledged R1,35 billion for the first year of the plan, but made dis-

bursement of most of the aid conditional on a successful conclusion to this week's talks.

Zambia has a per capita debt equivalent to about four times average income per person.

Official debt arrears total R11,4 billion, about a third of which is owed to the IMF and World Bank.

The government says it needs a quick agreement with creditors to continue with tight fiscal policies to reduce inflation.

Kaunda's road was not without thorns

HARARE — It is permissible to say a word in defence of Kenneth Kaunda.

Every ill that is afflicting Zambia is being blamed on Kaunda but two obvious things do not seem to have occurred to his self-righteous detractors, who include an amazing number of members of the Zimbabwian and British left-wing establishments.

Firstly, many of Zambia's problems stem from its being handed over to an African nationalist government — which was necessarily forced to try and govern through alien European-style institutions — after only a half-century of superficial contact with European culture.

Secondly, people forgot the danger that when Zambia became independent in 1964, it would balkanise itself into a dozen benighted satrapies.

Kaunda took over a country with 50 different languages, with only a handful of university graduates, and with no defensible boundaries. And, worst of all it had a population increasing by 4% a year.

One European diplomat in Lusaka told me that the cost of Kaunda's nation-building had been ruinously high, with the country now straight-jacketed with incompetent place-holders. But what was the alternative? Civil war and balkanisation?

Kaunda unified Zambia geographically by using aid to have a network of good roads built, radiating from Lusaka, and followed economic policies which led to half the country's population taking residence in the great detribalising universities of the towns. Again, what was the alternative? To have concentrated on rural development might have strengthened the tribal secessionists.

Kaunda's United National Independence Party (Unip) — "murder incorporated" as it was described by British governor Sir Arthur Benson — promised Zambians the moon after independence, while the British left wing establishment cheered to see

MICHAEL HARTNACK

someone humiliate their own upper class.

What did they expect Unip to do when it was unable to deliver the goods, except make sure no rival offered Zambians the stars?

I have seen too much of the bully boy tactics of the Rhodesian Front not to be aware how it comes about that fundamentally decent men, such as Kaunda and Ian Smith, succumb to the temptation to gain power and hold power with the aid of unscrupulous henchmen.

Some outside observers now tell us Zambia must break out of the Unip straight jacket by revolution.

But how could Kaunda's successors rule, except by repeating his methods.

We all want the gifted and educated to rule in the interests of the poor, through an effective system of representative government, based on universal franchise.

Angered

But on this side of the Zambezi, President Robert Mugabe is now telling us exactly what the crusty "reactionary" old time white native commissioners used to say, that to allow pluralism leads to inter-ethnic violence.

At the Confederation of Zimbabwean Industries' annual congress in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe's senior Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero was visibly angered by a visitor from the Confederation of British Industries, Neville Thomas, who noted that despite the April 1989 London Investment Conference, foreign businessmen were "still awaiting significant changes" in Zimbabwe's over-bureaucratized economy.

"We have a gordian knot to untie," protested Chidzero.

The knot is in the political patronage system which for all its economic faults prevents Zimbabwe from falling back into open civil war.

Lusaka varsity shut down

9/7/75
LUSAKA. — Zambia's main university here has been shut down for an indefinite period.

The move follows the violent student-led protests two weeks ago against a 120% hike in the price of corn meal.

The Sunday Times of Zambia said university vice-chancellor

16/7/90
Mr Kasuka Mwauluka had announced the closure.

However, a university professor who requested anonymity said the closure had been ordered by President Kenneth Kaunda to avoid further rioting, which claimed about 26 lives. — Sapa-AP

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Varsity closed after riots

(360)

LUSAKA - Two weeks after violent student-led protests, the government shut down Zambia's main university in Lusaka indefinitely, it was reported yesterday.

The *Sunday Times* of Zambia said university vice-chancellor Kasuka Mwañuluka announced the closure.

Thousands of students were scheduled to return during the weekend to sit for final exams today.

However, a university professor, who asked not to be named, said the closure was ordered by President Kenneth Kaunda's ruling party to avoid further rioting.

Student-led protests against a 120 percent increase in the price of the staple corn meal erupted June 25.

Five days of widespread rioting and looting left at least 26 people dead.

Armed police and troops evicted students from the university on June 29 and education authorities said then the campus was being closed temporarily.

About 900 people were arrested for rioting. About 500 have been released on bail in the past week.

At least 34 students

accused of inciting the worst civil unrest since Zambia gained independence from British colonial rule in 1964 are being detained under state of emergency laws.

None has been charged.

The university has closed several times in recent years after student protests against state policies.

Last September, students were sent home after demonstrators ransacked the campus cafeteria and kitchens to protest against low student living allowances. - Sapa-AP.

Zambia's creditors agree to reschedule

PARIS. — Zambia's government, the target of violent protests last month, yesterday won an agreement from creditor nations to reschedule a large portion of its foreign debt.

The agreement was reached at a one-day meeting of the Paris Club, an informal gathering of officials from creditor governments that meets occasionally in the French capital to examine debt rescheduling requests from cash-strapped countries.

A statement released by the French Economics Ministry gave no details about the amount rescheduled, the new timetable, or whether the accord covered interest payments as well as principal.

Zambia's external official debt amounts to \$7.2 billion (about R18bn).

The Paris Club meeting was considered important for Zambia because Western aid officials are scheduled to meet in Paris on Friday to decide on giving it \$450 million (R1 150m) of fresh aid. — Sapa-AP

AFRICA

Zambians promised campaign freedom

LUSAKA — Zambians have been officially promised a free campaign and vote in a referendum set for October on whether the country should return to multi-party politics after 17 years of one-party rule.

Referendum commission chairman Deputy Chief Justice Mathew Ngulube



● KAUNDA

said campaigners for or against the one-party system would have freedom to organise and equal access to the state-controlled media.

"Public canvassing for or against either political system is permitted ... any citizen can campaign either alone or in collaboration with others holding similar views," he said in a televised address on Monday. President Kenneth Kaunda, under pressure to re-introduce multi-party rule which he banned in 1973,

has said it would promote tribal conflicts among Zambia's 73 ethnic groups.

Kaunda set the date for the referendum last month after an attempted military coup and food riots in which 26 people died and more than 120 were injured.

Ngulube said all Zambians over the age of 18 who were registered as voters in the 1988 parliamentary elections would be eligible to vote in the October 17 referendum.

Although people could campaign freely, he said abusive and inflammatory language would be treated as offences and police would attend campaign meetings to keep peace.

Muzzle

"Advantages and disadvantages of either system can be criticised as the campaigner wishes, but attacks on identifiable or specific individual persons or their personal character are not allowed.

"... these are in no way intended to prevent or to muzzle free debate, they are intended that the debate is conducted in an intelligent, objective and orderly manner," he added.

The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, umbrella body for trade unions, is expected to lead the campaign for the re-introduction of a multi-party

system. Its chairman, Frederick Chiluba, has called for an independent body to monitor the referendum.

Political analysts say the defunct United Progressive Party (UPP), which was led by the late Simon Kapwepwe, a former Kaunda lieutenant, may be revived before October 17 to oppose the ruling United National Independence Party.

An analyst said there were chances of UPP emerging as a major opposition force. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mr. T. 1076 18/7/80

Zambia to vote on multi-party option ³⁶⁰

LUSAKA. — Zambians have been officially promised a free campaign and vote in a referendum set for October on whether the country should return to multi-party politics after 17 years of one-party rule.

The chairman of the referendum commission, Mr Justice Mathew Ngulube, said campaigners for and against the one-party system would have freedom to organise, as well as equal access to the state-controlled media.

Meanwhile it is reported that the Zambian government has deported 21 illegal aliens from the copper belt. Another 87 people are also being detained pending deportation. — Sapa-Reuter

9776 7-27-90 21/7/90 (360)

Zambians denounce one-party rule

LUSAKA. — Leading pro-democracy campaigners held their first legalised public meeting yesterday and said they aimed to form an alliance to fight for the end of two decades of one-party rule.

Labour leaders, businessmen, lawyers, academics and at least three former ministers attended the euphoric gathering at a motel outside Lusaka.

The two-day meeting follows the lifting on Tuesday of a ban on multi-party campaigning in the run-up to an October 17 referen-

dum on Zambia's political future.

"The changes in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and South Africa have woken us up from years of indifference and despondency," said Mr Arthur Wina, a one-time finance minister in President Kenneth Kaunda's government.

Speakers who denounced one-party rule received prolonged applause from about 300 people in the crowded motel hall.

The government drew sharp criticism from delegates for ap-

parently refusing to update the voters' roll.

Many of those attending the meeting yesterday said they would not be allowed to vote in the referendum because they had deliberately not registered under the one-party system.

The gathering, organised by a group calling itself The Emerging Alliance for Democracy and Development, disputed claims by President Kaunda that pluralism will cause tribal strife and factional fighting.



REUNITED ... nurse Daphne Parish and her daughter Michelle

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

A WAVE of anger swept through the British media after Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda claimed that anti-Iraq publicity caused the execution of journalist Farzad Bazoft.

President Kaunda's comments followed the release from a Baghdad prison on Tuesday of British nurse Daphne Parish, arrested with Bazoft last year.

Mrs Parish, who was serving a 15-year sentence, was freed after President Kaunda appealed to Iraq's President Saddam Hussein.

Mr Bazoft, a freelance reporter working for the Observer, was hanged in March.

President Kaunda said: "Since our sister Daphne Parish has been released, we have been listening to some outrageous comments from the British mass media saying my brother President Hussein and myself are more or less using Miss Parish to cleanse ourselves."

Grasped

"It is this outrageous approach to human problems that made my brother carry out the sentence on Bazoft."

Miss Parish's release is believed to have been engineered by multinational giant Lonrho, which has interests in both Zambia and Iraq and owns the Observer.

Asked by reporters whether Lonrho boss Tiny Rowland had helped to release Mrs Parish, Presi-

Britain's Press savages Kaunda

dent Kaunda said: "Typical. There always has to be a white man behind the scenes."

One British newspaper, reacting to his comments, said President Kaunda had eagerly grasped the opportunity to deflect publicity over the state of his country and an attempted coup on June 30.

The Daily Mail said: "A tottering African dictator has had his moment of publicity."

Columnist Geoffrey Wheatcroft, writing in the Daily Telegraph, said it was natural that President Kaunda disliked criticism.

"He is not a monster like Amin or Bokassa ... he has not butchered his countrymen, only beggared them."

"He has just proved hopelessly incompetent — a pitiful failure."

As publicity over Mrs Parish's return to Britain faded, little light was shed on the exact circumstances of Bazoft's death or trial.

But she said she had scrawled words from Rupert Brooke's famous war poem, The Soldier, on her tiny cell wall: "If I should die, think only this of me, that there's some forgotten corner of a forgotten field that is forever England."

Zambia gets debt relief of \$2,4bn

23/7/90
360

LUSAKA. — Zambia, with one of Africa's biggest debt burdens, was granted relief on \$2,4bn of debt at a meeting of creditors in Paris last week, Finance Minister Gibson Chigaga said yesterday.

He told a news conference \$1,9bn of the relief was arrears owed to the Paris Club of creditor nations with the remainder being interest due on debts up to the end of 1991.

Chigaga said Zambia's remaining debt, which he put at \$7bn was owed mainly to East European countries, who would be asked for debt relief terms similar to those granted by the Paris Club.

At a meeting in Paris last week sponsored by the World Bank, 11 countries and five multilateral agencies increased the amount of aid to Zambia this year by \$50m to \$500m.

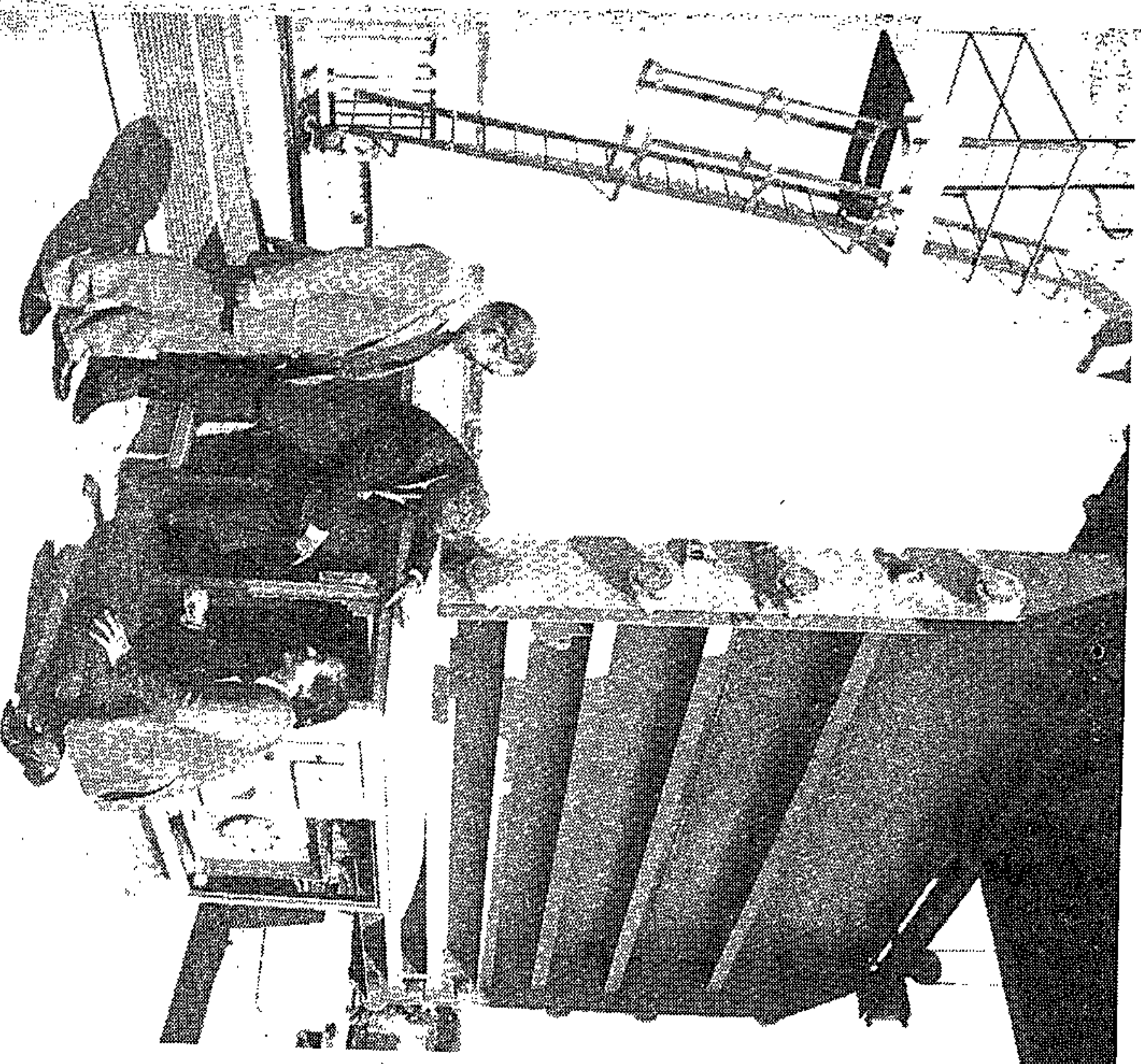
Chigaga said the money would start to arrive next month.

He said \$300m would go towards Zambia's finance requirements for imports and balance of payments in 1990 with the rest to be spent on project aid.

Chigaga said the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had contributed to debt relief through the "rights approach" scheme which was being finalised to help clear the country's \$1,4bn arrears to the fund and the World Bank.

Zambia has introduced a tough IMF-backed recovery programme committing the government to austerity measures including price decontrol, currency devaluation and creating conditions for investment.

Last month steep food price increases sparked off a series of riots which killed 26 people, and prompted an abortive military coup against President Kenneth Kaunda. — Sapa-Reuter



Inspecting a gearbox of one of the 60 sluice gates used to release water from the Vaal Dam are (from left) Jorn Haberland of Steelmetals Contracting, suppliers of the sluice gate installation, Corrie Ludik of the Department of Water Affairs, and Graham Wright of the CSIR. The gearbox was recently investigated by a CSIR team.

News in brief

Workers' protest march

BETWEEN 500 and 700 people, primarily employees of Anglo American Property Services (Ampros), took part in an orderly protest march on Saturday which ended at the head office of Anglo American Corporation. *Sowetan 23/7/90*

A list of demands was presented to Mr Alec Gullan, a director of Ampros, with a request that it be given serious consideration. - Sapa

Pay talks for mediation

MEDIATION in the current wage dispute between the Black Trade Union and Transnet will begin on Monday July 30. Blatu acting president Mr D Phiri said on Friday. *Sowetan 23/7/90*

Blatu is demanding a minimum salary of R1 100 a month and an across-the-board salary increase of R500. Management is offering a minimum wage of R680 plus a 9,1 per cent increase. - Sapa

Quit, Aids row doc told

A DOCTOR from Highveld Blood Transfusion Services (HBTS) was asked by the Black Health and Allied Workers Union of SA to resign following the issue of a directive which called on all staff to stop using blood received from coloured and black people. *Sowetan 23/7/90*

Mr Sipho Ngwenya, General Secretary of Bhawusa, told Sapa the doctor - Dr SP Field - had issued the directive which said blood from black and coloured people was "high risk" and may be infected by the HIV virus which causes Aids. - Sapa

Education 'tops the list'

BLACK South Africans should consider education as their first priority in preparation for leadership positions in the post-apartheid society. *Sowetan 23/7/90*

This was said by the United States Ambassador to South Africa, Mr William L Swing, in his farewell speech to a group of South African students who left on a study tour to the United States yesterday.

Letter of demand for FW

ABOUT 15 000 people in Nkowankowa township in Gazankulu near Tzaneen marched from the local stadium to Ritavi Police Station on Saturday where the Rev B M Maakana handed a letter of demand to chief of Gazankulu Police Major B Chabalala. *Sowetan 23/7/90*

The letter, directed to State President F W De Klerk, contained demands including the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the removal of the army and the security police in the townships and villages of Gazankulu and the holding of free political activities without hindrance. - Sapa

Next move in Zambia

LUSAKA - Advocates of a multi-party system in Zambia elected a national committee yesterday to lead the campaign for an end to one-party rule, culminating in a referendum scheduled for October 17. *Sowetan 23/7/90* (360)

The National Interim Committee for Multi-party Democracy Referendum (NICMDR), formed after a two-day meeting in Lusaka, is headed by former Cabinet Minister Arthur Wina. The government has promised Zambians a free campaign and vote in a referendum to decide if the country will revert to multi-party politics after 17 years of single-party rule. - Sapa-Reuter

Num seeks recognition

SOME 600 guards and cleaning staff, members of the National Union of Mineworkers, on Saturday marched through central Johannesburg and presented a memorandum to the headquarters of the Anglo American Corporation, pressing demands for the recognition of NUM as their union. *Sowetan 23/7/90*

NUM's Witwatersrand chairman, Mr George Nkadameng, said: "Anglo American Corporation refuses to recognise NUM as a union for the workers ... Anglo says the workers are members of the Transport and General Workers' Union." - Sapa

President Samuel Doe's mansion from the sea. Meanwhile, it was reported in Lagos yesterday that two Nigerian naval ships were headed for Liberia to evacuate Nigerians trapped in the war-torn country.

Picture: REUTERS

Kaunda releases his foes⁽³⁶⁰⁾

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, in a surprise offer of reconciliation to his political foes, yesterday announced the release of all political prisoners and agreed to postpone a referendum on multi-party rule.

"I am sending a strong message of love to those who are insulting me and my colleagues to stop doing that," he said.

The referendum, previously set for October 17 this year, would be put off until August 13, 1991, he told a news conference.

"We must start afresh and hence the need for forgiveness, the need to come together again," Kaunda said as he announced the release of men jailed and detained for plotting to overthrow him at different periods during his 26-year rule.

Until now Kaunda has shown no sign of making concessions to opponents calling for a multi-party political system, labelling them misfits, malcontents and drug-traffickers.

Multi-party advocates had demanded a postponement of the referendum, saying millions of Zambians would be disenfranchised unless the electoral register was updated. Earlier this week they said they would take the government to court to force it to draw up a new voters' roll.

Among the political prisoners released is Lt Mwamba Luchembe, the man who briefly took over Zambia Radio to broadcast news of a non-existent military takeover last month.

Kaunda's position as one of Africa's elder statesmen has looked shaky since three days of food riots in June which his security forces put down with the loss of 26 lives.

Although he lifted a month-long curfew in Lusaka province, Kaunda refused to bow to demands from the opposition for an end to the 25-year-old state of emergency, saying he could not lift it because of external threats. — Sapa-Reuter.

the past is buried and

The enduring problems of permanent political power

STWes 29/7/90

360

ALTHOUGH the Zambian Government is over-populated with old and frail leaders, none of them is contemplating voluntary retirement. They are intoxicated by power.

This may well be a bigger political "time-bomb" than the South African problem of apartheid that President Kenneth Kaunda often talks about.

"You can't have power for good without having power for evil too," George Bernard Shaw once warned.

Although some Zambians do not advocate coups, it seems they can't vote anybody out of office either, because multi-party politics were vehemently rejected at a recent convention of the ruling United National Independence Party.

Describing multi-party rivalries as "stone-age politics", KK urged Zambians "not to fall into confusion over the current events in the older (East European) socialist countries".

"The need for that does not arise at all," he said.

There are Zambians who can tolerate KK's leadership, but they loathe his former and present colleagues, who seem to be getting ever richer.

Says Bishop John Mambo, the Overseer of the Church of God: "The main problem lies in those who advise Kaunda. They spend most of their time counting money from their private companies instead of serving the masses. The time has come to buy a new broom and sweep the entire house."

Of late, some Zambian big-

Freelance Zambian journalist Samu Zulu contemplates the dangers of the succession in Kaunda's ageing regime



wigs have developed an uncanny knack for finding ways of remaining in power. They quickly turn to Nelson Mandela, 72, Walter Sisulu, 77, and other South African nationalists and say: "If these can do a good job at their age, we still have at least 10 years to go."

Although this argument may make sense on the face of it, the circumstances are different.

Illness

Firstly, Mandela has never ruled, and nobody knows his true colours. Secondly, the majority of South African politicians are fully-fledged graduates who are not wholly dependent on advisers. Thirdly, and joking aside, South Africa is much, much richer than Zambia. Therefore, it has better hospitals to look after top people like Nelson Mandela, even when they're in jail.

The average life expectancy of Zambians is only between 45 and 50 years.

Some Zambian leaders keep out of sight when

afflicted by illness. The only man who would raise eyebrows if he disappeared for a long time is President Kaunda. He must keep his vigil over the country whether he's well or not.

There was a soulful inquiry from Zambian journalists when KK recently made public appearances with a bandaged right hand. After a barrage of questions had drawn a blank, I sneaked into Wezi Kaunda's home and asked what had happened to his father.

"He sprained his wrist while taking notes during the talks in Gbadolite last year on the Angolan war," he said. Wezi is Zambia's Minister of State for Home Affairs.

"The talks were open only to heads of state or top representatives. Their advisers and assistants, who would normally have recorded the discussions and deliberations, were not allowed into the conference room," he explained.

The saddest thing is that the Zambian Government has only a handful of central committee members and

Cabinet Ministers of a calibre high enough to take over from KK, should the need arise.

Most of them not only have nothing to offer, but spend much of their time mimicking KK's voice, gestures, terminology and dress. So ingrained is their parrot-like folly that they cannot talk without referring to outdated clichés like KK's "five areas of human endeavour".

Privatisation

Little do they know that the real endeavour of a majority of Zambians is to bring about meaningful change in the government and achieve economic satisfaction.

Zambia's economy can improve only by countrywide privatisation of nationalised industries, putting an immediate stop to the illegal mining of minerals like emeralds and reducing the number of cabinet ministers and central committee members.

In a free presidential election, supervised by independent observers (there will be a multiparty referendum next year), 46-year-old Frederick Chiluba, chairman-general of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, could win hands down.

Chiluba, who stands at four feet nothing, is aware of this fact. When he addressed a news conference in the Copper Belt town of Kitwe early this year, he boasted that he was vying to be president.

"But I'm not in a hurry to kick people out of their offices," he added.

He probably will not have much chance, anyway.

UNDER SIEGE ... Students give a power salute after posting the slogans on the campus fence denouncing President Kenneth Kaunda.

Zambian student shot dead

LUSAKA. — Zambian troops stormed Lusaka's university campus early yesterday, shooting one student dead and wounding many others.

Troops and para-military stormed the campus about 3am, breaking down doors when students tried to barricade themselves in, beating and dragging anyone who refused to get out. Eyewitness reports said troops opened fire, and many students fell, bleeding heavily.

At least 27 students, accused of inciting this week's unrest against the government's doubling of the price of maize meal, were arrested. Others were taken at gunpoint to bus stops and told to go home.

President Kenneth Kaunda's first public utterances after three days of unrest were hardline, but he did announce that a promised referendum on whether Zambia should return to a multi-party system would be held on October 17.

But the fact that middle-class Zambians sympathised with the rioters calling for Dr Kaunda to go, shows that opposition to the president crosses the boundaries of money and class.

Last February, Zambian students openly booed when the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, referred to Dr Kaunda as "a great son of Africa". — Daily Telegraph



STRIKE CONTINUES

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Monday, July 30, 1990

Faceless men help Kaunda to tighten his grip

360
Sowetan
30/7/90



KENNETH KAUNDA

REFERENDUM guidelines under which Zambians will vote in October on whether or not to re-introduce multi-party politics have been made known in the country - and have aroused immediate scepticism.

Both the manner and content of the debate have been severely circumscribed by the Referendum Commission, a body appointed by President Kenneth Kaunda, and whose members are unknown.

Kaunda and his ruling UNIP party have made it clear they are totally opposed to the re-introduction of multi-party democracy.

Warned

The regulations published last week stipulate that during the three-month campaign every bill, placard, poster, pamphlet, circular or other printed material must carry the name and address of the author, printer and publisher.

The Commission has warned that printers/publishers of unsigned material will be liable for a two-year jail term or a fine of R25.

FOCUS

Media chiefs have been warned they face similar punishment if found guilty of wilfully obstructing or preventing the publication of statements by anyone lawfully canvassing either for or against the re-introduction issue.

Only those people who have written to the Commission beforehand (presumably for permission) will be allowed to speak at public meetings.

Seditious, inflammatory or provocative statements are banned, as are attacks on, or criticisms of, any individual.

The commission has the power to order the media to make space available for any individual to present his or her case for or against the question - at his or her own cost.

Critics of the seemingly reasonable set of restrictions point out that its major flaw is that it will be supervised and regulated by a group of unknown people,

appointed by those implacably opposed to multi-party politics and who have the most to lose if multi-party politics are voted for by a majority.

They question whether those opposed to a one party state will be granted permission to speak at rallies, especially in remote rural areas where Kaunda's support is strongest.

Majority

As the vast majority of the mass media - major newspapers and radio/television - is state/party controlled, they also question just how unbiased this media can be and ask who will pay for anti-multi-party advertising in this medium.

Finally, pro-multi-party adherents are highly critical of a government decision not to upgrade the voters role for the referendum.

One-party Zambian politics have become increasingly characterised by apathy, meaning that at present only those who bothered to register to vote in the last one-party elections appear on the voters roll - possibly less than 30 percent of those eligible to

vote.

This in effect means that it will largely be party members and keen supporters who will vote.

Given these factors it is highly unlikely October's referendum will see the re-introduction of multi-party democracy into Zambia, even given the pro-democracy riots that recently shook the capital of Lusaka.

Those campaigning for its re-introduction grudgingly accept this.

But at the same time they feel that enough people will vote for its re-introduction, even from Kaunda's heartland constituency, that the president will have to make changes to a totally discredited system.

The couple had no children.

Calm returns to troubled Zambia 360

LUSAKA - Paramilitary police and army troops patrolled the streets of Lusaka yesterday, a day after mutinous soldiers mounted an aborted coup to oust veteran President Kenneth Kaunda.

The capital and other cities and towns were calm after five days of student-led rioting against food price increases and for a return to Western-style democracy.

Kaunda (67), founder of the nation in 1964, flew back to Lusaka late on Saturday night from the central Copperbelt province city of Ndola where he opened the Zambia International Trade Fair.

Kaunda, who landed unannounced at a military airfield near his official State House residence, faces his gravest political crisis since he led the British colony of Northern Rhodesia to independence as Zambia with promises of a better deal for all.

Before he left Ndola, a visibly shaken Kaunda told a banquet he would not budge on his decision last month to more than double the price of staple corn meal.

Kaunda hinted he might act more harshly than in the past when his foes have been detained, imprisoned or rebuked. - Sapa.

2/7/90
Sovetan

Kaunda agrees to revise voters' roll 360

LUSAKA - Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has bowed to demands for a revision of the voters roll before a referendum is conducted on a possible return to multi-party democracy in the country scheduled for next August. *Sowetan 21/8/90*

An announcement on the up-dating of the voters roll was made yesterday by the Director of Elections, Mr Gabriel Phiri, saying the revision would be carried out from October 1 to 14.

People agitating for a return to multi-party politics had demanded a revision of the voters roll, saying that the present roll reflected only supporters of the President and his ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP).



KAUNDA

Murder: Kaunda's son to stand trial

360
Capit Times 4/8/90
LUSAKA. — A coroner's court yesterday ruled that a son of President Kenneth Kaunda should stand trial for murder.

Ending a 10-month inquest into the death of a woman Mr Kambarage Kaunda, 26, says he shot by accident, coroner Dr Peter Chitengi recommended that police prefer murder charges against him and a companion, Mr Rafiq Mulla, 28.

It was not immediately clear whether the president's son would be arrested and detained in accordance with normal practice. — Sapa-AP

Namibia, Zambia in pact

Southern 6/8/90

WINDHOEK - Namibia and Zambia signed a general cooperation agreement in Lusaka on Saturday, NAMBC radio news reports.

The agreement covers a wide range of bilateral relations in the fields of aviation, transport, electricity supply and agriculture.

The two countries have also agreed to allow free cross-border movement of each other's inhabitants. - Sapa

Unip has ⁽³⁶⁰⁾ own ideas

ZAMBIA's sole legal political party, the United National Independence Party, has announced plans for a campaign to urge Zambians to vote against the introduction of a multi-party system in next year's referendum. Leaders of the party will address a series of meetings throughout Zambia from the 13th of this month, at which they will concentrate on explaining President Kenneth Kaunda's recent amnesty for a number of people alleged to have been involved in coup plots. Observers see this as confirmation that the amnesty was an attempt to regain lost support for the party, SABC radio news reports.

- Sapa

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News in Brief

Namibia, Zambia accord

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Zambia lifts ban on SA routes

By BARRY STREEK

ZAMBIA yesterday lifted its three-year ban on businessmen using South African routes for imports and exports because of Pretoria's reforms.

Last night a Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said no comment would be made until the South African government had been officially informed of the Zambian decision.

But with an inaugural flight to Madagascar on Tuesday next week, probably with President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on board, it is clear that a significant change in some African attitudes towards SA is taking place.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has declined to confirm or deny that Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha will be on the inaugural flight to Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar.

It is significant that the government has not denied press reports that Mr De Klerk will be going to Madagascar next week, implying they are correct.

SA Airways will also institute regular flights to the Indian Ocean island next month.

The fact that Zambia and Madagascar, in the past two of the strongest advocates of isolating Pretoria, have taken steps to promote trade and other links is indicative of the changes taking place.

Zambia sacks ex-army chief

360

13/8/90

LUSAKA - Zambia's former army commander, Christone Tembo and three other officers recently released from detention after being held on treason charges have been sacked from the army, the *Times of Zambia* reported on Saturday.

Lieut-Gen Tembo (46), Lieut-Cols Bizwayo Nkunika and Chongo Shula and Major Knight Mulenga were accused in October 1988 of plotting to overthrow President Kenneth Kaunda's government, a charge they denied.

Kaunda, under increasing pressure to end 17 years of one-party rule, announced an amnesty for political detainees and prisoners on July 25.

Tembo said last week he supported efforts to establish political pluralism and accused the ruling United National Independence Party of not governing properly. - Sapa-

Reuter

Frelimo's 'yes' to democracy (360) hailed in Zambia

LUSAKA: Zambia's fledgling pro-democracy movement yesterday hailed as an act of foresight the decision by Mozambique's ruling Frelimo party to endorse a multi-party system and a market economy.

The Frelimo Central Committee ended a 10-day session on Wednesday night after approving a party recommendation to open next year's presidential and parliamentary elections to multi-party participation.

"We congratulate the people of Mozambique and Frelimo in particular for having been so far-sighted as to opt for a multi-party system of government," said Vernon Mwaanga of Zambia's Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMP). *W. Hunt 17/8-19/8/90*

Pro-democracy activists launched the MMP in July following a decision by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to hold a referendum on multi-party politics next year.

Kaunda, who abolished political pluralism in 1973, launched a campaign on Tuesday to fight the pro-democracy movement.

Mwaanga said in a statement that Frelimo's backing for a multi-party system "saves the agony of going through an acrimonious referendum debate". — Sapa-Reuter

8/10/90 27/8/90 362

Zambia to import SA processed oil

LUSAKA — Zambia would soon start importing processed oil from SA to alleviate a critical fuel shortage caused by the Gulf crisis, an oil industry source said last week.

"The only place we can get oil from on time and more regularly is SA. Zambia has got to throw away her pride," the source said.

Zambia is a stern critic of SA, but has welcomed recent government moves to open talks with the ANC.

The source said no oil had arrived from SA yet, but eight 35 000 l tankers had arrived by road from the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam.

Zambia has been seeking new fuel sources since Iraq invaded its main supplier, Kuwait, three weeks ago.

Last Monday government raised petrol and diesel fuel prices 50%.

The industry source said oil trucks took three days to travel the poor roads from Dar es Salaam. Supplies would arrive faster by rail from SA.

The origin of the oil from Tanzania was not clear.

The source said that although Zambia's oil refinery had closed its processing plant, enough processed oil was in stock to cater for the copper mines, the country's main source of foreign exchange. — Reuter.

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IMF team reviews Zambian reforms

010am 29/8/90 360

LUSAKA — An IMF team is in Zambia to review reforms to a debt-ridden economy reeling from the added burden of soaring oil prices.

A source close to President Kenneth Kaunda's government said on Monday it was still too early to estimate the effect of the Gulf crisis on one of Africa's most fragile economies with a foreign debt of \$7bn — the highest per capita in the world. The August jump in oil prices followed riots in June after the government sharply increased the price of maize as part of an IMF-backed austerity programme.

Western diplomats have said the programme could be Zambia's last chance for economic survival.

Economic hardship has also fuelled demands for political pluralism and an end to 17 years of one-party rule.

The source said the IMF team, which last visited Lusaka in May, arrived on Saturday and was expected to spend two weeks examining reforms to state industries and the civil service.

"This is a purely review mission. It is the customary approach to the whole programme," the source said.

Commitment

The recovery plan includes price decontrols, currency devaluation, an end to subsidies on maize and to state firms, trimming the civil service and creating conditions for investment.

The source said the IMF team would examine Zambia's July commitment to a donor consultative group when \$500m was pledged for balance of payments, project and import support.

He said close to \$90m had been disbursed to Zambia since the beginning of August. Most of it diverted to buying oil. The government increased petrol and diesel prices by 50% last week.

"The money is coming but it is being diverted to oil needs. It is not going into development of infrastructure or industry as it should, but the donors do not mind because most of them are willing to help Zambia purchase her oil," the source said. He said the government expected problems in payments falling due to the IMF and World Bank.

Zambia is \$1bn in arrears to the IMF and \$217m to the World Bank.

"The oil crisis has disrupted both our kwacha and foreign exchange budgets. This is a cost that cannot be registered at the moment because the price is still going up, but there is nothing we can do," the source said. — Reuter.



● KAUNDA

Sweden helps Zambia to foot its oil bill

LUSAKA — Sweden has granted Zambia \$5m to help government meet the country's increased oil bill. (360)

Acting head of development co-operation at the Swedish embassy in Lusaka, Torsten Wettenblad, said Sweden might give Zambia a further \$1.5m towards meeting the oil bill as soon as formalities were completed. Day 30/8/90

Wettenblad said Sweden's move to give Zambia the \$5m for oil imports last Friday followed a request by the Zambian government early this month.

The money was a re-allocation of left-

over funds from last year's import support programme between the two countries, he said.

Zambia asked Sweden to consider re-allocating the left-over funds, which ordinarily would have been reclaimed by Sweden.

Wettenblad said Sweden was also willing to give Zambia an additional \$1.5m from a \$17m balance of payments support grant, for oil purchases.

"We are waiting for a request from the Bank of Zambia to us to release the funds," Wettenblad said. — ANO.

W. Manf 31/8 - 2/9/90

Mandela delays his return for a visit to Luanda

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela has postponed his return to South Africa.

He is due to arrive in Zambia tomorrow to consult President Kenneth Kaunda and to meet exiled ANC members in Lusaka, an ANC source said yesterday.

The bulk of ANC exiles had not yet returned to South Africa and many were waiting in the Zambian capital, ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

“(360) Mr Mandela is using the opportunity of stopping over in Zambia to hold meetings with our exiled membership in Lusaka and to consult President Kaunda before he returns to South Africa on September 3,” Jordan said.

Another spokesman in the ANC information office said a large group of exiles would be returning to South Africa in mid-September.

He said it was not anticipated at this stage that Mandela would be visiting any other African countries during this tour.

Mandela's secretary at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg confirmed that the ANC leader's tour of the Cape, to meet a broad cross-section of the community, had been postponed.

Originally Mandela was scheduled to return to South Africa today after his visit to Norway, where he addressed a conference on the Anatomy of Hate, and his visits to the heads of state in Libya and Algeria. — Sapa

Mandela and Kaunda hit

at Buthelezi

The Star's Africa News Service

Nelson Mandela is reported to have said the ANC has no intention of meeting Chief Buthelezi as long as the Inkatha leader continues to portray himself as a leader by perpetuating violence among blacks.

Mr Mandela, the deputy president of the ANC, is reported by the Africa News Organisation (Ano) to have told reporters at Lusaka airport over the weekend that "it is dangerous to meet such a man; he wants to see bloodshed and we cannot see him".

Mr Mandela said the ending of violence could not be left to an individual and that was why the ANC was meeting the Government.

Mr Mandela and the chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, Johnson Mlambo, met in Lusaka with leaders of the seven Frontline states to brief them on recent developments in South Africa.

The Africa News Organisation says President Kaunda of Zambia appealed to the PAC to seriously consider the South African Government's invitation for it to join the talks on a new dispensation.

However, Ano reports that PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said that Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, was "not serious or honest" when he issued the invitation to the PAC to join the talks.

At the summit the Frontline leaders reportedly said they would not recognise Chief Buthelezi until he put an end to the violence among blacks that was sweeping Natal and the Reef townships.

President Kaunda accused Chief Buthelezi of fanning the violence. He called on him to go back to the days when he had won international respect through his message of love.

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Fuel price squeezes Zambians

LUSAKA — The fuel shortage resulting from the Gulf Crisis has forced the Zambian government to buy oil at \$30 a barrel, Finance Minister Gibson Chigaga said yesterday.

He said a Zambian delegation had been sent overseas to negotiate for oil contracts to replace the current ones with Kuwait, from where Zambia bought almost all its oil.

"Spot-buying of fuel is very expensive," said Chigaga, adding that most economic strategies in Zambia would be overturned because of this "unbecoming crisis" in the country. Zambia is spot buying from anywhere, including SA.

Virtually all fuel stations in Zambia are rationing their fuel stocks.

A survey of filling stations in Lusaka yesterday revealed a near crisis situation with many motorists having parked their cars in overnight queues to get a few litres of fuel.

The fuel crisis has hit Zambian workers hard, with many having to wait for up to three hours to get public transport to and from work.

Corruption in the public transport system is no longer a secret. The byword in Lusaka is, if you want to board a bus or a minibus you have to pay extra for the luxury. — ANO.

rophy and a lion skin, presents
the Bamangwato tribe. — Sapa

when he was only a few days

Zambians cheer call for speedy reform

LUSAKA. — More than 300 000 people gathered in the Zambian capital on Saturday to hear opposition leaders challenge veteran President Kenneth Kaunda to speed up the pace of reform, police said.

The rally was organised by the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), formed two months ago after Dr Kaunda reluctantly agreed to hold a referendum next August on whether to end 17 years of one-party rule.

Speaking to the cheering crowd which gathered in Pope Square, MMD chairman Mr Arthur Wina said: "My advice to these power-hungry people who want to cling on to power is (to) make alternative arrangements for your resignation — because we are not going to wait."

Mr Wina called on Dr Kaunda's government to bring the referendum forward to 1990, to change the constitution so that new parties could be formed legally and to draw up a new constitution by next April, before general elections in August.

"If the movement's demands are not answered... there are those who feel that further delay will force them to action which may not lead to the most peaceful resolution of the debate."

Twenty-seven people were killed in riots in June over food price rises in Lusaka, a city of 1.5 million.

— Sapa-Reuter

Refugee students flown to Zambia

360

MBABANE - A party of 28 South African students, part of a group of 52 who fled to Swaziland from trouble-torn Natal last month, were flown from Matsapa Airport to Zambia on Monday.

The 52 students were arrested by Swazi Police earlier this month and charged with malicious damage to property and theft of blankets and other goods at Malindza refugee centre where the students had rioted and fought each other.

After appearing in the Siteke Magistrate's Court, the 52 students were remanded in custody in Big Bend prison to await trial. *Sowetan 12/9/90*

It was unofficially reported that all charges against the students had been dropped and that they would be deported and declared prohibited immigrants to Swaziland because of their behaviour at their camp.

The rest of the group was due to fly to Zambia yesterday. - Sapa

Kaunda says he will not be forced out

LUSAKA — 8 10 27 13 17 10
Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday accused his political opponents of sowing seeds of hatred and confusion to force him out of power, adding that these machinations would fail.

Speaking in an interview with the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation, Kaunda said he would not retire until he had put right the country's economic ills.

Kaunda, who has been under pressure to re-introduce the multi-party system abandoned in 1972, warned that Zambia's future was assured only through the ruling party.

He admitted, however, that for the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) to carry out this task successfully it must "reform itself".

He said more Zambians seemed to sup-

port the multi-party advocates not necessarily to change the political status quo but as a protest against the high cost of living.

"We understand and have received the message loud and clear, and we are doing something about this." (360)

He said once high prices had been dealt with, the protest rallies would end.

Kaunda was referring to a multi-party rally in Lusaka at the weekend which was attended by nearly 300 000 people.

But he said he had restrained police from arresting some multi-party advocates, whom he alleged were contravening referendum regulations, to avoid violence as all they had in common was "hatred of UNIP." — ANO.

Mozambique — Garden of Africa

MOZAMBIQUE is a potential "garden of Africa" and its reconstruction would not be expensive.

But it needs aid to

to nourish growth

That is the view of David Screen, national director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa), after an 11-day tour of Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe with alumni of the Wits Business School.

Business Times Reporter

The 11 Wits alumni members, representing companies such as Engen, Rio Tinto-Zinc, PG, Sentrachem, National Airways and Middelburg Steel, were welcomed in all three countries.

Mr Screen says "The purpose of the trip was to enable the WBS alumni to look at business opportunities and to familiarise themselves with the political situation. It was also an important learning experience for all of us."

My role, as the Idasa man, was to help on the political

side. We arranged meetings at high level with all three governments and with the ANC in Lusaka.

Lily Mitchell, chairman of the WBS Association and co-leader of the trip, says improving communications of all types is a priority in all

three countries. Road, rail and telecommunications are mostly in a sorry state. Mozambique, for instance, is connected to the outside world by six telephone lines.

Mrs Mitchell says developing a work ethic will be an important part of reconstruction. Mozambique and

Zambia are particularly keen on joint ventures. The message from Mozambique is: "We need SA capital and expertise. Let's get reconstruction going now."

Zimbabwe's attitude is distinctly cooler, probably because its economic straits are not as desperate as those of Zambia and Mozambique, which rank among the poorest nations in the world.

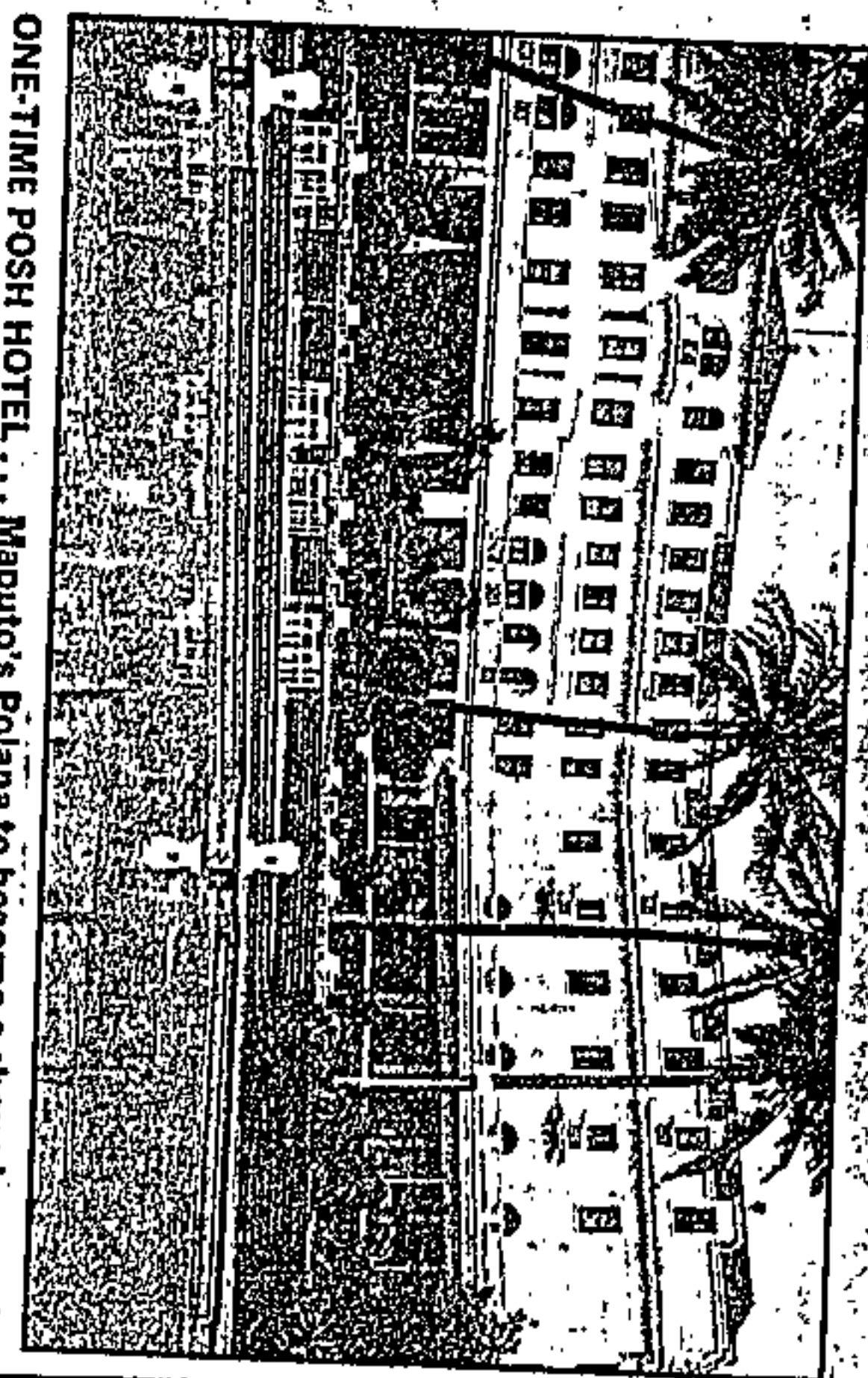
Mr Screen says: "With good rainfall, fertile soil and a warm climate, Mozambique can produce outstanding cotton, citrus and other crops. Tunny Howland and John Hallett of Louisa have been there for six years.

Jobless

Land costs virtually nothing and labour is cheap. The infrastructure is badly run down, but the buildings and facilities can be removed cheaply.

Jorge Martins, of transmission line company Feralin, grew up in Mozambique and felt virtually as a refugee at 17. He says: "Chances for business are good. I would like to bring my family here."

Mr Screen says Mozambique, and possibly Zambia, are moving to multi-party democracies. Frelimo and Renamo are talking.



ONE-TIME POSH HOTEL... Maputo's Polana to become a showpiece again

Some members of the party were present at the opening of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) council in Harare. The PTA is an economic co-operation agreement among 19 African states.

They heard prolonged applause when it was put to the conference that a post-apartheid SA should be allowed to join.

Members of the Zambian Association of Manufacturers (ZAM) will visit SA early next year as a result of the WBS visit.

Unemployment is rife in all three countries, but in stark contrast to Zimbabwe and Mozambique, Zambia has a thriving informal economy.

Mr Screen says Zimbabwe's conciliation policy of the past 10 years is showing signs of strain. There is growing resentment at white influence in the midst of black poverty.

Mr Screen says Idasa's role in a changed SA is to be "an ally of the transition process". Idasa is trying to promote communication and understanding between such divided factions as the AWB and the PAC and the ANC and Inkatha.

"We try to be more than mediators and facilitators. We are also involved in development studies, education and health."

"Aids is the major health concern of the sub-continent. The WBS has granted 1 166

Horizons

Idasa comprising 50 members, is funded by "European foundations and governments". Its head, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, is on the Wits Business School faculty. Mrs Mitchell says the WBS is broadening its horizons. A tour to West Africa is planned.

All neighbouring territories lack management talent. The Oxford or Harvard of the sub-continent.

The WBS will hold a seminar on business possibilities in neighbouring states on November 2.

MBAs in the past 20 years. Activity has increased sharply in recent years and 1 800 students do MBAs executive development programmes and other shorter courses every year.

The WBS-inspired junior achievement programme involves thousands of high-school children in realistic business education all over the country. In addition, WBS trains hundreds to run small businesses. Its community-based development programme teaches management to people involved in community affairs.

Arkus 25/9/90 360

Kaunda turns about

Zambian president recommends multi-party system

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Zambia's President Kaunda has bowed to demands by the pro-democracy movement and has recommended to his ruling party's National Council that the multi-party system be reintroduced.

Opening an extraordinary meeting of the council, most of whose 600 members are appointed by him, Dr Kaunda said his United National Independence Party (Unip) would win any general election.

"Let us make these people who are now hiding behind empty multi-party slogans, who are shielding behind false accusations of oppression by Unip, sit down and think what it is like to run a real political party," he said.

"Let them produce people who are more capable of running the country. Let us see what kind of economic and social policies they are capable of producing. Let us take them on comrades," he said to thunderous applause.

Dr Kaunda said campaigning in the lead-up to a referendum on multi-party democracy, which had been scheduled for next year, was splitting the country in two. "I see bloodshed at the end of the road and I see disaster for the country," he said.

"Not afraid"

"So, I say, why hold a referendum? Why allow them to divide our people. We are not afraid of them."

Dr Kaunda, who has made a complete about-turn in the last six months, said the party's policy-making central commit-

tee had recommended that the referendum be cancelled.

Instead, a commission should be established to amend the constitution to allow the formation of opposition parties.

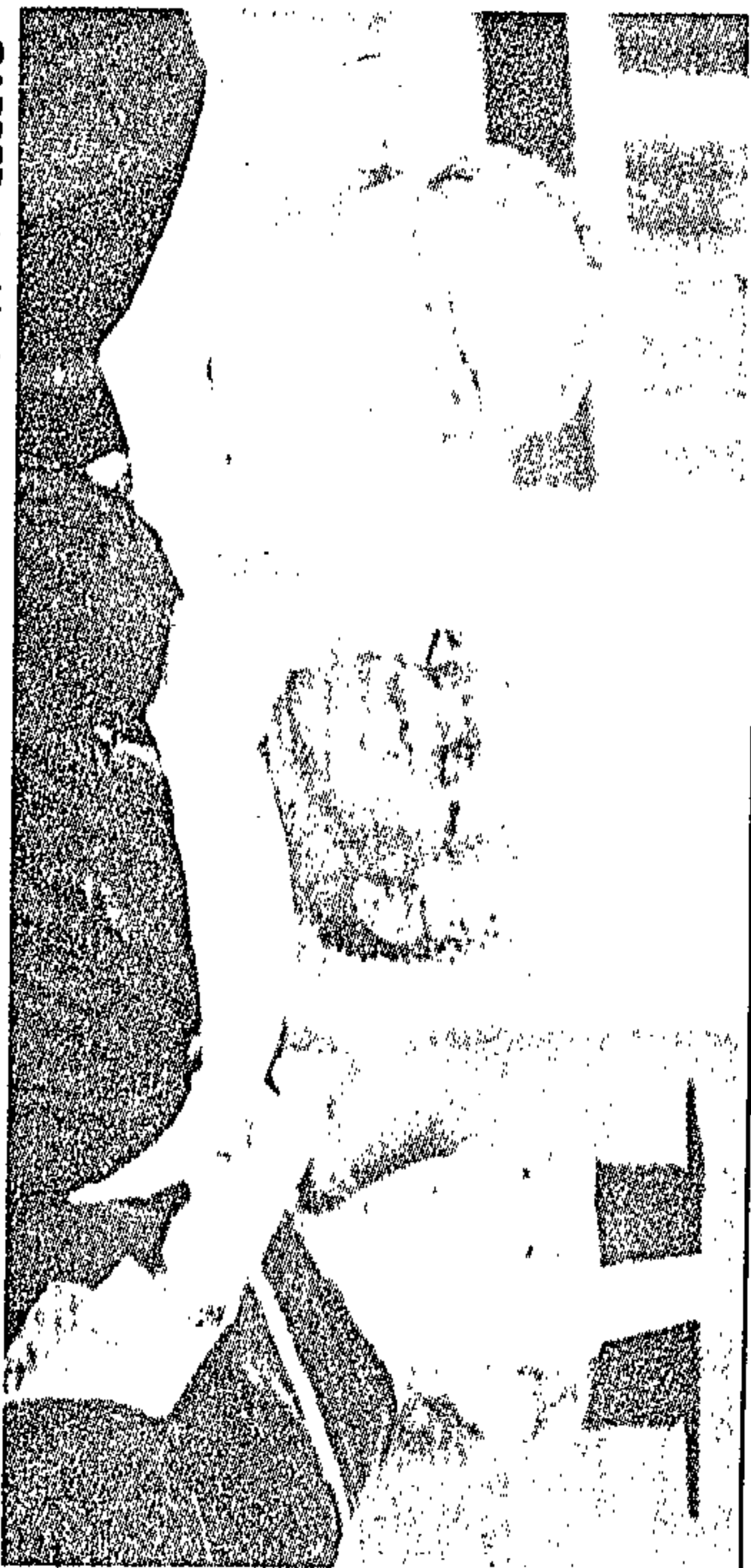
There was no immediate reaction from the two-month old Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), which has been attracting thousands of supporters to meetings.

Dr Kaunda has moved to split the power base of the pro-democracy movement, the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions, by declaring that the Industrial Relations Act would be amended to allow trade unions to choose not to be affiliated to the congress.

Mr Frederick Chiluba, head of the powerful trade union movement and a leading member of the MMD, is seen by many political analysts as a potential challenger to Dr Kaunda.



Jim McDonnell



CAPED: Archbishop Desmond Tutu closes his eyes as Mr George Russell, chancellor of the University of Missouri, Kansas City, right, places the hood as Mr Peter McGrath, president of the university, looks on. Archbishop Tutu was given an honorary doctorate in human letters for his achievements in reform in South Africa.

Battered boxer recovers but 'won't fight again'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Jim McDonnell, 30, who once challenged South African Brian Mitchell for the World Boxing Association's junior lightweight title, has made a good recovery from the beating he took at the hands of American Kenny Vice at the weekend.

The Cockney boxer has been discharged from hospital but his manager and promoter, Barry Hearn, said McDonnell's career was over.

He was taken unconscious from the ring on Saturday night.

Hearn said: "He has, fortunately, made a very good recovery over the weekend, but he will never box again."

"He already has my firm promise of a job as a trainer with my group — and that's something to which he will be able to bring all the dedication he showed as a fighter."

Vice wept at the ringside after the knockout on Saturday

night, remembering the death of another of his opponents, South African Brian Baronet, in June, 1988.

Vice said: "I got really scared until I visited Jim's dressing room. But when I kissed him he winked in return."

The scenes at the ringside shocked even veteran fight watchers. The Evening Standard newspaper's Neil Allen described the finish as "among the most horrifying I have seen."

an increase of R1.3 billion for the same period last year, the Tobacco Merchants' Association said. — Sapa-AP.

43 killed in storm

MEXICO CITY. — A storm that swamped sectors of the northern Mexican city of Chihuahua claimed at least 43 lives and left hundreds homeless. — Sapa-Reuter.

Piquet yacht burns

IBIZA (Spain). — A Spanish ferry rescued eight crew of a yacht owned by Brazilian racing driver Nelson Piquet after it caught fire near the holiday island of Ibiza. — Sapa-Reuter.

Nuke plants 'old'

LYON. — All nuclear power plants in Eastern Europe need modernising, but the countries that own them can ill afford the expense, said the head of Framatome, France's nuclear power plant builder. — Sapa-Reuter.

Port strikes end

BUCHAREST. — Union leaders are to end a week-old strike in Rumania's ports after government officials agreed to form a commission to examine strikers' demands to oust communist port and shipping administrators and raise wages. — Sapa-AP.

Israeli flag burnt

PEKIN (Illinois). — Matt Hale and Steven Thornhill, both members of the American White Supremacist Party, have been arrested after burning an Israeli flag, police said. — Sapa-AP.

Murder apology

BELFAST. — The Ulster Freedom Fighters, Protestant extremists, have apologised for killing the wrong man, William Allister, a 46-year-old Protestant, in a gun attack on a Northern Ireland pub. — Sapa-Reuter.

Judge plays key role in Zambia

360

LUSAKA - The man in Zambia's political hot seat is a jovial 46-year-old judge charged with ensuring fair play in a nationwide debate over multi-party democracy.

Mathew Ngulube, a London-trained barrister who was named Zambia's deputy chief justice in 1982, questions the term hot seat.

"Let's say 'warm seat,' he chuckled in an interview at the head-

quarters of the four-man referendum commission he chairs.

Ngulube already headed Zambia's electoral commission when President Kenneth Kaunda, under growing pressure from pro-democracy activists, reluctantly agreed to hold a referendum next August on the future of the single-party state he imposed in 1973.

Kaunda appointed Ngulube to head the referendum commission, which the judge admits comes under pressure

from both sides in a highly-charged and highly-emotive atmosphere. This does not worry him.

Calm

"I am shock proof, pressure proof. I don't think anybody has been able to gain an advantage over me," he said.

A senior Zambian journalist said the choice of Ngulube, who was called to the bar at London's Gray's Inn in 1968, had been a good

one. "He is level-headed, a fair man," he said.

The electoral commission will start registering voters on October 1, but the referendum commission - which has delegated authority to officers throughout the country and backs them against local pressures - will supervise the actual polls.

"The whole referendum must be conducted in a free and fair manner, a free but not irresponsible debate, not character attacks...We are

Plans to end violence in Natal

From Page 6

other areas to help bring cases to trial within three months of arrest.

"Most important of all, the Government should lift the state of emergency in Natal. It is not needed. The authorities have ample legal powers to control the situation.

Signal

"The state of emergency encourages policemen to cut corners and break the rules, because they enjoy wide immunity while the emergency lasts.

"We believe the lifting of the state of emergency would be the best

way of convincing people in the townships that the Government means business."

The ICJ stated that if the Government gave a clear signal, they believed it would be followed by a concrete response.

"We found the ANC people we spoke to on the ground recognise that the violence comes from both sides, that some young comrades are out of hand and that the ANC has a responsibility to try and do something about it.

Discipline

"We did not, however, find that members of Inkatha we spoke to had a similar awareness of the need to control and

discipline their supporters. At every level we were told by Inkatha supporters that all that is needed to bring peace is for Mandela to talk to Buthelezi.

Guarantees

"We agree that there is an urgent need for a meeting between the ANC leadership and the Inkatha leadership, but any meeting if it is to achieve anything must be as carefully prepared as any other summit meeting, and there must be some assurance that if an agreement is reached it will be carried out.

"We therefore suggest that the meeting should be four-sided: the ANC, In-

one, "He is level-headed, a fair man," he said.

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Riots

Rising popular discontent over economic hardship - Zambia has the highest per capita foreign debt in the world - reached a head with bloody riots in which 26 people died in Lusaka in June after an increase in the price of the staple maize flour.

A swelling Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) emerged but Kaunda has vowed not to give way, saying a return to political pluralism would bring factionalism and chaos to a country engaged in a last-ditch battle to save its economy.

MMD leaders question whether Kaunda can keep the lid on the bubbling political pot until next August or whether he will be forced to concede broad political rights to Zambia's eight million people. The 66-year-old



KENNETH KAUNDA

president has governed Zambia since independence from Britain in 1964.

A key to the debate is the state-owned Press, which under referendum commission rules is obliged to give fair space to both sides.

Press

"While designing the present regulations it would have been naive to ignore who owns the papers, so we put in regulations to oblige the papers to be impartial," Ngulube said.

This has infuriated some senior members of Kaunda's ruling United National Independence

Party (UNIP) who recently accused the local media of being worse than the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) - an accusation a number of journalists took as a compliment.

Ngulube notes however that the work of his commission would be impossible without government backing.

"Without help from the government machine, there is no way we could do our work...And in fact the president (Kaunda) has always been very supportive - he set up the commission, he cannot fail to support the commission," the judge said. - Sapa-Retter

Kaunda gives in

360

LUSAKA - Zambian President Kenneth

26/9/90
Kaunda has yielded to strong pressure and agreed to scrap one-party rule, as his popularity wanes after 26 years in power.

50 votes
Kaunda called for constitutional changes leading to multi-party presidential and parliamentary elections by October next year and cancelled a referendum he had reluctantly called for August to vote on the issue. - Sapa-
Reuter.

CMT T&S 26/9/90

Zambia's ³⁶⁰ multi-party move hailed

LUSAKA. — Pro-democracy activists have welcomed a proposal by President Kenneth Kaunda to restore a multi-party political system without holding a referendum on the issue, the Times of Zambia reported yesterday.

Dr Kaunda, making an unexpected policy reversal in the face of mounting public pressure, on Monday asked the ruling United National Independence Party's (UNIP) national council to approve an end to the one-party state and discard the national poll scheduled for 1991.

The chairman of the opposition Multi-Party National Interim Committee, Mr Arthur Wina, said he wanted to credit Dr Kaunda "for having read the political signs for change correctly".

Dr Kaunda had announced in June, following a week of bloody anti-government rioting, that Zambia would hold a referendum in August 1991 to test popular support for a return to the multi-party system phased out 17 years ago.

But the 65-year-old president said on Monday that he was proposing a restoration of democracy without holding a referendum to prevent further bloodshed in Zambia.

Leaders of the opposition Movement for Multi-party Democracy commended Dr Kaunda's reforms but said further measures, including the lifting of the state of emergency, were needed. — UPI and Sapa-AP

Zambia raises petrol price

Sowetan 11/10/90

360

LUSAKA - Zambia raised petrol prices by 70 percent yesterday, citing increases in the cost of crude oil on world markets due to the Gulf crisis.

"The price increase has been necessitated by the spiralling crude oil

cost caused by the continuing Gulf crisis," the country's oil importer, Zambia Industrial and Mining Company (Zimco) said in a statement.

The new rise comes only a month after Zambia raised its petrol price by 50 percent because of

procurement and financing difficulties following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

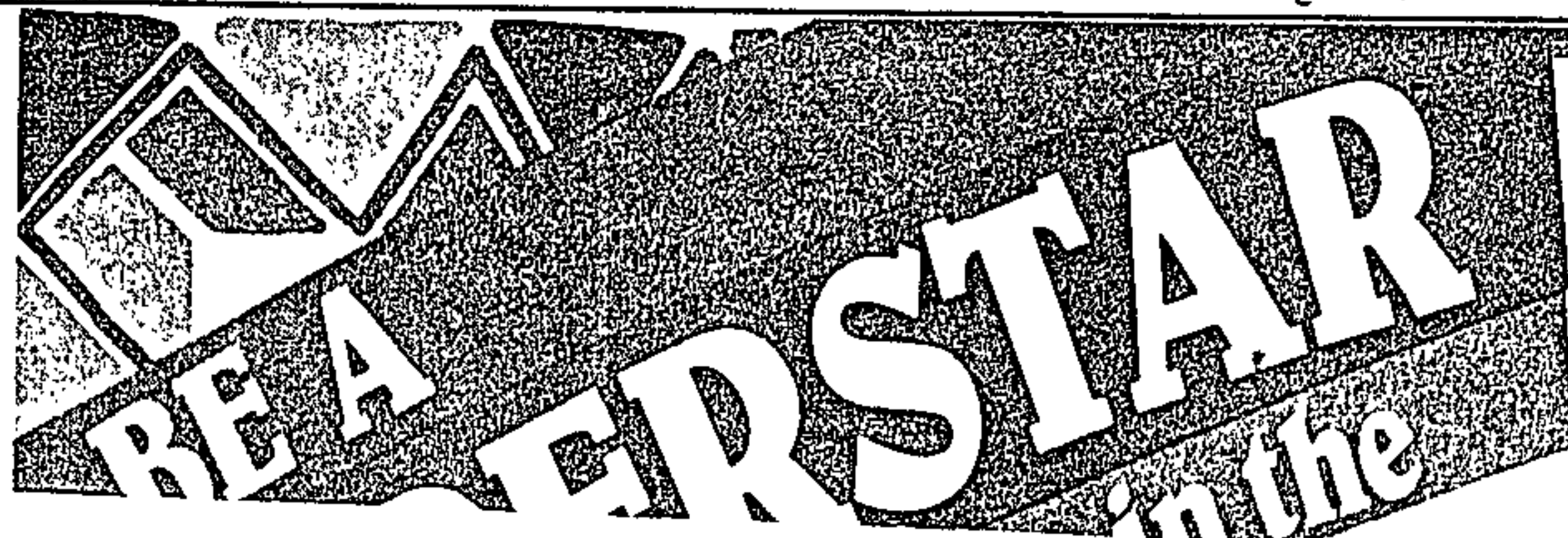
Zambia had imported crude oil from Kuwait at very concessional prices before the invasion but had to find other supplies, including processed oil from South Africa.

Iran said in August it

would supply Zambia with 70 000 tonnes of crude oil but it is not clear whether it has arrived.

The first petrol price increase forced prices of other goods and services to rise, sparking fears of industrial unrest as workers began to demand

higher wages. - *Supa-
Reuter*



ANC ranch aids economy

Star 1/10/90

360

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, it's business as usual for the other comrades, the country cousins of the ANC's external wing.

They go about their daily chores as though February 2 never happened — milking their Brahman, tending pigs, goats, sheep and assorted crops. In short, providing the sustenance for the stomach that the cadres once marched on.

The ranch is 3 000 ha of amiable property, 50 km beyond Lusaka. It used to belong to a Polish countess. The ANC acquired it in 1979.

On it more than 3 000 cattle graze. Most of the rest of the land is given to maize, two-thirds of which must be slotted into the national granary.

This is one way the ANC contributes to breathing some life into the near-moribund local economy.

But observers say, not totally in jest, that Lusaka itself could be in danger of collapsing if or when negotiations succeed in South Africa and the ANC

Lusaka's economy, already tottering, faces possible collapse when its major developer, the ANC, starts sending its people back home, writes **JOHN RYAN**.

begins its great withdrawal from exile.

Another factor in that prospect is the ANC's standing in the property market around the capital. The organisation owns or holds at least eight titles, most in the townships or industrial area.

It is a developer in a country which is fast regressing.

Tom Sebina, chief media spokesman, maintains that the exodus is some months away. Speaking from the sleazy complex down an alley behind Cairo Road where he has his office, he says: "We have a great deal to clear before we can start sending our people home.

"And first there is the matter

of the Government indemnity for them. And of course the outcome of the talks."

So education goes on at the ANC primary school and creche, the Young Pioneers parade every Saturday in their green-and-yellow uniforms, the Albert Luthuli soccer team meets its league commitments.

And Squash and Javel continue to process ANC members and guests through the Kenneth Kaunda international airport.

Squash is a solemn young man and wide — like a black Frans Erasmus, the Springbok prop forward. Javel, his assistant in the clearing department, is rake-slim and smiles a lot. But both take their job very seriously and spend most of their time at the airport.

When Nelson Mandela and the other then newly released leaders held their party jamboree in Lusaka earlier this year, one overseas journalist viewed the arrangements and said: "Well, the ANC shouldn't have much trouble running South Africa. It runs Lusaka pretty well."

Now Kaunda faces challenge of youth

LUSAKA — Zambia's embattled president Kenneth Kaunda has met one challenge from opponents by agreeing to end one-party rule within a year, but he now faces another from within his own party.

A younger generation of members of the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) wants to loosen the grip of the elderly elite which has led Zambia since 1964, and bring new life to the party before elections are held.

The prestige of Kaunda and Unip has plunged after 17 years of one-party rule, coupled with severe economic austerity measures to combat an overseas debt of \$7.2bn.

Speaking after a four-day meeting

of Zambia's top policy-making body had accepted Kaunda's surprise reform proposal for multi-party elections within a year, one central committee member said: "He should now anticipate a power struggle from the younger members who believe that the party can be salvaged. The struggle will now be within the Unip house."

"We will fight from within the party against power monopoly," he added, asking not to be named.

After food riots which killed 26 people in Lusaka in June, Kaunda reluctantly agreed to set a date next August for a referendum on bringing back a multi-party system.

Since then, Zambia has been in turmoil. Tens of thousands of people

have packed rallies called by the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), which sprang up to fight the referendum. Government rallies have been snubbed.

Kaunda met the challenge last week by proposing to scrap the referendum and replace it with more radical reforms.

But diplomats say Unip, still headed by the elderly men who fought for Zambia's independence from Britain in 1964, has a long way to go before it can hope to win multi-party elections. They said Kaunda was now likely to come under pressure to remove fellow veteran nationalists from the hierarchy to make the party more palatable to the younger generation. — Reuter.

IN ZAMBIA and Zimbabwe there is a great deal of chortling at the moment over the hasty deduction that the proponents of a one-party state have suffered conclusive defeats.

Pluralism has not yet won the day, for reasons deeply rooted in our social patterns.

In Lusaka, President Kenneth Kaunda has cancelled next August's scheduled referendum on the fate of the United National Independence Party's (UNIP's) 18-year constitutional status as the sole legitimate political organisation. Kaunda told UNIP's 600-member national council he was ready to lead his supporters "in an election against any party or parties".

His chief election organiser, Joseph Mutale, was unequivocal in his interpretation of the president's pledge to appoint a commission "to determine necessary amendments to our constitution".

"He is saying the constitution will be amended to allow formation of other parties," Mutale said.

The Zambian Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, known as the MMD, must now hastily reorganise itself from being a nebulous pressure group into a party offering a credible alternative government.

Kaunda has stolen a march, and might well be able to defeat the MMD (or whatever fragmented cluster of personality cult parties it becomes) in a general election. In the ultra-conservative rural areas, the former schoolteacher is seen as a symbol of stability in a perilous world.

Pluralism has a way to go

10 May 2/10/90

MICHAEL HARTNACK
in Harare

It would be a supreme irony if, come next August, Kaunda is boasting he has "seen off" the MMD. There is no tradition of organised political lobbies, no electoral mechanism (as in the US "primary" system), no charismatic personalities to energise capable of challenging Kaunda. The de facto one-party state is therefore far from dead.

In Zimbabwe, likewise, the euphoria following the September 22 meeting of the ruling Zanu (PF) central committee seems premature. The many opponents of a one-party state within President Robert Mugabe's hierarchy claim, privately, that they have finally persuaded him to drop his cherished plan for constitutional amendments to remove the right of unrestricted political association.

The moderates believe "the masses" are solidly against a one-party state and blame what they see as a high-handed bureaucracy for its such as 1.5-million unemployed, 20% annual inflation, and unmitigated corruption.

But if Mugabe — reputed to be the party's sole remaining Marxist doctrinaire — suffered a defeat, he certainly does not talk like it. Neither does his close confidant and spokesman, Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira.

Speaking in his capacity as Political Secretary for Information, Shamuyarira said:

"Mugabe said the meeting had agreed establishment of a one-party state should remain the central objective of the party". With only two of the 150 parliamentary seats in opposition hands Zimbabwe was already a "de facto one-party state", so legislation was not necessary. Zanu (PF) would "continue to organise and mobilise the population behind the one-party state concept".

When one sets Shamuyarira's remarks alongside those that came out of the fateful Politburo meeting in July, that the government would "deal with" any (tribalist) challenge as it came up, one must conclude the one-party state drive would be "on" again if any serious opposition threat presented itself.

It is common knowledge that Mugabe wants the constitution amended not to deal with the present main threat from Edgar Tekere's Zimbabwe Unity Movement, defeated in the March general elections, but to deter further splits he fears might occur within Zanu (PF).

Mugabe's nightmare is that former Zanu supporters from Matabeland might abrogate Joshua Nkomo's 1987 unity pact with Zanu (PF) and form an alliance with Tekere and disgruntled members of the Karanga section of the Shona people.

Mugabe believes a legislated one-party state would convince potential opponents such a coalition would be doomed from the start.

And behind everything looms Mugabe's towering conviction — founded in fact, many observers here would protest — that he alone stands between Zimbabwe and a renewed civil war on ethnic lines. Mugabe is utterly convinced that the Marxist logic of "class struggle" can be applied wholesale to his ambitions for the black people of Zimbabwe and southern Africa. Hence his description of the reform process in Eastern Europe as "this evil campaign".

Zimbabwe was "still groaning under the weight of capitalism" 10 years after power had been "transferred to the people", Mugabe told his central committee.

Ultimately, the problem in Zambia and Zimbabwe is not one of permitting a multiplicity of parties because, as Mugabe said in Switzerland this year, people tend to support their own ethnic representatives regardless of the candidates' ability to contribute to the national good, given a free vote.

Nkomo and Jan Smith might, arguably, have been the greatest dis-

ters since the Great Rinderpest of 1896, but who denies the people of Matabeland and the remaining 80 000 Rhodesians here would vote for them overwhelmingly in any genuine test of opinion?

The demolition by Zanu (PF) of other Rhodesian monuments has only served to sanctify Smith and his undoubtedly courageous dedication to "his people", however misguided he might seem to the objective analyst.

The problem is one of public accountability in what the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies termed "Gemeinschaft" communities, where faith and personal loyalties predominate over cold rationality.

Urbanised Zimbabweans and Zambians are alienated because the authorities seem remote, uncaring, impersonal, and they blame this "aloofness" for their economic ills, but there is no incisive intellectual criticism of the policies of Mugabe and Kaunda.

Multi-party elections, in the old style, will only produce a new set of aspiring bureaucrats and "placemen", chosen initially for their ethnic connections but doomed to become as alien and selfish as their predecessors.

We must strive to evolve a system which satisfies our predilection for personalities, but ensures they change routinely before they seal themselves away from us entirely behind their imported South African razor wire. Our American friends have given us a few excellent guidelines.

LETTERS

EMBITTERED black youths are still streaming out of South Africa despite reforms that are bringing home an earlier generation of exiles.

Hundreds have gone to neighbouring black states this year for military training or academic studies or simply to seek refuge from township violence, black activists told Reuters.

Exile is better than rotting at home or being hunted down like an animal, said Sibusiso Ndebele, an ANC official based in Natal.

The youths accept that political reform may eventually succeed, he said, but they fear that they will be killed before then. The activists forbade inter-

Hundreds of youths still leaving SA to be trained for war

Views with youths planning to go into exile, but government and United Nations officials in Swaziland said hundreds of youths had arrived from South Africa this year.

Described by aid workers as nervous and aggressive, the youths enter illegally in groups of up to 60 and request refugee status. Many are moved to guerrilla camps in Zambia.

But the flow of exiles may have reached wider than Zambia and Tanzania, the only frontline states which admit hosting military camps for

South African guerrillas. Botswana said it uncovered a camp of the radical Black Consciousness Movement this month and arrested an undisclosed number of people.

Two bouts of ferocious violence this year appear to have spurred the exodus. The first was in March, when dozens died in a week-long battle in Natal between ANC activists and the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The second was a six-week war in August and September between the two organisations.

WILLIAM MACLEAN

In Johannesburg's townships in which almost 800 people were killed.

"In Lusaka in April I saw children of five, seven and 10 years of age who had arrived from Natal five days earlier. They were traumatised," said ANC official Moss Chikane.

Some would-be exiles were keen to train as soldiers to wage war should talks with the Government break down, the activists said.

Others were terrified by township violence or wanted to escape a collapsing black school system.

"Large numbers of young people are coming to say they want to leave the country for military training or to continue their studies," said Parks Mankahana of the pro-ANC South African Youth Congress (Sayco), the country's largest youth group.

"We will continue to encourage them to do so, although we are not involved in helping them practically," he said.

"There is still danger in the

townships. The youth say they need arms and training to defend themselves," said Peter Skosana, Sayco leader in the Vaal region south of Johannesburg.

Benny Ntsele, a Johannesburg official of the PAC, said it worked "vigorously" to find school places abroad for supporters unable to study at home. Military training would continue.

Sayco's Mr Mankahana said military training was necessary despite the ANC's suspension in August of its 30-year armed campaign. "Only the shooting

has been suspended. The recruiting and training continues."

ANC military leader Chris Hani said hundreds of youths had applied to join his guerrilla campaign was "overwhelming. We can't handle it."

The activists said this year's landmark political changes, including the legalising of black movements, had done little to stem an outflow that began in 1976 when killings by police triggered a mass exodus of youth to ANC camps in exile. Not all blacks support the la-

test departures. "It is a tragedy and should not be encouraged," Methodist bishop Stanley Mogo ba told Reuters.

"In 1976 many people left and became marooned abroad. These are children, the people who have suffered most. We want them back at school."

Mr Chikane, who works for the ANC in the northern Transvaal and is on a liaison committee with the Government, said that if youths in his area were being encouraged to leave he would investigate to see if it was in the interests of reform.

"Our biggest task is getting people back inside, not getting people out," said chief ANC spokesman Gill Marcus.

Cape Town 29/10/90

Council/ANC meet on crisis in Khayelitsha

Municipal Reporter

TOP-LEVEL teams from Cape Town City Council and the Western Cape ANC met at the ANC offices in Athlone yesterday to discuss the growing crisis in Khayelitsha, where municipal services have been cut.

The council has held discussions with civic and community organisations in its area — many of them solidly pro-ANC — but it has never held such high-level talks with a political organisation.

The Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver, was in the City Council delegation, according to a joint statement issued afterwards by council employee Ms Helen Zille.

In the ANC delegation were Mr Christmas Tinto, Western Cape ANC chairperson, and vice-chair Ms Hilda Ndude.

Four senior Western Cape Civic Association officials from Khayelitsha also attended the meeting: Mr J Ntsholo, Ms V Mathe, Mr Zuzile Ramnewana and Mr Phillip Smile.

The delegations agreed that the crisis affected Cape Town's people as a whole and that joint action by all those concerned about the situation was needed to address it.

Both delegations will report back to their constituencies "with a view to further discussions involving affected parties" to find an urgent resolution of the current crisis.

LUSAKA - Within a few weeks Zambians will be allowed legally to establish their own political parties, marking the end of nearly two decades of one-party rule under President Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party.

Filling the political vacuum created by one man's dominance for so long is not going to be easy for the opposition. Over the years Kaunda's rule and style of politics has become deeply entrenched. For many it is difficult to conceive of a Zambia without "KK" at the helm.

But in July the Movement for Multi-party Democracy - an alliance of trade unionists, businessmen, students, professionals and former politicians - emerged to challenge Kaunda. And now that he has agreed to a multi-party system, it is poised to become a party.

As yet there are no signs of other genuine political parties being formed. However, speculation is rife that Unip will sponsor all manner of parties to confuse people and undermine what appears to be a united opposition.

The article in the constitution banning other parties is due to be am-

Zambia to have multi-party politics

Journal 11/11/90

360

mended at the end of November. The MMD's first task will be to prove its own democratic credentials by holding internal elections for key positions and parliamentary candidates.

Different

The leaders of the new party are unlikely to be radically different from those who have played a prominent role in the MMD. They say they want to avoid any signs of a split or internal squabble that could be exploited by Unip.

The interim committee of the MMD is presently chaired by Mr Arthur Wina, a 61-year-old farmer and businessman

who was a founding member of Unip and Zambia's first finance minister. He fell foul of the ruling party in 1978 when he was prevented from standing as an MP.

Wina, who was also minister of education for a while, is an experienced and articulate politician. He believes in a free market economy and as far back as 1978 advocated open trade links with the then Rhodesia and South Africa. But observers say he lacks the charisma required for a presidential challenger.

Most analysts believe that that role is likely to be taken by the diminutive trade union leader, Mr Frederick Chiluba. As

head of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions since 1974, he has been the most consistent and outspoken critic of Kaunda's government.

He is a popular figure with many ordinary Zambians, and his popularity cuts across ethnic, class and even urban-rural divisions. Many Zambians attended mass rallies organised by the MMD just to hear the 46-year-old labour leader's fiery oratory.

Leading

Chiluba is the only leading member of the MMD who has not previously held senior positions in the ruling party. He has firmly resisted



President Kenneth Kaunda... one party rule

Unip's attempts to co-opt him and, by more covert means, to undermine his position in the labour movement.

Another leading light in the movement is Lieutenant-General Christon Tembo, the former army commander who until August this

year was standing trial with three other officers for his alleged involvement in a 1988 coup plot.

During the food riots and anti-government protests in June this year, a popular chant among demonstrators was "Kaunda out, Tembo in". Analysts say the general is popular in the middle and lower ranks of the army.

There is little doubt that once the MMD forms its own party, it will present a formidable challenge to the deeply unpopular Unip. It will have the mass support of the trade unions backed by the funds of prominent businessmen.

A team of Zambian professionals and academics are already drafting a manifesto. Some of the country's best lawyers are working on a new constitution. The new party has every chance of building a credible alternative to Unip.

Reasons

Much depends on its ability to stick together. There are reasons why it might fail. Younger, more radical members of the MMD do not want the party to be hijacked by former Unip members. And coming up with an economic policy acceptable to all sections of the party will be difficult.

But MMD members say they are aware of the pitfalls and want to avoid divisions at all costs. A desire to defeat Unip at the polls is a strong unifying factor. So, too, is the vision of an open and accountable government without the concentration of power in the hands of one man.

Zambia will never be the same again

THE stage has been set and Zambia will never be the same again — whether the people choose to retain one-party politics or opt for the multi-party approach shelved 17 years ago.

Political consciousness has dawned and the people want a system in which they fully participate.

On one side of the debate, the governing United National Independence Party's (UNIP) top leadership is set to defend at all costs and further entrench the nation into single-party democracy.

On the other side are the multi-party advocates, among them some former UNIP stalwarts who either threw in the towel or were unceremoniously axed from their leadership positions in the party and government, led by President Kenneth Kaunda.

Mockery

While the government promises continued peace and stability, the multi-party proponents dismiss these promises as "irrelevant" and "a mockery" in a hungry nation.

People cannot eat peace and stability, nor can they live on political history, they say.

A referendum seems the only way to settle the score, and while Kaunda has mandated it, the multi-party team insists on a few cardinal elements being straightened out first.

Among these are:

- The lifting of the State of Emergency in force since 1964, the year Zambia gained independence; and
- Supervision of the referendum process — specially the counting of votes by independent, preferably international, bodies. Kaunda has described this call as an insult that cannot go unpunished.

Zambians have become politically aware after 17 years of living in a one-party state. MWANGE KUASENI comments on developments in his country, promised a referendum to decide on its political future:

The present political upheaval is not unprecedented. There have been three coup attempts in 10 years — the latest in June this year.

Public anger also rose at the government's removal of unemployed people to resettlement areas.

In 1986 and earlier this year, food riots left dozens dead, some shot by the country's security forces, others trampled upon during scuffles.

Proponents for both single- and multi-party democracy have at least one strong point as a pillar of their argument.

The multi-party exponents say one-party politics breeds a lack of accountability by the ruling party and its government, inevitably leading to a miserable mismanagement of the economy — which in fact is in a battered state at the moment.

Tribalism

On the other hand, tribalism — the usual, old excuse — receives centre-stage treatment by the architects and now defendants of one-party democracy.

Multi-party politics cannot thrive in a country with 73 tribes, they contend.

As the combatants cross swords, the onlooker ought to be careful. When two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers.

The onlooker is the ordinary citizen who does not even seem to know what a referendum is. They need education. The crucial question at this crucial stage is who will educate them.

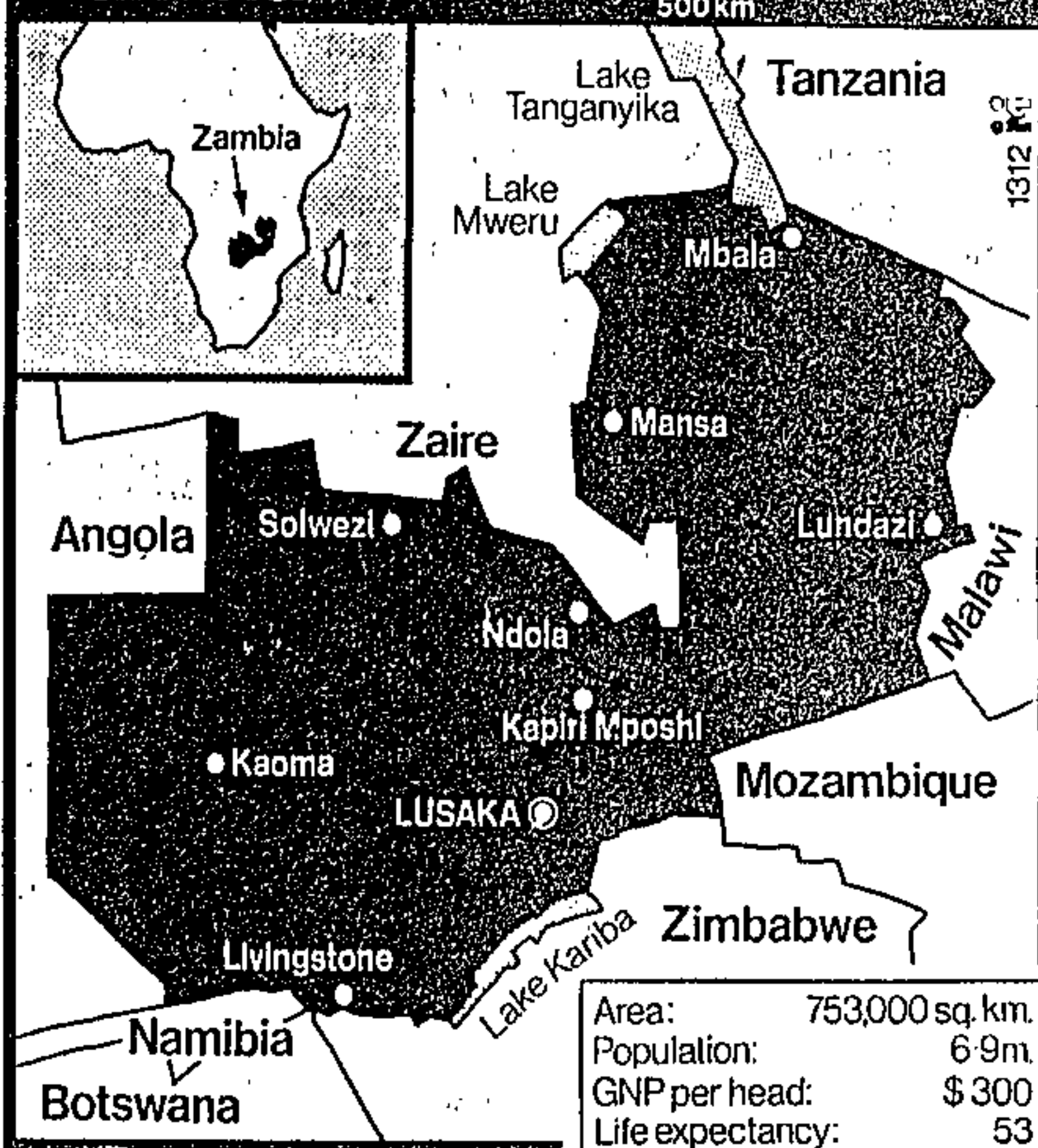
The merits and demerits of both systems must be honestly, openly and maturely exposed.

It would be cheap and cowardly, for example, for one to support the retention of the current system simply because he is a member of the Central Committee, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of one-party politics.

It would be equally unhelpful and unpatriotic, on the other hand, to oppose one-party politics just because one had a grudge against someone in the current leadership.

Only with real truth and freedom shall we become Zambians.

Zambia



End to Angolan war predicted

THE 15-year war in Angola could be over by the end of the year.

Both sides, the MPLA government headed by Eduardo dos Santos and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), predict at least a ceasefire by December.

While fighting continues, observers are asking who will inherit the war-torn, famine- and drought-racked nation which, on paper, could quickly rival South Africa's economic might if there were peace and coherent national management.

The stakes are high. Angola is embarking on a process of fundamental political and economic change that will either offer an opportunity to bring the original promise of democratic social transformation a step closer or run the risk of slipping into a neo-colonial status managed by Portugal, the former imperial master.

These are the options that have emerged from the diplomacy of the past year in Lisbon, Kinshasa, London, Harare and Washington DC, and the course of the war and economic crisis in the nation

itself.

On the military side, decisive intervention by the United States and its local ally Zaire on behalf of embattled Unita forces during a December-February offensive by Fapla, the Angolan armed forces, made the Dos Santos administration accept that it could not win the de facto war.

Strategy

As US military assistance flowed to the rebel group, the Luanda government embarked on a two-pronged strategy of negotiation and internal political change.

On the economic side, 15 years of war finally took its toll.

Between 1987 and 1989 the economy, which had managed to use oil revenues to pay its debts and devote 70 percent of its income to the military, slipped into debt for the first time since independence in 1975.

This caused the government to look at the chronic economic chaos and take up the suggestions of the International Monetary Fund to apply an austerity programme. — A/A

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BUSIN

Zambians get forex go-ahead

LUSAKA — Commercial banks in Zambia have been authorised to allow Zambians to operate foreign exchange accounts with them. *Blom 6/11/90*

The move was announced by Bank of Zambia governor Jacques Bussieres in Lusaka yesterday. *(360)*

It is believed that many resident Zambians working for international organisations and those outside the country earn a lot of foreign exchange in salaries and allowances but have opted to bank elsewhere.

Bussieres said forex accounts would only be open to non-resident Zambians working for international companies and groups, and resident Zambians employed by foreign institutions who were paid in foreign exchange.

Under this scheme, Zambians working abroad would, upon giving instructions, get their foreign exchange remitted to their local commercial banks. — ANO.



GET SLOSHED WATER

LUSAKA — Ugandan President and OAU chairman Yoweri Museveni has castigated his fellow African leaders for remaining in power at the expense of the " defenceless poor".

Speaking yesterday at a one-day national prayer breakfast called by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda for peace and reconciliation in southern Africa, he said: "The majority of us want to stay in power — and this is being done by oppressing and

African leaders criticised at breakfast

repressing others."

He chided his colleagues for clinging to power in the name of love and Christ despite the plight of the poor.

Sapa reports that SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha received wild applause while women ululated when he attended the prayer breakfast.

Botha said the time had come for apartheid to be abolished totally and to

work together with other countries for peace.

He assured the meeting that President F W de Klerk was committed to the abolition of apartheid and to work for peace and reconciliation.

The ANC was represented by NEC member Thabo Mbeki.

The prayer breakfast, an imitation of an annual American tradition where

rulers are invited to meet casually, unleashed speculation among political analysts in Zambia.

Many observers and diplomats believed it was one of Kaunda's efforts to improve his political image at home.

In his address, Kaunda called for reconciliation and unity, making special mention of SA.

Observers also believed that the

poor attendance at an occasion supposed to attract 14 heads of state could be attributed to Botha's presence.

Several invited leaders were also said to have snubbed the gesture because of Kaunda's "unstatesmanlike" behaviour during recent political events in Zambia.

The only two heads of state to accept the invitation were Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and his Ugandan counterpart. Other Frontline countries sent low-profile representatives. — ANO.

Pik's speech proves a big hit in Zambia

LUSAKA — Foreign Minister Pik Botha's visit to Lusaka seems to have made a big impression on most Zambians.

His speech, calling for greater economic co-operation among southern African countries, has become a talking point — a temporary diversion from domestic political issues.

Both state-run national newspapers on Thursday carried Mr Botha's speech as the lead item on the front page, with the Daily Mail carrying a picture of Mr Botha shaking hands with OAU chairman Yoweri Museveni.

State TV broadcast Mr Botha's speech at length late on Wednesday night. "I stayed up to watch it," said a local businessman. "It was very good. If we opened up trade with South Africa it could solve a lot of our problems."

MIKE HALL
Africa News Service

Political analysts say there is widespread support among Zambians, especially urban consumers, for the normalisation of economic ties.

In August the government lifted an official ban on the use of South African transport routes.

However, Mr Botha's visit brought little comfort to exiled members of the ANC in Lusaka, about 3 000 of whom are still waiting to go home.

Scores of ANC members, attending a celebration of the Great October Revolution at the Soviet Embassy in Lusaka on Wednesday night, scoffed at Mr Botha's speech, with most of them describing it as "deceitful".

However, judging by the reaction of most Zambians, Mr Botha's visit was a minor diplomatic coup.

Kaunda has a prayer of a chance

WHEN Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda held his much publicised prayer breakfast with regional leaders last week, he was also working to give himself a prayer of a chance for political survival.

But this week an angry anti-government riot highlighted the simmering popular discontent that Kaunda must face. The pitched battle between police and protesters took place in Choma, a small town 280km south-west of Lusaka, and 57 people were arrested. They were demonstrating in support of the nine leaders of the opposition Movement for a Multi-party Democracy (MMD) who were facing court charges for allegedly holding illegal meetings.

Since mass opposition forced Kaunda to "decide" that Zambia should return to a multi-party political system, after 17 years of his one-party rule, the canny leader has employed a number of tactics to regain a position of political credibility.

With the November 7 prayer meeting, Kaunda once again basked in the international media's limelight as a regional peacemaker and African statesman. Before national elections are held, in October next year, one can expect many more such media-friendly events designed to bolster Kaunda's flagging image.

Kaunda's survival strategy also centres on his ploy of co-opting the opposition by controlling the process of redrafting the country's constitution while at the same time using his party's still-entrenched power to repress growing opposition. This combination of tactics shows Kaunda skilfully managing the popular revolt against his one-party rule so that his political career may survive longer than his political system.

Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda is fighting for political survival ... and the canny leader has employed a number of tactics to regain credibility.
RACHEL WATERHOUSE reports from Lusaka



In with a prayer ... Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda

Zambia's long-term economic decline since the drop in copper prices in 1975 means living conditions have nose-dived for the majority of the people, once rank-and-file supporters of Kaunda's United National Independence Party (Unip). Many once well-fed Zambians now survive on one meal a day and are supporting the MMD.

Frightening evidence of the widespread discontent came in June this year with food riots and the army coup attempt against Kaunda. More orderly opposition to Kaunda's rule followed in July as the MMD was formed. Scores of thousands of Zambians flocked to rallies to demand the end of

one-party rule. As many as 200 000 turned up for the mass demonstrations in Lusaka and the cities of the Copperbelt.

"The hour has come, the hour has come!" chanted the crowds, highlighting the fact that Zambians across the board were calling for a dramatic change. MMD members cited the historic tide which swept out one-party states in Eastern Europe as inspiration for their demands to scrap one-party rule.

The MMD rallies are the first in Africa to match the size of those in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Of all the political changes taking place in Africa,

Zambia's grassroots demand for democracy is the most similar to the tumbling of one-party states in Eastern Europe.

Yet Kaunda has not fallen. He has so far managed to ride the political tidal wave and he may even be able to channel its force to be able to remain in office.

Finally seeing the overwhelming opposition to Unip's lockhold on power, Kaunda cleverly seized the MMD's main issue and made it his own by declaring that Zambia would return to multi-party rule. That was quickly approved by the National Council of Unip on September 24. Kaunda also promised steps to thoroughly democratise his party, an implicit admission that the party had become a creaking and self-serving bureaucracy.

But even as he billed himself as the new champion of multi-party rule, Kaunda has continued to use the ruling party's impressive power to make it difficult for the MMD to effectively organise. Police have begun refusing the MMD permission to hold rallies. The state-controlled national media — the daily newspapers, the television and radio — have strenuously avoided any coverage that could be construed as giving the MMD any credibility.

Instead Zambians see one Unip official after another warn they will not tolerate opposition supporters in their area. Various Unip barons have threatened that MMD followers will be sacked and will be evicted from their government houses.

Meanwhile Kaunda is steering the new Constitutional Commission to draw up a framework for the new multi-party system. Kaunda nominated two MMD members to sit on the 22-member constitutional body, but they refused, charging that the commission was dominated by Unip members and not a nationally representative body.

Zambia (360) reforms

26/11/90
Sapa-
Reuter
LUSAKA - Zambia's parliament will debate a constitutional reform bill next week to legalise opposition parties for the first time in 17 years.

Prime Minister Malimba Masheke presented the bill on Thursday and was quoted as saying debate would start next week.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda reluctantly bowed to pressure for an end to one-party rule in September and promised multi-party elections next year.

Kaunda, who has led the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) since independence from Britain in 1964, still favours single-party rule which he introduced in 1973. - Sapa-Reuter



Staff members of the Back to the Land project survey land that will be used for the farming programme.

ANC man's home bombed

The Lusaka home of ANC treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi was rocked by a powerful explosion last weekend.

ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said "minimal damage" was caused to the house and nobody was injured in the attack. Nkobi was on official ANC business in Scandinavia at the time. South 29/11 - 5/12/90 (360)

The ANC has not been able to identify the attackers or their motive. The bombing is the latest in a series of attacks directed at ANC officials in the Zambian capital. (360)

Between 1981 and 1988, 46 assassination attempts on ANC members living outside South Africa were reported.



Nkobi

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Kaunda fires two editors and minister of defence

LUSAKA. — President Kenneth Kaunda fired the editors of Zambia's two major newspapers without explanation yesterday after they had become increasingly bold in their coverage of the movement to restore a multi-party democracy.

Mr Kaunda also unexpectedly dismissed his minister of defence, Lieutenant-General Hananiah Lungu, who was appointed in the wake of an unsuccessful coup attempt in June.

"I have to regret that some of my ablest ministers have to be dropped," Mr Kaunda told a brief news conference to announce the dismissals, which came on the same day parliament scheduled final reading on a bill

restoring a multi-party democracy in Zambia.

President Kaunda, who in the past has placed budding military men in the diplomatic service, hinted that General Lungu might also receive a foreign posting but gave no reason for the demotion. He also commended General Lungu for a quick response to a recent attack in Zambia by right-wing Mozambican guerillas.

General Lungu was replaced by Mr Dodson Siatalimi, former minister of state for defence. At the same time, Mr Kaunda also dropped Mr Enos Haimbe, the minister of power, transport and communications, who is at present on study leave in Britain. — UPI

Kaunda fires MP and two editors

Star 5/12/90

360

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda has dismissed his Defence Minister as well as the chief editors of Zambia's only two daily newspapers.

He gave no explanation for the changes when he made the announcement yesterday.

Dr Kaunda told reporters, diplomats and government officials that Defence Minister Lieutenant-General Hannaniah Lungu would be replaced by his deputy, Dodson Siatalimi.

General Lungu, appointed defence chief in July after helping to crush a coup attempt, might be transferred to the foreign service, Dr Kaunda said.

The chief editors fired are Komani Kachinga of the Times of Zambia and Cyrus Sikazwe of the Zambia Daily Mail.

The editors said they were very surprised by the announcement but had no ill feelings towards the President.

The two have headed Zambia's only dailies for more than 10 years and have sometimes been criticised for not reflecting the line of the ruling United National Independence Party.

Under mounting pressure from trade union leaders, academics, students and former political loyalists, Dr Kaunda recently agreed to rewrite the

constitution and restore the Western-style democracy he inherited from Britain at independence in 1964.

Dr Kaunda (66) has also promised multiparty elections next year. But he has ordered the two dailies as well as State television and radio not to report on opposition activities.

"Perhaps the President thinks that the new political situation means that new leadership of the newspapers is needed," Mr Kachinga said.

Other analysts suggested that Dr Kaunda wants to exert more control over the press through less experienced editors.

Dr Kaunda named two academics to replace the editors. They are Bwendo Mulengela, University of Zambia lecturer in literature, for the Times; and Calvin Mutemweno, a lecturer at the President's Citizen College, an ideological training centre for the ruling party.

An opposition newspaper, the Sunday Express, which was to have been launched this week, did not appear on the streets after a State company refused to print it.

The newspaper had since found a private printer, the publishers said. — Sapa-AP.

Tambo returns to Zambia 360



Oliver Tambo

^{2/1/90}
ANC president Oliver Tambo arrived in Zambia on Friday for a seven-day visit after 15 months absence from the country following a stroke.

Tambo, 73, who looked frail, was met at Lusaka International Airport by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and senior government officials, members of the diplomatic corps and other ANC members.

In a short address, characterised by a struggle to speak, Tambo said Zambians should be invited to the independence celebrations of a new South Africa because of the contribution they had made towards the current political trends in South Africa.

^{9/12/90}
"I have waited for too long to be back in Zambia, and South Africa in particular, which I left more than 30 years ago," Tambo said as he praised the people involved in his treatment in Zambia, London and Stockholm.

A non-racial South Africa was imminent, Tambo said.

Tambo is expected to have a private audience with President Kaunda.

Diplomats in Lusaka commenting on Tambo's state of health hinted that he might cede power to his charismatic deputy, Nelson Mandela, during next week's consultative conference in Johannesburg.

Pik to meet

Kaunda for talks

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha is expected to travel to Lusaka tomorrow for talks with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda on the current situation in southern Africa.

Dr Kaunda disclosed this in Lusaka during an interview with the magazine, International Investors.

He said South Africa with its technological advancement had a key role to play in the economy of the sub-continent after apartheid had been dismantled.

Dr Kaunda also announced his government's readiness to lift sanctions against South Africa as soon as the ANC had given his government the go-ahead to do so.

Mr Botha last visited Lusaka in November along with a number of African leaders invited to a prayer meeting. — Sapa.

Kaunda 'happy' to go democratic

360 CAPL-TRIPS 18/12/90

LUSAKA. — President Kenneth Kaunda signed a bill yesterday to transform Zambia into a multi-party democracy after 17 years of one-party rule.

Dr Kaunda told journalists and top ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) officials assembled on the lawn of his state residence: "I'm doing this very happily indeed because I believe it is the wish of the people to go multi-party again."

The president added: "I compel myself to believe that after 26 years (of independence) we consider ourselves mature enough to shoulder the responsibility of run-

ning a multi-party democracy again."

The bill will amend the Zambian constitution to allow for the formation of political parties other than the ruling party to contest general parliamentary and presidential elections to be held before September 1991. ♦

Mr Arthur Wina, chairman of the opposition Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) said that the president signed the bill reluctantly, bowing to mounting pressure from former politicians, businessmen, students and trade unionists.

The MMD executive will meet today, Mr Wina said, to discuss the for-

mation of their own political party in the next few days.

He added that his movement intended to exercise maximum restraint during the transition period to democracy because the MMD believed in "change through peaceful and constitutional means".

But he said he was cautioning Unip not to provoke the population with inflammatory statements because the MMD would not be responsible for "the unfortunate results".

At the end of June, Zambia erupted into a week of bloody anti-government riots that left more than 27 people dead. — Daily Telegraph

Zambia on path to democracy

8/10/90 18/12/90

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda signed a Bill yesterday to transform Zambia into a multi-party democracy after 17 years of one party rule.

Kaunda told journalists and top ruling party officials assembled on the lawn of his state residence: "I'm doing this very happily indeed because I believe it is the wish of the people to go multiparty again."

The president added: "I compel myself to believe that after 26 years (of independence) we consider ourselves mature enough to shoulder the responsibility of running a multiparty democracy again."

The Bill will amend the Zambian constitution to allow for the formation of political parties other than the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) to contest general parliamentary and presidential elections to be held before September 1991.

Arthur Wina, chairman of the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), said the president had signed the Bill reluctantly, bowing to mounting pressure.

The MMD executive will meet today, Wina said, to discuss the formation of its own political party in the next few days. — Daily Telegraph.

Shop shuts as boycott grips Transvaal town

8/10/90 18/12/90

THEO RAWANA

ONE shop has closed down and another is set to follow as the boycott of white-owned business begins to bite in Louis Trichardt.

The boycott was initiated by the local Consumer Boycott Committee after about 40 Blanke Bevydings Beweging (BBB) members attacked 30 black children on an outing in a park in the town.

It was also instituted to back demands for the upgrading and opening of nearby Tshikota township, from which blacks were removed and resettled elsewhere in the early 1980s, and the opening of the town's CBD to all traders.

Jobs

Local Soutpansberger newspaper editor J du Plessis said the situation was serious and the food and clothing sector was the worst hit.

"One shop has already closed down and another is to follow soon," he said. He declined to elaborate on how many businesses could be eventually affected.

"Other businesses are pulling hard too, and the worst thing is that people are losing jobs." He said a resolution to the boycott was not expected before the end of the year.

fore the end of the year.

Consumer Boycott Committee spokesman Jerry Ndou said yesterday the TPA had acceded to the demand that Tshikota township be redeveloped and opened to all.

Ndou said the parties engaged in talks to end the boycott — the TPA, the boycott committee, the town council and the local Soutpansberg Sakekamer — last met about two or three weeks ago. "They delivered a letter to inform us that Tshikota would be redeveloped."

A decision to end the boycott could not be made until a mandate was received from the area's political structures, Ndou said.

"Discussions are continuing with local structures to investigate to what extent our demands have been met. The boycott must go on until a mandate has been given to the committee by the structures," he said.

Demands and plans for the boycott had always been in place but the BBB attack on the children hastened the action, he added.

Sakekamer spokesman Brink Schlesinger was not available for comment.

Zambia ends Star 18/12/90 one-party rule

(360)
LUSAKA — Seventeen years of one-party rule ended yesterday as President Kenneth Kaunda approved new laws legalising opposition political parties.

Immediately afterwards leading opponents of the government said they would soon announce the formation of a political organisation to contest Western-style elections scheduled next year.

President Kaunda signed the constitutional amendments at a brief ceremony in Lusaka.

Gathered

"I'm doing this very happily indeed because I believe it is the wish of the people to go multiparty again," he told party officials and reporters gathered at his official residence.

He said multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections would be held before September 1991.

Since President Kaunda declared a one-party state in 1973, his United National Independence Party has been the only legal political party.

In a separate statement in Lusaka, a spokesman for the Movement for Multiparty Democracy said the group would register as a political party after a meeting of its officials today.

"We intend to exercise maximum restraint



Kenneth Kaunda.

throughout the transition period to democracy because we believe in peaceful and constitutional means," said MMD chairman Arthur Wina.

Constitutional amendments allowing for a return to multiparty democracy were approved unanimously by the 125-seat parliament on November 30. The amendments needed President Kaunda's signature to become law.

President Kaunda, who led the former British colony of Northern Rhodesia to independence as Zambia in 1964, has been under mounting pressure in recent months from pro-democracy activists demanding wide-ranging political reforms.

The MMD was founded in July, shortly after 27 people died in police and army gunfire during rioting touched off by increases in food prices. — Sapa-AP.

Kaunda 'proud' of SA

CHT Tails 19/12/90 360

PRETORIA. — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia yesterday publicly praised President F. W. de Klerk for his courage and said he felt proud about what he was witnessing in the new South Africa.

He was speaking during a meeting at State House in Lusaka with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. K. Botha, and other senior officials of the minister's department.

Mr. Botha arrived in the country yesterday at the head of a seven-man team.

A news release by the Department of Foreign Affairs here yesterday said that earlier Mr. Botha had been received by his counterpart, General Benjamin Mibenge.



Dr Kenneth Kaunda

Mr. Botha explained the irreversible nature of the process of change in South Africa, the statement said. Racial discrimination was no longer a consideration; the National Party had taken a decision to open its ranks to allow membership by all South Afri-



Mr Pk Botha

cans irrespective of colour, he said. He told Dr. Kaunda the South African cabinet had taken a final and irreversible decision to repeal the Group Areas and Land Acts.

Mr. Botha also thanked Dr. Kaunda for his statement in recognising that it was in the interest of the region that South Africa should take its rightful place at the table of Southern African states.

He said South Africa should be included in formulating the economic policies in the southern region since his government has repealed racial laws.

"We are looking forward to a day when we will be included in the economic plans of Southern Africa."

"That day is coming and we hope that soon, we will be participating effectively in the economics of the region."

"A fruitful exchange of views took place on how peace could further be promoted regarding Angola and elsewhere in Southern Africa," the statement said, also quoting Dr. Kaunda as saying he felt proud about what he was seeing in South Africa.

Diplomats speculate that the talks centred on South Africa opening a trade mission with Zambia. — Sapa-
Reuter

Kaunda breaks new ground by praising FW

B/day 19/12/90

360

TIM COHEN

ZAMBIAN President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday publicly praised President F W de Klerk for his political courage, during a meeting with Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the State House in Lusaka.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman hailed the meeting with one of SA's most outspoken critics as a breakthrough and said the department was "very pleased" with the way the trip had gone.

Botha has now visited Lusaka twice in two months. His first visit was to attend a prayer meeting along with representatives of the Frontline states last month.

Botha, accompanied by senior officials of his department, visited Lusaka for a day and was received by Zambian Foreign Minister Benjamin Mibenge, according to an SA government statement.

Kaunda acknowledged and thanked De Klerk for bringing about a new era in SA and assured Botha of his support during the period of transition, the statement said.

Kaunda said he appreciated the difficulties which would be encountered, but urged De Klerk to continue with his reform initiatives.

Botha thanked Kaunda for his statesmanship in recognising it was in the interest of the region that SA take its rightful place at the table of southern African states.

In private discussions with Kaunda, matters of concern, particularly regarding the peace process in Angola and elsewhere in southern Africa, were addressed.

A fruitful exchange of views took place on how peace could be further promoted, the statement said. A department spokesman said, however, that specific trade projects were not discussed.

Botha told Kaunda the SA Cabinet had taken a final and irreversible decision to repeal the Group Areas and Land Acts.

Racial discrimination was no longer a consideration as the NP had formally decided to open its ranks to all South Africans.

Kaunda praises F W 360

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

876 19/12/90
Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday told Foreign Affairs Minister P. W. Botha that he wanted to publicly praise President de Klerk for his courage.

President Kaunda said he felt proud about what he was witnessing in the new South Africa.

Mr Botha, accompanied by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden, and senior officials, visited Lusaka for one day yesterday.

In a press release issued by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs from Lusaka, some details of the meeting between President Kaunda and Mr Botha were given.

Mr Botha thanked President Kaunda for his statesmanship in recognising that it was in the interest of the region that South Africa should take its rightful

place at the table of southern African states.

He explained the irreversible nature of the process of change in South Africa, saying racial discrimination was no longer a consideration. The National Party had taken a decision to open its ranks to all races, and the Cabinet had taken an irreversible decision to repeal the Group Areas and Land Acts.

President Kaunda acknowledged and thanked Mr de Klerk for bringing about a new era, and assured Mr Botha of his support during the period of transition. He appreciated the difficulties that lay ahead, but urged Mr de Klerk to continue with his initiatives.

The two men discussed issues related to the peace process in Angola and elsewhere in southern Africa. The statement said a fruitful exchange of views took place on how peace could be further promoted.

High Court deals a blow to Kaunda³⁶⁰

star 20/12/90
LUSAKA — The High Court yesterday dealt an embarrassing political blow to President Kenneth Kaunda's government, ruling that state authorities illegally stopped opposition rallies.

It was also a victory for the independence of the Zambian judiciary, often accused in the past of being manipulated by political leaders.

The state is expected to appeal to the Supreme Court, the highest judicial body in the country, according to sources.

Judge Bobby Bwalya, in a landmark judgment, said the fledgling opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy was lawful and its members' constitutional rights of freedom of association, assembly and expression had been violated.

The judge also found that the state acted unlawfully in refusing to grant the movement permission in October to organise public political rallies.

He delivered his two-hour judgment three days after President Kaunda approved new laws to legalise opposition political parties and announced that multiparty elections would be held late next year.

"Those who expressed different views from the (ruling) party were labelled dissidents," the judge said. "But their voices could not be muzzled."

Support for the Movement for Multiparty Democracy emerged in the face of widespread corruption, official mismanagement, unemployment, galloping inflation and food shortages. — Associated Press.

Hanging victim

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Zambia's first opposition party in 17 years

Star 21/12/90
LUSAKA — Campaigners for Western-style democracy yesterday registered Zambia's first opposition political party in 17 years, pledging to fight elections for control of the presidency and parliament.

The Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) will pose the first major threat to the founder of the

nation, President Kenneth Kaunda, and his ruling United National Independence Party since independence from Britain in 1964.

It is also the latest in a series of African opposition movements to emerge since the collapse of communism in eastern Europe.

"It marks a milestone not only in the history of the

MMD but in the history of our country," said Arthur Wina, the new chairman, as he formally launched his party from the gardens of the secretariat in the Lusaka suburb of Kalundu.

Mr Kaunda (66), bowing to mounting widespread pressure for political pluralism, on Monday amended the

Constitution to legalise opposition parties.

Previously, he said multi-party elections for the presidency and the 135-member rubber-stamp legislature would be held before October next year.

The Democrats, as they are known, still need approval from police and the Registrar of Societies.

Abusive Kaunda fights dirty

LUSAKA — Nearly a year before Zambia's first multi-party elections in almost two decades, President Kenneth Kaunda has mounted sharp attacks on opponents — prompting diplomats to suggest that he is worried about being ousted.

"He is no longer sure-footed and appears nervous," said one Western diplomat.

"This is going to be a no-holds-barred competition. Kaunda is already hitting below the belt and it seems he's planning to go on fighting dirty."

President Kaunda, who has ruled Zambia since independence from Britain in 1964, grudgingly bowed in September to popular pressure for a return to multiparty politics after a 17-year monopoly by his United National Independence Party (Unip).

Abusing opponents

Although the elections are planned only for late next year, President Kaunda has been quick to heap abuse on the fledgling opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), branding its leaders political thieves, anarchists, demagogues and disgruntled elements.

He recently accused the MMD of plotting a military coup with the help of United States-backed rebels in neighbouring Angola.

And he has been clamping down on freedom of expression in the already muzzled national media and on the rights of the MMD to hold meetings.

The 66-year-old president's decision to allow multiparty elections followed rioting in Lusaka in June sparked by sharp increases in the price of basic foods. Twenty-six people died.

President Kaunda insists Unip will win the elections. "Let us take them on, comrades. I am more than ready to lead Unip in an election against any party or parties in this country," he told his party.

'No holds barred' in run-up to elections



Kenneth Kaunda ... no longer sure-footed?

Coup alleged

In spite of the rising tide of opposition, he still says unitary government is the only way to avoid tribal conflict.

Alleging a military coup conspiracy by the MMD, President Kaunda said the movement had asked the Angolan rebel group Unita to "train some Zambians so that they could attack us from west and northwestern provinces".

"They have realised that they do not stand a chance against Unip. They are no match for Unip. That is why they are planning to launch guerrilla warfare with the help of Savimbi," he said.

Both the MMD and Unita have denied the allegations and the MMD has threatened to take legal action against the state to clear its name in court.

President Kaunda has put a tight lid on coverage by Zambia's two state newspapers of the transition to pluralism, replacing their chief editors with a political education teacher and a university lecturer.

State radio and television, which he left untouched, have not covered most opposition rallies.

Dictate to media

President Kaunda said last month he would dictate "terms of reference" to the mass media.

He recently signed a constitutional amendment bill passed by parliament allowing opposition parties.

Before the constitutional change, the government had instructed police not to give permits for the MMD to hold meetings. Several MMD leaders are facing charges of illegal assembly for holding private consultations.

Diplomats say President Kaunda's behaviour shows he is out of touch with the sceptical mood of his people.

Of Zambia's eight million people, five million were born after independence in 1964 and over half the population lives in cities.

Young Zambians no longer support Unip just because it led the country to independence 26 years ago.

Their allegiances to one or other of the country's 73 tribes have been whittled away over the years and they say President Kaunda's arguments about tribal conflicts resemble those of British colonial rulers in the early 1960s.

Mr Joseph Miyindu, a 23-year-old unemployed Lusaka resident, said President Kaunda had overplayed the tribal card over the years to rally people around him. — Sapa-Reuter.

Zambia Airways feels fuel price pinch

LUSAKA — Zambia Airways has with immediate effect stopped buying aviation fuel in Lusaka for its outgoing international flights because it is too expensive.

Announcing this yesterday, an airline spokesman said Zambia Airways was no longer able to offer passengers non-stop flights from Lusaka to London as its aircraft would stop over at an unnamed point in West Africa to buy cheaper jet A-1 fuel.

Figures showed the price of aviation fuel in Zambia had gone up by more than 250% in the last few months.

The spokesman pointed out that at current levels, fuel was costing 170% more in Zambia than other countries similarly af-

ected by the Gulf crisis.

He said when one considered that fuel accounted for up to 40% of the airline's operating costs, "one sees the threat that the high price has posed to the existence of the airline." *360* *28/12/90*

The spokesman said management had been left with no choice but to embark on the measures as all efforts to reduce the price had failed.

The airline had accordingly adjusted the departure and arrival times of its outgoing international flights.

Arrival times of incoming flights were, however, not affected. — ANO.

MD of Zambia Airways sacked

LUSAKA — Zambia Airways MD Godfrey Mulundika, who said last week that the flag carrier would stop buying aviation fuel from a state-owned company, had been fired, state radio reported on Friday.

No reason was given for his dismissal, which was announced by Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (Zimco), a state company to which the airline was accountable.

Mulundika had said Zambia Airways had access to cheaper aviation fuel from West Africa. (360)

The decision was taken in the interest of the airline's survival, he said.

Industry sources said international airlines flying to Zambia were refuelling in neighbouring countries to avoid Zimco's high prices. — Sapa-Reuter.

ZAMBIA - GENERAL

1991

JANUARY — OCT.

IS PREPARED TO QUIT

But he does not believe there is a viable alternative to rule by Unip

In this exclusive interview with VERONIQUE EDWARDS of the BBC, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, who has been at the helm of his country's government for the past 26 years, talks about the forthcoming switch to multi-partyism, the possibility of him giving up the presidency, and who is likely to succeed him.

C/Press 6/11/91

(360)

Does this move to multi-partyism mean single-party politics, so long cherished by you, has failed?

We have done so well under one-party participation that there has been peace since we became one party.

What has led to this change is simply that some of our fellow men felt they should have a go at the government. We are going through tough economic times and this has led to organised mass rallies. I refer to these as protest rallies because people are feeling the belt-tightening effects of our economic recovery programmes.

We discussed these issues at a national party convention and I proposed, through the party organs, to call off the proposed referendum and go straight into organising a multi-party system.

This has now been done, but it does not mean I have lost confidence in the single party. I think that is the right system for us. However, we are a democracy and so we will try multi-parties as we did before. The system failed then; we hope and pray it does not fail this time.

What kind of alternative political forces can you see emerging in the future under the multi-party system?

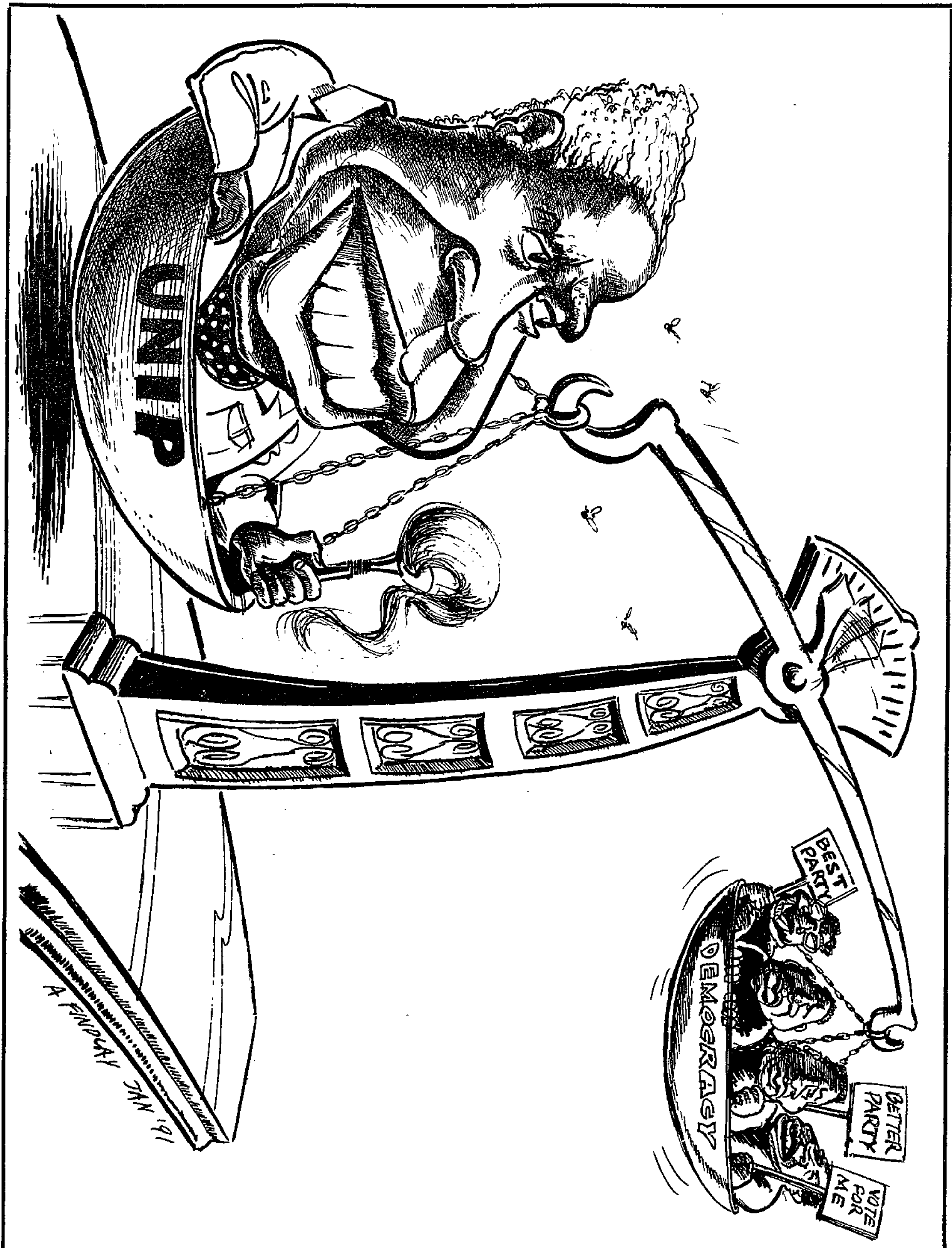
It is difficult to predict anything at this time, but I believe that those people who do not regard the United National Independence Party (Unip) as the right political force to run this country will build up some opposition. In my opinion, it will not be any opposition to speak of.

Do you think it would be worth having such an opposition?

I think we should show the people that they have the chance of changing this government if they so wish – and then prove to them that an alternative to Unip does not exist in Zambia.

Multi-party elections are due early this year. On what platform will Unip campaign?

We will campaign on our record, a proud record. What we have worked for has centred on one thing: the importance we attach to man. I cannot see how anybody can say that, overnight, we are changed animals. We are on course... times are difficult, but then these difficult times are everywhere. I think the people of Zambia will choose wisely, choose correctly; they will choose Unip.



Will you personally accept an election result that votes your party out, or will you fight on?

(Long laughter), Veronique, if I may call you so, I am a democrat through and through. I want to believe that my contribution to my beloved country will continue through the doors of democracy. If the people of Zambia should decide Unip is no longer the party they want to lead them, that will be their decision. We will accept it and abide by it.

Is it right to say that the economic stagnation in Zambia reflects political stagnation?

There has been no political stagnation; there have been economic problems. These problems are worldwide and we have our share – that is why people are feeling the pinch. Zambia is certainly very much alive politically.

Under the one-party system, Zambia has formed many left-leaning international alliances, such as with China, the PLO and North Korea to name a few. Will the new Unip seek ties with countries like South Africa, Taiwan and South Korea?

We are now, and have been, non-aligned. We don't believe in the divided world we have inherited. We have forged links with the East and the West.

If we have been unfriendly towards South Africa, it has been because of the abominable policies of apartheid. As it is now, De Klerk and Nelson Mandela are talking. As soon as they abolish apartheid, I tell you, Zambia will be the first to propose that South Africa be accepted in the OAU; should join the PTA and SADC and South Africa should be with us when we preside over the ending of the Frontline States.

But in spite of all you have said, it has not stopped Zambia from trading with South Africa?

Well, we have not done as much trade as we would like to with South Africa. Had we done so, our economy would have been much better. We are in the doldrums because we believe in the importance of man.

If, as a result of the next elections, Unip ends up as the main opposition party, would you be prepared to preside over the new government if asked, or step down gracefully?

It can't happen that way. But should an accident happen in politics and the other parties form a coalition and I am asked to do so, then I have a duty to the nation to lead the government. If they don't, I will bow out gracefully and go back home and settle down.

C/Press 6/11/91 (360)

You have dismissed the opposition as "political non-entities". Do you think it makes for healthy politics if competing parties cannot accept, let alone respect, each other?

Oh! I accept them very much but I am not sure they expect me to respect them. Let them look at my record and I also must look at their records. If you dabble in public life, that is the only way to go about it.

In a recent interview with the BBC, you said you couldn't see anyone else capable of running Zambia. But you have not given anyone the opportunity, so how can you be so sure?

I didn't say what you allege I said. I meant no-one in the opposition. Unip has a lot of young men and women, who are capable of taking over from me when the time comes. I will be happy to hand over to such men, and women in Unip. But outside the party, I cannot see anyone.

So who are the people in Unip that you are prepared to hand over to?

They are here (pointing to himself and laughing).

How soon are we going to know who these people are?

I hope soon. I am 66 years old now. I have appointed a number of my colleagues to various positions to expose them to the public.

I have no doubt at all in my mind that one of them, sooner perhaps rather than later, will be able to take over from me. I have trained a number of them and I am happy with the work I have done. The future of Zambia in terms of leadership is bright.

What will happen to Zambia when there is no President Kaunda?

That is exactly what I am saying, young lady. There are young men and women who know how to control the robes of State. They will be quite capable.

We have a philosophy and I test my colleagues against it as much as I test myself. I also observe how they respond to the challenges of their personal lives. I line them up and say this is number one, this number two, number three and number four. One of these four will come out as the leader.

Is there a possibility that we might see a woman sitting in your place someday?

I can't rule it out, it is a distinct possibility.

Have you ever wondered what you would have done had you not become president of Zambia?

A peasant farmer, that's my line. I was a Teacher and I liked my job, and when I leave I am going straight to the land.

Finally, when does a president know it is time to go? It is difficult for anyone to say this or that. I must come and ask me that question when I am before. — NEW AFRICAN

ZAMBIA'S PRESS SHAKEOUT

ZAMBIAN president Kenneth Kaunda has personally been involved in a big shakeup of the country's Press, in which he has sacked the editors of the two leading newspapers and replaced them with university lecturers.

This follows a trend already set by Kaunda in elevating academics to top media positions, infuriating professional journalists.

Moves have also been made to hamper the production of new publications. *APR 6/11/91*

The sacking of the *Times of Zambia* and *Daily News* editors in early December comes as the government seeks the upper hand before formal confirmation of a multi-party system at the end of this year.

The *Times of Zambia* belongs to Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party and the *Daily News* is owned by the State.

Both editors had headed their papers for more than a decade and sometimes were criticised for not toeing the line of the ruling party. But neither the papers nor State radio and television have ever murmured a reproachful

word against Kaunda himself.

A government printing company refused to produce the *Sunday Express*, a proposed independent weekly with no apparent links to any political movement.

But executive director Haggins Chewie is undaunted. He has contracted a private printer and hopes the paper will go daily by next month.

Calvin Mutemweno, who has been made editor of the *Daily News*, is a lecturer at the President's Citizenship College — an ideology training centre.

Opponents say the new editorial appointments owe more to party loyalty than to journalistic experience.

The new editor of the *Times of Zambia*, Bwendo Mulengela, a university literature professor, says he wants to see the newspaper make money and be more critical.

He says Kaunda chose him because he demonstrated publicly that Zambia had a literary past to be proud of.

"I want to make it clear from the outset that I have not been appointed to muzzle the paper and report in a parochial, narrow-minded way as a champion of Unip.

360

"I have friends on both sides of the fence; in Unip and the opposition. This does not make it harder for me but just gives me a more balanced view."

Journalistic ethics will prevail, he says, and photographs and stories of the president plus leading Unip members will not always appear on the front page of the *Times* as they do now.

His main aim is to make the *Times* a "money-spinner" with a hefty bank account derived from increasing the paper's circulation from the present 35 000 to encompass the whole region and simultaneously attract international advertising.

"Our financial success will be better than critical opinion columns can ever be to highlight the economic malaise in this country," he says.

Mulengela appears more concerned about selling copies than improving the content of the paper.

But he says he wants to develop critical opinion columns, introduce investigative journalism, get journalists to travel to rural areas and other countries to find stories, and begin a monthly review digest. — AIA, Sapa-AP

So who will be Zambia's next president

MOVE down the seething streets of Lusaka, Kitwe or Livingstone, or take to the village roads in the wild countryside and you will hear that speculation over the next Zambian president has become the hottest tongue-wagging topic.

Everyone knows that Kenneth Kaunda, at 67 and with 26 years of power under his belt, is going for his sixth consecutive term with all the organs of government backing him.

His opponent will almost certainly spring from the Multi-Party Movement for Democracy (MIMD) which Kaunda has grudgingly allowed to emerge as opposition. Multi-party elections are expected before September this year.

But nobody knows who will lead the MIMD, despite probing inquiries from local and foreign journalists.

In Mongu, Western Province, a hotbed of opposition, former Finance

Minister and present MIMD chairman Arthur Wina is considered "the man for the job".

But in Livingstone, Vernon Mwan-gaa, former globe-trotting diplomat, writer, editor and once Zambia's youngest Foreign Minister, is considered the most likely lad.

Yet in the north, in Luapula and the northern provinces, Fred Chiluba, head of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (Zactu) and MIMD vice-chairman of operations and organisation, is the man whose platform rhetoric attracts the masses.

In a downtown Lusaka pub the preferred candidate was former Unip party chief Humphrey Mulemba. So who will the MIMD put forward?

The MIMD seems to be planning to fight as a party without picking one presidential candidate who would immediately become identified with a par-

ticular tribe or region. Kaunda has warned that multipartyism will lead to tribalism. Maybe his opponents are taking steps to ensure he has no clear target to attack.

Chiluba, who could summon the 300 000 union vote, is heavily backed for the vice-presidency, though he still denies he has any political ambitions.

But Kaunda is still in the driving seat. The parliamentary constitutional commission set up by him to work out a new constitution is Unip-dominated.

The commission may yet cut the ground from under the feet of the MIMD by saying all parties must register a presidential candidate.

Analysts think the only candidate with sufficient political clout to lead the alternative party would be Mulemba.

He is the man most feared by Unip, although not necessarily the most

popular choice of rank-and-file

MIMD members, who might prefer Chiluba. Chiluba might be the best organiser and biggest crowd-puller, but Mulemba has experience and wealth on his side.

This view was strengthened by the fact that Mulemba, co-founder of Unip and former close ally of Kaunda, resigned from Unip last month — swearing his allegiance to the MIMD, which became a recognised political party after Kaunda ended 17 years of one-party rule on December 17.

Mulemba, 55, handed in his party card and formally relinquished the Solwezi East parliamentary seat.

He told reporters he was disillusioned with the ruling party because of what he described as its "undemocratic nature".

Mulemba is the first influential Unip legislator to officially join the ranks of the MIMD. Others are expected to follow his lead in the next few weeks, reflecting deep divisions within Kaunda's party.

Mulemba denied he quit Unip only because of its flagging popularity in the face of campaigning for a return to unfettered Western-style democracy. But, laughing, he added: "I would not like to be in a sinking ship, otherwise the rats will eat me."

Mulemba, coming from the least-developed North Western Province mainly comprising minority tribes, would be the best choice to neutralise the giant tribal bloc votes in the east (Ngoni), south (Tonga), west (Lozi) and north (Bemba).

One observer thought the MMD's priority was to show it was neutral, not tribal: "I think the MMD would like to use Mulemba for that. The bigger tribes can still hold key posts with the president (Mulemba) balancing the whole power structure to avoid a monopoly."

Mulemba is already being targeted by Unip. His Solwezi farm recently lost crops worth thousands of kwacha after Unip's notorious youth activists were alleged to have set fire to his fields.

Prior to his resignation, attempts had been made by Unip to sack him from the party and parliament and it was only the High Court which finally saved him on appeal.

But the more Mulemba is targeted by Unip and feared by his opponents,

the more likely he is to emerge as the next presidential candidate.

Meanwhile, Chiluba is spoken of as the MMD vice-president, economist Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika is tipped to be Minister for Finance and National Development, lawyer and MMD legal committee chairman Levy Mwanawasa could be Minister of Home Affairs while Wina could be the father figure and party chief.

Kaunda is manoeuvring to hold on tight to the levers of power. His recent reshuffle saw two chiefs in opposition hotbeds propelled to top party slots.

Biggie Nkumbula, son of a father figure in Zambian politics, Harry Nkumbula, was promoted from junior to senior minister in a move aimed to appease the Tongas in the south where opposition to Unip is stronger than ever.

But nothing could be done to persuade the two other sons of Nkumbula to desert the MMD. — NEW AFRICAN Sapa-AP.

: ECU

ENTITY NO 3783 LABOUR RES UNIT - ECONOMICS

LEDGER FOR THE PERIOD 01-12-1990 TO 31-12-1990
USE ONLY ACCOUNT LIST E

DUCHER NO. DATE ACCOUNT CODE DETAILS

MOVEMENT YEAR TOTAL

13138 31/12/90
13138 31/12/90
13138 31/12/90

E RABAJI CANCEL ADV
A RUITERS CANCEL ADV
I SDOLES CANCEL ADV

BAL CFMD

100.00 CR
313.19 CR
100.00 CR
1,928.85 CR

585.75



What, me worried? . . . President Kenneth Kaunda will face real opposition for the first time since independence.

110377

Cohen, Kaunda in sanctions talk

LUSAKA - The lifting of sanctions against South Africa is thought to have been raised by Herman Cohen, the American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, in talks with President Kaunda of Zambia in Lusaka. (280) (360)

On his arrival yesterday Cohen said in answer to a question at a news conference that the question of sanctions against South Africa was likely to feature in the talks. Sowetan 11/11/91

The Bush administration is thought to favour the lifting of sanctions to encourage further reform in South Africa and Cohen's statement suggests he may advocate a similar attitude among the Frontline states, of which Kaunda is the leader.

Cohen said he was in Lusaka at the invitation of Kaunda, who had asked him last year to visit Zambia early in 1991, the Africa News Organisation reports.

On the question of the conflicts in Angola and Mozambique, he said he was optimistic that there would be a ceasefire in each country this year. - Sowetan Africa News Service.

Zambian Women's stand

CIP News 13/1/91

360

MARRIED women are fighting the Zambian government for the right to receive housing benefits and have pregnancy leave.

The initiative has been stimulated by the Women's Rights Committee (WRC) which comprises eight prominent lawyers – seven of them women.

The most recent controversy started in April when the government amended the Employment Act to give a 25-percent-of-salary housing allowance to women "irrespective of their marital status" for the first time in

the country's history.

This ruling had most impact on married women, because this group had been denied payments on the grounds that they were the responsibility of their husbands.

The WRC put an open letter in the *Zambia Daily Mail* stressing that employers must pay all women employees housing allowance or provide them with accommodation.

The WRC said it was "appalled" that the civil service – the largest employer in the country – was one of the biggest cul-

prits in ignoring the amendment.

The lawyers appealed to all employers to comply with the Employment Act and provide maternity leave and housing allowances. They also urged all female employees who felt they had been victims of violations of the Act to contact the WRC.

But only four days after the WRC's letter was published, labour minister Lavi Mulimba revoked the April amendment.

Economic analysts say this was undoubtedly another move by the govern-

ment to tighten its spending as part of the IMF-World Bank economic austerity programme it has been following since mid-1989.

But the September amendment clearly states that employers must pay married women housing allowances for the four-and-a-half months the April amendment was in force.

The WRC's secretary, Elizabeth Muyovwe, said: "This new amendment hurts those women most who are earning the lowest salaries, depriving them of even the slightest chance of improving their economic position."

The WRC recently decided that because so many women had been denied housing allowances,

Kaunda faces stiff challenge from new opposition parties

By GREG MILLS

LAST November the Zambian Parliament unanimously passed a bill allowing opposition parties to be formed. This amendment came soon after President Kenneth Kaunda agreed, under considerable domestic pressure, to revert to multi-party politics abandoned in 1973.

The 66-year-old president and his United National Independent Party (Unip), which together have ruled since independence from Britain in 1964, face a serious challenge from the burgeoning opposition movements in elections scheduled for this October.

Three opposition parties have already been formed: the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), the National Democratic Alliance and the Democratic Party. The most impressive of these is the MMD, created initially as a lobby for multi-partyism. Campaigning under the slogan "The time has come", the movement claims a membership of some one million (out of Zambia's total population of 7.5 million) and firmly believes it will sweep the polls.

The Mineworkers' Union of Zambia and the umbrella Zambian Congress of Trade Unions have endorsed the MMD. Representatives of Zambia's two-million-plus Catholic community have deplored the lack of proper accountability in the present political system, and threatened to boycott a national referendum on a multi-party state scheduled for last October. This threat never materialised as Kaunda first postponed the referendum, and later scrapped it altogether when it became clear the re-

A FEAR OF COUP ONE VITAL FACTOR IN CHANGE OF HEART

sult would be a foregone conclusion.

For the government, the loyalty of the 162 000-strong armed forces is also in doubt. There have been a number of attempted coups during the past decade, the most serious and recent of which was last June. Although events were dismissed by government officials as the action of a frustrated army lieutenant, Mwamba Luchembe, it was apparent that he represented the political mood and had the hesitant backing of senior officers, several of who later lost their positions.

Among them was the army commander and the Inspector-General of Police.

Real fear

The 1990 attempt followed a countrywide uprising against the doubling of the price of the staple mealie meal. Lieutenant Luchembe's announcement on national radio that the army had taken over was greeted

with jubilation in the townships. A week of violent rioting and looting in Lusaka, Kitwe, Kafue and Kabwe left 28 killed and more than 100 injured — reminiscent of the Copperbelt riots in December 1986 which also followed a rise in food prices.

The very real fear of a successful coup attempt sooner or later was likely an important factor in Kaunda's change of heart on multi-partyism but the move towards political pluralism seriously jeopardises his political future as he so obviously favoured the retention of the one-party system. Even after the parliamentary vote in favour of multi-partyism, Kaunda warned against this goal which "would only bring chaos to the nation" and appealed to its advocates to rescind their decisions and "come back to the fold".

At other times he has labelled multi-partyists "misfits, malcontents, drug-peddlers and dissidents". Some would agree that multi-party politics will fragment Zambian society, wasting energies which could be put to better use improving the economy. However, whether the president's strategy was designed as a means of consolidating his power base or of preserving national unity is debatable.

Some see an inconsistency in the approach of a leader who has widely espoused the caring face of "political humanism" being so opposed to the democratic process currently sweeping through Africa.

As Kaunda's name has been synonymous with Zambia's bleak economic fortunes since the early '70s, he could well prove to be the fall-guy if Unip is to win the

contested election. It has been suggested privately that the president should follow Julius Nyerere's example and retire to a ceremonial position.

Nonetheless, Unip members and the president appear outwardly confident of their election chances. With its rural support, organisational base and control of the media, Unip might yet win. And the opposition might yet splinter into a number of contesting groups around ambitious leaders or along tribal lines.

But Kaunda should not shoulder all the blame for his country's economic difficulties. The long civil war in Zimbabwe, during which Zambia hosted Joshua Nkomo's Zapu guerrillas, took a tremendous toll of the Zambian infrastructure. Similarly, as home to the administrative headquarters of the ANC, Zambia occasionally became the target of Pretoria's destabilisation campaign.

Sharp fluctuations in world mineral prices have worsened the crisis. Despite some improvements in the level of agricultural production, the economy still depends on mining for its foreign earnings.

In recent years the government has attempted to apply various IMF loan packages which have included harsh austerity measures — economically good sense but politically untenable. These have included the phasing out of the government maize subsidies.

The Zambian currency, the kwacha, has also been devalued in line with IMF reforms. The resultant high prices for imported goods have been made worse by the



KENNETH KAUNDA: Zambia's economic difficulties not all his fault.

high oil price (Kuwait was Zambia's chief oil supplier). The price of regular petrol rose 500% between last March and October.

Despite these factors beyond its control, corruption, ineptitude and shortsightedness have characterised government policy. Dissension from the government line has not been tolerated and legislation has deliberately not encouraged the direct foreign investment essential for economic growth.

Intimidation

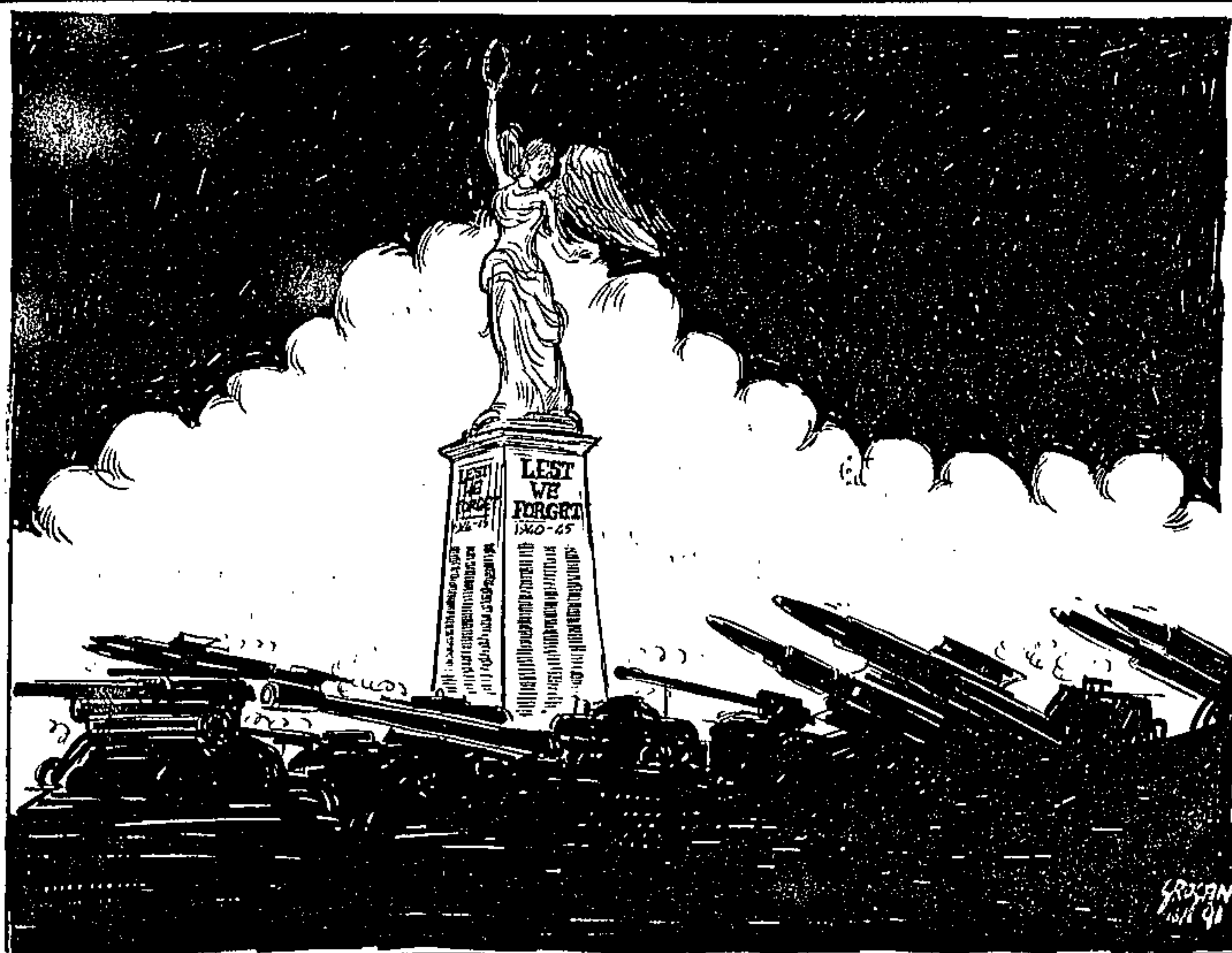
Despite great strides towards multi-partyism in 1990, serious hurdles to the liberalisation process remain. For one, the media — through the National Media Corporation — disseminate exclusively the Unip line. Government interference has been intended to maintain this monopoly.

In November last year the president replaced the editors of Zambia's two leading dailies, warning that the newspapers would be expected "to toe the Unip line and not glorify opposition parties". The MMD has not taken such intimidation passively: its leaders last year instituted legal proceedings against the state for banning media coverage of the movement.

The Zambian path from benign dictatorship to multi-party democracy is of special relevance to southern Africa. South Africa, in particular, could gain much encouragement and learn many lessons from a smooth transfer of system of rule. Zambia's management of its tribal divisions will need to be closely scrutinised.

However, just as one would expect FW de Klerk (and the National Party) to cede rule to a majority-elected government in South Africa, given the level of political discontent, it will be a notable feat if Kenneth Kaunda remains as the truly democratically-elected President of Zambia.

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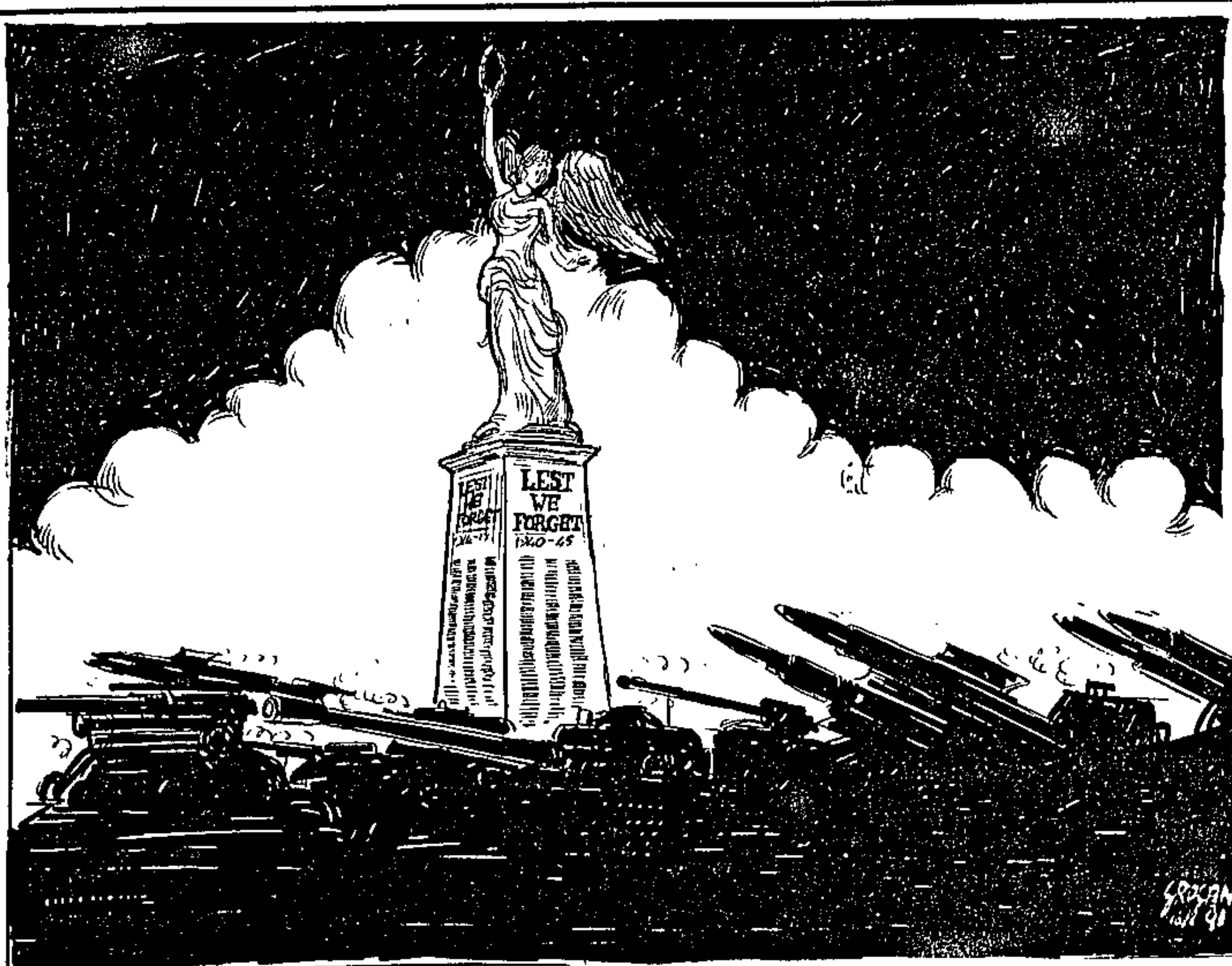
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Mandela visits exiles

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Mandela said on arrival that negotiations with President FW de Klerk were still on course.

"There is always the hope of reaching a settlement, if the spirit is there," Mandela said.

He is scheduled to stay two days in Lusaka, the Zambian capital that has served as the ANC head-

quarters until the movement was legalised by De Klerk as a prelude to constitutional talks last year. (360)

An ANC official said Mandela would discuss with exiled leaders the impending repatriation to South Africa of 3 000 ANC cadres still living in Zambia.

"We are making preparations for them to leave," said ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina.

The repatriation, approved by Pretoria, has been delayed by factional fighting in South Africa. Sapa-AP.

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Reliability

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Incoming Process/Finished good inspection
Inspection error
Sampling Inspection
Presenting and Interpreting Frequency
Distributions and Control Charts

Programme to help matrics

AS unsuccessful matric pupils register for new exams, the Department of Education and Training has introduced programmes to help pupils prepare.

Pupils have up to tomorrow to register for the exams.

Those who obtained more than 20 percent can write again from March 8 to 24 at a cost of R27 and those who obtained less than 20 percent may write between May 26 to June 6.

For the supplementary programmes, the DET has obtained permission to use lecture rooms, staff and study material from the private sector.

Students enrolled in the programmes will be permitted to use DET textbooks and study-aids until the end of exams.

They will also have access to last year's question papers.

The DET has also arranged venues where candidates can receive study aids and guidance, empty classrooms, adult education centres and under-utilised teachers' or technical centres.

In addition, subject advisers are available to help teachers involved in the programmes.

Newspapers and radio and television stations have committed themselves to helping the programmes by publishing or broadcasting study material.

"It is most important that candidates should fully avail themselves of this opportunity to improve their qualifications," director-general of Education and Training Dr Bernard Louw said.

Candidates should approach principals of the schools where they wrote their examination about the arrangements.

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1991/11/17
Soweto

Copper output ³⁶⁰ falls in Zambia

LUSAKA — Zambia's copper production has dropped drastically in the past few months, while cobalt production has risen, according to the Bank of Zambia's economic indicators for January. *for 30 1191*

Zambian copper production in December 1990 was 32 903 tons — a sharp decline from the 40 458 tons recorded in September.

Zambia derives 95 percent of its earnings from copper.

— Sapa.

Kaunda's son must stand trial, rules court

Call Time 30/1/91 360

LUSAKA. — A Zambian high court judge on Monday vetoed an attempt to halt the trial of President Kenneth Kaunda's son Mr Kambarage Kaunda, 27, for manslaughter.

In the Lusaka High Court, Mr Justice Clever Musumali rejected an application by the defence to appeal to the Supreme Court against the judge's earlier ruling that Mr Kaunda stand trial.

He said an appeal could not be heard before a trial took place.

Mr Kambarage Kaunda, a commercial pilot, is alleged to have shot and

killed Ms Tabettha Mwanza on September 3, 1989 after she had jilted him.

Initially, the former Director of Public Prosecution, Mr Francis Mwiinga, ruled that the president's son had shot her in self-defence and closed the matter. But the case was revived when fresh evidence emerged about circumstances surrounding the shooting.

The new Director of Public Prosecution, Mr Gregory Phiri, found there was sufficient evidence to bring a charge of manslaughter.

The case is to be heard today. — Sapa

Zambia denies arms violation

Sowetan 5/2/91.



360



LONDON - The
Zambian Govern-
ment has strongly
denied being party to
arms deals between
South Africa and Iraq
in violation of the
United Nations' em-
bargo.

The denial was con-
tained in a letter by the
Zambian High Com-
missioner, Mr Edward
Lubinda, to the *Indepen-
dent* newspaper in
London yesterday in
response to a news report
it carried to this effect last
week.

The news report, based
on a military source,
claimed South African
long-range ammunition
for the G5 155 mm artil-
lery piece was still being
supplied to Iraq up to De-
cember, and that the
South Africans were paid
in gold in Lusaka on De-
cember 18 during a meet-

ing with Saddam Hussein,
which was facilitated by
Zambian President Ken-
neth Kaunda.

The report was vehe-
mently denied by the
South African Govern-
ment.

In his letter, Lubinda
said he was not in a posi-
tion to comment on al-
leged artillery co-
operation between South

Africa and Iraq.

"But we are con-
cerned at the suggestion
Zambia was party to the
violation of the UN arms
embargo.

"We take strong ex-
ception to the deliberate
fabrication of news in the
name of journalism.

"The fact is that Dr
Kaunda has never ar-
ranged any meeting be-

tween the President of
Iraq and South African
arms dealers to exchange
Iraqi gold for South Afri-
can arms.

"We need not remind
your paper that Zambia is
a landlocked country
whose stand on South Af-
rica is well-known to all
people who are well
meaning."

"We do not see any

reason why Zambia could
have offered to host a
meeting aimed at violat-
ing the UN arms em-
bargo.

"Is it not Zambia and
other African frontline
states which have for
years fought in vain
against Western military
collaboration with South
Africa?" he asked. -
Sapa.

Simple answer to pressman's fearless question

8/24/91

360

It was the kind of incident that every official spokesman dreams about but seldom has the pleasure of experiencing.

It is perhaps unfair that it happened not in one of the Western countries where the free and powerful press give officialdom a hard time at news conferences, but in Zambia, where President Kaunda's spokesmen have long been used to telling the news media where to get off.

Still, even vicariously, the story will warm the cockles of the hearts of those Western spokesmen who have to duck and dive under the blunt questioning of reporters who do not have to be afraid of the politicians.

It happened at a news conference in Lusaka that was being conducted by President Kaunda's spokesman. A brave reporter stood up and put it to His Master's Voice that there was a rumour going around that the former Zambian army commander, Lieutenant-General Christon Tembo, had disappeared.

General Tembo, it will be recalled, was unsuccessfully tried with other officers for his alleged involvement in a coup plot. He became something of a folk hero among Zambians disillusioned with Dr Kaunda's rule.

During the mass demonstrations against the government last June crowds chanted: "Kaunda out, Tembo in." The general has since become a leading figure in the multiparty movement that has forced Dr Kaunda to promise an end to one-party rule in Zambia.

All of this apparently gave the reporter the courage to suggest to the State House spokesman that the general had been arrested and to thunder out the question: "Where is General Tembo now?"

The spokesman savoured the moment only briefly before pointing over the reporter's shoulder and saying mildly: "He's standing right behind you."

It seems the general, probably unaware of the reports of his arrest, had turned up at the conference simply to keep up with the news.

Out of
Africa

GERALD
L'ANGE



Yes, well, everyone knows that reporters live dangerously.

However, the mere fact that the journalist was able to ask the question demonstrates the new sense of freedom that is said to be permeating Zambia now the Unip party's exclusive power has successfully been challenged from the streets.

Not that everything is now, sweetness and light; Unip members have been accused of bully-boy tactics in an attempt to ensure that it does not lose the coming multiparty election.

Safto explores ^{B/pay 14/2/91} ~~Zambian~~ port

BEVERLY HUCKLESBY

REPRESENTATIVES of eight SA companies will visit Zambia later this month to investigate facilities at Mpulungu, an inland harbour on the southernmost tip of Lake Tanganyika.

The visit is being conducted under the auspices of Safto. (360)

The development of the harbour will facilitate the transport of goods up the lake to the inland port of Bujumbura in Burundi and then on to east Africa.

The first phase of the Mpulungu harbour project was financed by the EC and involved the restructuring of the harbour into a storage wharf and the upgrading of existing warehouses. The second phase examined containerisation.

Safto's Africa Business Development group manager Paul Runge said SA participation could supplement the project.

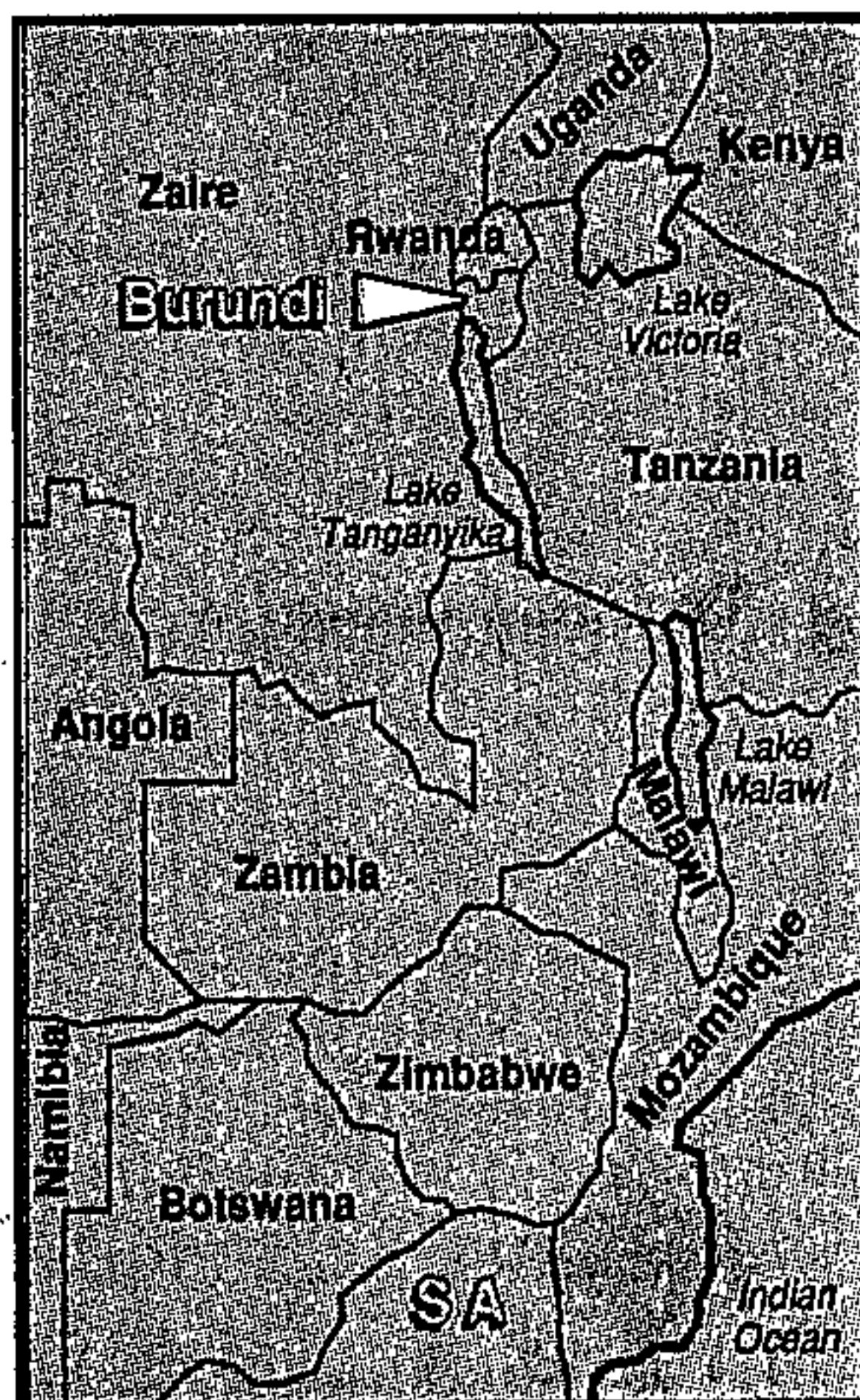
The project, which is seen as the beginning of a new era for SA business ventures into Africa, will provide an auxiliary route for export into central Africa and generate much-needed foreign exchange.

Runge said yesterday the route was a strategic one for SA as it was the only established north-south route in existence through which SA transported goods to countries north of Zambia.

"The visit is purely an exploratory one to establish whether SA can play a supplementary role in the second phase of the project. At the moment the biggest problem of transporting goods into Africa is that Mpulungu is not large or modern enough to handle containerisation which would augment the volume of traffic."

At present machinery and basic construction materials, cement and sugar were being transported into central Africa. With the reconstruction of the harbour, it would be easier for SA to transport fragile cargo perishables such as food, he said.

"The Burundians are excellent middlemen and quite able to distribute SA products as far north as southern Sudan."



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

Women DO wear the pants here

Special Correspondent

A ZAMBIAN company, whose slogan is "Women Helping Women", has turned these words into action.

Run entirely by women, H-P Development helps women start their own businesses with capital from female shareholders.

Most Zambian women cannot turn to established financial institutions for loans to launch their own businesses.

Commercial banks require substantial collateral — and the consent of the husband if the woman is married.

Because of this, less than 15 percent of the clients of small business organisations in Zambia are women, according to representatives at a YWCA seminar held last month on "Hindrances women face in starting their own businesses".

Participants at the seminar said women who established businesses faced unique problems which rarely affect

men.

Many husbands were not supportive and did not allow their wives to keep money they earned.

They also became jealous as a financially independent wife raised questions like "who wears the trousers in this house?"

Most women also have to bear the burden of household chores and

child care — which leaves little time for business work.

In the face of these problems, lawyer Tsitsi Himunyanga-Phiri — the main promoter behind H-P Women's Development Company — offers some hope to aspirant businesswomen.

Her company assists women who have been refused by other financial

institutions to create self-sustaining businesses.

Education and collateral are not necessary requirements for recipients of H-P's funding, says administrator Phoebe Kaniki. "Only knowhow and experience are important."

The company raises money by issuing "development bonds" to women who want an in-

vestment with a higher rate of return than the banks.

In the two years H-P has been operating, 32 women entrepreneurs have been financed.

"Some people still can't believe H-P is run entirely by women.

"They think a man has to be behind it," says Himunyanga-Phiri with a laugh.

The frontier between Zambia's Copperbelt and Zaire is one of Africa's most dangerous areas, reports John

Dodging bandits on Africa's hell run

THE taxi driver in Ndola guns his motor through an acute left-hand bend and we almost land up in a maize field.

The driver, Adam, has good reason to be apprehensive about what might lie around the bend. He also has good reason not to be taking me along this particular road, although he was the only taxi man in town prepared to.

On this bend, at nine in the morning three months ago, Adam encountered a gang of bandits with AK-47s. They fired a burst through the rear window as he sped away, annihilating his dashboard and almost removing his left arm.

The bandits, Zaireans from across the border with Zambia, were after the taxi. Not this one, but another of two more Adam plies around the streets of Ndola.

Misundu Road, which runs north from the Copperbelt city to the closest point of access to Zaire, is less than 10 km long. But kilometre for kilometre it must be one of the most hazardous

stretches in Africa.

Two people a day die here, numerous others are assaulted. Two vehicles are stolen daily, mainly at gunpoint. The casualties are Zambian civilians killed by the bandits or — less frequently — bandits killed by patrols of the Zambian Army.

The army's record in the area is not good. As we continue through the lush maize belt, the vehicle an object of suspicion for the few people along the route, Adam points to a man-made forest on the rise.

That, he says, is where the Zaireans conceal themselves, and the Zambian patrols have not yet found the courage to try to clear them out.

"The bandits will attack a car or rob people just passing," he says, "and the patrols will come by and by. But at that time the Zaireans are back in the forest."

"They wait until they see what the soldiers are doing and then they go again to Misundu Road at another point and attack somebody else."

Adam claims to know that many of the bandits are actually members of Mobutu Sese Seko's army, underpaid and underfed because of the erosion of Zairean finances.

That certainly is possible, although automatic weapons are freely available in southern Zaire. Hundreds found their way there, via Zambia, after the Rhodesian war. Banditry is rife along all routes linking the two countries, but not as monstrous as in this isolated area.

A kilometre short of the border, we come in sight of an army road-block. Adam will go no further. He explains that the soldiers may think the taxi is a stolen vehicle and subject us to long and tedious questioning.

With dusk falling, we head back to Ndola. The road is deserted now, the people barricaded in their houses for the night. This is the time death stalks most of all.

Vehicles are not the only target of plunder along Misundu Road. The bandits also go for foodstuffs

like mealie meal, sugar and cooking oil — all of which are in short supply in Zaire. And, of course, foreign currency.

Many Zambian farmers around the Copperbelt try to smuggle their produce across the border because they can get a higher price from Zaireans than the state co-operatives offer — and they get paid more promptly.

Fewer trucks, however, use Misundu Road these days. Most farmers would rather go the longer way around through Mufitira or Chingola, linking up with convoys on more secure routes.

Similar smuggling happens along the eastern border with Malawi, siphoning off a significant proportion of Zambia's agricultural output.

But Zairean involvement in the Zambian economy has taken an even more destructive form in the past.

In 1989, a Lusaka bank teller was sorting through a pile of notes when he came upon two with the same serial number. On further

inspection, he found several more duplicates.

A national audit of all bank stocks was ordered and revealed that Zambia had almost three times more kwachas in circulation than had officially been printed. The only possible explanation was that the additional notes had been introduced through Zaire, as payment for smuggled or legally consigned goods. Hong Kong or Singapore were thought to be the most likely points of forgery.

Immediately, the government closed Zambia's border and began withdrawing all the old kwacha. In the process of printing new currency, it decided to introduce a new denomination — a 100 kwacha note. Previously, the biggest had been 50 kwachas.

Some weeks later, an Indian shopkeeper in downtown Lusaka was tendered a 100 kwacha note, the first he had seen. He accepted it, then had second thoughts and took it to the bank.

It too was bogus, though obviously forged from stolen plates. Zambia's 100 kwacha notes had

Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko...
been printed by them but not issued.
They have yet to be, while the government waits for the rest of the forgeries to surface. — Star Africa Service. □



Run the gauntlet of Death Road

NDOLA - The taxi-driver guns his motor through an acute left-hand bend and we almost land up in a maize field.

The driver, Adam, has good reason to be apprehensive about what might lie around the bend. He also has good reason not to be taking me along this particular road, although he was the only

The frontier between Zambia's Copperbelt and neighbouring Zaire is one of the most dangerous areas in Africa. Sowetan correspondent John Ryan reports on an ongoing chronicle of banditry - and death. Sowetan 25/2/91.

taximan in town prepared to.

On this bend, at nine in the morning three months ago, Adam encountered a gang of bandits with AK-47s.

They fired a burst through the rear window

as he sped away, annihilating his dashboard and almost removing his left arm.

The bandits, Zaireans from across the border with Zambia, were after the taxi. Not this one, but another of two more

Adam plies around the streets of Ndola.

Misundu Road, which runs north from the Copperbelt city to the closest point of access to Zaire, is less than 10km long. But kilometre for kilometre it must be one of the most

hazardous stretches in Africa.

Two people a day die here, numerous others are assaulted. Two vehicles are stolen daily, mainly at gunpoint. The casualties are Zambian civilians killed by the bandits or - less frequently - bandits killed by patrols of the Zambian Army.

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Rob

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Border

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Zambian opposition meets to elect leader

LUSAKA — Zambia's fledgling opposition movement opened its first national convention yesterday to mount an unprecedented challenge to President Kenneth Kaunda's leadership.

"The days of one-party rule are gone," declared Movement for Multi-Party Democracy chairman Arthur Wina.

Mr Kaunda (66) outlawed all opposition groups in 1973.

But under pressure at home and abroad he rewrote the constitution in December to restore Western-style democracy. He also promised free elections by July.

Mr Wina, a founder of Mr Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party and Zambia's first finance minister, told more than 1 000 delegates the Democrats would soon control the nation of 7.5 million.

The three-day convention aims to elect a president and 37 shadow cabinet ministers who will challenge Mr Kaunda and his party in elections this year.

There are four contenders for the presiden-

cy of the Democratic Movement. The victor will challenge Mr Kaunda at the polls.

Fredrick Chiluba (46), popular chairman of the powerful 300 000-strong Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, is the favourite, conferees said.

Mr Chiluba, the son of a worker in copper mines that earn Zambia nine-tenths of its export income, is often compared to Polish President Lech Walesa.

Detained

He has never been in political power. But in 1981 he was detained under emergency laws for four months for trade union activism.

Ranged against him are Mr Wina (61), former ruling party secretary-general Humphrey Mulemba (58) and attorney Edward Shamwana (57).

Mr Shamwana was freed with other political prisoners last July after 10 years in jail for plotting a coup.

The elections for the presidency of the opposition party will be held today. — Sapa-AP.

ANC moves on 'pirate' goods

By Stan Hlophe

The ANC has copyright over its name, logo, colours, flags, slogans and the names of some of its key leaders, and the manufacturers of products bearing any of these have been warned of possible legal action.

At a wholesalers' function hosted by the ANC this week, the organisation's financial head, Vusi Khanyile, said there

had been a proliferation of ANC-related products since the ANC's unbanning and the release of Nelson Mandela.

He urged wholesalers to liaise with the ANC. "We are prepared to produce whatever the market demands, but we would like your assistance to stop the pirate products from being sold. We are now calling on all of you only to buy from the ANC directly."

Zambia ^{STW 313191} too late for rescue

TOO LATE to save the Zambian economy has come the decision to return to multi-party democracy. The economy, battered by falling markets and civil wars, is in tatters.

"It will take us at least 10 years to repair the damage done to the economy by one-party rule," says a Lusaka spokesman for the new main opposition party, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD).

"We cannot attribute the ruin of the Zambian economy to the one-party State alone," counters Sam Kongwa, an Africa Institute researcher in Pretoria and a Zambian.

Contributing factors are the dependence on copper and the neglect of agriculture, the brain drain, Rhodesia's UDI, the invidious position Zambia found herself in at independence, attracting liberation movements from South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and civil wars in Zaïre and Mozambique.

"Also, the policy of the Government itself and the effects of nationalisation, as in all of Africa, scared away investment."

Mr Kongwa says prospects for the Zambian and the southern African economy are better now than any time since independence, given the change in the international situation and improved relationships in the region.

By CAS St LEGER

"Democracy per se might not have substantially changed the economy. But Zambians themselves are the first to agree that the system did not produce the best results.

"The one-party State was seen as the engine of development marshalling the resources of the country, building up one nation by bringing all the tribes together. The intentions were good, but nobody foresaw the consequences of this type of rule."

Andre du Pisani, managing director, research, at the Institute of International Affairs, agrees that the one-party State has not delivered its promises. Instead of strengthening the State, it undermined it.

Powerful

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One-party rule tends to become personal rule. Zambia's experiences with the International Monetary Fund prove that it and President Kenneth Kaunda are ill-equipped to deal with a powerful international organisation.

The three arguments for a one-party State have been demolished. The arguments are that such a form of government enhances national integrity, facilitates development and is the most appropriate form of democracy for Africa.

Zambia's one-party rule harmed de-

velopment, public policy and economic management.

Zambia is to have a democratic government by October this year. On September 27, 1990, the United National Independent Party (Unip) announced that multi-party elections would be held within a year. President Kaunda signed the law ending nearly 18 years of one-party rule on December 17.

"One-party democracy in Africa as a whole has proven a failure," says Ludwig Sondashi, a member of Unip's central committee.

Population

Less than a month after parties other than Unip were legalised, five new groupings emerged, the largest being MMD.

MMD has overwhelming popular support, particularly from the trade unions which shed their backing for Unip after restrictive labour legislation was introduced.

In response to a fear that MMD's popularity could result in Zambia's becoming once again a one-party State, two break-away parties were formed — the National Democratic Alliance (Nada) and the Democratic Party.

Three other obscure parties — the Multi-racial, the Spiritual and the People's Liberation — are of little consequence.

The national debt has been mounting since Dr Kaunda broke with the IMF in

1986. At the beginning of 1990, it stood at \$7-billion — or \$1 000 for every Zambian man, woman and child. It has been estimated that Zambia needs \$2-billion in aid this year.

At independence in 1964, Zambia had economic promise. It had abundant natural resources, mineral deposits, good agricultural land and a population of only 3-million.

Today that population has swollen to 7.5-million, half of whom live in towns. A total of 32% live in shanty towns.

A cholera epidemic which broke out early in 1990 continues. It has been caused by deteriorating sanitation and services. Only 30% of Lusaka's sewage is water-borne and only 40% of water consumed is considered safe.

The economy operated on a free market system and foreign investment was encouraged at independence. But four years later there was a dramatic change. The free market was the first casualty.

Under the economic reforms of 1968, the State acquired a 51% share of all medium and large enterprises. Non-Zambians were banished from the retail trade. The effects were devastating.

By 1970, copper mining, the largest industry, was State-owned. In 1975, freehold title to land was abolished. All land — except tribal — reverted to the State and became available only on 99-year lease.

Dr Kaunda was extolled for "putting the economy in the hands of the people".

Today, 80% of the economy is in the hands of State monopolies run by political appointees, derisively referred to as "the stone throwers" (those who rose to political prominence associated with throwing a few stones at the colonial police).

Each year, the monopolies have recorded huge losses, made good by subsidies. Subsidising consumption became State policy.

Rallies

Dr Kaunda dubbed 1978 the Year of Economic Take-off. Then followed the Economic Crusade, Operation Food Production and so on. Ultimately he went to the IMF for support. When a tough IMF package resulted in a meal-price rise and caused riots in 1986, Dr Kaunda did away with IMF help.

Last June, 27 people died in rioting which followed doubling of the price of mealie meal.

As a result of rallies calling for a multi-party nation, the State marketing monopoly was broken and the retail price of mealie meal was cut by 20%. In mid-August last year, Dr Kaunda accused multi-partyists of receiving "dirty money, blood money and killer money" from abroad.

Desperate to brush away Gobwehs

South 7/3/13/3/91

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President Kenneth Kaunda

IN Zambia's two main political parties, the younger generation is fighting to remove their old leaders before the country's first multiparty elections in 18 years are held before July.

The split is between the old freedom fighters — "the stone throwers" who fought for independence from Britain in 1964 — and the younger politicians, who were only teenagers or young boys at the time.

A relatively young but senior-ranking United National Independence Party (UNIP) member of parliament brought the issue clearly into focus when he recently returned from a 10-day election campaign.

"President Kaunda and the old guard are an election liability," he said. "My constituency says they have to go or UNIP will lose the election." People blame Kaunda's ruling elite for

As Zambia gears up for its first multiparty elections in 18 years, a war is raging between the "old guard" politicians and their younger counterparts now calling for new blood in the leadership. MELINDA HAM reports:

their falling living standards over the last 15 years.

Schools have few books or desks. The overcrowded hospitals have insufficient drugs and equipment. Inflation reaching more than 100 percent a year has pushed prices of basic commodities beyond the reach of the majority of the population.

Defensively

The UNIP government defensively points to external factors such as the oil crisis in the mid-70s, the poor prices for copper — the source of more than 90 percent of Zambia's annual foreign exchange earnings annually — and South African destabilisation.

But Zambians are tired of hearing excuses. The relative economic success of

their neighbours Botswana, Malawi and Zimbabwe, seems to prove to them that the continuing economic deterioration is due in large part to severe mismanagement and failure to diversify away from copper.

The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) is not immune from the UNIP stigma as most of its interim leaders are defectors from the ruling party. Some former UNIP stalwarts in the MMD also have questionable track records. The younger generation say they want new blood in their leadership and a code of ethics to automatically disqualify those with dubious backgrounds.

President Kaunda promised last September that a "new-look UNIP" would be created and that recommendations of

a parliamentary select committee to democratise UNIP and the government would be implemented. None of this has happened yet.

However, Kaunda has taken some steps to pacify his critics. He recently announced that at the upcoming UNIP convention anyone within UNIP could challenge him for the position of presidential candidate. No one has had the courage yet to step forward.

Permitted

He has also permitted international observers at the elections — if the opposition invites them.

But neither the opposition nor Western diplomats have forgotten that, despite this magnanimous gesture, Kaunda still has wide-reaching powers under the state of emergency regulations to detain anyone without trial who "endangers state security".

Parliament, of which two-thirds is presidential appointees, has the power to repeal the emergency. But political analysts say this is unlikely to happen before the elections because, they believe, Kaunda wants a final card to play if he gets into a tight corner.

AFRICA FOCUS

Dirty politics in the time of cholera

W/mael s/l3 - 14/3/91

DISEASE has taken on political meaning in Zambia as President Kenneth Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) is being held responsible for the country's current cholera epidemic.

"Unip is cholera," was a chilling slogan at a rally of the ruling party's main opposition, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) held recently in Ndola, a northern city hardest hit by the outbreak of the deadly disease.

More than 600 Zambians have died in the cholera epidemic which has engulfed the country, the latest manifestation of the effects of the deteriorating social services and the crumbling economy. It is Zambia's second cholera outbreak in two years.

The disgust Zambians have for the spread of the disease has taken on distinctly political overtones, showing Kaunda's Unip to be in political ill-health. Five months after Zambia was swept into multi-party politics, the country is now preparing itself with enthusiasm and confusion for its first open elections in 27 years.

Kaunda's Unip and the MMD are already campaigning vigorously for the elections set for October. On December 17, 1990 Kaunda repealed the laws

which since 1973 had forbidden the formation of other political parties. Yet the MMD has had to campaign under heavy restrictions. Only last month Zambia's courts ruled that the government-controlled news media could openly report on the MMD's activities. Previously the state-owned broadcasting and news media avoided virtually all coverage of the multi-party opposition.

Unip has been able to take advantage of the government's well-established communications network to take the election campaign to the most remote parts of the country, while the MMD has had to rely on the dedication of the thousands of Zambians who hope that political change will bring improvements in their standards of living.

"The Zambian of today wants to look beyond being promised an egg every day for breakfast to the realities of who will be able to handle today's economic difficulties," said accountant Martin Bwalya. "We want people who will de-

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liver the goods that have been promised the last 27 years."

The younger generation in the MMD, less exposed to politics, is concerned about the growing number of defections by veteran politicians from Unip to the MMD. Seven parliamentary backbenchers and one influential Zambian politician have switched camps to join the MMD.

Said one of the MMD supporters: "For the sacrifices that people have made and are continuing to make, I do not think it will be fair to present to them a leadership which still has the Unip stigma hanging on it. People are tired of Unip leadership and indeed of Unip as a party."

Some of the personalities who have been in the forefront of the MMD's push to return to plural politics have come under scrutiny because of their track record of dubious dealings which the ruling Unip may deliberately expose. Some have already been labelled drug traffickers. Even the most opti-

mistic MMD members view the issue cynically.

"We have reached a point where immorality is accepted as something that cannot be changed. It is there in the MMD and in Unip but no one cares. Everybody is getting away with crime," said an MMD supporter. So far no MMD leaders, young or old, have put forward a comprehensive plan to attack Zambia's economic woes.

MMD supporters greeted with relief, therefore, the election last week of Frederick Chiluba as the head of the party and as the candidate who will challenge Kaunda to be Zambia's next president. Chiluba, the secretary-general of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), is untroubled by corruption and has a longstanding record of opposition to Unip.

A good speaker based in the populous northern Copperbelt, Chiluba has an ardent following there, especially among the ZCTU's 400 000 strong membership.

The ruling Unip has its own inside squabbles as the younger generation threatens to be given a chance in power. "Unip is a strong party with all the infrastructure in place but as long as the politburo leadership continues in office we fear we will lose the elections," said a senior Unip official. "This will be the

case if Kaunda's old clique remains."

Informed sources within Unip have warned of a major split if the veterans do not give way.

Still the shrewd politician, Kaunda (66) has attempted to create the illusion of new democracy in his party by declaring his willingness to be challenged by others as Unip's president.

"Let those who wish to stand on a Unip ticket do so," said Kaunda to senior party officials last month. "I will fight them and beat them."

Kaunda's real hope lies in the somewhat remote possibility that his economic reform programme, unveiled last June, will show improvements in Zambians' day-to-day lives. The 55-billion kwacha (R7.5-billion) plan includes projects aimed at improving social services such as health and transport. Experts do not rate the programme as very different from Kaunda's series of ineffective economic revitalisation plans launched throughout the past 10 years.

"It is an economic turnaround that Zambians want," said a Lusaka observer. "They hope the new parties and new candidates will bring new, effective solutions to the country's economic slide. The upcoming election process will only be meaningful if candidates provide new answers to the present economic problems."

AFRICA

Zambia says \$3bn is owed this year

LUSAKA — Zambia's gross financing requirements for this year have been projected at \$3.1bn.

This reflects Zambia's large external debt service burden and its efforts to regularise its position with external creditors.

According to February's update of the Economic and Financial Policy Framework meeting between the IMF and Zambia, the financing plan provides for \$87m in payments to Paris Club creditors this year including about \$54m in December.

Deferred

During December 1990, Zambia's external debt stood at \$8bn.

Paris Club creditors have agreed to reschedule pro-cutoff-date maturities due at the end of this year and have also deferred part of an interest moratorium.

Despite the total debt service — amounting to \$1.9bn due this year, the government would limit debt payment to \$65m.

The Bank of Zambia would monitor such payments and together with Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines, work with creditors and implement a payment and borrowing

strategy to ensure net debt service payments were limited to that amount.

The government also aimed to reduce the level of arrears to the IMF, the World Bank and multinational institutions this year.

As a result of further accumulation of arrears to the Bank and the IMF in 1990, this would require total payments to the multinational organisations this year of \$763m of which \$404m represented payment of amounts overdue at the end of 1990.

With the inclusion of the carry-over pledges of 1990, Zambia was seeking total donor assistance of \$555m for this year to cover the current account financing requirement; meet amounts falling due to the Paris Club; and to allow Zambia to make progress regularising its position with multinationals.

This would also enable the World Bank to resume lending and the IMF to endorse Zambia's rights accumulation programme.

If the Paris Club rescheduled its current pre-cutoff-date maturities and the Bank disbursed its indicated \$100m a year, the financing requirement would be met through normal project aid disbursements with

about \$200m a year in balance payments support under the special programme of assistance.

However, the longer-term outlook remained difficult for Zambia because continued substantial exceptional donor assistance would be required.

Meanwhile, Zambian Finance Minister Gibson Chigaga left Lusaka yesterday for Paris in an effort to get more concessions on loan rescheduling from the Paris Club. — Sapa.

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Kaunda's dream crumbles

Star 15/3/91

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THE SIGN outside the national archives building in Lusaka's Government Road bears a subtitle that smacks of Kenneth Kaunda whimsy. "The memory of the nation," the legend reads.

Right now, however, the Zambian leader must be wishing the national memory was rather less sharp than he once might have desired.

After 26 years of Kaunda rule, Zambians in large numbers have become openly disgruntled with their lot, and publicly abusive of the man they used to revere as the father of the nation.

Rising prices, falling standards and eroded services have combined to bring the country to the brink of change. And in October, opponents of President Kaunda will have the first opportunity since 1972 — when Zambia became a one-party state — to try to vote his United National Independence Party (Unip) out of office.

Illiterate

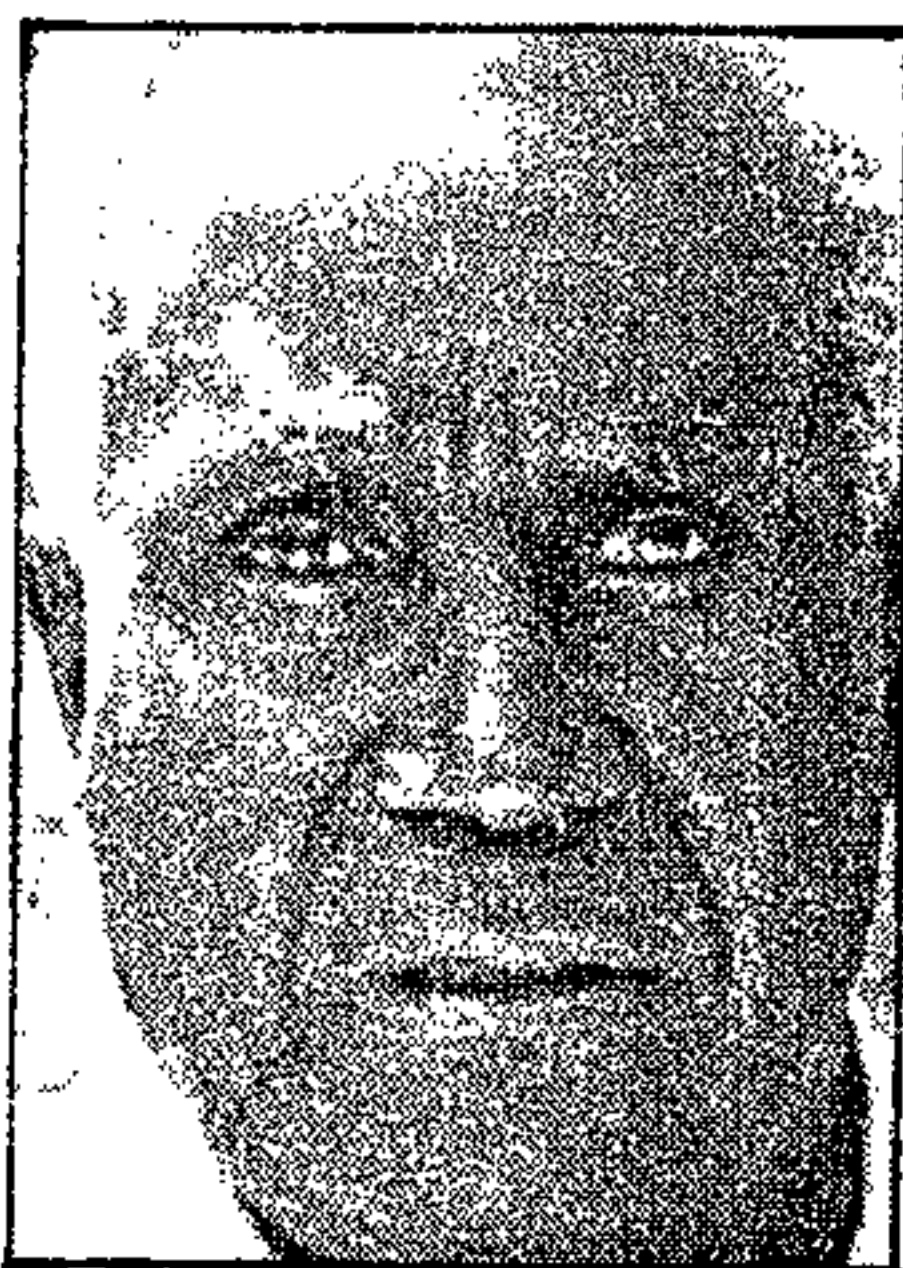
If the masses of people who claim to support the newly formed Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) are true to their word, that opportunity will not be squandered.

One such person is Tom Katongo (not his real name), senior clerk in a State-run supermarket in the Copperbelt city of Ndola. After nine years in parastatal employment, Tom still walks to work from the distant township where he lives. He has been unable to save enough to buy a bicycle.

Tom Katongo says he will definitely vote MMD.

Richard Musaka is a businessman in Mufulira with two children at a boarding school in Lusaka. They are in Grade 5 and 6 but, Richard says, remain

JOHN RYAN of The Star Africa Service reports from Lusaka.



Kenneth Kaunda ... paling in the memory of a nation tiring of him.

almost illiterate.

"They can't even compose a letter," he complains. "Standards have gone to hell." Richard Musaka will vote MMD.

Before last October, Victor Banda's father had more than 800 cattle on tribal farmland near Mazabuka in the south-east, and considered himself a rich man.

Now the herd has dwindled to 81. An epidemic has killed most of the stock in the area. There are no longer veterinary services to try to contain such diseases.

"My father's heart is broken," says Victor. "An African man counts his wealth in cattle. My father feels he has lived for nothing."

Both Victor and his father, a Kaunda supporter since before independence in 1964, will vote for any other party but Unip.

"We have respected the old man, KK, for many years," the

son adds, "but he seems no longer to have control in our country. We must find change from somewhere."

It is an oft-spoken sentiment which might have meant incarceration for the speaker two years ago. But in the present drift to change, some of the watchdogs of government themselves seem to agree.

Overwhelming

Arthur Wina, articulate and genial, was once the Minister of Finance in Kenneth Kaunda's post-independence government. Now he is the most prominent personality in the MMD after its recently elected president, Frederick Chiluba.

Mr Wina (61) believes the MMD could win up to 80 per cent of the October poll. The party has begun organising its campaign in all the provinces and the response, he says, has been "overwhelming".

Last July, Zambia's foreign debt stood at \$7 200 million (R18 000 million). The MMD has already approached the World Bank with its plans to reduce that debt.

One of the first aims, says Mr Wina, would be to institute a free-market economy and trim the hugely overmanned civil service. The one-party system has not only spawned unnecessary "jobs for pals" in the government structure but also grand posts within the party which have been financed by public taxes.

Recently, in an apparent reaction to the MMD's economic policy, President Kaunda announced his intention to sell off some of the parastatals. Arthur Wina maintains this is a panic move. He says he doubts anyway whether the president would find private takers for the public companies on offer, so low is general confidence in

the administration.

Although he has not been associated with the government since 1968, when he fell out with Dr Kaunda, Mr Wina himself still feels the tar of the Unip brush.

No doubt his past relationships helped to lose him the party presidency at the MMD's national convention last week, when Frederick Chiluba polled almost two-thirds of the vote.

One of the younger party officials said of Mr Wina: "He once ate from the same plate as Kaunda. How can we be sure he has changed?"

Frederick Chiluba, however, has the character and credentials to be a rousing party leader and a popular state president. He is the son of a Copperbelt miner and chairman of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions. At 46 he is probably the perfect age to be able to appeal to diverse generations.

Showdown

Unip, meanwhile, continues to fall further apart with numerous defections at the top to the MMD. Two of the major defectors have been recent Cabinet Ministers.

Yet, incredibly, lieutenants close to Dr Kaunda say he is convinced he will continue to be president even if Unip loses in October; that, in the showdown, majority support will still go to him personally.

Like "the memory of the nation", "pamodzi" is another catch-phrase of long currency in the Zambian leader's vocabulary. He composed a popular song with the word as title which he sings at national gatherings.

Pamodzi, in Bemba, means "togetherness". In the next seven months, Kenneth Kaunda may find the dream of true pamodzi has finally eluded him. □

Zambian refugee camps filled with new wave of exiles

By CHOLA CHIMBANO: Lusaka

ABOUT 10km from Lusaka's city centre is the African National Congress' Chelstone Transit Centre, little used from the time it was set up in 1978, but now temporary home for hundreds of young South Africans who have fled here since February last year.

The walled compound consists of three hostels of less than 100 rooms and a cluster of tents to cater for ever-growing numbers of refugees. The centre, with a capacity of 300, sometimes caters for over 1 000 people.

Graham Morodi, one of the ANC's administrators of the camp, said the influx of young refugees, who came mainly from the Natal area, had taken them by surprise and created problems for the organisation.

"This problem is very worrying. We are running out of money and most of the time out of food," Morodi said.

A look around the camp revealed how poorly it was stocked. At least 200 25 kg mealie meal bags are needed every month. Medical supplies are in constant shortage. Vegetables are provided by ANC farms while other foodstuffs come from the UN High Commission for Refugees.

At least 500 refugees left the camp after five months last October on secondary and college scholarships. They went to Nigeria. It is hoped that Kenya and India will take some soon. Primary school children are sent to schools already established at ANC camps in Tanzania.

The youngsters leave home mainly on foot for camps in Botswana, Swaziland and Mozambique, and are then transported to Lusaka by the ANC.

Nonhanha Iman (19) arrived at the camp last October and is, like many, waiting for a scholarship. "I left because I wanted to have a better education and I have been waiting a long time to go to school. Life is difficult here because we do not get enough of what we need," said Iman.

Life for the refugees on the camp is routine, starting with physical exercise in the morning and followed by news from the propaganda group. They later attend classes, which are conducted by some of the refugees who have completed high school.

Lessons on health and more specific issues such as Aids are conducted by ANC medical staff. There are threats of epidemics such as typhoid and cholera breaking out at the centre, which is plagued with a shortage of water, leading to poor sanitation.

Aids will hit 10-m children worldwide

(360)
Soweto
20/3/91

LUSAKA - More than 10-million children world-wide will be infected with the HiV virus by the year 2000 with the majority developing full-blown Aids.

This was disclosed in Lusaka in a paper presented to the African Union against Veneral Disease and Treponematoses (AUVDT) conference by Dr Benjamin Nkowane of the World Health Organisation (Who).

He said at the end of last year, an estimated 400 000 HiV-positive children had been diagnosed globally, with the highest number occurring in developing countries.

The virus in children is directly linked to infections in women of child-bearing age. -

Sapa

AFRICA

Oil exploration in Zambezi valley

Day 22/3/91

HARARE — The US Mobil Oil Corp will resume oil exploration work in the Zambezi River Valley via local subsidiaries in April, project manager George Opara said yesterday.

Seismic ground surveys would be conducted this year on the Zimbabwean and Zambian sides of the valley divided by Lake Kariba and the Zambezi, Opara said.

The Lusaka and Harare governments signed four-year exploration agreements in December 1989 with Mobil Exploration Zambia and Mobil Exploration Zimbabwe, and geophysical surveys started in April last year.

The Gulf crisis and soaring fuel bills have added impetus to the search for oil in Africa.

Gravity

The Mobil concession covers 3-million ha on the Zimbabwean side of the mid-Zambezi Valley and 3.8-million ha on the Zambian side.

It runs from just east of the Victoria Falls to the Mozambique border and takes in a stretch about 50km wide on each side of Lake Kariba and the river.

"What we have done so far is gravity and magnetic data acquisition using helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft... we also acquired about 800 line kilometres of seismic data on the ground on the Zimbabwean side," Opara said.

Mobil planned to undertake 890 line kilometres of seismic grid survey in Zimbabwe and about 550 line kilometres in Zambia this year.

"It is hoped this will provide a complete coverage of the concession area on the Zimbabwean side."

He said that by 1993, or possibly late 1992, Mobil would be in a position to decide whether to start drilling.

"It's too early now in the stage of operations to start making any predictions because we are still gathering and collating data. We're just about getting to the interpretation stage."

"We are seeing some encouraging geological structures, but you need some other equally important data to make a meaningful evaluation for hydro-carbon potential," Opara said.

"This other data are the things we are going to be seriously working on this year and hopefully early next year," he added.

The Mobil exploration caused consternation among environmentalists fearful of its impact on the beautiful and game-rich Zambezi Valley.

Opara said Mobil was well aware of these concerns.

"It's one of the major aspects of our agreement with the government to ensure we operate in the most environmentally acceptable way... so far our operations have been acclaimed as a success," he said.

— Reuter.

Rural Zambians rebel against one-party rule

Blom 28/3/91
LUSAKA — Surrounded by freshly tilled fields, the former headmaster related how he had returned home. He had left the capital 800km away because the cost of living was too high. He thought rural life would be easier. "It's more peaceful," he says, "but just as difficult."

Zambia's economic decline affected rural people before urban dwellers who, until 1989, had been cushioned by heavily subsidised food and social services. In Lusaka last June partial removal of food subsidies prompted riots.

In rural areas such as Lundazi, people have turned to barter and smuggling to make ends meet. Government services continue to deteriorate. After

17 years of one-party rule, rural Zambians are increasingly receptive to change.

Lundazi is rich in gemstones and it is a leading producer of maize. But much of the wealth is drained away by sales abroad and smuggling.

Farmers complain the state-run Co-operative Union does not buy their crops on time. "The whole system is crumbling," said an agricultural officer.

Lundazi's people are unhappy with the government, says farmer, Pilate Chickwanda Zimba who is district chairman of the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), Zambia's main opposition party. He has a handful of supporters, but they meet stiff resistance from Unip in the form of district governor William Banda, including physical intimidation.

Banda has reportedly said MMD supporters would "disappear".

The church is an important factor in local politics. Events in Lundazi marred the independence process in the early 60s. Hundreds died when government forces put down a rising by the Lumpa Church.

Today, the Zion Prophets Church is the largest in the area. Its general secretary, Crispin Mutonga, is also the governor's political adviser. Some say he is trying to use the church for political ends, a charge he denies.

But Zion church bishop and MMD supporter John Banda says although most locals do not understand what the party stands for, they want change, most of all because rural people have suffered the effect of economic mismanagement.

— Financial Times.

Zambian officials ease visa rules

360
Sowetan
27/3/91

LUSAKA - The Zambian Government has liberalised the granting of visas to South Africans.

A statement released yesterday by chief immigration officer Mr Clement Mbangweta said South Africans entering Zambia can now obtain visas at their port of entry, instead of having to apply at the immigration office.

The move follows Tourism Minister Pickson Chitambala's recent announcement that the government was planning to ease entry requirements for visitors from South Africa and the United States to boost the tourism industry.

Seminar

Meanwhile, the European Economic Community has given the Preferential Trade Area R810 000 to finance a study on trade and investment laws in the sub-region.

PTA legal adviser Dr Hawa Sinare said the money would be used to cover the first six months of the two-year study.

Study

The Commonwealth Secretariat has also provided an expert who will co-ordinate the study, which begins immediately, and analyse its findings, she said.

Last week the PTA held a two-day seminar in Lusaka to work out guidelines for lawyers who will conduct the study. - Sapa.

Hope for SA involvement in Zambian harbour project

REPRESENTATIVES of eight SA companies who visited Zambia recently to investigate facilities at the inland harbour at Mpulungu — on the southernmost tip of Lake Tanganyika — have returned with favourable impressions of the feasibility of SA's involvement in the rehabilitation of the harbour.

The visit took place under the auspices of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Satto).

The development of the harbour will facilitate the transport of goods up the lake to the inland port of Bujumbura in Burundi and then on to east Africa.

The first phase of the project, aimed at restructuring the harbour into a storage wharf, is to be financed by the EC at a cost of \$9m. The second phase, which SA businesses could possibly finance, involves containerisation, renovation of warehouses

61044 28/3/91
BEVERLY HUCKLESBY

and construction of an additional two buildings.

Satto's Regional Trade Centre manager Angela Self said yesterday the reason for the visit was to gain first-hand knowledge of the available facilities.

"We really went to see how SA could investigate what facilities were lacking," she said.

"Much needed expertise in structural, civil and marine engineering for the second phase of the project as well as the materials handling would possibly be provided by SA companies.

"Soil conditions, tidal flow and how to improve the geology of the area are major restricting factors and SA experts would be involved in solving these problems.

"However, once completed, the speed

and handling capacity of goods at the harbour would be vastly upgraded," Self said.

Last year the handling capacity was only 70 000 tons. Most of the goods handled were steel, cement, sugar and perishable goods travelling north into central Africa. With the rehabilitation, over 120 000 tons could be handled with relative ease, Self said.

"The EC has pledged about \$9m to the project and SA would be looking at less than half that amount.

"At the moment reorganisation of the entire port area is a necessity. The streets of Mpulungu are constantly clogged with trucks waiting to get into the harbour area. There is no hard ground and during the rainy season conditions are just about impossible."

SA would also provide quayside equipment such as cranes and forklifts to facili-

tate the efficient operation of the port. They would also service and maintain the handling equipment, she said.

Satto's Africa Business Development group manager Paul Runge said recently that he was optimistic about the changes that could be effected in the harbour at relatively little cost.

"We have received excellent co-operation from the Zambian authorities and the only impediment to the project now is lack of funds.

"From SA's point of view a tremendous amount of trade could be facilitated through the harbour once it has been enlarged and upgraded. However, before that can happen, there is a lot of work to be done," Runge said.

Management would have to be stationed at the harbour site to oversee construction and any problems that might occur.

7RCSA

□ POLITICS

Kaunda has the skids Under him

390
C/P
3/12/91

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE main topic of conversation during my recent two-week stay in Namibia was the problems facing Africa's elder statesman, Kenneth Kaunda.

The other two most popular subjects were the violence among blacks in South Africa and the "miracle" of Namibia's spirit of national reconciliation. But Kaunda's plight is the main thing on the minds of these people, who come from all corners of the continent.

The question many ask is why Kaunda, a venerable figure in Africa and the world at large, is clinging to power so desperately when it is obvious that the more he holds on to it, the greater will be his defeat.

That Kaunda's days are numbered is no longer in doubt, according to people I met from such diverse countries as Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Somali, Botswana and Zambia itself.

Most of these people are expert observers attached to embassies, working for non-governmental organisations, or for the various secretariats of the Commonwealth.

While the feeling is that Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (Unip) have outlived their usefulness after 26 years in power, they contend

that the tragedy facing the country is that there is no alternative.

Individuals ranged against Kaunda are considered small fry, or are former Unip members still associated with the economic problems this party brought to Zambia.

On the other hand, people with the ability to rescue the country from disaster are disillusioned with politics and are not contesting the October elections.

Apathy has also set in among workers, especially those who have completed high school. According to one young man who completed matric at one of the country's top schools three years ago, most young men do not bother about political rallies.

"If it is a Unip rally, you are likely to find old men only. Even these are a disappearing species. People my age are also not impressed with the new parties. They are Unip in different forms."

In spite of general apathy the emergence of the popular Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) and a host of other small parties has been welcomed. For the first time since 1972, when opposition parties were banned, Zambians have the opportunity of voting for parties of their choice.

The majority of smaller parties do



Kenneth Kaunda and Namibian President Sam Nujoma at Namibia's independence ceremony last year.

not pose any serious problem to Unip, but the MMD is a real threat.

It is well-funded, well-organised, has the support of students and workers and, more importantly, has several well-known people in its top leadership.

It was the MMD which spearheaded the call for political pluralism in Zambia. But the MMD also has its own problems – particularly its leadership.

Most of Kaunda's opponents rallied around the MMD banner. Although the MMD is enjoying greater popularity than Unip, observers argue that MMD rule would not set Zambia on a new course.

One of the MMD's top leaders, Arthur Wina, is stigmatised by the fact that he is a former Unip man – a charge that can also be levelled against many

of the party's hierarchy. Wina was Zambia's first Finance Minister.

It is claimed that some of Wina's close relatives are known throughout Zambia to be involved in underworld activities, including drug peddling. These allegations could ruin Wina's efforts to oust Kaunda.

While Kaunda may be faced with poor quality individual opponents, my informants told me that Unip is headed for an embarrassing defeat by the MMD.

That is the scenario my friends in Windhoek are worried about. They believe Kaunda must go, but ask who will stop the bottom falling out of Zambia when the great humanist is forced to step down.

America writes off ³⁶⁰ huge ^{skw 2/4/91} ~~Zambian~~ debt

LUSAKA — The United States yesterday signed an agreement writing off \$250 million (about R625 million) of debt owed to it by Zambia.

American Ambassador Gordon Streeb signed a pact that canceled debts of \$63 million (R157 million) immediately, officials said.

This will be followed by two subsequent debt review phases linked to the success of current Western-style economic reforms, said officials.

Zambia is the 15th southern African country to receive this form of debt forgiveness on principle loans, arrears and interest.

The US-based World

Bank approved market-oriented reforms in Zambia that became effective on March 13.

The United States government is giving \$1.1 billion (R2.75 billion) in debt relief to 15 African nations that have said they will meet various conditions on reform.

These conditions include steps toward democratic rule.

Last year, the Zambian government ended more than two decades of one-party rule by allowing for the formation of opposition political parties.

Multiparty elections in Zambia are scheduled for later this year. — Sapa-AP.

(360)
Zambia eases

visa rules for

SA visitors

Star 2/4/91
LUSAKA — Zambia has liberalised the granting of visas to South Africans.

A statement recently released by the chief immigration officer, Clement Mbangweta, said South Africans entering Zambia could now obtain visas at their port of entry, instead of applying to the immigration office.

The move follows Tourism Minister Pickson Chitambala's recent announcement that the Zambian government was planning to ease the entry of visitors from South Africa and the United States to boost tourism.

"This gesture will facilitate trade and tourism between Zambia and South Africa and contribute to a better understanding between the two countries," the Department of Foreign Affairs said.

● The European Economic Community (EEC) has given the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) \$324 000 (R875 000) to finance a study on trade and investment laws in the sub-region.

PTA legal adviser Hawa Sinare said the money would be used to cover the first six months of a two-year study.

The Commonwealth Secretariat has also provided an expert who will co-ordinate the study, which begins immediately, she said.

Last week the PTA held a two-day seminar in Lusaka to work out guidelines for lawyers for the study. — Sapa.

600 youths have fled South Africa

Sowetan 3/4/91

LUSAKA - More than 600 South African youths of school-going age have fled the country to seek better education outside its borders.

The youths, aged between 10 and 20, have for the past two months been flooding the Zambian capital of Lusaka.

The African National Congress in the city said the arrival of the youths would not in any way affect the repatriation of South African exiles.

ANC spokesman in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina, said the youths were fleeing South Africa to "search for education".

Education

He said the youths felt they would have better prospects for education if they left their country, "especially with the assistance of the ANC and the international community".

Sebina said the youths could not have contacted the ANC in South Africa before deciding to leave.

"My impression is that the youths are leaving

on their own without the knowledge of the ANC," he said.

The young South Africans have been arriving via the Dukwe Refugee Camp near Francistown, Botswana, before entering Zambia at Kazungula.

Some of the youths will soon be heading for Kenya and Nigeria as soon as arrangements between the ANC education department and host governments are finalised.

With regard to the repatriation of exiles from Lusaka, Sebina said most people had received indemnity "but the problem now lies with Pretoria".

He said the Government was stalling the issuing of emergency travel certificates.

In view of some unforeseen problems, the repatriation exercise - due to end on April 30 - could spill over to the first half of May.

The chartered flight this week has been postponed to a later date because fewer than 40 people had been issued with the emergency travel certificates. - *Sapa*.

Bitter lesson of failed nationalisation

Blom 4141

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MIXED ECONOMY IN FOCUS: ZAMBIA, by Ben Turok (Institute for African Alternatives, London, R30. Available from the institute in Johannesburg, tel 339-6752.)

BEN TUROK's detailed study of the collapse of the Zambian economy provides a fascinating account of the consequences of massive state intervention.

The book, written while Turok was teaching at the University of Zambia, traces the development of the country's economy from its pre-independence days, when it was mostly foreign-owned, to the present, when it is mostly (80%) government-controlled.

Newly-independent Third World governments found themselves with political power but without the ability to implement their programmes because of a foreign stranglehold on their economies, Turok argues.

In Zambia's case, massive state in-

tervention was prescribed as the antidote. In three years, control of most of its economy passed into state hands.

In 1968 the government bought out 51% of large private companies involved in production and distribution. In 1969 the state acquired a 51% interest in the copper giants Anglo American and Roan Selection Trust. In 1970 the granting of trading licences to expatriates was restricted and businesses such as brick-making and transport were reserved for Zambians.

The effect of those moves was to put the flourishing Zambian economy — employment had increased by 77% in the five years after independence — on the road to nowhere.

Turok argues that far from bringing about socialism, they led to the rise of "state capitalism" and a self-serving state bureaucracy. He describes the contradiction between the continuing socialist rhetoric of

Kaunda and the patently "state capitalist" Zambian economy as a "fascinating conundrum".

In the final chapter, entitled "Stalled Road to Development and Socialism", Turok offers compelling reasons for the failure of wholesale nationalisation. These include the failure of central control to bring about "coherence of policy" and its failure to bring about "indigenous control of actual individual enterprises". Control ended up not with "the people", but with a fast-growing state bureaucracy.

Turok accuses this state bureaucracy of plotting an "indecisive and erratic course" and striving to create a firmer base for itself by "increasing the sheer size of the state apparatuses and by means of state intervention in the economy".

He paints a vivid picture of a bureaucracy which, frustrated by the decline of the industries it has annexed, bites more and more pieces

off the already dying private sector.

Later in the book, he continues this theme, arguing that the bureaucracy engages in "continuing debates about changing parastatal structures and providing revenue for the government".

"What happens to this revenue is often obscured though the signs of elite enrichment are quite obvious," he writes.

He concludes: "The result of several decades of this kind of state capitalism is a generally weak economy with a state class which has lost the capacity for innovation and real struggle."

This book is essential reading for those debating the future of SA's economy. Apart from many irritating typographical errors and Turok's occasional anachronistic longing for pure socialism, it is insightful and thorough.

RAY HARTLEY

East-west rail link planned

8/04/91
A PROPOSAL for a multi-billion rand rail and waterway scheme straddling southern Africa from Mozambique to Namibia is being studied by four of the region's governments.

The plan would link Chinde, close to the Zambezi River mouth on the Mozambique coast and Cape Fria, to be renamed Port Nujoma, on Namibia's Skeleton Coast.

The concept has been taken on by Johannesburg-based project co-ordinator Trans-Africa Railway and Canal Belt (Tarcbelt) International.

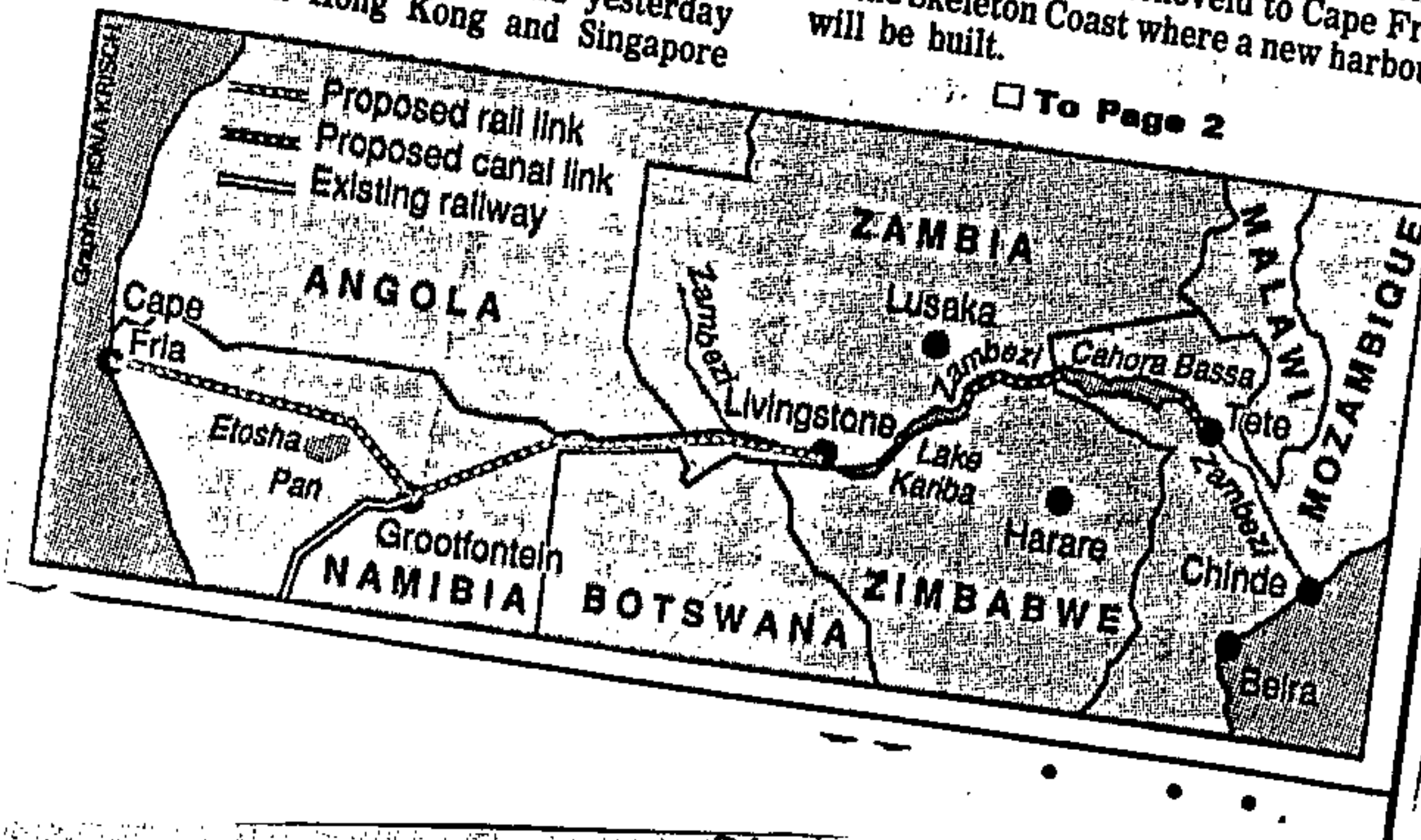
Talks have already been held between Tarcbelt and the Namibian, Mozambican, Botswana and Zambian governments and with major industrial leaders in those countries.

A Tarcbelt spokesman said yesterday financiers in Hong Kong and Singapore

360 17000
LINDEN BIRNS
were waiting only for the various governments' official approval before committing loans to the project.

Zambia's rail network currently stretches as far as Livingstone, on the northern side of Victoria Falls. This is to be extended across the Zambezi and along the Caprivi Strip, eventually turning south-west to join Namibia's existing rail network at Grootfontein — that network's northern-most point.

Tarcbelt envisages a new line starting at Grootfontein to be built across southern Owambo, just north of the Etosha National Park, through the Kaokoveld to Cape Fria on the Skeleton Coast where a new harbour will be built.



Rail link

8/04/91
The existing line from Grootfontein extends south to Windhoek, Kranskop — close to the new Karibib gold mine — Swakopmund and Walvis Bay.

Trans-Namib's marketing director Dirk Uys said yesterday the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) had agreed to adopt the Livingstone/Grootfontein project. When finance had been confirmed, the final go-ahead to build the line would be given.

Finance for the rail link would probably be provided by commercial investors and corporations. It would be underwritten by the Namibian government and international aid agencies, such as the World Bank, Uys said.

At least \$225m in foreign aid was needed to build the railway link which would carry low volumes of traffic, he said.

Lohnro Sugar Corp, which has established a plantation in Caprivi, would benefit substantially from the new line, he said.

Tarcbelt co-ordinator Francois Roux

360 17000
said one of the aims of the project was to provide an outlet for Mozambique's coal, mined mostly in the Tete Province. Coal would be ferried by barge through a network of canals feeding the Zambezi.

These canals would also be linked to Cahora Bassa, which in turn would be linked by canal to Kariba Dam on the Zambia/Zimbabwe border, he said.

The Mozambican council of ministers would meet within days to discuss details of the waterways scheme, and could give its go-ahead to the scheme, Roux said.

The Cape Fria connection was the brain-child of Josef Kindinger, an advisor on the Tanzam and Sishen/Saldhana railways.

According to Kindinger's report — which was submitted to SADCC last year — Cape Fria is an ideal location for a deep water harbour, being close to off-shore oil deposits, on-shore iron and manganese ore fields and the petroleum, gas and oil fields in the Etosha basin being explored by Pan-amana's Overseas Petroleum and Investment Corp.

□ From Page 1

James Roberts reports on the challenge to one-party rule in Zambia

Opposition needs more than luck

360

THE LAST time President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia asked the voters to approve his rule, in 1988, he offered the population two symbols: an eagle for a "yes" vote, and a frog — a symbol of bad luck in Zambia — for a "no".

The president said he had received the voters' backing, but whether they have had any good luck since is doubtful.

Frederick Chiluba, president of the opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), who visited London last week, intends to stand against Dr Kaunda in elections due in October.

He, too, has a symbol problem. His party's symbol, a hand indicating pluralism, has been banned.

Neither can he expect his programme to be given much promi-

nence in the government-controlled media.

Some constructive external influence has been brought to bear by the United States, whose pressure for multi-party democracy in Kenya has cooled somewhat since Nairobi agreed to take hundreds of anti-Gaddafi Libyans from Chad after a Libyan-backed coup there last December.

Dr Kaunda has said US aid is an endorsement of one-party rule by his United National Independence Party (Unip).

But the US deputy ambassador subsequently appeared on television to say the aid was for the nation, and not an endorsement of a particular party. This delighted the MMD.

Dr Kaunda has shot himself in the foot in other ways.

When he closed down the university in Lusaka on April 18, removing thousands of students from their dormitories in the middle of the night, he made the students return to their homes around the country.

He has thereby created, as the MMD sees it, 3500 ambassadors for the party's programme.

Mr Chiluba is hoping to broaden MMD support from its base among trade unions and intellectuals into the rural areas, with promises of increased producer prices and other measures.

The unpopularity of such measures in the urban centres would be mitigated by efforts to communicate an understanding of the necessity of such changes if the economy is to benefit in the long term.

Other proposed measures in-

clude removing from the tax burden the huge network of Unip officials, an easier and more obvious target than civil servants.

But the most pressing problem for the MMD is to make sure that the next election is fairer than the last. Dr Kaunda has said he would be happy to have observers, provided they did not come at Zambia's expense.

The MMD would favour a team of European Community and Commonwealth observers, but these would be unlikely to come forward unless specifically invited by the president.

The question is: Can the reports in the government-controlled media of Dr Kaunda's assurances be understood as an invitation? Mr Chiluba argues that they can, and must, be taken as such. — The Independent News Service. □

Kenneth Kaunda: still

he's sent by God to rule this place."

But even a personality cult built up over a quarter of a century can collapse when half of Zambia's eight million people live in low-grade townships on the edge of cities, and well-attended opposition rallies

younger candidate to lead the UNIP to the polls. Enoch Kavindele, nominated Central Committee member and self-made millionaire, fancies himself as a potential leader.

Failed

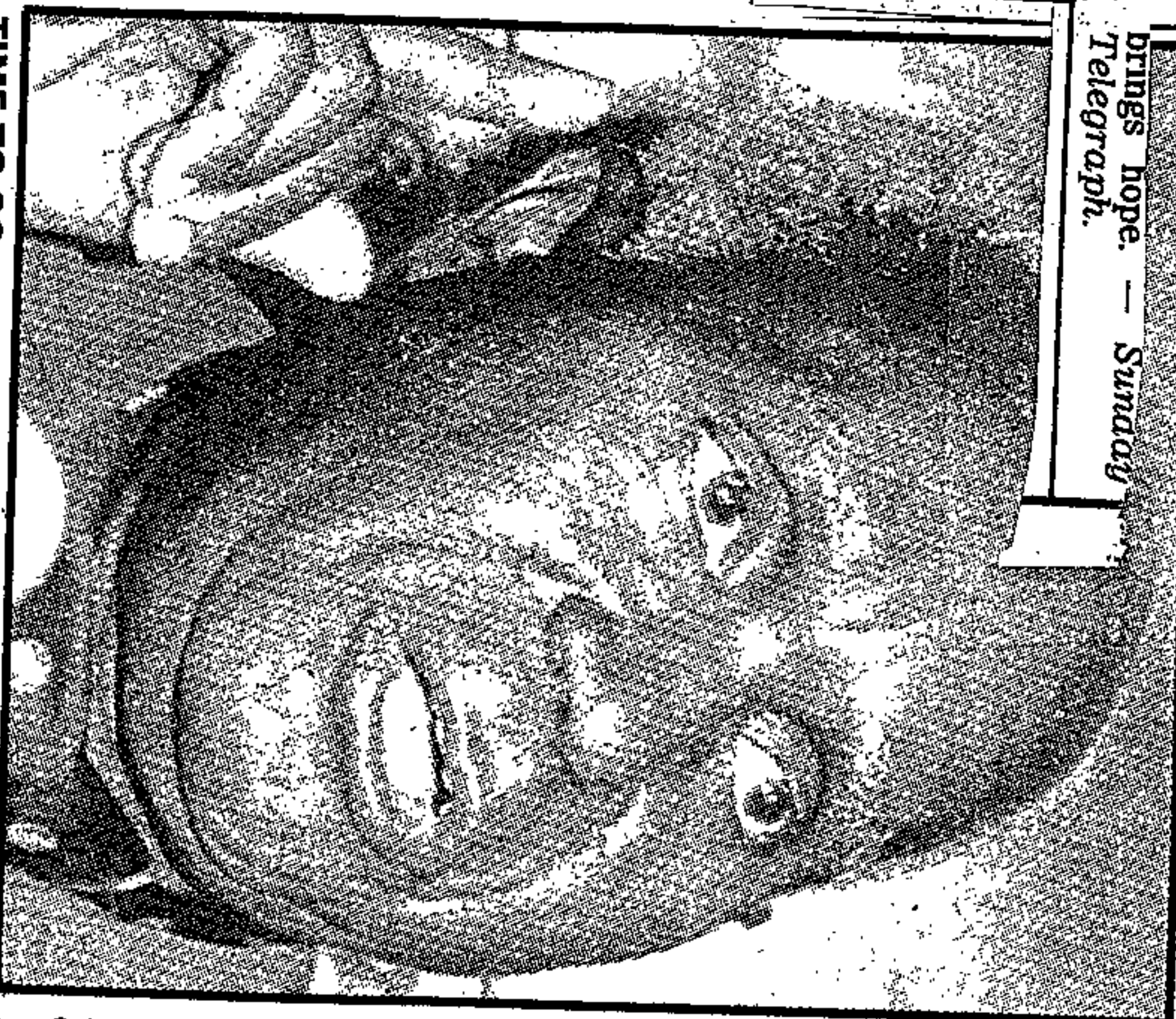
In his Lusaka office, Kavindele, 41, aired the frustrations of the young and professional in the UNIP. "Kaunda's explanation is that the economy's in a bad state and to retire would be cowardice. He had wanted to stay for another seven years. We said four, but even that is too long. "We want to help him exit in a dignified manner. If he overstays, he risks the fate of Ceausescu."

The opposition fears that Kaunda will stop the elections by engineering a coup and invoking another state of emergency. Last week he closed the University of Zambia, claiming an uprising had been planned.

The Zambians are the first to admit that they have messed things up. "A quarter of a century has been wasted, so it requires another quarter of a century to pull things together," said Kavindele.

But, despite Zambians' moans about how their country — once richer than South Africa — has deteri-

brings hope. — *Sunday Telegraph*



TIME TO GO ... after 26 years, Zambia wants rid of Kaunda, the man once affectionately known as 'KK'

clinging to power

STimes 5/5/79

"THE more I see of him, the more I think of him as a very lonely man."

A Zambian academic's comment about Dr Kenneth Kaunda sums up the predicament of a president who, after more than 26 years in power, has grown isolated from his people's wishes and impervious to opposition demands to step down.

If Zambia's political temperature stays the same until parliamentary and presidential elections are held before the end of the year, one of Africa's best-known independence leaders is on his way out.

But Kaunda, 67 years old last Sunday, does not want to go.

Vengeful

"I don't think it's anything as mundane as having his books looked at," said Guy Scott, agricultural spokesman for the opposition Movement for

360
CATHERINE BOND in Lusaka tells how President Kaunda, invited by the ANC to visit South Africa, is clinging to power

hear vengeful rhetoric about "chasing" Kaunda away from Zambia and forcing him to leave his "juggles" behind.

It is hard to assess the worth of these "juggles" but the figure most commonly bandied about in Lusaka as the total overseas wealth allegedly accumulated by some senior officials of Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party is about R12-billion — equivalent to more than half Zambia's R19-billion foreign debt.

The MMD is said to be thinking of applying for a court injunction in Britain to stop a UK-registered holding company from disposing of its assets before Zambia's multi-party elections, the first since 1968.

orated, it does not look as bad as some of the West African states.

Ironically, after years of Kaunda urging European nations to maintain sanctions against South Africa, it is towards that country that Zambians are looking for economic redemption.

MMD president Frederick Chiluba is open on the subject. "Don't tell me South Africa doesn't trade with Zambia; it does," he said, adding that about three quarters of the machinery for Zambia's copper mines — which produce most of the country's foreign exchange — comes from the Republic.

Dire

The reintroduction of pluralism in Zambia has also drawn the country's small white community into politics.

Opinions are divided on which party is best-equipped to turn Zambia's dire economy around.

6/Day 10/5/91
**Kaunda vows
to fight on** (360)

LUSAKA (Zambian)
President Kenneth Kaunda, 67, stated yesterday he would fight to remain in power, by saying he was not prepared to step down as chairman of the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip).

"I will not give up the leadership; many people still support me in Unip. I am staying on until October," he said.

Zambians go to the polls in October in the first multiparty elections in almost 20 years.

Kaunda's main threat is opposition party and trade union leader Frederick Chiluba. — Sapa.

Indaba on SA violence

ZAMBIAN President Kenneth Kaunda has blamed violence in SA on secret right-wing elements in the SA Defence Force and appealed to President de Klerk to intervene. *SITimes 12/5/91* (360)

Speaking after the heads of six frontline states and PLO leader Yasser Arafat met with the ANC and PAC in Lusaka yesterday, Kaunda also urged other countries to maintain sanctions and refrain from opening diplomatic missions in SA until political changes were "really meaningful."

Links with SA: Kaunda optimistic

LUSAKA. — Zambia could establish diplomatic relations with South Africa in July if the remaining pillars of apartheid were dismantled by then, President Kenneth Kaunda said here yesterday.

Dr Kaunda said Zambia would decide whether to establish diplomatic ties with Pretoria in July after examining changes in that country. He expressed optimism that the bulwark of apartheid would be removed by then.

15/5/91
Dr Kaunda also said his country was forced to import goods from South Africa because of the huge investments by Britain and other Western nations in that country.

Last weekend the frontline states summit agreed that sanctions against South Africa would have to go, but cautioned that this be done gradually.

● At a working breakfast yesterday in Lusaka, Dr Kaunda was

briefed on township violence in South Africa by officials of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Inkatha chairman Dr F T Mda-lose and deputy secretary Mr Inkosi Gumede delivered a message from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The contents were not revealed, but Dr Kaunda urged Inkatha to work with liberation movements in South Africa to control the factional fighting. — Sapa-Reuter

Argus 16/5/91

Missions soon in Lusaka, Luanda?

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has hinted that Zambia may resume diplomatic ties with South Africa — provided all remaining apartheid legislation is repealed in the current parliamentary session.

He was speaking following a meeting of Front-line states and said he hoped the "bulwark" of apartheid could be removed by July — opening the way for the resumption of ties.

Western diplomats say South Africa is already paying rent on premises in Lusaka which could become a trade mission once ties are formalised.

● Mr Rusty Evans, deputy director of foreign affairs for Africa, who travelled recently to Luanda said South Africa may be represented there soon.

Accompanying director general Mr Neil van Heerden, he said the delegation had a "good" meeting with several senior Angolan officials and representation was raised.

The Angolans had been "quite positive" but no timeframe could be disclosed, Mr Evans said.

"We had been advised that we needed to clear the air (with the Angolan government) and this we did — the air is cleared," said Mr Evans.

He said the establishment of South African representation took on a new dimension following the peace accord reached between the sides on May 1.

Previously South Africa maintained a liaison group in Jamba for communication and, as early as the beginning of the year, believed a similar liaison mission should be established in Luanda.

This was rejected by President dos Santos in February who said a ceasefire should be reached before South Africa was represented in Luanda.

The nature of the mission would be very different following what all sides hope will be the cessation of hostilities.

In an interview, Mr van Heerden denied fresh Angolan government al-

legations that South Africa was providing effective military support to Unita.

The latest claim came from Angolan Foreign Affairs minister Mr Pedro van Dunem Loy.



Bid to boost bilateral trade with Zambia

LUSAKA — A 12-member South African trade delegation will arrive in Zambia this weekend on a six-day visit to explore the potential for trade between the two countries.

The delegation, which arrives this Sunday, comprises representatives from the chambers of commerce of the Transkei and Venda, and the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Edgar Mumba, the chairman of the Mufulira Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Zambia, said on Monday night the delegation would discuss how trade could be boosted between the two countries.

"South African businessmen are itching to open trade with Zambia," Mumba said.

The Ministry of Com-

merce and Industry confirmed in Lusaka that it would host the delegation which would have extensive consultations with the government and the Zambian business community.

Zambia National Tourist Board MD Jack Shisholeka said he had received inquiries from many SA businessmen who wanted to invest in the tourist industry.

"Many of them have flooded my office with inquiries about how they can set up hotels and other facilities related to the tourism industry," Shisholeka said.

The Zambian government has said trade with SA will soon be opened and President Kenneth Kaunda recently predicted Zambia might open diplomatic relations with Pretoria in July. — Sapa.

Tobacco sales to net Zambia \$15m

31 Day 23/5/91
LUSAKA — The Tobacco Association of Zambia (Taz) has predicted that Zambia is expected to earn more than US\$15m this year from the tobacco industry.

Taz chairman Micheal Galaun yesterday attributed this high windfall to tobacco production doubling this season compared with last year.

(360)
Galaun said if this tempo of production was maintained, it would increase tobacco's potential to replace copper as Zambia's main foreign exchange earner.

The demand for tobacco was very high and it would be boosted by stable and favourable prices for some time to come.

Galaun, who was speaking at the official

opening of the tobacco marketing season at the tobacco floors in Lusaka, said two-million kg of Burley tobacco were expected to be marketed this year.

Rural Development Committee chairman Reuben Kamanga urged tobacco growers to increase production.

"This is great achievement compared to one-million kilograms produced in the previous season," he said.

Virginian tobacco growers should increase production, which had remained at 3-million kg for the past three years, because the Standard Commercial Tobacco Company of London had offered to buy this year's Virginia tobacco stock, Kamanga said. — ANO.

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Government stalling puts Zambia's hopes on hold

TENSION is rising in the Zambian capital as the store of opposition parties formed in the last five months waits impatiently for President Kenneth Kaunda to take the next step on the road to multi-party democracy.

Last December, Kaunda amended the constitution to allow the formation of opposition parties for the first time in two decades, and promised parliamentary and presidential elections before October. Yet, after nearly half the year has elapsed, no date has been set.

"We have warned the president that, if he delays the elections any later than October 31, there will be widespread civil disobedience," says Vernon Mwaanga, shadow foreign minister in the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) — the main opposition party and only real threat to Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP).

MMD's president, Frederick Chiluba, warns: "UNIP is fully aware of the consequences they will bear if they do not honour their own date of October 31. Any later and the problem will be between UNIP and the people — and MMD will not control the people."

The government has already experienced the wrath of its people. Last June, when the price of the staple maize-meal was doubled overnight, a week of bloody anti-government riots followed in which at least 27 people were killed.

Chiluba, who is also chairman of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), says the election date uncertainty has actually forced the MMD to become more organised.

"Let UNIP say 'elections tomorrow'. Our people are ready," says the diminutive MMD president, who stands barely five feet tall.

The MMD is working on the assumption that an election could be called as early as July. By then Zambia will be on the brink of a severe maize shortage due to a poor harvest and decreased hedgerage planted.

MMD shadow agriculture minister Guy Scott says, with last year's riots still fresh in his memory, Kaunda is also likely to opt for an election before he is pressured by the World Bank to substantially raise the price of maize-meal again, in order to comply with its structural adjustment measures.

Despite promises from President Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's opposition parties are still waiting for a date to be set for the elections which will see the country on the road to multi-party democracy. **MELINDA HAM** reports from Lusaka

On the other hand, some observers say Kaunda could delay the elections until after he attends the Commonwealth heads of government meeting scheduled for Harare in October. Kaunda would again be able to play his favourite role as region peace-broker and international statesman — maybe for the last time.

The election uncertainty is also detrimentally affecting Zambia's investment climate. Says Fred M'membe, managing director of an indigenous company: "Most investors want to invest in a stable political environment and, if the president is likely to change in the next few months, most will hold back until they know the results." Shadow foreign minister Mwaanga

says UNIP and Kaunda are deliberately frustrating the MMD's attempts to create a climate conducive to free and fair elections. Kaunda has dismissed the MMD's demand for an interim government but says they are free to invite outside observers. The catch is that some groups, like the Commonwealth Observers Group, only respond to a request by the party in power.

The MMD also accuses UNIP of using taxpayers' money to fund its election campaign. In last November's budget, Mwaanga claims that 3,2-billion kwacha (R160-million) was earmarked for UNIP's sole use for campaigning, party salaries, special perks and the building of the party's unfinished, monolithic headquarters.

Because the division between the party — which has ruled for 27 years — and "its government" is blurred, UNIP also controls the only television/radio station and the two sole daily papers. MMD rallies, that have drawn crowds of more than 100 000, have often been slipped in as 10th or 11th items on the evening news or hidden in the middle pages of the papers. But while the politicians argue, ordi-

nary Zambians continue to suffer the effects of the continuing economic crisis. Since the beginning of 1991 there have been nearly 30 strikes in all sectors as workers demanded a living wage to match spiralling inflation.

Many have pinned their hopes on the MMD to save them from the sinking ship of the Zambian economy. "We certainly are not placating the people when we say 'change will come with MMD'," says MMD president Chiluba. If MMD is voted into power, he promises that in their first 100 days they will try to make small but tangible improvements in people's lives.

Schools will be provided with desks and chairs — which most of them now lack. Essential roads, which are currently cratered with potholes, will be repaired. Hospitals will be provided with drugs. "Sick people will not wait for us to settle down in office, they need drugs immediately," says Chiluba.

Meanwhile, the voters' opposition parties and potential investors are waiting for Kaunda to announce an election date. He has only five months left before their patience runs out.

Winnie trial suspect 'in Lusaka jail'

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321 360

LUSAKA — Katiza Cebekhulu, one of the four bail jumpers in the Winnie Mandela trial, is being held in a Zambian prison.

A visitor to Lusaka's Kamwala prison, who identified Mr Cebekhulu from a photograph published in a newspaper last week, said Mr Cebekhulu had been beaten up. Security officers were pre-

paring to move him elsewhere, the visitor said.

Government sources have also confirmed that a key witness for the prosecution, Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, who disappeared before he was to testify, is being held by the ANC in Lusaka.

There has been no official statement from the Zambian government, but it is under-

stood that there have been high-level contacts between the Zambians and the ANC in South Africa.

A Zambian official said security officers "were not very happy" with Mr Cebekhulu.

The official said Mr Cebekhulu had been talking about returning to SA and turning State witness. — Star Africa Service.

Winnie trial accused 'moved to safer Zambian prison' (360)

By Mike Hall ^{Star} 3/6/91
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Katiza Cebekhulu, one of the co-accused from the Winnie Mandela trial, has been moved from Kamwala remand prison to Lusaka Central prison, according to a Zambian government official.

The move was made necessary following reports in the Zambia Daily Mail newspaper that Mr Cebekhulu was being

held in Kamwala. "It was felt he would be safer from the ANC," the official said.

The Daily Mail managed to smuggle a tape recorder into Kamwala prison. According to reporters, the tape is being held by the managing editor. But he denies its existence.

There has still been no official statement from the Zambian government about Mr Cebekhulu's detention or the presence in Zambia of Gabriel Peto

Mekgwe, a key prosecution witness alleged to have been beaten up by Mandela.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Lusaka interviewed Mr Cebekhulu in prison last week and may be making arrangements to resettle him in another country.

"I just hope they (the UNHCR) can take him off our hands — he's caused us a lot of problems," the Zambian official said. Diplomats in Lusaka said

Mr Cebekhulu could qualify for refugee status.

A Ministry of Home Affairs official confirmed that Mr Mekgwe was being held in Lusaka by ANC security personnel who had assured the Zambian government he was being well looked after.

Like other liberation movements who have been based in Zambia, the ANC works very closely with the Zambian government and security services.

Zambia plan stirs up storm

LUSAKA — Zambia's ruling party, preparing for the first multiparty elections in two decades, yesterday published its proposals for a new republican constitution.

Some proposals — such as the restriction of the presidency to two five-year terms, greater accountability in local

government, and government funding for opposition parties — are not controversial. (360)

But others, such as the powers of the president to dissolve parliament, detain without trial and appoint a Cabinet from outside parliament, are likely to be strongly opposed. — Africa News Service.

Zambian opposition visits SA ³⁶⁰

THREE senior officials of Zambia's main opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) arrived in Johannesburg yesterday.

They are to spend a week discussing the MMD's future trade policies with business and industry leaders.

MMD SA spokesman Don Smart said at the weekend the unofficial visit was solely to advise the SA business sector on what Zam-

6/Jan 10/6/91
JONATHON REES
bia's future would hold under an MMD government.

Leading the delegation is MMD international relations head Vernon Mwaanga, former UN representative for Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party.

He planned to meet the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Afrikaanse Handelsin-

stituut and other interested parties, Smart said.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda legalised opposition parties last year and promised parliamentary and presidential elections before October.

He recently came under fire for the delay in setting a date for the first multi-party challenge to his 26-year hold on power.

Smart said the MMD was committed to establishing diplomatic links with SA.

Zambians in SA for talks with businessmen

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

360

Representatives of Zambia's biggest opposition political party have arrived in South Africa to inform businessmen about investment opportunities in the country after the October general election, in which President Kenneth Kaunda's ruling party is expected to be toppled.

The leader of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) group is Vernon Mwaanga, Zambia's shadow foreign affairs minister.

The three-man delegation arrived on Sunday for a week-long visit. Mr Mwaanga told The Star that among their engagements were appointments with the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce. No appointments had been scheduled with political organisations.



Awaiting Kaunda's fall . . . Zambia's opposition party boss Vernon Mwaanga in SA yesterday. Picture: Jacobo Rykkliff

He said the MMD, which he believed would obtain a landslide victory in the country's first democratic election, had "a programme which will be attractive to South African business".

It would do away with Zambia's current policy of nationalisation and "establish an environment conducive to the liberalisation of the economy". He commented: "There is far too much government in busi-

ness. Government should start concentrating on making good laws which will enable business to thrive."

Asked about the MMD's position on sanctions against South Africa, Mr Mwaanga said his party "goes along with the Thabo Mbeki position" of breaking South Africa's sports and cultural isolation and linking the lifting of further punitive measures to progress in South Africa.

"The timetable (for the lifting of economic sanctions) will be determined by events in South Africa. After the MMD becomes the government in October, we will play a constructive role on the southern African issue."

"We will continue the process of liberalising relations with South Africa and accelerating contact with the South African Government, with the full mandate of the people," he said.

Zambian opposition outlines its plans to rebuild economy

ZAMBIA's main opposition party, Movement for a Multiparty Democracy (MMD), expected a landslide victory in coming elections and would immediately embark on a programme of privatisation and economic liberalisation, senior party members said yesterday.

They added they hoped for "massive" SA economic involvement.

MMD foreign affairs head Vernon Mwaanga said the party would attempt to reverse Zambia's economic nose-dive by removing policies detrimental to growth — nationalisation, price controls and unattractive investment incentives — and introducing a free market economy.

Mwaanga, the former Zambian foreign minister, and two colleagues arrived in SA on Sunday for a week-long visit to discuss MMD trade policy with business leaders. He said the MMD saw SA as a very important partner in a regional economic grouping.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has promised

elections by October 31. Mwaanga said the MMD's first move if it came to power would be to scrap the 28-year-old state of emergency and sell most parastatals, including mines, to the private sector.

The MMD would encourage large-scale diversification in the fields of agriculture and manufacturing. But copper mining would remain the main contributor, he said.

The World Bank and the IMF had estimated Zambia needed seven to 10 years to stabilise its economy, Mwaanga said, but the MMD was aiming at five to seven years.

The party was concerned about Zambia's \$8bn foreign debt, but planned to ask for debt forgiveness and rescheduling, he said.

Asked about Kaunda's future under an MMD government, Mwaanga said the party saw a "very good and respectable" job for him as opposition leader, "depending on his conduct".

JONATHAN REES

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Zambians vow to topple KK

Sowetan 14/6/91

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

VISITING representatives of Zambia's main opposition political party have vowed to seek and encourage investment opportunities in South Africa after the October general election when, they say, President Kenneth Kaunda's 27-year rule will collapse.

Leader of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy Mr Vernon Mwaanga said in Johannesburg yesterday his party hoped to topple Kaunda and halt the current policy of nationalisation.

The MMD, which Mwaanga believes will win by a landslide in Zambia's democratic elections, supports a free market economy, the liberalisation of the economy and social upliftment of the poor.

The three-man delegation, comprising Mwaanga, who is chairman of international relations, Mr George Chilupe, the party's legal counsel, and Mr Ephraim Chibwe, economic adviser, has met representatives of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and other interested parties.

No appointments have been scheduled with the ANC, PAC, BC, Inkatha Freedom Party, but indications are that they will meet a delegation of Nafcoc before their departure on Monday.



Zambian warning of bloodshed

97 17/6/91
LUSAKA. — (360) ³⁶⁰ Zambian opposition leader Mr Frederick Chiluba warned yesterday of bloodshed if the government passed proposals for a constitution giving sweeping powers to veteran President Kenneth Kaunda.

Mr Chiluba rejected an offer by President Kaunda for constitutional dialogue and instead renewed his party's call for him to step down.

"They (the proposals) are instruments of political violence," Mr Chiluba told a mass rally in the Zambian capital. "If allowed to go through parliament there will be bloodshed in

this country, provoked by Kaunda and his supporters."

The constitution under consideration by Zambia's parliament allows the president to ban political parties and dissolve the national assembly. He would also have powers of veto on defence, security and foreign affairs.

Mr Chiluba's Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) is seen as the main threat to Dr Kaunda in Zambia's first multiparty poll, due before October.

Dr Kaunda has been in power since 1964, but ended 17 years of one-party rule last December. — Sapa-Reuter

Kaunda to privatise industry

Star 19/6/91
LUSAKA — Zambia's ruling party yesterday officially abandoned 26-year-old socialist policies in favour of a Western-style free enterprise system.

President Kenneth Kaunda's United Nation-

(360)
al Independence Party said a key element of this switch would be the privatisation of industry.

"We are now committed to liberalisation and private enterprise," Finance Minister Rabbison Chongo said. — Sapa-AP.

Kaunda wants more SA reforms

LUSAKA. — President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the front-line states, says he will only normalise relations with South Africa when the government accepts a system of one-person, one-vote.

He told members of his party's youth league at the weekend he was "not convinced" the scrapping of the last legal pillar of apartheid in South Africa meant an end to white rule. Mr Kaunda, one of Africa's most out-

spoken critics of South Africa, said there were "still traces of apartheid" despite the repeal of the Population Registration Act. (360) ~~South~~

Despite a consistent demand that sanctions be maintained against Pretoria, South Africa remains Zambia's largest trading partner.

Officials in cash-strapped Zambia have said the country will glean great economic benefit when it agrees to normalise ties with South Africa.

whites and

360

Many farmers have switched to tobacco production. — ANO.

Zambian-SA trade links may be set up in weeks

ARG 27/6/91

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Zambia and South Africa could establish official trade relations within the next few weeks, according to the leader of a delegation from the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nafcoc).

Zambian journalists have reported that the delegation is in Zambia to lay the groundwork for formal trade relations between the two countries.

Although there is substantial trade between them, Zambia has avoided formalising it by allowing South Africa to set up a trade commission in Lusaka and opening a reciprocal office in Johannesburg, as Zimbabwe and some other neighbouring countries have done.

The Africa News Organisation

quoted Mr Makhuvha Takalani, vice-president of Nafcoc and leader of the delegation, as saying that the two countries could open formal trade relations within the next few weeks.

He said he expected that reciprocal trade missions would be established before the year was out.

Mr Takalani's views were supported from the Zambian side by the governor of Lusaka, Mr Henry Muyoba, who said: "We hope that by July apartheid will have been buried in South Africa, to pave the way for free trade between the two countries."

"I am therefore inviting all South African investors to Lusaka."

Mr Muyoba said arrangements were being made for the twinning of Lusaka and Johannesburg.

360

Zambia plans to woo SA tourists

LUSAKA — Zambia has mapped out a strategy to sell tourism to the South African market. *SA 27/6/91*

Announcing this in Lusaka yesterday, Zambia National Tourism Board managing director Jack Shisholeka said the strategy included educational tours for tourism experts and journalists of the two countries.

A South African tour operators' delegation visited Zambia 11 days ago to sample tourism potential in the country.

South African tourism experts have in the past been dealing with Malawi, Botswana and Namibia but the Zambian government recently took the initiative to sell to South Africa following the dramatic steps taken to dismantle apartheid by President de Klerk.

An American company has been hired to film tourist attractions in Zambia to be shown in South Africa and other parts of the world.

Zambia may after all break the regional tourism monopoly enjoyed by Kenya and Zimbabwe, said Mr Shisholeka.

But critics of the Zambian government wonder whether the project will succeed in view of the limited facilities, particularly good hotel accommodation, available. — Sapa.

Star 27/6/91
**Zambia likely to
establish formal
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The Africa News Organisation (Ano) quoted Makhuvha Takalani of Nafcoc saying that the two countries could open formal trade relations soon. — Star Africa Service.

Zambian⁽³⁶⁰⁾ govt admit to deaths

^{cr 28/6/91}
LUSAKA. — The Zambian government has admitted in parliament that 306 prisoners died in jail during the past five years.

The Minister of Home Affairs, General Kingsley Chinkuli, said in parliament on Wednesday that the prisoners died between 1985 and 1990 from many causes including malaria, tuberculosis and Aids-related diseases.

The minister denied that many prisoners died as result of police beatings but admitted that "some died from accidents on duty, fighting among the inmates and police gunshots".

Mr Bennie Mwiinga, MP, asked the minister how many prisoners had died as a result of police brutality.

General Chinkuli said that "one prisoner was shot in the chest by the police in 1987 while trying to capture him", but could not say how the rest had died. — Sapa

(360)

306 **Zambian** **jailbirds died** *Star 28/6/91* **in five years**

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Minister of Home Affairs General Kingsley Chinkuli said in parliament this week that the prisoners died between 1985 and 1990 from many causes, including malaria, tuberculosis and Aids-related diseases.

The Minister denied that many prisoners died as a result of police beatings, but admitted that "some died from accidents on duty, fighting among the inmates and police gunshots".

Bennie Mwiinga MP asked how many had died as a result of police brutality.

General Chinkuli said "one prisoner was shot in the chest by the police in 1987 while trying to capture him", but could not account for the manner in which the rest had died.

There have been several recent accusations in Zambia that prisoners have died during police beatings. — Sapa.

(360) ARGUS 28/6/91

306 **Zambian** prisoners died in custody

LUSAKA. — The Zambian government has admitted in parliament that 306 prisoners have died in jail during the past five years.

Home Affairs Minister General Kingsley Chinkuli said the prisoners died between 1985 and 1990 from many causes including malaria, tuberculosis and Aids.

He said none of the prison deaths were result of police beat-

ings but he admitted that "some died from accidents on duty, fighting among the inmates and police gunshots".

Mr Bennie Mwiinga MP asked the Minister how many prisoners had died as a result of police brutality.

General Chinkuli said that one prisoner was shot in the chest by police in 1987 while they were

"trying to capture him". He could not provide details on individual deaths. — Sapa.

360
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There have been several recent accusations in Zambia that prisoners have died during police beatings. — Sapa.

Zambia urges SA trade

JOHANNESBURG. — Zambian MPs have urged their government to officially open trade with South Africa since the political climate has been made "palatable".

CT 29/6/91 S.A. (360) 74
The MP's have also urged the government to establish a strong trade mission in South Africa because Zambian businessmen are already selling South African goods.

The MPs appealed to the government to negotiate with South Africa so that Zambians could enter South Africa without visas and one has suggested a meeting between President Kenneth Kaunda and President F W de Klerk. — Sapa

Work with FW, says Kaunda

Sowetan 11/7/91 *360*

PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda has urged the ANC and the PAC and other political organisations, including the IFP, to close ranks and join the Government in creating a new constitution to end apartheid.

The Zambian president was speaking at the official opening of the 27th Zambian International Trade Fair in Ndola, where South African firms are participating for the first time.

Kaunda said State President FW de

Klerk had demonstrated that he was a leader with whom the anti-apartheid groups could do business to end racial segregation.

He said leaders in South Africa should not lose time to deepen the roots of national reconciliation, now that the pillars of apartheid were being removed from the statute book.

He said visible steps were being taken to abolish apartheid. This was a dawn that promised not only freedom of choice in the political field, but also freedom in economic action. - *Sapa*.



KENNETH KAUNDA

Dr Kaunda praises FW for his 'courage'

LUSAKA. — (360) ^{ET 11/7/91} Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda hailed President F W de Klerk yesterday as the first Afrikaner leader with courage and commitment to the cause of justice.

Dr Kaunda, opening the Zambia International Trade Fair in the northern Copperbelt town of Ndola, said Mr De Klerk was an important leader for his country as well as the African continent.

He reportedly also thanked South African companies for exhibiting for the first time at the fair.

"We want more of you to come and join us. We love your companies," Dr Kaunda told representatives of several South African companies.

The fair was taking place at a historic turning point for the whole of southern Africa, he said.

"This is a dawn that promises not only freedom of choice in the political field, but freedom in economic action across the whole region." — Sapa

Kaunda hails courage of De Klerk

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday hailed President de Klerk as the first Afrikaner leader with courage and commitment to the cause of justice.

Dr Kaunda, opening the Zambia International Trade Fair in the northern copperbelt town of Ndola, said Mr de Klerk was an important leader not for his country alone but for the whole of the African continent.

Since coming to power in 1989, Mr de Klerk has pressed ahead with bold reforms to forge a democratic society.

"He is the first Afrikaner leader with the courage and deep commitment to the cause of justice and fair play," said Dr Kaunda, who has campaigned vigorously against apartheid for decades.

"This is a dawn that promises not only freedom of choice in the political field, but freedom in economic action across the whole region." — Sapa.

KK looks doomed to lose poll

360

Sowetan 4/7/91

LUSAKA - The talk in this southern African nation is of when, not whether, the autocratic rule of President Kenneth Kaunda will end.

Zambia is preparing for its first democratic elections in 18 years and its founding father faces a strong challenge from the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, which pledges to right the country's many wrongs.

At independence in 1964 Zambians were among the healthiest and wealthiest people in Africa. Now they are among the poorest - worse off than under British colonial rule.

The reasons are many but Kaunda is expected to pay the price when Zambians go to the polls.

Pressure

Kaunda, a 67-year-old former schoolteacher known to the locals as KK, outlawed political opposition in 1973.

But last year, under pressure, he legalised opposition parties to campaign for multiparty elections this year.

He is holding tightly to the reins of his own party.

"I will not give up the leadership," he said recently.

"I am staying on until October," he said. "One of these days I will step down, but it will be cowardice to leave the economic mess for others to clean."

Kaunda has said he will hand over power peacefully if he is defeated in national elections.

Rallies for the opposition led by Mr Fredrick

Chiluba (46) have drawn larger crowds than those for the ruling party.

Potential investors were frightened away from Zambia soon after independence by the nationalisation of industries, farms and the copper mines that earn 90 percent of export income. What had been a food-exporting nation became an importer.

The economy has slumped farther in recent years.

Schools are without books and desks, hospitals are overcrowded and short of drugs and equipment. Public transport is scarce.

Twice in five years, Zambians went into the streets to riot against surging prices.

Opposition activists seized on the rising

hostility to confront the president and his party.

Since then, however, Kaunda has tried to cripple the opposition by preventing state media from reporting its activities and even ordering a government company not to print the opposition party's membership cards - eventually produced in South Africa.

Kaunda has maintained a state of emergency since independence that gives authorities power to detain people without charge and search without warrants.

Chiluba has said one of his first acts as president would be to lift the state of emergency.

Both friends and critics have suggested Kaunda retire gracefully and accept the role of respected elder statesman. - Sapa-AP

Cholera epidemic in Zambia: Already more than 2 000 dead

ARGUS 4/7/91

(360)

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Cholera has killed more than 2 000 in Zambia already this year, according to the Africa News Organisation.

The country is one of 28 listed by the World Health Organisation as "infested" with the disease and the Zambian government admits the problem is filth and inadequate water supplies.

Deputy Director of Medical Services Dr Sam Nyaywa says: "Cholera

is associated with filth. The breakdown of social services has contributed to the present epidemic."

Dr Nyaywa maintains international donors are reluctant to offer more vaccine and financial support because they believe the epidemic could have been prevented.

Other infested countries in Africa listed by the Who are Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, the Ivory Coast and Mali.

Opposition to Kaunda talks

(360) 8/24/91

LUSAKA — The opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) has threatened to boycott Zambia's October elections if the necessary amendments are not made to the Mvunga Constitution Bill now awaiting debate in and endorsement by Parliament.

The movement's vice-president Levy Mwanawasa outlined a number of contentious issues, which included scrapping of the 27-year-old state of emergency.

He said the movement had set three conditions for a meeting with President Kenneth Kaunda to discuss the Mvunga constitution.

It had demanded that there should be an independent and impartial chairman; that the venue be changed from State House, and that the constitution Bill be withdrawn from Parliament.

kaunda has invited all opposition parties for round table constitutional discussions so that amendments, if acceptable to him, can be included in the Bill before Parliament approves it. — ANO.

Kaunda opponents shun meeting

LUSAKA — The main opposition group yesterday boycotted a meeting convened by President Kenneth Kaunda to discuss Zambia's future.

Four minor opposition groups attended the talks at State House, Dr Kaunda's official residence, but the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) was absent.

Government sources said the talks focused on a draft constitution that the democrats want withdrawn.

MMD vice-secretary Derek Chitala described

the gathering as "a mockery".

MMD vice-president Luke Mwanawasa yesterday said Dr Kaunda had failed to meet his organisation's three conditions for round-table talks on any future constitution.

The organisation wanted the talks held at a neutral venue, with a neutral chairman instead of Dr Kaunda, he said.

The MMD's key demand was that a constitutional Bill intended to legalise the draft constitution be withdrawn

from the current parliamentary session.

Democrats charge that only ruling party lawmakers sit in the legislature, and that the draft constitution was drawn up by Dr Kaunda's appointees and does not go far enough to divest his ruling United National Independence Party of its powers.

Mr Mwanawasa again warned that if his organisation did not accept a new constitution, it would boycott elections scheduled for later this year. — Sapa.

A success story, OR another Zambia?

Star 5/11/71.

ONE OF America's most widely respected political and economic analysts, Francis Fukuyama, believes that a decade from now South Africa would be doing well if it could emulate Brazil — but, given the ANC's present plans, it would be more likely to parallel it to the constant economic crisis and long-term stagnation of Peru.

Peru.

Writing in The National Interest journal, Mr Fukuyama — author of the acclaimed but controversial book, "The End of History and the Last Man" — adds that if the ANC's more radical policies on wealth and land redistribution were implemented, the Peruvian scenario could be merely a way station on the road to becoming another Zambia, Zimbabwe or Tanzania.

Mr Fukuyama is a former deputy head of the US State Department's policy planning division, and reached his prognosis after a recent visit to South Africa.

His article suggests three possible scenarios for a future South Africa.

The first, and most optimistic, would be that South Africa would be like Germany, where

A top US analyst has suggested three possible scenarios for the SA of the future. HUGH ROBERTSON of The Star Bureau in Washington reports.

the developed part of the country would peacefully absorb the less developed part and, while suffering a temporary drop in living standards, would ultimately bring the poor part up to the level of the wealthy.

The second, and least optimistic, would be the Lebanon scenario, in which the current township violence would spread and become the future of the country as a whole as it became partitioned into different ethnic or racial communities which had taken up arms to protect themselves.

The third was the Latin American model, where decline would be not so much political as economic.

"It is a widespread misconception, fostered for many years by the apartheid regime, but believed by many blacks, that South Africa is a relatively rich First World country that has simply failed to share the wealth adequately with its black population.

"It is in fact a middle-income developing country.

"The starting point... is the redistribution of wealth.

"The problem is that any large-scale attempt to right these wrongs over a short period would be self-defeating in that it would wreck the economy.

"It is here that the evolution of the ANC's economic thinking over the next few years will be critical. Both the ANC and the SACP have asserted that they want to preserve a mixed economy, but the precise mixture of public and private could spell the difference between muddling through and total disaster.

"Were the ANC to attempt to implement its current economic programme today, it would begin by massively increasing public spending on precisely those social services that were so lacking for blacks in apartheid South Africa.

"The ANC has a rather naive belief in how much foreign capital it can attract, based in part on over-zealous promises by Western sympathisers.

"Like others around the

world, its leaders are believers in the Cargo Cult of the 1950s, the mythical Japanese investor or American foundation that will bring capital to South Africa once its industries have been 'democratised'.

In fact, financing would have to be largely internal, coming in part from higher taxes on individuals and corporations, and in part from larger government deficits and higher rates of inflation.

Mr Fukuyama has repeatedly expressed concern at the ANC's lack of economic expertise and its strong continuing attachment to socialism.

He argues that it would be hard to overstate the potential economic disaster if whites began leaving South Africa in large numbers, and he says the greatest dilemma for the new government would be to persuade whites to stay.

"However unfair the current degree of white property ownership, and however insulted and injured the black population has been by the apartheid system, the future economic prosperity of South Africa will depend to a very large extent on whether the whites can be persuaded to stay on." □

NEWS ROUND-UP

Kaunda gives the nod to Dakar rally

S/Times 7/7/91 (360)

THE world's biggest annual motor sport event, the Dakar 92 rally, is one step closer to finishing on Cape Town's shores.

The breakthrough came this week when Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda agreed to let the rally pass through his country.

And, according to the organisers, the Thierry Sabina Organisation, the Libyans have agreed to grant South Africans visas for the race after South Africa allowed a reciprocal arrangement for Libyans.

TSO spokesman Mr Oliver Hue said the other Frontline states had indicated they would follow Zambia's lead.

The ambivalence of the Frontline states towards the rally finishing in South Africa has been a major stumbling block to the cross-continent venture.

The South African embassy in Paris confirmed on Friday "there should be no problem for all bona fide participants to obtain visas for SA".

Although the Dakar 92 retains its name for sentimental reasons, this year the race is scheduled to run from Paris to Tripoli, then down to Table Bay.

KK's T-shirt politics take off

IN a bid to win the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections, Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) has just launched a glossy public relations campaign to promote its new image.

But critics and members of the opposition parties are questioning what lies beneath Unip's new exterior: is Unip experiencing a fundamental change or just a facelift?

At the inaugural rally for this "new look", over 50 000 multi-coloured T-shirts, scarves and caps bearing the slogans: "Unip: the flame for the future" and "KK plus You equals Action" were distributed to the cheering crowd.

It was difficult to determine who were genuine Unip supporters and who had been lured by the offer of free T-shirts.

The main opposition party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), claimed buses were sent into the poorer neighbourhoods to round people up and government and parastatal workers were instructed to attend.

Wearing a cap and T-shirt himself, President Kenneth Kaunda demonstrated the new Unip symbol "V for victory" by raising two fingers in the famous sign of Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister during World War II.

Kaunda also waved the new glossy party manifesto.

Lively computer graphic advertisements with catchy tunes have since appeared on prime-time tele-

vision calling for viewers to "vote for Unip and KK". (360)

The rejuvenation of the party seems to be going through several stages and the completely new image still has not emerged from its chrysalis. Kaunda hinted at the new look last November at a party council meeting. But little changed during the next eight months. There were no new policies and no cabinet reshuffles.

The MMD capitalised on people's impatience. They began holding rallies which attracted thousands of disillusioned voters.

But, little known to the general public, Unip was busy behind closed doors. At the end of May a core of about 150 Unip members held meetings in Kasaba Bay in Northern province and in Lusaka to brainstorm for action. Their main discussion paper admitted: "Unip nationwide is facing a crisis. Without overstating the obvious, Unip must change to survive."

Participants concluded that Unip needed a fundamental overhaul. The party had not kept pace with the times and instead had developed into an unwieldy bureaucracy which was "not responsive to the needs of the common people".

The think-tank recommended that the old guard – the coterie of grey-haired men who have been at the top of the party since independence – should take voluntary re-

irement and be replaced with younger leaders who would "manage" the economic and political crisis. (360) *Clips 717191*

But Unip members are divided over whether or not President Kaunda should step down to become Unip chairman or secretary general and let another younger candidate lead the party.

Some believe that only Kaunda can keep Unip unified, while others believe he is the main target for the anger and dissatisfaction of the opposition parties and the average voter.

It was suggested that the party should change its name, drop "Independence" which has already been achieved, and call itself the United National Party.

So after the brainstorming the next step was to unveil the glossy exterior and woo voters. The MMD has accused Unip of engaging a Western public relations firm to remake its image – and Unip has not denied this.

Then the Unip manifesto was launched and one of its main thrusts was the formal adoption of a free market economy. But other than this policy switch, the manifesto made no radical departure from the platform Unip has tried to pursue for the last 27 years.

Significant change may only come at the party congress scheduled for the end of July when almost all positions, including that of party president, will be elected for the first time. – AIA

Popular Chiluba heads opposition

ZAMBIA'S main opposition party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), recently elected Fredrick Chiluba, leader of the 300 000-member Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), as its president.

Chiluba's widespread popularity stems from his charismatic image as "a man of the people" and his record of fighting against the one-party state that has been operating since 1973.

He believes that through politics he can fight for the same issues as those he fought for in the unions, but benefit more people. In Zambia less than five percent of the total population belong to unions.

"The trade union movement has a specific nature – fighting for causes that affect the lives of workers. Politics takes a broader perspective involving all interest groups," says Chiluba.

In December last year President Kenneth Kaunda ended 18 years of uncontested rule by his United National Independence Party (Unip) when he amended the constitution to allow other political parties.

The country's first multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections are due before the end of October and a hotly-contested race between Chiluba and Kaunda is expected.

Chiluba, the son of a copper miner, joined the budding trade union movement in 1966 as a shop steward. After holding several minor posts, he was elected chairman in 1974, a position he has held ever since.

Kaunda tried to co-opt him onto Unip's central committee in 1978, but Chiluba refused the appointment. "I thought it was a matter of trying to stifle my aspirations," he says.

In 1981 Chiluba was detained under the State of Emergency. The police alleged he had been organising a series of strikes with the intention of trying to overthrow Kaunda's government. After four months, he was released without trial. – AIA

Premier 'handles 10% of SA trade to Africa'

PREMIER International, the Premier Group's offshore trading arm, handled an estimated 10% of all trade between SA and the rest of Africa, the group said in a statement.

The company exported products primarily manufactured by the Premier Group, and also handled the group's import requirements.

Premier International marketing director, Katerina Yiannakis said. **360**
Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's recent praise of the firm marked "a successful 10-year effort by the company to establish itself as an

6/1/91 9/7/91
MARCIA KLEIN
African presence".

Kaunda, who officially opened 10-year-old Premier International's new International Bonded Warehouse (IBW) at Ndola, praised the company's "continued efforts towards economic reform and of easing the problem of shortages and exorbitant pricing".

The IBW stand took the prize for the best commercial stand at the Zambian International Trade Fair, where various other Premier group divisions also exhibited.

Yiannakis said most of the company's trade in Africa was through its six bonded warehouses, which offered goods in Mozambique, Zaire and Zambia. Commodities included well-known brands of foodstuffs, stockfeed and chemicals. **360**

In the group's annual report, chairman and CE Peter Wrighton said the imminent removal of sanctions placed Premier International "in a highly favourable position to take advantage of the crumbling political divisions between SA and its neighbours".

Challenge from within to Kaunda's leadership

LUSAKA — Lusaka businessman Enock Kavindele, 42, will challenge President Kenneth Kaunda for the presidency of the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) next week. (360)

Kavindele told a media conference yesterday Kaunda had outlived his usefulness as party leader, and called on him to resign or else he would contribute to the demise of Unip.

"We have observed ... the desire for change in the country is so intense that President Kaunda in as much as people would wish, can no longer remain the greatest asset of our party," he said.

Kavindele, who is also a member of Unip's central committee, said Kaunda's dominance of Unip posed a danger to the survival of the party due to his stubbornness and inflexibility — accusing the Zambian leader of acting single-handedly and with little consultation. Ignoring this would cause the demise of the party.

He said if elected president he would forfeit presidential emoluments to aid the ailing economy.

Nevertheless, Kavindele was quick to say: "I wish to let you know that there is no personal animosity between the President and myself.

"But it is true, however, that on points of economic policy, I have differed with his approach."

Kavindele said while he agreed with the policy of privatisation of industry, he was against any attempts to sell parastatal firms including Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) in any manner other than through the proposed stock exchange or by public tender.

The prospective presidential candidate however, described Kaunda as a man with exceptional talents in galvanising the nation together but suggested he should step down from the party leadership and be reassigned as party chairman.

"In this way, all Zambians irrespective of party affiliations would be able to consult him on various political strata of the nation."

On the economy, Kavindele said: "We face daunting economic problems and all that is needed now is change of leadership of Unip by applying practical economic policies."

Many party members felt it was time for a younger leader. They blamed party defections on Kaunda, he said. — Sapa.

Court starts ^{CT 12/7/79} Zambian opposition

LUSAKA.— A ruling party order expelling 12 defectors from parliament was overturned by the supreme court yesterday in a judgment that effectively gives Zambia its first parliamentary opposition in nearly two decades.

By retaining their seats the 12 MPs hope to create more defections from President Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party, their attorney, Mr Levy Mwanawasa said.

They were expelled after de-

claring their allegiance to the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, of which Mr Mwanawasa is vice-president.

Yesterday's judgment came a day before parliament begins debating a bill for a draft multiparty constitution.

The democrats, who argue that the proposed changes leave too much power in the hands of Dr Kaunda and his party stalwarts, say the defectors were expelled to prevent their contributing to the debate.

Since Dr Kaunda declared a one-party state in 1973, only ruling party lawmakers have held seats in parliament. (360)

Last December, Dr Kaunda bowed to domestic and international pressure and legalized opposition parties.

Opposition politicians were not admitted to parliament, however. Instead, Dr Kaunda promised to hold full presidential and parliamentary elections before the end of October. — Sapa-AP

AFRICA FOCUS

ZAMBIAN ELECTION

Young lion ⁽³⁶⁰⁾ prepares to challenge for leadership

W/Mant 12/7-18/7/91

By MELINDA HAM: Lusaka

FOR THE first time in 27 years someone has dared to challenge President Kenneth Kaunda for the leadership of the United National Independence Party (Unip) which has ruled Zambia since independence from Britain in 1964.

Enoch Kavindele, a 42-year-old business executive announced this week that he would try to oust Kaunda at the upcoming Unip congress to be held the last week of July.

Addressing a crowd of supporters, journalists and members of opposition parties at a Lusaka hotel, Kavindele said: "We have observed that the desire for change in this country is so intense that President Kaunda ... can no longer remain the greatest asset of our party."

Kavindele continued: "My colleagues and I believe Unip is a strong party but needs a change of leadership."

The young businessman lamented that many Unip members had defected to opposition parties in the last few months. But he said he was confident that many would return to the fold if Unip chose him as leader.

Already more than a dozen Unip MPs have crossed the floor and thousands of ordinary members have joined the 11 fledgling opposition parties.

Last December, Kaunda relented to mounting domestic and international pressure, and allowed opposition parties to form for the first time since 1973.

Multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections are due before the end of October, although the exact date has still not been revealed.

Kavindele, who is the youngest member of Unip's central committee, suggested that Kaunda could assume a new role as Unip chairman — comparable to the role which Oliver Tambo now plays in the African National Congress, or as former president Julius Nyerere does in Tanzania.

As a pioneering entrepreneur who is now executive chairman of a conglomerate of 18 companies, Kavindele has fought an uphill battle under Zambia's socialist-style economy.

Soon after independence, the majority of Zambia's industries were nationalised. Most of Zambia's industry is now consolidated in giant, mismanaged parastatals. This includes the copper mines which earn 90 percent of the nation's foreign exchange.

But the recently released Unip manifesto advocates a Western style free-market economy which would involve at least the partial privatisation of most of the parastatals. Kavindele believes he would be the ideal man to spearhead this new approach.

At this early stage, it is difficult to gauge Kavindele's real support within Unip. Many members, especially the "old guard" who have flanked Kaunda for the last 27 years, believe Kaunda is the only person who can keep the party and Zambia united.

But a core of young lions claim that Kaunda is a serious election liability. Unip can be reformed and rejuvenated but not with him at the helm, because many of the electorate who have suffered a rapid decline in their standard of living blame their suffering directly on one man — Kaunda.

Unip's congress, due to begin on July 23, will be the true test of Kavindele's support and the democracy of the party. For the first time all posts from the president downwards are expected to be elected by secret ballot by the 5 000 delegates who will attend. Some members are concerned that although they believe Kavindele is unlikely to win it will divide the party. Many of Kaunda's grey-haired comrades are more concerned about losing their own jobs to young technocrats.

S: It looks like the end of the road for an African strong-man. By FRED CHELA

FREDERICK CHILUBA, 48-year-old trade union leader and son of a miner, is lined up to challenge Kenneth Kaunda as president of Zambia. He has become president of the new opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), after fighting for years what he calls "the dictatorship of the one-party system."

Presidential and parliamentary elections are scheduled for October and Chiluba is favoured to win. Critics have advised the 67-year-old Kaunda to retire if he is to avoid humiliation at the hands of the man he once described as a "four feet" person who cannot stand against his own six-foot frame. So far Kaunda is still saying he will stand for re-election.

The MMD vows to revamp the ruined economy and infrastructure and restore the trunk roads, airports, hospitals and university which were so successfully developed in the first decade of independence after 1964.

Social services in Zambia have ground to a halt and more recently the country has been hit by a cholera epidemic. Catalysts for change came last June with food riots and an aborted four-hour coup.

Chiluba, who is chairman of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), won the poll for the MMD leadership with a majority of 63 per cent against three other candidates. More than 1 000 delegates from all over Zambia took part in the convention that elected him.

Former Finance Minister Arthur Wina charged at its opening: "We intend to radically change the system of government based on one-party, one-man rule."

"We are serving notice to all those occupying insecure jobs as governors, political secretaries, central committee members and (for) others, their days are numbered."

Chiluba won 683 votes. Wina came second with 208. Humphrey Mulemba, former secretary general of the ruling United National Independence

Kaunda warned: Retire or you'll be humiliated



UNDER PRESSURE ... Kenneth Kaunda's power is threatened.

Party (Unip), got 168 and lawyer Edward Shamwana, 24.

The elections have been described as the most democratic in 18 years of one-party rule. At the Unip congress, Kaunda, as president of the party as well as the country, usually compiles a list of names and presents it to the delegates for endorsement.

A Western diplomat said: "This is the first time that candidates of a political party have been subjected to public scrutiny without fear of intimidation."

Wina hugged Chiluba after Lusaka lawyer Bevin Wiumbe announced the result. Wina said: "Chiluba won fairly

many years against the dictatorship of the one-party system. Kaunda even detained me for my opposition views — the MMD will triumph at the polls to shame Unip."

He warned that an MMD government would not tolerate Unip functionaries getting salaries from the government "because these people do absolutely nothing, so why should they be lavishly paid?"

When the results were announced, newspapers were snapped up. The *Zambia Daily Mail* gave them the banner lead. Kaunda told the Zambia Information Services not to provide public address systems to the MMD and other opposition parties, but a High Court judge had ruled that a presidential directive that the *Times* and *Mail* should not give space to the MMD was "illegal, unconstitutional and discriminatory".

Michael Sata, MMD campaigner and a member of parliament, says: "Unip must accept that pluralism politics has come here to stay and should treat other parties as equals."

The MMD has elected a strong 38-member national executive of intellectuals, academics and professionals. Among them are three white Zambians — Simon Zukas, Guy Scott and Reverend Stan Kristofor.

The emergence of the MMD is reminiscent of the formation of Unip in 1959 when Kaunda led the Young Turks and intellectuals in a breakaway from the African National Congress, led by Harry Nkumbula.

Chiluba is the father of nine and as well as trade union leader is credit controller of a Swedish firm called Atlas Copco, based in Ndola, on the copperbelt. He had only a short middle secondary education and acquired a humble general certificate of education, partly in Tanzania where he worked as a clerk in a sisal firm.

He is agile and witty and a gifted orator. He calls himself a "bullfighter" and says that "at 48 I have reached the presidential age." — *Gemini News*

Stoning rocks Kaunda's men

Sowetan
18/7/91
(360)

THE STONING of President Kaunda's car by soccer fans on Sunday has shocked officials of his ruling United National Independence Party.

But it did not come entirely as a surprise - it was in fact the second time that the presidential motor cavalcade has been attacked in recent months.

Stones were hurled at it in Kabwe while the president and his entourage were driving to the airport after a visit to the town. Kaunda's car appears not to have been hit but the window of a cabinet minister's car was shattered by a rock.

That incident was not reported at the time, possibly because the news was suppressed in the government-controlled news media.

Funerals

At two funerals in the past two months there were scuffles when members of the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy refused to allow Unip members to attend the burials or address mourners.

The incidents appear to add up to an indication, ominous for Kaunda, of the strength of the dissatisfaction - in urban areas at least - with

Rocks and refuse hurled at President Kenneth Kaunda's car at a soccer match last weekend carried a violent and ominous message for Zambia's ruling party, reports the *Sowetan Africa* News Service from Lusaka.

Unip's one-party rule.

The stoning of the presidential car on Sunday was the strongest demonstration yet seen of this dissatisfaction.

The vehicle was pelted with rocks, beer cans and orange peels when he drove up to the Independence Stadium in Lusaka to watch a football match between Zambia and Madagascar.

During the match, sections of the crowd gave the MMD hand sign.

Worried

Some are worried that the incident could be the beginning of an escalation of political disturbances in the run-up to the general election later this year.

Had the police responded to the stoning observers believe there could have been heavy casualties and possibly wider rioting.

The state-run *Times of Zambia* described the incident the next day as barbaric hooliganism.

"It is clear that the incident was a dastardly attempt not only to hum-

iliate the President but to try to provoke chaos and riotous behaviour," said the *Times* editorial.

Mr Frederick Chiluba, president of the MMD, said he strongly disapproved of the fans' behaviour.

But he said it happened everywhere and refused to issue an outright condemnation or call on opponents of the ruling party to control their emotions.

The incident has attracted much comment in Zambia. Even headline MMD supporters, though quietly pleased with the way Kaunda was received, were genuinely shocked at the spontaneous demonstration against him.

History

It was the first time in Zambia's political history that the man who had for so long been lauded as a statesman and the father of the nation and of African independence was so convincingly told what his people thought of him.

There is little doubt that Zambia's urban areas, the political base of

Unip for all these years, have deserted the generation of Zambians who brought them independence in 1964.

The reason is quite simple. The government can no longer afford to subsidise their standard of living which over the last 15 years has continued to nosedive.

Few political observers believe Unip stands a chance of winning more than a few parliamentary seats from the urban areas and few city dwellers are likely to vote for Kaunda.

Remote

However, Unip's grip is firm among Zambia's rural inhabitants, who make up just over half the population.

In many remote areas, the MMD is hardly known.

The big danger is that incidents such as that on Sunday will increase, as expectations and emotions rise. The police are not likely to remain tolerant for long and, as last year's anti-government demonstrations showed, it only needs a small spark to set off large-scale disturbances, the result of which could be a clampdown by Kaunda's regime or, worse, a move by the military.



KENNETH KAUNDA: Ominous signs for the Zambian President.

Menacing warning for Kaunda's party

Rocks and refuse hurled at President Kaunda's car at a soccer match last weekend carried an ominous message for Zambia's ruling party, reports The Star Africa Service.

THE STONING of President Kaunda's car by soccer fans on Sunday has shocked officials of his ruling United National Independence Party (Unip).

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Unip members to attend the burials or address mourners.

The incidents appear to add up to an indication, ominous for President Kaunda, of the strength of the dissatisfaction, in urban areas at least, with Unip's one-party rule.

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said the Times editorial. Frederick Chiluba, president of the MMD, said he strongly disapproved of the crowd's behaviour.

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The incident has attracted much comment in Zambia. Even hard-line MMD supporters, though quietly pleased with the way Dr Kaunda was received, were genuinely shocked at the spontaneous demonstration against him.

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A US forecaster gives South Africa a poor risk rating, writes Hugh Robertson

Bank on turmoil, not investment

Star 24/7/91.

A COMPANY which specialises in forecasting risks for American businesses around the world, and which is widely consulted by banks and multinational corporations, has given South Africa a poor risk rating for the next five years.

Political Risk Services says in a report from Washington that the chances of turmoil in the country between now and mid-1996 are "very high" and forecasts mounting troubles for President de Klerk in trying to reconcile the differences between competing black groups.

In their latest survey the company also forecasts a "moderate" degree of turmoil in Zimbabwe in the next five years, with inflation there soaring to 25 percent, and it predicts that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia will be ousted in open elections later this year and will be replaced by a pragmatic civilian government under the leadership of Frederick Chiluba, a trade unionist.

Political Risk Services, which sells a 50-page report on South Africa for \$295 (about R840), says President de Klerk's inability to

stop fighting between the African National Congress and Inkatha, and the growing restiveness of whites, will challenge his efforts to forge a peaceful transition to multiracial government.

While the South African Government continued to propose and implement major reforms, "the possibility of a stalemate over the terms of the transition and growing organised opposition among whites threaten a peaceful evolution", the report says.

It adds that "increasingly militant statements by ANC officials over continued violence and the Government's role in it indicate the unlikelihood of getting a consensus among black groups".

The report says there is only a 40 percent possibility of a "reformist National Party" being the government in 18 months' time, and only a 40 percent chance of a "pragmatic ANC" coming to power in the next five years, although it does forecast a new government within the next five years.

Inflation will grow to 18 percent between 1992 and 1996, while the growth in the real gross domestic



Kenneth Kaunda . . . rule ending?

product will be only 1.8 percent in the same period.

Zimbabwe, by contrast, will have an inflation rate of 25 percent between 1992 and 1996, with a four percent growth in its real gross domestic product, and there is a "moderate" chance of turmoil in the long term.

Commenting on President Robert Mugabe's plans for buying white-owned land for redistribution to blacks, the report says: "With the economy continuing to weaken and the youthful and urban population growing, the loss of foreign investment and white agricultural managers could hasten economic deterioration and undermine a stable and pragmatic government."

In Zambia, continuing economic decline coupled with pressure for democratic elections had forced President Kaunda to schedule elections for October.

"He may postpone the elections or use repressive techniques to ensure his victory, but the possibility of widespread violence makes such actions unlikely. Open elections will most likely produce a victory for the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy and lead to a pragmatic civilian government under the leadership of a popular labour leader, Frederick Chiluba," the report says.

Political Risk Services do not forecast events in Mozambique, Angola or Namibia at this stage. — Star Bureau. □

MMD waiting in the wings

ZAMBIA'S government-in-waiting, as the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) describes itself, has drawn up an ambitious but pragmatic course of action for Zambia's economic recovery and promises to restore people's rights.

The MMD, originally a pressure group that spearheaded the successful campaign for the reintroduction of plural politics and de-monopolisation of political power, is now a formidable party that poses the greatest threat to uneat President Kenneth Kaunda and his ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP), who has ruled the country for 26 years.

In its party manifesto, the MMD proclaims: "Following the devastating results of the outgoing UNIP government policies, the challenge before the people of Zambia under MMD will be to organise themselves to reconstruct the social and economic fabrics of our motherland."

Under the leadership of Frederick Chiluba, a charismatic personality

with close to 20 years of active trade union experience, the MMD has in a relatively short time organised itself into a viable political entity with relevant professional and working expertise.

MMD's aim is to install an accountable and responsible government within the framework of genuine democracy.

The MMD accuses Kaunda's government of carelessly alienating the economy from sources of international finance and other resources, without taking into account the reality of production-import dependence.

"The key objective of the MMD economic programme is to establish a market economy" whose aim would be to "position government principally as facilitator and not as central participant".

The MMD also promises to establish, maintain and protect freedom of the press by abolishing press censorship and intimidation of journalists, printers and publishers.

Frustration mounts as D-day draws near

From Mwange Kauseni
Lusaka

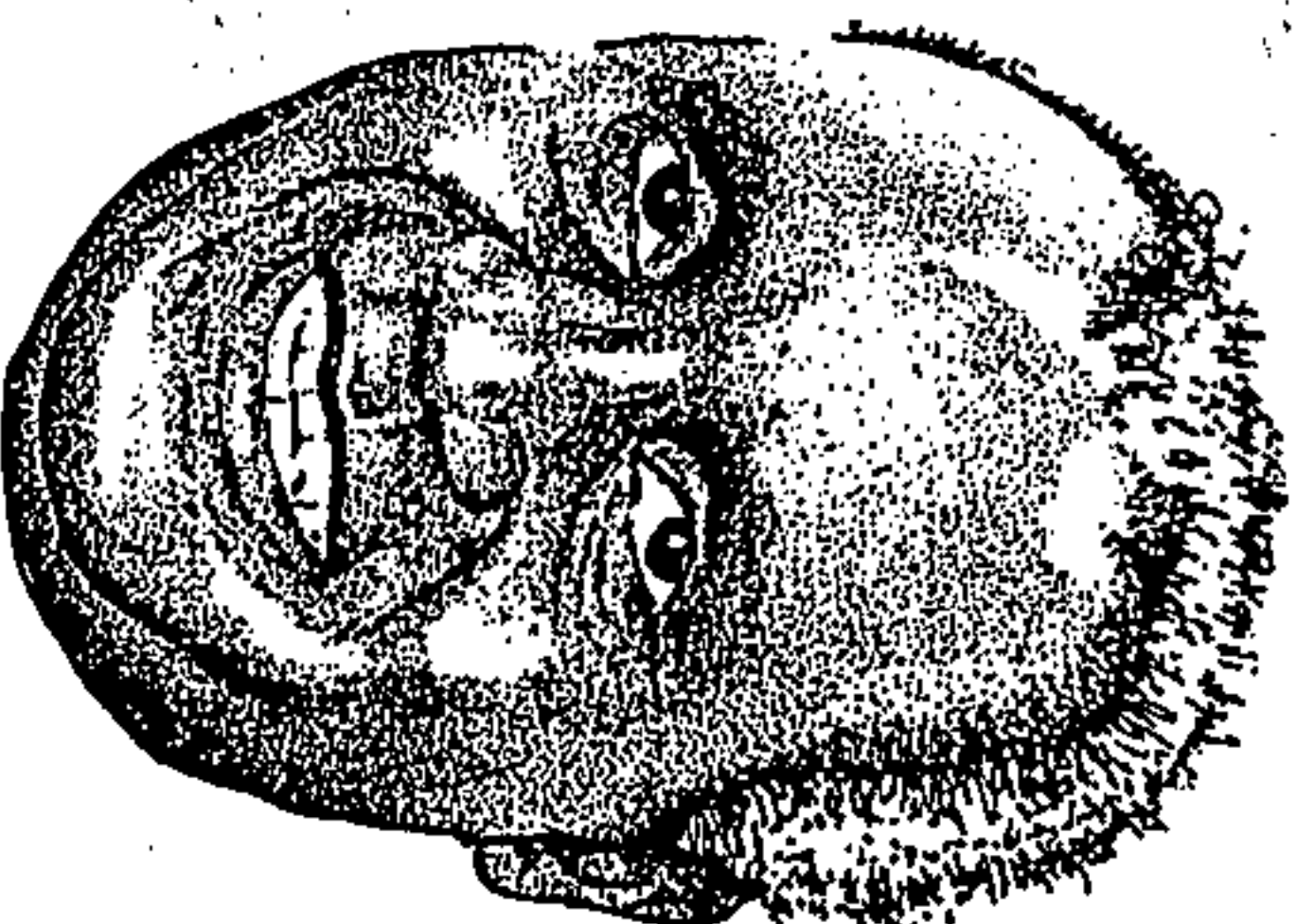
THE countdown to the October D-day for Zambian elections has been as arduous and acrimonious as it is frustrating.

Since its recourse to a one-party state in 1972, principally through a cabinet decision, Zambia has lived under its own brand of "democracy".

As in South Africa, President Kaunda's ruling party refuses to hand over power to an interim government prior to the election, promising to "fairly" execute the roles of both player and referee.

This has angered the opposition, who demand that Kaunda and his government resign.

The government has dismissed the call for an interim government as "irrelevant" as there are "legal provisions for the insurance of free and



Kenneth Kaunda

fair elections" in the present constitution.

Another bone of contention is the intention by Kaunda's party to let the one-party parliament endorse and enact the new Republican Draft Constitution prepared by the Kaunda-ap-

pointed Mvunga Commission.

The opposition feels a fairer constitution could have been drafted by a commission of equal representation from all political parties and other sectors of society.

The Mvunga Commission, whose recommendations were made public during the first week of June, has also been rejected by the Press Association of Zambia through its chairperson, Richard Sakala, who dismissed it as "inadequate", specially with regard to freedom of the press.

There is also the issue of making public the voters' register for ratification and confirmation. The opposition has rejected the old one, saying it was drawn up at a time when all voters were members of one party, the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP).

A further delay of the new register may delay the October elections to a later date, an eventuality Zambians are in no mood to tolerate, let alone accept.

KK blesses multi-party constitution

By MELINDA HAM: Lusaka

IN Lusaka's Anglican cathedral this week President Kenneth Kaunda and fiery trade union leader Frederick Chiluba held historic face-to-face talks, resolving their stalemate over Zambia's new multi-party constitution.

At the meeting, Kaunda, who has ruled for 27 years, and Chiluba, who leads the main opposition party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), decided to form a joint committee to draft amendments to the controversial Constitutional Bill.

Kaunda was reported to have conceded to MMD's key demand: that under the proposed constitution an executive president could appoint a cabinet only from elected members of parliament and not from outside the National Assembly.

The unprecedented meeting only took place because a group of determined church leaders went to the state residence and convinced Kaunda that he must talk to his arch-rival, Chiluba.

Until then, Chiluba had refused to discuss the draft constitution with Kaunda, unless it was withdrawn from parliament which is dominated by members of the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip), and only if talks were held in a neutral venue with an impartial chairman.

Chiluba had threatened that MMD would boycott the country's upcoming multi-party presidential and parliamentary elections due before the end of October if the Bill became law without his party's consent.

But after the church leaders' coaxing, Kaunda abandoned the month-old stalemate and conceded to MMD's conditions. Talks were held in the Holy Cross cathedral. Bishop Steven Mumba was the arbitrator, and debate on the Constitutional Bill in parliament was suspended — at the expense of Kaunda's ruling party congress being postponed until next week.

Political analysts say the cathedral conference was a significant victory for Chiluba as his party's main demand was satisfied, but Kaunda also demonstrated his flexibility by allowing the meeting to take place at all.

The choice of a cathedral as the venue showed intuitive planning by the church organisers. Kaunda and Chiluba claim to be devout Christians.

Minor isolated incidents of inter-party violence have already erupted in this country. The most recent was at a football match, when Kaunda's motorcade was pelted by football fans.

Kaunda is in a tight corner. He faces a powerful opposition, a hostile public and next week a challenge from within his own party that could end up with a major split in the ranks of Unip.

Zimbabwe fails to cut deficit

HARARE — Zimbabwe has not yet been able to reduce its budget deficit, estimated at more than Z\$1bn, and figures contained in the estimates of expenditure tabled in parliament yesterday indicate increased public spending, the domestic news agency reported.

Senior Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero outlined a programme last year to reduce the deficit to 5% of gross domestic product (GDP) by 1995, a development which is central to Zimbabwe's economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP), Ziiana reports.

Among the steps proposed to achieve this were a reduction of the civil service by 25%, and scrapping of subsidies to parastatals and on some commodities.

However, this year's estimates reflect an increase in the vote for the public service, as well as subsidies to parastatals, with some of them being allocated almost three times that of 1990-91.

In addition, the controversial Ministry of Political Affairs, which houses one senior minister, two ministers of state and four deputy ministers, although showing a reduction of almost Z\$15m, has an increased sala-

ry, wages and allowances bill of more than Z\$23m, compared with Z\$21.5m last year.

The president's salary has been frozen at Z\$125 000 a year.

The nearly Z\$15m cut in the Political Ministry's vote is largely accounted for by the drastic reduction of the allocation for national service, which plummeted from Z\$20m last year to Z\$1.5m, Ziiana said.

The public service, which has an 180 000-strong work force, has been allocated an additional Z\$9m.

Subsidies

The perennially loss-making national flag carrier Air Zimbabwe had its subsidy increased from Z\$9m to Z\$26.7m this year, while the allocation of public funds to struggling Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company (Zisco) has risen to Z\$139m from Z\$100m last year.

National Railways of Zimbabwe, one of the few parastatals that have managed to reduce losses, this year received a subsidy of Z\$146.6m, compared with Z\$25m last year. Agricultural subsidies remain almost constant at Z\$270m.

The hosting of the Commonwealth heads of government meeting represents a Z\$1.8m bill. — Sapa.

SA firms show goods in Zambia

LUSAKA — Thirty SA companies will take part in the Zambia Agricultural and Commercial Show, which kicks off in Lusaka on August 1.

The record SA presence confirms that Zambia is in fact trading with SA.

Ministry of Commerce and Industry officials said yesterday that the 30 firms had been given permission to exhibit their products at Zambia's largest agricultural and commercial show.

Zambia Agricultural and Commercial Show Society chairman Andrew Hamamba has appealed to the Zambian business community to take advantage of the presence of SA businessmen who will be exhibiting.

"This is your chance to make hay while the sun is shining," Hamamba said.

Many Zambian shops are flooded with SA products.

SA products ranging from machinery to household goods will be on display at the show next week.

Asked last week why Zambia could not normalise trade relations with Pretoria — especially in the light of the availability of SA products in Zambia — Commerce and Industry Minister Crispin Sibeta said: "The time is not yet ripe for us to do so. When the opportunity arises, we shall make a formal announcement about trade links with SA." — ANO.

Violence 'scaring off buyers'

CAPE TOWN — The volume of residential property sales to foreign buyers has dropped considerably because of violence and political uncertainty, says Seeff Residential Properties MD Samuel Seeff.

Seeff does not expect the lifting of sanctions to have much effect on the local property market in the short term. Traditional foreign investors — people from the UK and Europe who had previous involvement with SA — have continued purchasing with a view to acquiring holiday homes or places to retire to.

Seeff's London-based international property manager, Adele Beare, says the easing of the UK property market could release new buyers for SA's market.

"One of the factors that would result in greater movement from potential immigrants from the UK is the lowering of interest rates by 2% in the past two

LINDA ENSOR

months. This has led to a greater number of sales than in any similar period in the last two years, so buyers waiting to sell in the UK before coming to SA will be able to move that much more freely."

Seeff says that in the medium to longer term new investors will be brought to SA as companies return to do business here. SA's property market remains undervalued compared with the rest of the world. Should SA overcome its problems and move toward political settlement, "we can expect a great resurgence" of foreign investors, he says.

On the domestic front, Seeff says Transvaal buyers have shown much interest in Cape Town property, and that sales in white areas have increased noticeably since the Group Areas Act was scrapped.

Azapo will attend talks on patriotic front

THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) yesterday cleared the way for a patriotic front when it dismissed speculation that it would not attend talks with the ANC and PAC in Cape Town next month.

Azapo projects co-ordinator Lybon Mabasa told a

But Mabasa acknowledged there were problems surrounding the concept of satons. — Sapa.



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Emergency in Zambia to go?

LUSAKA. — The Zambian government has yielded to opposition demands that the state of emergency be lifted as soon as possible. (360)

The United National Independence Party (Unip) government and the opposition Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) agreed yesterday that they should start talks on the mechanics of lifting the emergency. — Sapa

CT 27/7/91

Zambian scam with SA links uncovered

LUSAKA — Several top Zambian officials in the public sector have been implicated in a multi-million dollar copper swindle spanning about eight years, Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency reported yesterday.

The newly launched Weekly Post newspaper reported in its first edition yesterday that top officials in the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) hierarchy and Metal Marketing Corporation (Memaco) formed a front company with South African connections.

The Weekly Post said a Johannesburg firm was contracted to handle copper shipments of more than 1 million tons for five years and was

charging Memaco an irregular brokerage on all shipments made.

Proceeds from the scam were reportedly deposited in a Brussels bank.

Scam

Zambian police public relations officer Batholemew Jere confirmed that investigations had been started but said no arrests had been made so far.

The South African front company allegedly handles an average of 250 000 tons of copper annually and charges inflated freight rates of \$20 (R56) a ton.

Proceeds from the copper scam are said to be shared among several people in South

Africa and Zambia, channelled through an account in Belgium.

Seacargo, a subsidiary of Zamcargo, is jointly owned with Memaco but has been given absolute powers to choose whatever ship owner, operator or broker it wants.

ZCCM chairman and chief executive Francis Kaunda has been named in a high court affidavit for copper thefts since he took over the post.

Deputy Commissioner of Police Darius Kalebo alleged in the affidavit that Mr Kaunda had on several occasions thwarted police efforts to apprehend the culprits.

The case is still pending in the High Court. — Sapa.

Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda looks set for a trouncing at elections scheduled for October, writes
Star 30/11/91.

Little hope remains for an African giant to

KENNETH Kaunda's African name is Buchizya — the unexpected one. President Kaunda, the only leader Zambians have known since independence, will need a miracle to avoid defeat at the general elections scheduled for October this year.

Zambia, once one of black Africa's most promising nations, will this year celebrate 27 years of independence with its post-colonial dreams of prosperity buried in a ruined economy.

At independence in 1964 Zambia was counted among black Africa's richest states. The country's economy has since gone steadily down and Zambia is now among the poorest countries in the world. Ordinary Zambians hold President Kaunda responsible. He personifies the degeneration of a nation.

Zambia's problems emanate from the decline in the production of copper — the primary foreign exchange earner — and a lack of accountability by its politicians.

In 1972 President Kaunda declared Zambia a one-party state,

the party being his United National Independence Party (Unip).

During elections voters were presented with a slate of approved candidates. At the last presidential elections in 1988, President Kaunda achieved a resounding victory. Not surprisingly, as he was the only candidate.

The past few years have been marked by skirmishes between the Zambian government and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Because of its economic woes, Zambia has had to run to the IMF and the World Bank for loans. The two bodies have in turn set stringent financial and economic discipline as a condition. This has in most cases meant devaluation of the kwacha, cuts in public spending and food subsidies, which have led to price hikes in basic commodities. Food riots often greet price rises in Zambia.

The past year has been the most trying for President Kaunda. After parting company with the IMF four years ago, saying its medicine

to cure the ills of the economy was too bitter for the seven million inhabitants to take, the government suddenly announced in February last year that the relationship with the IMF was back on track.

The IMF imposed the same austerity measures the government had rejected four years before. That was the beginning of President Kaunda's troubles. The cut in food subsidies meant the price of maize meal, the staple diet of Zambians, had to be doubled.

Four months later the country was engulfed in the worst violence in its history. After three days of rioting, more than 30 people had been killed and scores injured.

In the midst of the commotion a lone military officer tried to stage a coup. Hundreds danced in the streets before they learnt of the coup's failure. President Kaunda's popularity had hit rock bottom.

The food riots and evidence of the president's unpopularity acted as a spur for pro-democracy demonstrations. Led by the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU),

a constant critic of President Kaunda and Unip, calls for a multiparty democracy soon gathered momentum.

President Kaunda relented and announced that free and fair elections would be held later this year.

The opposition has now organised itself as the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) under the leadership of Frederick Chiluba, the fiery leader of the ZCTU.

Mr Chiluba is expected to trounce President Kaunda in the presidential contest. Some of President Kaunda's supporters have urged him to step down to avoid such a humiliation and to save the party from being obliterated. He has refused.

And for the first time this year, he was challenged for the leadership of the ruling party by a member of the central committee.

But President Kaunda's defeat is not a fait accompli. He is an old war-horse and a consummate survivor. His opponents concede that he is a formidable opponent who may still have a trick or two in

the bag.

His problem though is that Zambia is the most urbanised country in black Africa, with more than 50 percent of its population living in urban centres. This makes it difficult for him to depend on conservative voters in the rural areas to make up for his unpopularity with urban dwellers.

The MMD, which looks unbeatable at the moment, is not without problems of its own. It consists of disparate forces — organised labour, businessmen and former senior members of the ruling party — whose only glue is their hostility towards President Kaunda.

The presence of people like Vernon Mwaanga and Arthur Wina, who have been associates of President Kaunda for a long time, could cost the MMD some support. There is already rumblings of discontent within certain factions of the MMD over Mr Chiluba's leadership and policy direction.

Unip, however, is not taking predictions of its defeat lying down. It has pronounced itself in favour of

liberalisation and privatisation, and has ditched the policies that have ruined the economy. It is gearing up for a fight.

Despite its economic woes and its repressive internal policies, Zambia has continued to play an important role in regional politics, and President Kaunda is regarded as an elder statesman in Africa.

He has twice served as OAU chairman and is head of the Front-line states.

He has been very close to the ANC and for years the organisation's headquarters were in Lusaka before relocating to Johannesburg after it was unbanned.

President Kaunda is currently trying to convince the Frontline states and the liberation movements to lift sanctions against South Africa.

He will be attending the Commonwealth summit in Harare later this year where South Africa will again be on the agenda. That could be his swansong. — Africa News Service. □

Barney Mithombo
Survive

According to Monday

Youths flee SA township warfare

2/8/91

360

LUSAKA - Hundreds of young men fleeing political warfare in South Africa have arrived in Zambia in recent weeks and the exodus continues.

Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana reported yesterday that about 800 people aged between 15 and 25 had arrived in Lusaka and were sheltered at an African National Congress transit camp on the outskirts of the capital.

Youths are fleeing South Africa for Zambia through Swaziland as political violence continues to dis-

rupt normal life in the townships.

"There is a big problem with accommodation because the influx is more than we can handle. We definitely can't cope with the large numbers of people arriving," an official at the transit centre said. The centre can only accommodate about 400 people.

Accommodation

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is financing food provisions and accommodation for the refugees.

"We are trying to enforce emergency programmes to accommodate

the new arrivals in our educational programmes which friendly countries are trying to help fund," the official at the centre said.

Arrangements are being made with the Kenyan Government for 500 refugees to study in that country.

The Australian Government is funding the 500 students now in Nigeria but the ANC is trying to mobilise resources for the 800 plus new arrivals.

"The 500 students will hopefully leave for Kenya before the end of the year," the official said. - Sapa.

'I was kidnapped by Winnie's men'

A CO-ACCUSED in the Winnie Mandela trial, Katiza Cebekhulu, who is being held in Lusaka's Central Prison, said he was kidnapped by "Winnie's men" in South Africa and taken to Zambia. **C/PHM 4/8/91**

He has threatened to go on hunger strike to secure his release from the prison where he is being held by the Zambian government, the *Zambian Weekly Post* reported this week.

Cebekhulu has asked the South African government and Amnesty International to intervene on his behalf. Representations by the UN High Commission of Refugees met with little success, the newspaper reported.

"The Zambian government is reported to have conducted high-level consultations with the ANC on Cebek-

hulu's predicament," the newspaper said. **(360)**

In an interview, Cebekhulu said Winnie Mandela "promised me everything — a car, a house, money and education" in exchange for his disappearance from the trial in which she was found guilty of kidnap and assault.

Cebekhulu, who initially attended the trial without being apprehended by the police, said he had no choice but to follow her directives.

"He said he was no longer interested in Mrs Mandela's promises because she betrayed him to save her neck," the newspaper reported.

He denied reasons given by the Zambian authorities that he was being held because he was a prohibited im-

■ To Page 2

Will Kaunda get the boot?

Press 4/8/91

360

PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is fighting a fierce battle with millionaire Enoch Kavindele for leadership of the ruling United National Independence Party and the country.

It is claimed the Unip hierarchy is desperately trying to keep Kaunda in his seat.

Although officially anyone can contest the party presidency, Kavindele has encountered organised resistance from the party.

But the Lusaka businessman is confident he has adequate support from many rank-and-file members, including the central committee.

Kaunda has publicly welcomed Kavindele's intention to stand against him, while ignoring popular public demand that he steps down to allow Unip to float young party candidates for presidency next week.

Said Kaunda: "At 67, I am still very young. I shall continue leading the party and the people of Zambia as long as they want me."

Kavindele countered this by saying: "The desire for change in the country is so intense that President Kaunda cannot any longer remain the greatest asset of our party."

"His continued dominance of Unip now poses a great danger to the continued survival of our party, due to his stubbornness, inflexibility, and for ignoring realities. This will only push our party into oblivion."

This sentiment is supported by the majority of Zambians, who have deplored Kaunda's style of leadership

and government in which the economy has degenerated into unproductive limbo.

The State-owned Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) has barred Kavindele from advertising on radio and television on the flimsy pretext that "he must be given the green light by Freedom House (Unip headquarters) and must be approved by the party public relations department".

This has subsequently annoyed Kavindele, who in turn has threatened to sue ZNBC, saying: "I shall file a High Court injunction to restrain ZNBC from advertising Kaunda's Unip candidature. They should only promote Unip."

The infighting shows how divided the ruling party is and clearly demonstrates that the much-publicised democracy in Unip is only in theory and not in practice.

The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) chairman for environmental affairs, Michael Sata, recently claimed that about 10 members of the Unip central committee had tendered their resignations.

Kavindele claimed he had restrained nine Unip Members of Parliament from defecting to opposition parties on condition that democracy prevailed during the elections.

"It is surprising that President Kaunda cannot read what is written on the political wall. It is time for him to step down and he won't lose face at all. He has been too long on Zambia's political scene."

800 youths flee violence

APR 4/8/91.

MORE than 800 young South Africans fleeing political violence have arrived in Zambia since the beginning of the year to seek education opportunities under the auspices of the ANC.

An average of 60 black youths aged between 15 and 25 years are fleeing South Africa every month, ANC representatives in Zambia revealed this week.

Eighty-four youths arrived in Zambia during the past two weeks via Swaziland.

The South African refugees are camped at the Kamwanga Refugee transit centre 12 km outside Lusaka.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees is providing food and accommodation, but this is now hampered by the large number of refugees.

Problem

The centre can accommodate about 400 people but this has been outstripped by 100 percent. ANC administrative secretary in the education department, George Shaya, said: "There is a major problem of accommodation because the influx of arrivals is more than we can handle."

"But here we are, we have to look after them."

The acute shortage of cooking facilities has compounded the problem.

Transit centre administrator Graham Morodi conceded: "We definitely can't cope with the large number of people arriving."

However, the ANC has a responsibility to look after the refugees and to try and place them in schools.

"We are trying to enforce emergency programmes to accommodate the new arrivals in our educational programmes which friendly countries are trying to assist with funding," explained Shaya.

ANC student co-ordinator Ashley Sewisa said the ANC already had 500 South Africans in Nigeria

Our 360 transit camps in Zambia crammed says ANC

and another 500 might be going to Kenya before the end of the year.

The Australian Government is currently funding the 500 students in Nigeria but the ANC is trying to mobilise more resources for the more than 800 new arrivals.

Asked why he fled South Africa, one of the refugees said: "The education system for blacks at home is appalling and in a total shambles. It hasn't changed despite President FW De Klerk's world-acclaimed reform programme."

"Black education is facing its worst crisis ever. It seems to me there is still a lot of talking and no action."

The young fugitives are mainly seeking secondary and university education. Some, however, are hoping for professional training outside South Africa.

Contrast

The scenario at the ANC refugee transit camp is in sharp contrast with the thousands of South African exiles still waiting in several African countries and other parts of the world to return home.

ANC repatriation officer Hein Grosskopf explained: "Many of the exiles are skilled and educated and can easily be accommodated in various sectors of the South African economy."

"The refugees, however, still need education and training." - ANO

'Kidnapped to save Winnie'

■ From Page 1

migrant. "I was kidnapped and brought here by Winnie Mandela's men."

Both the Zambian government and the ANC in Lusaka have refused to comment on Cebekhulu's detention but their silence lends credibility to the theory that Cebekhulu is being victimised to save Mrs Mandela, the newspaper said.

"What is obvious is that the government is embarrassed by his presence and tries to hide the fact that he is in Lusaka."

Cebekhulu told the newspaper how the ANC allegedly kidnapped him in

South Africa and persuaded him to go undercover.

He was flown from South Africa to Angola, making a stopover in Mozambique, before being smuggled into Zambia.

The ANC accommodated him in the Fairview Hotel in Lusaka. When he realised that "Mrs Mandela was in no hurry to fulfil her promises" to him he spoke to the press in frustration.

He was held at Kamwala Remand Prison but after reporters reached him there, he was secretly transferred to Lusaka's Central Prison.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC had referred the matter to representatives in Lusaka for further investigation and the ANC could not comment at this stage. — ANO

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

...paper cranes as they look at the
dedicated to child victims of Hiroshima's a
blast. Today Japan observes the 46th annive
blast.

Zambia heads for democracy

360
6/18/91
LUANDA In a major
step on the path to Western-
style democracy, ruling
party policymakers met
yesterday to rewrite the
constitution and permit
free elections for top posts.

Under the old constitu-
tion governing the United
National Independence
Party (Unip) since its for-
mation 1960, President
Kenneth Kaunda appointed
all 68 Central Committee
members.

Kaunda, 66, who led Zam-
bia to independence from
Britain in 1964, has never
been challenged as leader.

But the new constitution
stipulates that both the
Central Committee and the
presidency be chosen
through secret ballot for
the first time by the party's
7 000-member congress,
starting today.

Kaunda faces a chal-
lenge from Enoch Kavinda-
dele, 42, a business mag-
nate who heads 18
successful companies and
favours capitalism.

Kaunda has promised
free presidential and par-
liamentary elections in
October. All 135 National
Assembly seats will be con-
tested. — Sapa-AP.

a tasty potato
marked off a dare, which clean

Hundreds of ANC exiles to leave Zambia today

Star 7/8/91
LUSAKA — A total of 265 ANC exiles are expected to leave Zambia for South Africa today in a chartered SAA DC10 aircraft.

ANC repatriation administrator Johnson Zondi confirmed in Lusaka that nine flights in all had been allocated to transport about 3 000 exiles.

Two flights a week are scheduled, and the exercise is expected to be completed by September 3.

Mr Zondi said the ANC was hastening the repatriation because of the acute shortage of accommodation in Lusaka.

He said the repatriation of

the other exiles would be undertaken by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

"The South African Government has agreed to grant a general amnesty to all South Africans. What now remains is for Parliament to ratify it."

Yesterday enthusiastic ANC exiles thronged the repatriation offices in Lusaka to check if their names were listed on stated departure dates.

Sparks Zulu said with a broad smile: "I shall be going back home a happy man because things are changing in South Africa." — Sapa.

to Pretoria.

SA sanctions must end, Kaunda tells his party

Star 7/8/91

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has called for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa, saying things were changing fast in that country.

Speaking last night at the extraordinary United National Independence Party (Unip) congress, President Kaunda said South Africa had changed remarkably and dramatically.

"What is happening in South Africa now is not just a token symbol, but reality," he said.

The Zambian leader, who has made it known before that he favoured lifting the sanctions against Pretoria, made public his assertions

that maintaining the trade embargo was a futile exercise.

He emphasised: "We believe all possible pressures of lifting sanctions and escalating contacts with South Africa must be applied fully to start off the key dialogue on a new non-racial constitution for that country."

A liberated South Africa would be a decisive asset to the African continent and a powerful force for good, President Kaunda said.

He appealed to the ANC and other parties in South Africa to close ranks and negotiate for a new constitution to bring about peace to the region. — Sapa.

Kaunda, Mugabe in clash over SA

CT 8/8/91 (360) ~~360~~ ~~360~~

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia clashed yesterday over sanctions against South Africa.

President Mugabe's statement on sanctions was in direct conflict with one reportedly made the previous evening by President Kaunda in an address to Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party.

According to Ziana, the official Zimbabwean news agency, President Kaunda, who is chairman of the frontline states, called for sanctions to be lifted and for the ban on contact with South Africa to end "to start off the key dialogue on a new non-racial constitution for that country".

"What is happening in South Africa now is not just token symbols but realities," President Kaunda was quoted as saying.

The Zambian leader has reportedly been hesitating for the past year over the opening of a South African trade mission in Lusaka. The South African trade mission in Harare assumed in 1980 the functions of the former South African diplomatic mission to Rhodesia, but President



CAMPAIGN TRAIL . . . President Kaunda canvassing for votes yesterday before the UNIP congress. Picture: AP

Mugabe forbids ministerial-level contacts with Pretoria.

Yesterday's disagreement was the first blatant public divergence of views on South Africa between the two presidents.

In his speech to a conference of African socialist parties, President Mugabe said

Zimbabwe must continue to insist on sanctions against South Africa until the advent of an "administration that does not owe its existence to apartheid".

It was his most categorical commitment to indefinite boycotts since February 1990.

The Zimbabwean leader said "the confidence we had begun to develop in President De Klerk has been severely shaken" by "recent revelations of the South African government machinations in fostering division, violence and banditry among the black people".

Mr Mugabe said that although Zimbabwe welcomed reforms that had taken place in South Africa, it was still governed by a regime elected under apartheid laws.

In June, Zimbabwe asked South Africa to update its 1964 "most favoured nation" trade treaty, arousing expectations of a drastic policy change.

In his address, Mr Mugabe defended socialism, saying it was "a fundamental tenet of African society" that had been interrupted by imperialism and colonialism.

He warned that strikes and divisive nationalism such as those at present breaking out in Eastern Europe could bring chaos to Africa.

(360)

Excitement as Kaunda opponent quits contest

Star 8/8/77
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Enoch Kavindele, the man challenging President Kenneth Kaunda for the leadership of the ruling United National Independence Party, yesterday withdrew from the contest, leaving Mr Kaunda to be elected unopposed.

Mr Kavindele, a Lusaka millionaire, said in a statement to the Unip national conference in Kabwe that he was pulling out of the contest to preserve party unity.

Pandemonium



Enoch Kavindele

greeted Mr Kavindele's statement as delegates danced and shouted with joy.

Winnie accused seeks SA, Amnesty help

Spec 10/8/9

PAT DEVEREAUX

THE South African Government is to intervene in the case of Katiza Cebekhulu, a prisoner in Lusaka Central Prison who claims to have been abducted by "Winnie's men" from South Africa.

Mr Cebekhulu was a co-accused in the Winnie Mandela trial.

The Deputy Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans, said yesterday: "We haven't officially been approached in this regard. But we will convey a request to the Zambian authorities immediately and notify them of our concern."

Amnesty International's Richard Carver, speaking from London yesterday, confirmed that the organisation was looking into Mr Cebekhulu's case. But he said they had not yet ap-

proached the Zambian authorities.

Earlier this year, shortly after the trial of Mrs Mandela began, Mr Cebekhulu was allegedly kidnapped. A key witness in the trial, Gabriel Pello Mekgwe, disappeared from the Soweto Methodist manse in February this year, reportedly in the company of ANC members. He has not been seen since.

Interviewed by a local newspaper in Lusaka Central Prison, Mr Cebekhulu asked the South African Government and Amnesty International to intervene on his behalf.

He told the Zambian Weekly Post he would embark on a

hunger strike to secure his release from jail.

He is allegedly being held by the Zambian authorities as a prohibited immigrant.

"I was kidnapped and brought here by Winnie Mandela's men."

The Zambian government and the ANC in Lusaka have refused to comment on Mr Cebekhulu's detention "but their silence lends credibility to the theory that Cebekhulu is being victimised to save Mrs Mandela", the Weekly Post said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus told the press that the ANC had referred Mr Cebekhulu's case to representatives in Lusaka for further investigation and that the ANC could not comment at this stage. The Deputy Attorney-General

al for the Witwatersrand, Jan Swanepoel, who prosecuted in the Winnie Mandela trial, said: "During the trial we applied to the Botswana authorities for the extradition of some of the accused. But we did not have information that Mr Cebekhulu was in Zambia at the time."

"If he returns to South Africa, as a co-accused in the Mandela trial he will have to be charged as soon as he re-enters the country."

Asked whether the International Red Cross would intervene, spokesman Tony Pfanner said in Pretoria: "The Red Cross does not have an agreement with the Zambian authorities which allows access to their prisons."

He added that the Red Cross "had no mandate to intervene on this individual's behalf".

Kaunda rallies party to fight for political life

KABWE — Ignoring warnings and portents of disaster, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has rallied his party behind him to face the biggest challenge of its 27-year rule — a multiparty vote it could lose.

Kaunda ended a week-long congress of the United National Independence Party (Unip) near Lusaka on Friday without making any of the compromises diplomats, aid donors and political opponents had hoped for. 8/10ay 13/8/91 (360)

They wonder whether the congress achieved its aim of turning Unip into a lean fighting machine able to beat the powerful Movement for Multiparty Democracy at the polls in October.

"It's an open contest; Unip hasn't lost it all yet," one political observer said. "There are still thousands of people who are suspicious of the opposition."

But some of his lieutenants say privately that Kaunda, 67, could be a liability in the planned elections, unable to change and adapt.

"What came out of the congress is a passport to losing the elections," said one of the 6 000 delegates.

Kaunda ignored what some saw as an opportunity to bow out gracefully from the Zambian political scene. He did not dissolve Zambia's last one-party government as some observers had expected, nor did he say a word about retirement plans.

Neither did he announce a date for the elections he has agreed to hold within the next three months.

Although the congress changed its rules to allow multiple candidates for the party leadership, Kaunda's only rival, Enoch Kavindele, withdrew early in the week and Kaunda was elected unanimously.

Official sources said Kavindele withdrew under severe pressure from Kaunda loyalists and because he realised he had little support.

Several old guard leaders who had ruled with Kaunda since independence were dropped, but others, including Prime Minister Malimba Masheke and security chief Alex Shapi, survived. — Sapa-Reuter.

Kaunda ³⁶⁰ rallies for elections ^{13/8/91}

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"It's an open contest, the United National Independence Party (Unip) hasn't lost it all yet," one political observer said. "There are still thousands of people who are suspicious of the opposition."

But some of his lieutenants privately say Dr Kaunda, 67, could be a liability in the planned elections, unable to change and adapt. — Sapa-Reuter

Zambia hit by fall in copper output

LUSAKA — Zambia's copper production has continued to decline since March, casting a gloomy economic picture.

From 40 725 tons in March, the figure dropped to 27 059 tons in May.

But the continuous decline in Zambia's main foreign exchange earner has not affected export receipts in the minerals sector. They have risen from \$79,7m in January to \$451m in May.

The latest issue of the Bank of Zambia's main economic indicators shows that the production of cobalt picked up slightly from 393 tons in April to 417 tons in May.

Lead production recorded an increase from 172 tons in April to 299 tons in May, while zinc declined from 663 tons to 624

over the same period.

On the international market, the rise in stocks during May and a generally nervous market forced copper prices down to \$1,05 a pound — well down from the April average of \$1,12.

The indicators show that crude oil payments declined slightly from \$22,6m in April to \$21m in May. Other import payments amount to \$48,4m.

The money in supply rose by 7,9% in May. The figure for April was 6,3%.

The Consumer Price Index rose by 4,4% in May compared with 4,5% in April and 5,5% in March.

The indicators show that over the three months to May 1991 the CPI rose by 15%, or 75% on an annualised basis. — Sapa.

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15/8/91
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ANC weapons used in Zambian robberies

Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Firearms belonging to the African National Congress have been used in robberies in Zambia, ANC officials have confirmed.

The officials said the weapons had been stolen from the ANC, but other members of the organisation privately told the Africa News Organisation that ANC "comrades" were suspected of selling their guns because they were short of money due to the delay in their repatriation to South Africa.

Both Japhet Ndlovu, the ANC's chief representative in Zambia, and Tom Sebina, the organisation's spokesman, had confirmed the theft of guns but had refused to give details, the ANO reported.

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"It is a highly sensitive issue; we need government permission to disclose the number of our guns which have disappeared," Mr Ndlovu said.

Mr Sebina said the police were investigating a number of cases of "illegal use of our guns".

Some were alleged to have been used in robberies at police stations, he said.

The ANO quoted highly placed ANC sources as saying members of the organisation were believed to have resorted to selling their weapons because of an acute lack of funds for buying their normal requirements.

Mr Ndlovu said the ANC had budgeted for the allocation of funds to the Zambian cadres until April in the expectation that the repatriation process would have been completed by then.

Kaunda lawyer locked up

(360)

Star 15/8/91

By Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — The trial in which one of President Kenneth Kaunda's sons is charged with murder took a bizarre twist yesterday when the judge ordered the defence lawyer to be incarcerated for contempt of court.

Sebastian Zulu, a prominent lawyer who has represented the ruling party in several court cases, has been ordered to remain in custody until tomorrow.

Kambarage Kaunda's murder trial in the Lusaka High Court relates to a young woman who was shot and killed two years ago.

Mr Zulu, one of Mr Kaunda's lawyers, was making final submissions yesterday when he suddenly produced an affidavit from one Alias Kundiona.

Mr Kundiona claimed that four High Court judges, including the presiding judge, Mr Justice Claver Musumali, had written to senior officials of the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) saying they would rule in that party's favour in its running conflicts with the ruling United National Independence Party. Mr Kundiona further claimed that Mr Justice Musumali had said he would "fix" Mr Kambarage Kaunda.

After reading the affidavit, the judge immediately ordered Mr Zulu into the dock and charged him with contempt. He said the allegations were very serious and threatened the independence of the court. Mr Zulu, the judge said, was guilty of trying to influence the court with unfounded allegations.

Mr Zulu refused to plead, saying he did not

write the affidavit. Mr Musumali ordered that Mr Zulu be kept in custody until after the lunch recess. He also ordered that Mr Kundiona be brought to court to testify.

After the break, Mr Zulu still refused to testify. Mr Kundiona was not in court and the judge issued a warrant for his arrest.

He gave the police one hour to find him and bring him to court. The police, however, failed to do so.

Mr Musumali rejected a bail application for Mr Zulu, saying it was up to Mr Zulu to purge himself of contempt by testifying. He would be kept in custody for as long as he refused to talk.

He ordered the police to take Mr Zulu to prison. The judge pointedly warned the police against giving in to any pressure from any quarter.

"Please obey my orders, or I will have to come back to lock up the police," he said amid laughter from the packed court.

He also ordered the police to seek out Mr Kundiona and produce him in court tomorrow.

Mr Musumali also said he wanted the president of the MMD, Frederick Chiluba, and his deputy, to appear in court next week in connection with Mr Kundiona's affidavit.

The case has triggered a lot of interest in Zambia, especially as a result of its political undertones. The country will hold its first multiparty elections since 1972 in October this year.

President Kaunda's wife and some of her children were in court yesterday. But for the moment her son's fate will have to wait for the conclusion of what has become a sideshow.

Zambian exiles home

Sowetan

360

22/8/91

LUSAKA - The last of the African National Congress exiles in Zambia will be back home by Friday, according to the ANC official organising the operation, Jackie Selebi.

Today 275 exiles will be flown home on a chartered flight that had originally been scheduled for Tuesday this week.

The remaining exiles will return on Friday on two flights chartered from South African Airways, according to the ANC.

The ANC spokesman in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina, told the Africa News Organisation that a few exiles studying in Zambia would return later. -
Sowetan Africa News Service

Help me get out of prison, pleads Winnie accused

Star 28/8/91

Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Katiza Cebekhulu, one of the accused in the Winnie Mandela trial, says although he desperately wants to be freed from his Zambian jail, he is unwilling to return to South Africa.

"It is not safe for me to go back," he said from Lusaka Central Prison.

Mr Cebekhulu is a man in limbo. Both the Zambian government, who put him behind bars, and the ANC, whom he accuses of forcing him out of South Africa, refuse to take responsibility for his predicament.

Also, international humanitarian organisations, like the International Committee of the Red Cross and Amnesty International, have so far shown no interest in his plight.

Although he has not been found guilty of any crime either in Zambia or South Africa, he is denied privileges granted even to convicted criminals.

The Star's Africa News Service visited Mr Cebekhulu in the Lusaka jail last week and found him involved in a furious argument with a warder.

A short man, with darting eyes, he appeared restless.

Prison sources say Mr Cebekhulu suffers from bouts of depression. One said his mental state "is at times not what it should be".

He has been kept under close surveillance

since a local newspaper ran a story a few weeks ago. It was not possible to speak to him but a list of questions was smuggled to him.

Mr Cebekhulu (23) has reiterated that he was abducted from South Africa and wants to be helped out of jail but does not want to return to South Africa.

"I want people to assist me to be released. I want to be taken out of prison to any country where my life will be safeguarded."

Mr Cebekhulu said he was taken to Mozambique, then flown to Angola and eventually to Zambia.

He said he knew what had happened to Gabriel Mekgwe, a State witness who has also disappeared, but refused to say where he is or what had happened to him.

He said the truth did not come out during Mrs Mandela's trial and he would reveal everything he knows about the death of Stompie after his release.

He described conditions at the prison as "appalling".

Mr Cebekhulu said he did not eat the food because it caused him abdominal pain. He is still wearing the same clothes he had on when he was kidnapped.

Sometimes fellow prisoner lend him clothing when he has to wash his.

Asked whether there was any message he wanted relayed to his relatives, he said: "I want you to inform my mother that I'm still alive."

Zambians unsure about competition

360

Sowetan 29/8/91.



by BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI

LUSAKA - Zambian businessmen are not sure whether to applaud or bemoan the imminent arrival of South African competitors to their shores.

While some agree the South Africans will stimulate competition and lead to the improvement of goods and services, others are apprehensive and there are calls for some form of protectionism against the "invasion" from the south.

Zambians got a taste of what could be in store for local business and consumers, should South African companies gain unrestricted access into the Zambian market, at the Zambia Agricultural and Commercial Show recently.

Exhibition

South African industrial and commercial exhibitors walked away with all the top prizes.

More than 30 South African companies took part in the exhibition. Their presence at the show is in itself a pointer to the direction the winds are blowing in Lusaka.

President Kenneth Kaunda personally met the South Africans and called for closer ties between the two countries as sanctions could, as he put it, soon be a thing of the past.

"We want more of you to come and join us. We love your companies," Kaunda told the South African exhibitors.

Earlier this month, Kaunda

called for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa. Many believe he was simply responding to the mood of the business community in his country.

After the exhibition a Zambian newspaper ran a story with a headline saying: "The South Africans are coming."

The newspaper's correspondent wrote: "I spent some time at the South African stands at the show. I watched with interest the enthusiasm shown by the Zambian public at the South African goods."

"I was also impressed by the unbridled confidence shown by the South African exhibitors which was accompanied by promises of delivery within a few days."

Onslaught

"My first reaction to all this show of salesmanship was to bemoan the imminent demise of Zambian industry. It seems as if the 20-odd years of import substitution and more than 10 years of SADCC initiative, whose aim was to shield the country from this type of onslaught has all come to nought."

An increasing number of South African products are making their way into local

shelves. Canned South African beer, although a lot more expensive than the local brew, is said to be more popular than anything Zambian Breweries can offer. And South African wines have for a long time been going down rich Zambian throats.

Warning

But some South African exhibitors have warned that the Republic's investment in Zambia will remain insignificant even after trade links are established unless the Zambian authorities relax tight restrictions on the movement of money.

"There is too much control on the movement of money here. Investors want a climate where they can transfer funds in and out of the country without needless hindrance," one exhibitor, Franz Lackinger, was quoted as saying.

The chairman of the Zambia Confederation of Industries and Chambers of Commerce, Mr Alex Chikwanda, a former finance minister, said he was all for open borders. However, he said the question of free trade could not be tackled in isolation from the country's overall economic policies.

Campaign

The mismanagement of the economy by Kaunda's ruling party is of course one of the key issues in the current election campaign.

The Opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy, a

party dominated by business interests and which many expect to win the elections, is committed to a policy of privatisation and liberalising the economy.

Power

The MMD, should they come into power, are expected to accelerate business contact between South Africa and Zambia.

Chikwanda doubts whether Zambia has the resources and expertise to run huge parastatals such as ZCCM and ZIMCO. These monopolies could therefore fall into foreign hands, including South African hands, if they were to be sold off.

The MMD has, however, assured Zambian business that its privatisation policy would be based on what it calls national interest.

Reforms

"The selling off of parastatals and all options for management reforms including reorganisation will be considered with an open mind of what is in the national interest," MMD economic spokesman, Akashambatwa Lewanika, has said.

His party, he said, would not seek to replace public monopolies with private ones.

The policies his government would follow, Lewanika said, would be based on the promotion of mutual confidence between the government and local as well as international business.

Trade winds blowing in from the south

Star 29/8/91

(360)

1991

As trade barriers drop, Zambians are in two minds about South Africa's commercial influence, reports BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI in Lusaka.

ZAMBIAN businessmen are not sure whether to applaud or bemoan the imminent arrival of South African competitors in their country.

While some feel the South Africans will stimulate competition and lead to the improvement of goods and services, others are apprehensive and there are calls for some form of protectionism against the "invasion" from the south.

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"We want more of you to come and join us. We love your companies," Dr Kaunda told the South African exhibitors.

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The newspaper's correspondent wrote: "I spent some time at the South African stands at the show. I watched

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"I was also impressed by the unbridled confidence shown by the South African exhibitors which was accompanied by promises of delivery within a few days.

"My first reaction to all this show of salesmanship was to bemoan the imminent demise of Zambian industry.

"An increasing number of SA products are making their way on to local shelves.

"Canned South African beer, although more expensive than the local brew, is said to be more popular than anything Zambian Breweries can offer. South African wines have for a long time been going down rich Zambian throats."

But some South African exhibitors have warned that SA's

investment in Zambia will remain insignificant even after trade links are established unless the Zambian authorities relax restrictions on the movement of money.

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The chairman of the Zambia Confederation of Industries and Chambers of Commerce, Alex Chikwanda, a former finance minister, said he was all for open borders. However, the question of free trade could not be tackled in isolation from the country's overall economic policies.

The mismanagement of the economy by President Kaunda's ruling party is one of the

key issues in the current election campaign.

The opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), a party dominated by business interests and which many expect to win the elections, is committed to a policy of privatisation.

The MMD, should it come to power, is expected to accelerate business contact between South Africa and Zambia.

The MMD has, however, assured Zambian business that its privatisation policy would be based on what it calls national interest.

MMD economic spokesman Akashambatwa Lewanika has said his party would not seek to replace public monopolies with private ones. The policies his government would follow, Mr Lewanika said, would be based on the promotion of mutual confidence between the government and local as well as international business. — Star Africa Service. □

Genmin team to leave for Zambia soon

MATTHEW CURTIN

GENMIN, the mining arm of the Gencor group, was putting together a team of geologists to investigate various mining opportunities in Zambia, a source close to the company said yesterday.

He said the team would leave later this month.

The move was a follow-up to last week's visit to Zambia by Genmin chairman Brian Gilbertson, finance CE Philip Rademeyer and mineral resources CE John Raubenheimer.

Energy

Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, who hosted the visit, told Gilbertson the SA business community should invest in Zambia, a country which showed non-racialism could work.

Reuter reported earlier this year that Zambia would have a permanent SA trade mission stationed in Lusaka by the end of the year.

Genmin's move comes at a time when Gencor, principally through its energy division Engen, is working hard to take advantage of new markets opening up in Africa.

Engen MD Rob Angel said last month that Engen was well placed to compete with the world's biggest oil companies like Mobil, Shell, BP and Chevron, which were established on the continent.

He said export volumes to Africa would treble this year.

Moment of truth looms for Kaunda

360

Sowetan 9/9/91

LUSAKA - October is normally Zambia's hottest month.

This year the mercury is expected to rise even higher. And the heat will be on President Kenneth Kaunda and his ruling United National Independence Party.

With the naming of October 31 as election day, the stage is set for a poll which may result in a change of leadership in Lusaka, and eventuality that has ramifications for the whole of southern Africa.

There are no reliable political surveys in Zambia but the consensus among ordinary people is that Kaunda will lose the elections.

The most optimistic assessment has Kaunda retaining the presidency but his party suffering an ignominious defeat.

But not many people are betting on such an outcome.



KENNETH KAUNDA

His opponents - and he has amassed quite a number after 27 years in power - cannot wait to see him get his comeuppance.

Most people, even those who are not seriously interested in politics, say it is time for a change. The constant refrain is that Kaunda has been around for far too long.

It is among his former associates that there is palpable hatred of the president. They have been loyal to the man for a number of years and they feel their loyalty has been abused.

"We stuck by the man against our better judg-

ment," said a former cabinet minister.

"We thought he would listen eventually. He didn't."

Kaunda is accused of appointing people to key positions but taking all the important decisions himself, ignoring their judgments, especially if these judgments conflict with his own prejudices.

As a result, all the ills of the country are simply pinned at the door at State House.

The economy, especially, is in a mess. Ordinary people's standard of living, never high at the best of times, has gone down dramatically. The local currency, the kwacha, is worth almost three times its official value in the black market.

The average wage is not enough to buy even a pair of ladies' shoes.

The fall in people's standard of living has led to a wave of labour unrest, especially in the public sector. Dozens of patients died in the Copperbelt recently following a strike in the health service.

There is a shortage of drugs even in the country's best hospitals, and the cholera epidemic is exacerbated by poor health facilities and shortage of clean water.

HURRY
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After 27 years Zambia's one-man rule looks set to end, writes Barney Mthomboti

Kaunda's D-Day approaches

Star 21/9/91

360

OCTOBER is normally Zambia's hottest month. This year the mercury is expected to rise even higher. And the heat will be on President Kenneth Kaunda and his ruling United National Independence Party (Unip).

With the naming of October 31 as election day, the stage is set for a poll that may result in a change of leadership in Lusaka, an eventuality that has ramifications for the whole of southern Africa.

There are no reliable political surveys in Zambia, but the consensus among ordinary people is that Dr Kaunda will lose the elections. The most optimistic assessment has Dr Kaunda retaining the presidency but his party suffering an ignominious defeat.

But not many people are betting on such an outcome. His opponents — and he has amassed quite a number after 27 years in power — cannot wait to see him get his comeuppance.

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ments, especially if these judgments conflict with his own prejudices. As a result, all the ills of the country are simply pinned at the door of State House.

The economy, especially, is in a mess. Ordinary people's standard of living, never high at the best of times, has gone down dramatically. On the black market, the local currency, the kwacha, is worth at most a third of its official value. The average wage is K2 500, not enough to buy even a pair of ladies' shoes. The fall in people's standard of living has led to a wave of labour unrest, especially in the public sector.

Dozens of patients died in the Copperbelt recently after a strike in the health service. There is a shortage of drugs even in the country's best hospitals, and the cholera epidemic is exacerbated by poor health facilities and shortage of clean water.

A schoolboy wrote an open letter to "Grandfather" Kaunda recently asking how his mother, a qualified nurse, could be expected to raise a family of four with a basic monthly salary of K3 000.

Dr Kaunda's fall from power

would certainly be an event for Zambia's eight million people, and for such a proud man it would be an extremely bitter pill to swallow. But as Vernon Mwaanga, one of the many former associates now plotting his downfall, put it: "He will have to adjust. There is life outside State House."

Others, however, although they want to see Dr Kaunda go, are saddened by the fact that he has decided to fight to the bitter end. They would have preferred to see him withdraw with dignity. His longtime lieutenants such as party stalwarts Grey Zulu and former prime minister Elijah Mudenda are retiring, probably ditching a sinking ship.

It is not that Dr Kaunda's principal opponent, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) is a well-oiled party machine. It is riven with divisions of its own. As one journalist put it: "After victory, it's going to be war within the MMD."

The MMD is more an anti-Kaunda coalition. But the impression one gets from Unip is of a party in terminal decline. The

MMD has won every confrontation it has had with Dr Kaunda's party.

What the opposition has been unable to obtain in face-to-face discussions with Unip, it has achieved in successful challenges to the government in the courts. This has led to charges from senior Unip officials that the judges are biased against their party, and there have been attempts to impugn the dignity especially of the supreme court.

But Mr Mwaanga dismisses these charges. "Unip have been conducting themselves above the law all these years and nobody has bothered to challenge them. What the courts are doing, and what we're trying to do, is to level the field."

The buzzword in Zambia these days is delinking. Unip is not exactly the Communist Party, but its grip on Zambian society and its institutions has been almost near total. Every organ of the State or institution, like the media and the armed forces, had to be affiliated to the party. Now a process has begun to peel them off.

The security forces have now disaffiliated from Unip. "The forces' allegiance shall be to the government of the day," said a joint statement from the service chiefs, who themselves used to sit on Unip's central committee.

It is not yet clear whether the party, starved of this symbiotic relationship, will be able to stand on its own. There are 14 parties in the race. But only the MMD and Unip are the serious challengers for power.

Most of the parties are hampered by lack of funds. The government has refused to change the laws prohibiting them to receive campaign funds from the exchequer. Unip has no problem. It is inertly using State resources to conduct its own campaign.

Frederick Chiluba, MMD president, is a small man physically. But he looks increasingly like a David who is about to slay a Goliath.

Dr Kaunda is not conducting himself like a man who is about to lose power. He is currently spending millions of State money to build his party's new headquar-

ters. When completed, Freedom House will be the tallest building in Lusaka.

There have been whispers that the elections will be rigged by the ruling party. But Unip's election manager, Benjamin Mibenge, has promised a clean and fair campaign. "Those going around saying Unip will rig the elections are only scared of their own shadow," he says. He insists Unip will be returned to power.

But Mr Mwaanga says his party would have done badly if it took 120 of the 150 seats on offer. "The conservative side, we will get 80 percent of the vote. People are just fed up with one-man rule."

Independent observers, however, say this is a gross exaggeration. But there is fear here that the elections could leave Unip devastated that the country could for some time be without a credible opposition to check the excesses of an MMD administration. That would mean new faces in government but no change at all as the country would still be one-party state. — Star Africa Service. □

Zambians clash over economy

LUSAKA — The Bank of Zambia and the Central Statistical Office (CSO) have differed sharply on forecasting the country's economic performance.

Last week Bank of Zambia governor Jacques Bussieres defended the devaluation of the kwacha, saying it allowed Zambian producers to become more competitive and that inflation had been reduced from 150% to 73%.

CSO director David Diamango has reacted sharply, saying the inflation rate stood at 101.4% and warning of the danger of misleading the international community and the Zambian public.

"The Bank of Zambia is working in isolation and not in consultation with CSO on vital economic issues," said Diamango in a statement.

Meanwhile, Zimbabwe's central bank has announced measures to control rising inflation, curb money supply, cut imports and encourage saving.

Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe governor Kombo Moyana said the base lending rate for commercial and merchant banks had

been increased to 17.25% from 15% and that for finance houses by three percentage points to 21%.

He said a 50% advance deposit would be required for imports worth more than Z\$15 000.

Inflation rose to a rate of almost 25% by the end of June from an estimated 16% at the beginning of the year and money supply grew by nearly 35%. The central bank did not give a figure for the previous money supply growth.

Moyana said the high rate of inflation and money supply needed to be conquered.

He said a significant rise in private sector credit was responsible for the increase in money supply while inflation had been pushed up by last year's high wage rises, the continuing depreciation of the Zimbabwe dollar and the recent lifting of controls on consumer prices.

"The thrust of this monetary policy will continue to be that of stimulating savings, and control of inflation and monetary expansion to promote growth," Moyana said.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Prospect of Zambia without KK

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Argus Africa News Service in LUSAKA

THE likely fall of President Kenneth Kaunda from power in next month's historic elections in Zambia will affect more than just the country's domestic politics. South Africa could benefit from it.

President Kaunda's likely successors, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), will turn President Kaunda's foreign policy on its head, thus effectively unravelling the frontline state's consensus on South Africa.

The probable removal of President Kaunda is understood to be causing concern among his friends in the region, especially in Harare and Dar-es-Salaam. Recently Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi sent an envoy to Lusaka to assure President Kaunda of Tanzania's support in these difficult times.

Although Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe has often had serious differences with President Kaunda on how to deal with South Africa, he is not enamoured of the likelihood of the Zambian leader's dismissal from power.

The MMD will present a much more difficult proposition. "An MMD government will cause chaos in the region," one political observer said in Lusaka recently.

The election of an MMD government could sound a deathknell to what has come to be known as the frontline states. In President Kaunda, it will remove the one individual who has managed to keep this collection of leaders, with somewhat disparate interests and outlooks, as a relatively cohesive force with a common policy on South Africa.

Zambia under President Kaunda has made its opposition to the policies of the white-ruled south — first the Portuguese, then the Rhodesians and the South Africans — the cardinal plank of its foreign policy. Most of the liberation movements fighting these governments — some went on to govern their countries — were supported and accorded refuge in Zambia. Frelimo from Mozambique, Zimbabwe's Zapu, Swapo now governing Namibia and the ANC which is at last packing its bags in Lusaka and heading for Johannesburg, have all benefitted from this policy.

Dr Kaunda's antipathy towards his white neighbours has also affected Zambia's relations with important Western governments. Its relations with Britain and the US were ad-

versely affected by what President Kaunda viewed as those countries' cosy ties with Pretoria.

Prime Ministers Brian Mulroney of Canada and Australia's Bob Hawke are friends simply because their views on South Africa accord with the president's. President Kaunda has presented this policy as something of a moral crusade for which the country was willing to pay any price.

Many people within the MMD, however, feel Zambia has been made to carry an unfair burden in the liberation of the region. This has ruined its economy, and energies that could have been directed at development have gone to satisfying altruistic ventures.

MMD spokesmen have made it clear that the needs of ordinary Zambians will have to enjoy a priority over what they call liberation politics. Foreign policy under their tutelage will not depend on the "likes or dislikes of one or a few individuals", but on what is best for Zambia.

An MMD administration is expected to take a much friendlier attitude towards Pretoria. In their effort to revive the economy the MMD are unlikely to readily support boycotts or sanctions against South Africa.

There are already indications that the MMD leadership will be quite happy to trade with and welcome investments from South Africa. Many of its leaders, including the MMD deputy president, Levy Mwanawasa, have been making regular visits to South Africa recently.

Last week President Kaunda's government impounded a fleet of cars bought from South Africa by the MMD for its election campaign. Economic diplomacy, and not liberation politics, they say, will inform the country's foreign policy.

Vernon Mwaanga, who is expected to be foreign minister in an MMD government and who has visited South Africa, said recently: "We shall pursue a foreign policy which will take into account the important axiom that we have no permanent friends or permanent enemies, only permanent interests."

The policy, he said, would be part of the overall push by his government to improve the lot of ordinary Zambians. "Foreign policy will be given adequate attention, but not at the expense of domestic concerns."

Although President Kaunda has recently been showing signs of shifting his party's hardline policy against South Africa, even going to an extent of calling for the lifting of

sanctions, the MMD are expected to quicken the pace towards an accommodation with South Africa. This could split the frontline states.

One ANC official said in Lusaka it was just as well the organisation was packing and leaving Zambia because the "vibes from the MMD are not very encouraging".

Although the MMD president Frederick Chiluba is a trade unionist, it is the powerful business wing within the movement which is dictating economic and foreign policy, and this lobby wants contacts with South Africa to be re-established without delay.

Mr Mwaanga has already issued what some have interpreted as a veiled warning to the frontline states. "We shall not allow anybody," he said in a paper detailing MMD foreign policy agenda, "to choose any of our friends or enemies for us."

"We shall do our best to refrain from adverse and provocative comment on the internal affairs of other states, just as we expect them to do the same with regard to ourselves."

The MMD has, however, committed itself to honouring all existing bilateral agreements, such as the Tazara railway line, and will maintain its membership of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), and the Southern African Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC). But it has warned that these institutions will have to meet the objectives for which they were established to earn Zambia's continued support.

"With the ending of the cold war and resolution of regional conflicts in Southern Africa, our foreign policy will emphasise economic development and national reconstruction," Mwaanga said.

"Our foreign policy therefore will become a complimentary wing of the development ministries. Economic diplomacy shall form an important cornerstone of this new approach."

In what was seen as a swipe at Zambia's sacrifice on behalf of liberation movements, Mwaanga said: "Zambia's past preoccupation with political liberation has not, even when opportunities arose, been matched with an equally important concern for the material well-being of the Zambian people."

AFRICA

Kaunda may lose poll — academic

(360) ARC 10/9/91
JOHANNESBURG. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda will most likely lose the October 31 elections by a "significant margin", says British academic Stephen Chan.

In a paper disclosed by the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr Chan argues that Mr Kaunda is heading for a decisive defeat, although he admits his analysis is based on his "intuitive appreciation" of Zambian politics.

Mr Chan, who lectures in international relations at the University of Kent, said it would be virtually impossible to conduct an opinion poll in Zambia, because there would be "trouble with ruling party vigilantes."

"My views are gleaned entirely from informal soundings taken among, not only the educated Zambians, but also in frequent travels into the rural and township areas, and also from soundings from within the armed services."

Mr Chan argues that the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy has capitalised on Mr Kaunda's "spur-of-the-moment" policy decisions and the deepening economic crisis in Zambia.

MMD leader Frederick Chiluba, a trade union leader who Mr Chan claims has significant support amongst copper miners, would lead a government composed of technocrats.

Zambian row erupts over Landrovers

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — A double row has erupted over 40 Landrovers imported from South Africa by the Zambian opposition party, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) for the general election campaign.

The vehicles were imported with public address systems, at a total cost of R5-million.

First, the Zambian government impounded 15 of the four-wheel-drive vehicles, saying they had been imported illegally. And then MMD leaders questioned the usefulness of the petrol-engined Landrovers in remote areas where diesel is the common fuel.

They said they had not been consulted before the vehicles were bought.

After seizing some of the vehicles, government officials said the MMD had not complied with import regulations and may not have paid customs duty.

While the documents show the vehicles entered Zambia in June by way of Botswana, they actually came in July.

A customs officer at the Kazungula border post said she forgot to change the date on her stamp.

Star 11/9/91
**Zambia media
group slates
appointments**

Star Africa Service (360)

LUSAKA — The Press Association of Zambia (Paza) says the performance of the government-appointed heads of the State-owned media is unethical, grossly unfair and is biased in favour of President Kaunda's United National Independence Party.

The heads of radio and television, and newspapers are appointed by President Kaunda.

Most are non-journalists who are trusted members of the ruling party.

Paza intends to apply for a high court injunction restraining the media heads from performing their duties until after the elections if the government refuses to sack them.

The association has also threatened to resort to other measures, including strikes.

The biased reporting if left unchecked, Paza says, will unduly influence the outcome of the elections.

The association wants equal access to the State-owned propaganda and information machinery for all political parties taking part in the elections.

Aid to be cut off to Star 11/9/91 (360) profligate Zambia

LUSAKA — The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank gave notice yesterday that on Friday they would officially suspend aid to Zambia worth \$200 million (about R570 million).

Western donor nations immediately said they would follow suit.

Reasons given included critical arrears in Zambia's debt repayments to the World Bank, and the failure to honour an economic reform programme.

Zambia failed to abolish state subsidies on mealie meal and did not end price controls as required under Western-sponsored reforms approved by the IMF and World Bank in July 1989.

Zambia holds its first multiparty elections for nearly two decades on October 31. Western nations

charge that President Kenneth Kaunda refused to raise food prices before polling because he fears a backlash from voters.

In the mid-1980s the government abandoned an IMF-sponsored reform programme because of its unpopularity. Homespun reforms then plunged the economy deeper into crisis.

Diplomats said the freezing of Western aid and loans would pose vast problems for any government voted into power in October.

● The IMF said yesterday that Zaire had become ineligible for aid because of overdue repayments on loans. Zaire has not been declared ineligible for World Bank loans. — Sapa-AP.

● Kaunda defeat may signal benefits for SA — Page 15

Kaunda defeat tipped to signal benefits for SA

Star 11/9/91

360

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The likely removal of President Kaunda is understood to be causing concern among his friends, especially in Harare and Dar-es-Salaam. Recently Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi sent an envoy to Lusaka to assure Dr Kaunda of Tanzania's support.

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The MMD will be a much more difficult proposition. "An MMD government will cause chaos in the region," one political observer said.

The election of an MMD government could sound a death knell to what have become known as the Frontline states. In President Kaunda, it will remove the one individual who has managed to keep this collection of leaders, with somewhat disparate interests and outlooks, as a relatively cohesive force with a common policy on South Africa.

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Dr Kaunda's antipathy towards his white neighbours has also affected Zambia's relations with important Western governments. Its relations with Britain and the US were adversely affected by what President Kaunda viewed as those countries' cosy ties with Pretoria. Prime ministers Brian Mulroney of

The likely fall from grace of President Kaunda will turn Zambian foreign policy on its head, reports BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI.



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The MMD has, however, committed itself to honouring all existing bilateral agreements, such as the Tazara railway line, and will maintain its membership of the Preferential Trade Area and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. But it has warned that these institutions will have to meet the objectives for which they were established in order to earn continued support.

"With the ending of the Cold War and resolution of regional conflicts in southern Africa, our foreign policy will emphasise economic development and national reconstruction," Mr Mwaanga said. — The Star Africa Service. □•

Sebina sure Kaunda

Will stay in charge

South 12/9-18/9/91

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

THOMAS LETLALO — better known as Tom Sebina, Zambia-based voice of the African National Congress (ANC) in exile—is back home, convinced that President Kenneth Kaunda will retain his power base in Zambia's first multi-party elections next month.

Sebina refused to predict which of the many contesting parties would win the elections but was optimistic that Kaunda would remain Zambia's head of state. As a matter of protocol, he declined to discuss the politics of Zambia, except to observe that the campaign for the elections scheduled for October 31 was in full swing.

"All political parties are holding rallies throughout the country. The enthusiasm is so overwhelming that ordinary street-level people can be seen arguing their party manifestos on street corners and in bars."

Sebina said it seemed to him that every Zambian was keen that the transition from a one-party to a multi-

party system should be peaceful.

Asked about the stance of Zambian political parties towards South Africa, Sebina said: "They all express support for the ANC and support the struggle in South Africa."

"But there are elements in the opposition parties who say relations with Pretoria should change, as they perceive the so-called changes in South Africa to be irreversible. This is especially the case with the question of sanctions. There are people who say sanctions should be done away with."

Sebina said valuable lessons had been learned by those who had spent long years in exile in Africa. The vital question was how to avoid repeating the mistakes that had been made elsewhere on the continent.

SOUTH spoke to Sebina at his Dube Village home in Soweto early this week. It was his first interview inside the country since he left 27 years ago at the age of 27.

"It has been always my conviction that one day I would go back home. So my return at the weekend has been the fulfillment of that conviction," he said.

The last senior ANC official to leave Zambia, Sebina does not regret the

time he spent in exile — except for the fact that both his parents died while he was there.

"I don't regret at all. It was a conscious decision, an important one to have been taken by an activist at the time," he said.

"I was thrust into this whole thing really," Sebina says of his role as ANC spokesperson. "As you know, most of the leaders were banned and couldn't be quoted back home. I happened to be the only person who was not on the (banned) list."

Sebina skipped the country in August 1964, going to Dar-es-Salaam via Botswana and then embarking for the Soviet Union for military training.

He went to Lusaka in 1967 and joined the movement's department of information and publicity, helping to produce the ANC publication "Mayibuye".

In 1970 Sebina was sent to Czechoslovakia for a year's training in journalism. From there he joined the ANC's Radio Freedom in Tanzania.

In 1973 he was posted to Dakar, the Senegalese capital, as the movement's representative. He stayed there for eight years before returning to Lusaka in 1980.



TOM SEBINA: Returned to South Africa after 27 years in exile

Zambia's economy faces ruin

6/10 am 13/9/97
LUSAKA — Zambia's failure to meet a \$20.8m arrears payment to the World Bank this week will have severe implications for the country's economic recovery, economic analysts said yesterday.

The government's decision to delay implementation of some of the austerity measures in its economic reform programme — such as cutting subsidies for maize meal — will put further pressure on the budget deficit, analysts said.

President Kenneth Kaunda's government is fighting for its political life against stiff opposition, with the

country's first multiparty elections in two decades due on October 31.

"Our job as a government, especially now, is to deliver a peaceful transition for Zambia," Finance Minister Rabson Chongo told reporters.

He said implementation of the economic reform programme had been suspended until after the election.

The budget deficit, originally targeted at 4.3-billion kwacha (\$56.4m) for 1991, is expected to grow from the present \$194m to more than \$262m by the end of the year because of heavy expenses likely to be incurred by the

360
government, economists said.

Maize supplies are expected to run out by the end of 1991, forcing Zambia to import maize at a cost of at least \$90m before the 1992 crop comes round, diplomats said.

The UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) is today likely to declare Zambia eligible for emergency food supplies. It is also lined up to be declared a Least Developed Country at a meeting of the UN Economic and Social Council later this month.

"Zambia is headed for hyper-inflation," said a senior government official. — Sapa-Reuter.

FM 13/9/91

360

sition parties.

Kaunda (67) brought Zambia to independence 26 years ago. There is no privately owned land and private farmers were edged out of agriculture by State-run co-operatives, which saw food prices soar and have led to hunger in most of Zambia's nine regions. The country has also been badly affected by the slump in the copper price since the Seventies and an inability to get agricultural produce to local and international markets. The economy has been mis-managed with an US\$8m foreign debt and allegations of widespread corruption.

Even Unip has acknowledged that Kaunda's time in office is probably spent and that popular opinion is against one of the patriarchs of African independence. Enoch Kavindele (41), a wealthy businessman and a member of Unip's central committee, is the man tipped to succeed Kaunda from within Unip's ranks. Though Unip is essentially socialist, Kavindele is committed to free-market principles.

Willa Mung'omba, a former president of the African Development Bank and an internationally respected expert on African economies, told the *FM* he believes that regardless of who wins in Zambia the outcome will be positive: "I foresee a change of government. It could mean that if the present ruling party wins that it will have an opposition that will act as a watchdog and push the government to do certain things it would not do as a single party. But the present opposition could form the new government."

"Either way it is a welcome situation. It will establish popular democracy in Zambia. The people are ready for it." ■

ZAMBIAN ELECTIONS FM 13/9/91

When Kaunda goes 360

Zambia's main opposition party appears to be gaining ground in the crucial Copperbelt area — with the country's first elections after 17 years of one-party rule only six weeks away.

The Copperbelt, with the largest single bloc (701 000) of the 3.5m electorate, is primarily a rural farming and copper mining constituency. All have been badly hit by worsening economic conditions which saw food riots and a major copper workers' strike last year.

Diplomats say that though it is difficult to gauge the outcome on polling day, October 31, President Kenneth Kaunda's main opposition, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), seems to be gaining a strong foothold in the Copperbelt and other rural areas.

MMD president Frederick Chiluba is also chairman of the powerful 400 000-member Zambian Congress of Trade Unions, a strong base that is apparently helping his presidential ambitions. Formerly a committed Marxist, Chiluba embraced free-market principles after a visit to the US in 1972. Like Kaunda, he is a devout Christian who frequently quotes from Biblical tracts. He claims the MMD will have an easy victory in rural areas: "It is as if we are pushing open a door. The Copperbelt and Lusaka are ours. Unip (the ruling United Independence Party) is basing its election on the fact that they have been entrenched for 30 years, but the economic problems that have changed the life of our people to near starvation are more telling in the rural areas than in the urban areas."

Economic crisis forced Kaunda to bend under pressure from international financiers, including the World Bank, to hold democratic elections to facilitate future loans.

Chiluba claims that people are also angry at the breakdown of the rule of law, a rise in detentions "and a feeling that justice is not seen to be done. Centralisation of power has worsened things."

Since he signed a decree abolishing the one-party State and committing himself to elections last December 19 (the MMD was formed a day later), Kaunda has closed down a bank, threatened an independent newspaper with closure, briefly closed the University of Zambia and generally intimidated opposition supporters. In addition to the MMD, there are five much smaller oppo-

Genmin team visits Lusaka

MATTHEW CURTIN

A GENMIN geological and negotiating team arrived in Lusaka yesterday to investigate mining opportunities in Zambia. (360)

The team, led by Kihross gold mine GM Bruce Lutman, will spend five days following up a brief visit to the city a few weeks ago by Genmin executives who were hosted by Zambian business leaders and President Kenneth Kaunda.

A group spokesman said yesterday the team would spend much of its time at Ndola, in the copperbelt.

The team would look at possible geological sites and areas where SA mining expertise could make a contribution to existing mining operations.

Genmin was not planning to invest in Zambian mines.

The visit would be used to evaluate the potential of an involvement in Zambia.

Zambia unveils new investment deal

8/10 am 19/9/91
LUSAKA — The Zambian government has released its long awaited New Investment Act which, at first glimpse, appears attractive.

Although most financial and economic experts interviewed in Lusaka yesterday said it was too early to give detailed comment, they conceded that it contained positive elements.

Some of the favourable trends include retention of 70% of gross foreign currency earnings for the first three years, 60% for the following two years, and 50% for the remaining period of the investment licence's validity.

Other incentives include customs duty and sales tax exemption for machinery imported to establish enterprises. Businesses with an investment of less than 500 000 kwacha in plant and machinery will be exempt from licensing fees. (360)

Holders of investment licences may transfer funds out of Zambia in foreign currency, regardless of the provision of the Foreign Exchange Control Act.

Registered small enterprises will be exempt from payment of tax on income for up to five years. — Sapa.

Watching the watchdogs

Press 22/9/91

(360)

AFTER a battle to establish a so-called independent monitoring group to observe Zambia's October multiparty elections, controversy is brewing over the team's impartiality and competence to fulfil its mandate.

The funding for the Zambia Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT) is controlled by the Zambian Voters' Observation Team (Z-Vote), a combined team of delegates from the Carter Centre in Atlanta, Georgia - established by former American president Jimmy Carter - and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) based in Washington DC.

Both the Carter Centre and NDI have long track records of monitoring elections all over the world. Their stated aim is to establish a non-partisan organisation like ZIMT to observe the elections, support the growth of pluralism in the country after the election and gauge the progress of the new government.

At its launch on September 5, ZIMT chairman David Phiri, a business consultant with a reputation for being politically non-aligned, vaguely outlined the team's key objectives. These include recording



FUNDER ... Former US President Jimmy Carter established the Carter Centre.

how political parties adhere to election procedures, informing authorities if electoral procedures infringe on voters' political rights and investigating people's complaints that their right to freedom of speech has been violated.

funds from ZIMT, and has demanded ZIMT come up with a project proposal of how it wants to spend the money allocated to it. Apart from vague objectives, no plan has been submitted.

"As far as I am concerned, there is no ZIMT," said one angry member of Z-Vote.

"There are just individuals sitting around the table with their personal agendas. It's a name only; a hollow shell."

ZIMT is the brainchild of prominent Lusaka lawyer Roger Chongwe, who is also secretary-general of the Commonwealth Lawyers' Association and chairman of the Africa Bar Association.

Chongwe submitted a proposal to western donors for an independent monitoring group just before Zambia's transition to plural politics gained momentum. President Kenneth Kaunda amended the constitution in December last year, allowing other political parties to form for the first time since 1972.

Initially, Kaunda and his ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) were not in favour of any election observers. Then he gave some ground to the demands of the main opposition party, the Movement

for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), and conceded that international observers could come if MMD invited them.

After much persuasion from his advisers, Kaunda told a press conference he had already telephoned former American presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford and invited them to watch the elections. He said he would be writing to ask the Commonwealth Secretariat and Organisation of African Unity as well.

With presidential approval for international observers, the time was ripe to follow up on Chongwe's proposal. But because Chongwe had joined the MMD and was planning to contest a parliamentary seat, he handed ZIMT's leadership to David Phiri, a former Bank of Zambia governor.

Some political analysts say the problems began at this point, because Chongwe, the man with the vision of ZIMT, was no longer at the helm.

Phiri says defensively he was responsible for choosing the 17-member ZIMT board, who include lawyers, businessmen, church leaders, medical doctors, students, an architect and an accountant. Only four of

these are women.

But the Law Association of Zambia (Law) and the churches complain that the board members were chosen with little or no consultation with them. They also allege that ZIMT has been "infiltrated" by the specific branch of the security forces and at least four board members are S agents.

Replying to this allegation at ZIMT's launch Phiri said: "Let Unip infiltrate us, let MMD infiltrate us."

To compensate for what they see as ZIMT's lack of impartiality LAZ, the churches and the Press Association of Zambia are discussing forming their own monitoring groups in coalition with ZIMT.

But with the elections less than two months away, western donors are becoming concerned at the disarray which has ensued. ZIMT has launched itself but has not begun operations because Z-Vote is controlling the purse strings.

"Z-Vote should just let ZIMT get on with their work. It is not for one foreign agency to run their monitoring programme," said one diplomat.

Zambia teeters on brink of famine

Star 23/9/91

360

Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — While Zambia's politicians are locked in a battle for power in the general election campaign, the country is sliding towards famine.

Stocks of maize, the country's staple food, are running out and so are the funds for importing fresh stocks.

According to agricultural experts, Zambia does not have enough maize to last until the end of the year.

Crisis

An emergency airlift of maize may be necessary to avert famine.

Political observers believe the government that comes into power after the elections next month — probably the opposition Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) — will inherit a serious food crisis.

Latest statistics show that after a poor harvest this year, the country had only 3.8-million bags of maize — a shortfall of more than 6-million bags.

The shortfall has been blamed on drought and bad agricultural and

marketing policies.

Zambians at present consume about 1.2-million bags of maize a month. At the beginning of September there were only 1.8-million in stock. Only 644 596 bags were in the strategic reserves held by the Zambia Co-operative Federation.

Millers are said to have run out of maize.

A few months ago the government imported 19 000 tons of maize from Zimbabwe, but this was enough for only one week's consumption.

Unless Zambia imports 4.2-million bags of maize before the end of the year the country will face famine.

Zambian journalists say neither President Kenneth Kaunda's ruling Unip party nor the MMD are addressing the issue seriously. They are pre-occupied with the election campaign, in which the maize shortage has not become a major issue.

Zambian maize production has declined sharply in recent years, with the blame being laid on low prices, tight credit, late payments and poor marketing strategy by the government.

These factors have reduced output from the

mainly white commercial farmers.

Peasant farmers are hoarding their maize for their own consumption rather than sell it to state agencies that fail to pay them.

The government's freezing of the maize meal price, in defiance of International Monetary Fund and World Bank directives, has led to serious shortages and smuggling of maize into neighbouring Zaire.

Zambia's traditional sources of maize imports, South Africa and Zimbabwe, are believed to have no spare stocks to sell to Zambia.

Empty

Agricultural experts say the next obvious sources of supply are the United States and Uganda.

But Zambia will need more than R500-million to buy enough maize to meet the expected demand and the national coffers are empty.

There are fears that international goodwill has been exhausted by the Kaunda government's repeated flouting, for short-term political gain, of the conditions laid down by the IMF for economic restructuring.

Carter team to guide

Zambian poll

Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Former US president Jimmy Carter arrived here yesterday saying Zambia was "at the epicentre of the worldwide movement for pluralist democracy".

He is leading a delegation of five other international observers, including a representative of the Organisation of African Unity, to assess the political environment in the run-up to the elections on October 31.

As chairman of the Zambia Voting Observation Team, Mr Carter will recommend measures to ensure the polls are as free and fair as possible.

He said that a peaceful transition in Zambia would be "inspirational" to other African countries intending to move towards political pluralism.

ANC Lusaka office may become a museum

B/Day 24/9/91

KIN BENTLEY
in London (360)

THERE are plans to turn the ANC's former headquarters in Lusaka into a museum, according to a report yesterday.

The Times of London's correspondent in Lusaka, Jan Raath, noted that changes in southern Africa were requiring a new look at old institutions.

The ANC headquarters, described as a "dowdy single-storey building in a back street off Cairo Road", was once the place where the organisation's strategies against Pretoria were planned.

It is now all but closed up as the ANC's leaders return to SA.

Meanwhile, the report says the Zambian opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy is confidently predicting victory over President Kenneth Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) in the first multiparty elections next month.

And it is deliberating about what to do with UNIP's headquarters.

The building is situated on Independence Avenue.

However, due to problems with the Chinese construction company, the 17-storey building, which towers over Lusaka, has never been finished.

The report quotes sources in the opposition movement as saying they are thinking of turning the building into a hospital.

Zambians urged to step into SA market

360
B/day 24/9/91
LUSAKA — Zambia must be forceful in its marketing strategy towards SA or risk being beaten into the SA market by other African countries, outgoing Lusaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry vice-chairman Beejay Sharma said yesterday.

In an interview, he warned: "Many African countries are already exporting to SA. We must follow suit."

Sharma said his apprehension was justified because many East African countries were exploring the SA market.

This would put Zambia at a disadvantage because by the time Zambia was ready to approach the market, it would have been saturated already.

Sharma and the chamber's outgoing chairman, Ronald Penza, suggested their government should send a delegation to SA quickly to survey the market for Zambian products.

They said their government should encourage individual initiative within a free enterprise system.

"Once the individual initiative of a free enterprise system comes into place, the government's role would be to provide for stable conditions and to ensure development growth," Penza said.

A government spokesman said everything was being explored vigorously and a formal announcement would be made in the future. The possibility of a trade mis-

sion in SA was being considered.

Also yesterday Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke said in Sydney that economic growth in SA must be fostered.

SA's economic recovery from apartheid should be as much a priority as its political reform, he told the Foreign Correspondents' Association of Australia and the South Pacific.

"The urgent need to rebuild SA's economy after the ravages of apartheid means that sanctions should not be applied any longer than is necessary to secure essential political reforms. We must start now to foster economic as well as political reform," he said.

The Australian government has said it will back moves at next month's Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare to lift people-to-people sanctions against SA.

However, economic sanctions should remain until further progress was made in dismantling apartheid, Hawke said.

While SA was reaching a "crucial stage of transition", the end of apartheid was still not near.

Hawke also warned that the failure of the Uruguay round of GATT talks threatened SA's prosperity.

"SA's economic regeneration will require the same condition that makes other economies flourish; a free international trading system. That system is now under a grave threat," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA... 11/11/91... 11/11/91

Ragged run up to Zambian poll

360

Star
24/9/91.

FORMER US president Jimmy Carter arrived in Zambia at the weekend proclaiming the country to be at the epicentre of the world-wide movement towards democracy.

But Mr Carter will find in the few days he will spend in the country that, a month before the historic elections, dissatisfaction is rising over various aspects of the campaign, especially the conduct of President Kaunda's ruling party.

Almost all the media is firmly under the ruling party's control, the government has flooded the urban areas with armed soldiers and police, further increasing the political temperature in the country, and the political parties' electoral strategies are in a bit of a shambles as candidates drop from the campaign for various reasons.

The role of the group monitoring the election campaign has also come in for some criticism. Various groups representing journalists, the clergy and opposition politicians now intend to establish their own body to monitor the monitors.

Mr Carter is leading a high-powered six-man team which includes Dr Chris Bakwesegha, from the OAU which will be monitoring an election in Africa for the first time, Professor Adele Jinadu, from the Nigerian Electoral Commission, Michelle Kourouma, executive director of the National Conference of Black Mayors in the

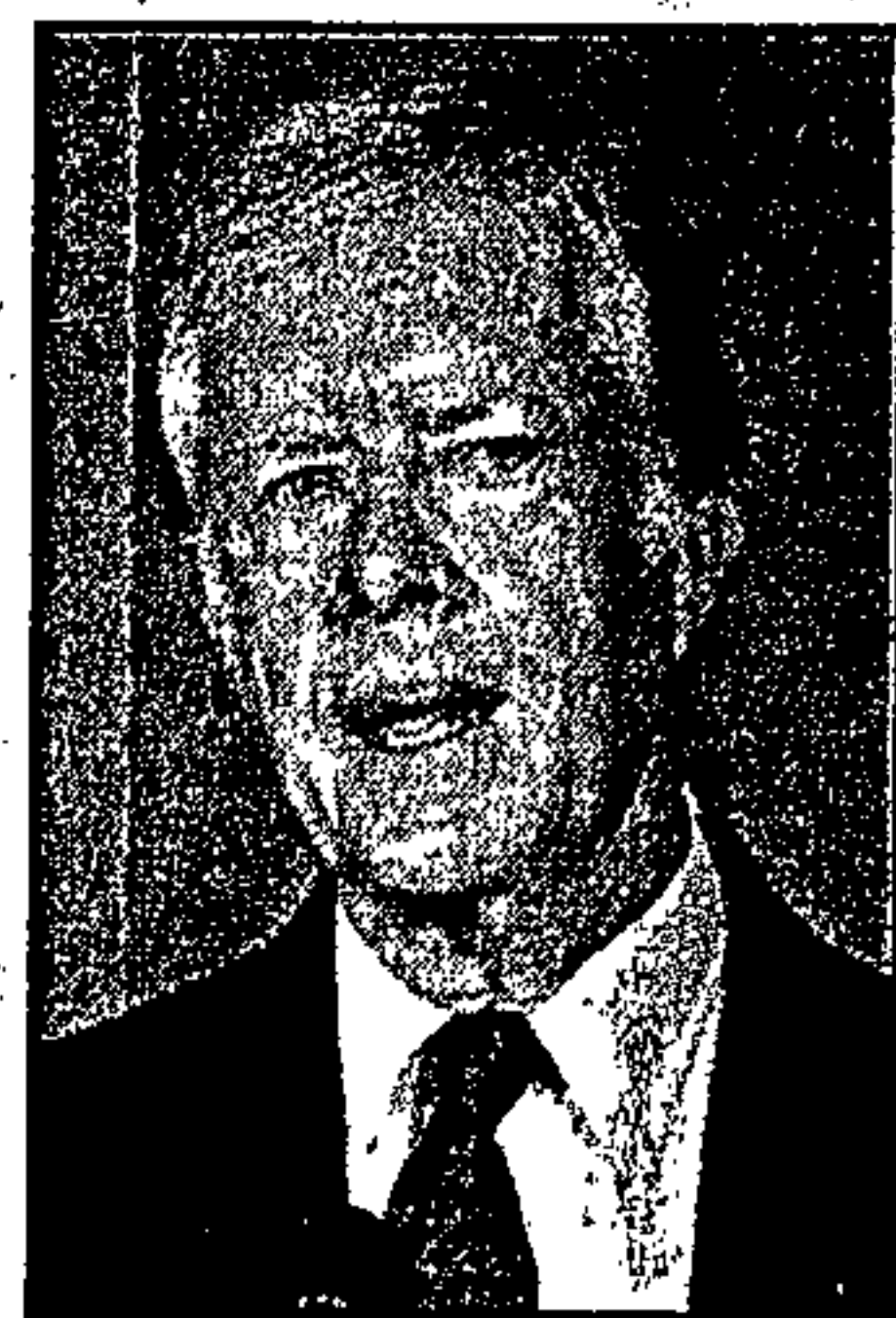
In Lusaka to examine close-up the Zambian presidential and general elections, former United States president Jimmy Carter will find much dissatisfaction, reports **ROBBY MAKAYI** of The Star's Africa Service.

United States, and Dr Richard Joseph, a senior official of the Carter Centre in Atlanta.

Mr Carter's delegation will have an overcrowded schedule. Many issues still remain unresolved. The ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) continues to dominate the State-owned media and other public-resources. The use of the coupon system during the election has raised controversy as it is unlikely to guarantee secrecy of the vote.

Political parties are also unhappy because the state of emergency, in force since independence, has not yet been lifted. The presence of heavily armed paramilitary police in the major towns and cities is creating an atmosphere of siege in the country.

And the electoral commission itself is too strapped for cash to



enable it to effectively carry out its duties. Mr Carter will also find during his three-day visit that the local Zambia Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT) is in total disarray, with the churches, press and law groups dissociating themselves from it, and forming their own group.

The two main political parties, Unip and the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), have also not yet ironed out their campaign problems.

In-fighting and disagreements are dogging their strategies and some candidates are withdrawing as a result. It seems Dr Kaunda arbitrarily drew up his list of candidates without consulting those he named to stand for his party.

This has resulted in some of them turning down his offer. He has been forced to find replace-

ments in eight constituencies, and has indicated he would have to make further changes.

One prominent person to drop out of the race is Professor Patrick Mvunga, the Solicitor-General, who was nominated to stand for Unip in Chipa, eastern Zambia. The nomination raised eyebrows in legal circles and Professor Mvunga's professional integrity and objectivity as Solicitor-General was questioned.

Former Prime Minister Kebby Musokotwane has also been moved from his traditional seat of Kantombora to Livingstone, a tough seat, where he will be pitted against another former Prime Minister, Daniel Lisulo, who is standing as an independent.

Mr Lisulo is favoured to defeat Mr Musokotwane, currently Zambia's high commissioner in Canada.

The MMD has also fallen into the trap of imposing candidates on areas without taking into account local sentiments. Their candidate in Mkushi North has been rejected by party supporters, who prefer a local white farmer.

Some MMD members are standing as independents in protest against the leadership's imposition of high profile outside candidates on local parties.

The National Democratic Alliance, which is to field 100 candidates in the elections, has endorsed Dr Kaunda for the Presidency. □

SA food aid to Zambia

360

ARG 24/9/91

ROBBY MAKAYI, Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — South Africa has come to the rescue of famine-threatened Zambia by agreeing to release 2,5-million bags of maize from its strategic reserve stocks.

Zambia's stocks have virtually run out with experts saying there is barely enough maize to last until the middle of October.

Zambia is going through a politically volatile period with elections due by the end of October and it is feared that food riots could follow should the maize stocks run out.

Anti-Vat lobby to meet FW

JOHANNESBURG. — The growing anti-VAT lobby meets President De Klerk today in a last-ditch effort to find consensus on the controversial tax.

Yesterday ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa warned that the country was poised to see "real confrontation" between the people and government.

Organisations attending the second VAT summit here yesterday resolved that, should there be no consensus, a programme of national resistance to VAT would begin.

Earlier in the day a broad front of trade unions — including the country's two largest federations and traditional "white" unions — discussed the use of a national general strike should VAT demands not be met.

Co-ordinating Committee on VAT organiser Mr Bernie Fanaroff said the VAT summit agreed that the changes affected recently were not acceptable as they did not accommodate the demands of the summit.

US warning on Zaire travel

WASHINGTON. — The State Department has warned Amer-

When the South African government was first approached by Zambia it indicated that it had already committed its maize surplus to Zaire. But now it has apparently changed its mind and has offered to help Zambia.

Zambian officials left for South Africa this week to conclude the deal. It is understood the South African government is keen to avert instability in Zambia, its former sworn enemy, during this crucial period of transition.

According to the latest statistics from the Zambian Ministry of Co-operatives, Zambia needs more than 6-million bags of maize to supplement the meagre 3,6-million bags purchased this year, which was only 40 percent of the maize needed to feed the nation.

The shortage of maize meal is a sensitive issue in Zambia and has in the past led to serious food riots, the latest in June last year.

The Zambian government, although officially announcing the decontrol of maize meal prices, has at the same time instructed millers not to increase prices for fear of riots. This has incensed the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank which have retaliated by suspending aid to Zambia.

The government of President Kenneth Kaunda, which is fighting for its survival, cannot afford any instability now. And Pretoria, its most bitter foe, is set to come to Dr Kaunda's rescue.



Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus

FIGHTING SPIRIT: Wynberg Girls' High pupil Jeannine Hinson with Lieutenant Mark Fairley on a Mirage at the Ysterplaat museum.

Dingy... Jeannine...

Kaunda may lift emergency

360

Sowetan 25/9/91
LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda is expected to lift the state of emergency on Monday, according to former United States president Jimmy Carter.

Carter told a panel of Zambian journalists in Lusaka on Monday night that Kaunda had assured him the state of emergency would have to be lifted for the October 31 presidential and parliamentary elections to be free and fair.

Kaunda, however, told Carter the state of emergency had been "perpetrated due to the high political tensions" in the country.

In turn, Carter said Kaunda was pressured to understand the consequences of maintaining the state of emergency in the whole of Southern

Africa and particularly during the elections.

"I impressed upon Kaunda that Zambia was the only island country with the state of emergency because South Africa, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe had lifted theirs.

"It was more disturbing because Zambia still maintains a state of emergency when trouble-torn South Africa, Angola and Mozambique had done away with it.

"Why can't Zambia do the same?" said Carter.

The former US president also said he would not be swayed by any opinion in his election monitoring in determining whether the elections would be declared free and fair. — Sapa.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matthaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.
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Zambian poll tension rises

Kaunda's ruling party.

LUSAKA - Former US president Jimmy Carter arrived in Zambia at the weekend, proclaiming the country to be at the centre of the world-wide movement towards democracy.

But Carter will find in the few days he will spend in the country that, a month before the historic elections, dissatisfaction is rising over various aspects of the campaign, especially the conduct of President Kenneth

The media is firmly in the ruling party's control, the government has flooded the urban areas with armed soldiers and police, further increasing the political temperature in the country, and the political parties' electoral strategies are in a bit of a shambles as candidates drop from the campaign for various reasons.

The role of the group monitoring the election campaign has also come in for some criticism.

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representing journalists, the clergy and opposition politicians now intend to establish their own body to monitor the monitors.

Carter is leading a high-

powered six-man team which includes Dr Chris Bakwesegha, from the OAU which will be monitoring an election in Africa for the first time, Professor Adele Jinadu, from the Nigerian Electoral Commission, Michelle Kourouma, executive director of the National Conference of Black Mayors in the United States, and Dr

Richard Joseph, a senior official of the Carter Centre in Atlanta.

Carter's delegation will have an overcrowded schedule.

Many issues still remain unresolved. The ruling United National Independence Party continues to dominate the State-owned media and other public resources.

The use of the coupon system during the election has raised controversy as it is unlikely to guarantee secrecy of the vote.

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recently Zambia's high commissioner in Canada.

The MMD has also fallen into the trap of imposing candidates without taking into account local sentiments. Their candidate in Mkushi North has been rejected by party supporters, who prefer a local white farmer.

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are standing as independents in protest against the leadership's imposition of high profile outside candidates on local parties.

The National Democratic Alliance, which is to field 100 candidates in the elections, has endorsed Kaunda for the presidency. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Discuss

Zimst has been accused of being too close to the ruling party.

Carter said on his arrival on Sunday he would discuss all these issues with the parties concerned.

The two main political parties, Unip and the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, have also not yet ironed out their campaign problems.

Infighting and disagreements are dogging their strategies and some candidates are withdrawing as a result.

It seems Kaunda arbitrarily drew up his list of candidates without consulting those he named to stand for his party. This has resulted in some of them turning down his offer.

He has been forced to find replacements in eight constituencies, and has indicated he would have to make further changes.

One prominent person to drop out of the race is Professor Patrick Mvunga, the Solicitor-General, who was nominated to stand for Unip in Chipa, eastern Zambia.

The nomination raised eyebrows in legal circles and Mvunga's professional integrity and objectivity as Solicitor-General was questioned.

Former prime minister Kebby Musokotwane has also been moved from his traditional seat of Kantombora to Livingstone, a tough seat, where he will be pitted against another former prime minister, Daniel Lisulo, who is standing as an independent.

Lisulo is favoured to defeat Musokotwane, cur-

of emergency, in force since independence, has not yet been lifted.

The presence of heavily armed paramilitary police in the major towns and cities is creating an atmosphere of siege in the country. And the electoral commission itself is strapped for cash to enable it to effectively carry out its duties.

Carter will also find during his three-day visit that the local Zambia Independent Monitoring Team is in total disarray with the churches, Press and law groups dissociating themselves from it, and forming their own group.

6 Cape Times, We

Kaunda to lift ⁽³⁶⁾ emergency

LUSAKA. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda is expected to lift the state of emergency, according to former United States president Mr Jimmy Carter.

Mr Carter told a panel of Zambian journalists here on Monday night that Mr Kaunda had assured him the state of emergency would have to be lifted for the October 31 presidential and parliamentary elections to be free and fair.

Mr Kaunda, however, told Mr Carter the state of emergency had been "perpetrated due to the high political tensions" in the country.

In turn, Mr Carter said Mr Kaunda was pressurised to understand the consequences of maintaining the state of emergency particularly during the elections. — Sapa

Star 25/9/91

SA aid for volatile Zambia

Star Africa Service

(360)

enough maize to last until mid-October.

LUSAKA — South Africa has come to the rescue of famine-threatened Zambia by agreeing to release 2.5 million bags of maize from its strategic reserves.

The offer has almost certainly averted political unrest in Zambia which could have followed had the country not got supplies.

Stocks have virtually run out with barely

The country is going through a politically volatile period with elections due at the end of October. It is feared food riots could follow should the maize stocks run out.

The SA Government, which when first approached by Zambia indicated it had committed its maize surplus to Zaire, apparently changed its mind as it is keen to avert instability in Zambia.

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, September 26 1991

3

Zambia mortgages copper proceeds for SA maize

MICHAEL HARTNACK

(360)

HARARE — President Kenneth Kaunda has mortgaged proceeds of Zambia's 1992 copper production to SA so it can feed its 9-million people for the next six months, former US president Jimmy Carter has claimed here.

Addressing a news conference at Harare airport on Tuesday, Carter stated: "Zambia is in the process of buying \$46m worth of maize meal. They are mortgaging next year's copper sales to get them by in the next six months." *B10cm 26/9/91* ~~7-10~~ to

Carter was on his way home from Lusaka, where he had been observing preparations for Zambia's first multiparty elections for 20 years.

Sources here say SA has agreed to supply Zambia with 2.5-million bags of maize from its strategic stockpile, despite its own poor harvest.

With consumption at 900 000 tons a year, and a third of the crop smuggled out for sale on the Zairean black market, the shortfall is estimated at 450 000 tons.

The next harvest will not be available until May 1992.

Zambia forfeited \$80m in World Bank finance this month by refusing to cut controversial food subsidies. The last maize price rise caused widespread riots.

Copper for food

(360) CT 26/9/91

Zambia's mortgage to SA to buy R138m maize

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — President Kenneth Kaunda has mortgaged proceeds of Zambia's 1992 copper production to South Africa so the country can feed its nine million people for the next six months, former American president Mr Jimmy Carter has claimed here.

Addressing a press conference while passing through Harare international airport on Tuesday, Mr Carter said: "Zambia is in the process of buying \$46 million

(about R138m) worth of maize meal. They are mortgaging next year's copper sales to get them by in the next six months."

The last Democratic Party occupant of the White House was on his way home from Lusaka, where he has been observing preparations for Zambia's first multi-party elections in 20 years.

Sources here say South Africa has agreed to supply Zambia with 2.5 million bags of maize from its strategic stockpile, despite South Africa's own poor maize harvest this year. The sources say the maize is likely to be shipped through Zimbabwe by rail.

The director of the Zambian commercial farmers' bureau, Mr John Hudson, warned recently that Zambia would run out of maize by December.

With national consumption at 900 000 tons a year, and a third of the Zambian crop smuggled out of sale on to the Zairese black market, Zambia is estimated to have a 450 000-ton maize shortfall in maize supply. The next harvest will be not be available until May 1992.

Zambia this month forfeited \$80m (about R240m) in World Bank finance, refusing to cut controversial food subsidies in the run-up to the elections.

LUSAKA. — Zambia's Legal Affairs Minister Mr Frederick Chomba said yesterday that the country's 27-year state of emergency would remain in place until after general elections set for October 31.

Former US president Mr Jimmy Carter, speaking after a pre-election monitoring mission, said on Thursday that President Kenneth Kaunda had promised him he would lift the state of emergency by September 30 if the country was committed to peace.

Mr Chomba said that although Dr Kaunda had the constitutional power to recall the National Assembly, the only body empowered to end the state of emergency, he was not obliged to do so at this time.

Martial law to stay in Zambia

The opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) reiterated its call for the state of emergency to be lifted.

● The Zambian government is desperately trying to buy emergency maize grain from South Africa to avert an impending famine in the country, the independent newspaper, the Weekly Post, said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter

Biko asked me to lead revolt, says Buthelezi



BUTHELEZI

INKATHA president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Friday the late Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko had asked him to lead the masses into revolution.

Buthelezi said he refused, thus preventing the downfall of the South African Government.

"Had I formed constitu-

encies, then taken them and marched with them to assist revolutionaries, no South African government could have remained intact," he said in Bloemfontein.

Buthelezi asked his audience whether they realised the historical importance of his alleged refusal to lead the black masses towards

revolution.

He claimed he was approached by Biko shortly before the Black Consciousness leader died in police detention in 1977.

"Biko sent a message to me saying if I rose up to lead them, he and all other black leaders would follow me. At that time there would easily have been a place for me in the ANC leadership.

"I was under enormous pressure to respond and abandon what I was doing in favour of what the Black Consciousness and ANC leaders were doing."

Buthelezi said he had opted instead for "being right and refusing to join the politics of confrontation and violence".

"I said 'no'. Inkatha said 'no'. The KwaZulu government said 'no'. Millions of Zulu people said 'no' plus millions of non-Zulu people.

"I knew there was a society to lead which was beyond the euphoria of politics and the clamour for protest, action and destabilisation."

Buthelezi also claimed an attempt was made to kill him in 1978 "apart from other plots to assassinate me". - Sapa.

Zambia out to lure SA tourists

ZAMBIA intends to open an office in Johannesburg to promote tourism among South Africans.

Managing director of the Zambia National Tourism Board Mr Jack Shisholeka said South Africa had tourist potential to be tapped.

"We should exploit this market potential with aggressive promotions. Many South Africans would like to come to Zambia but they know very little about what we have in this country."

Visas

South Africa had an ideal potential market for Zambia which needed "to be tapped for visitors" especially now that the Zambian Government had relaxed visa requirements.

Shisholeka could not say when the office would open. "It will be very soon. We want to boost tourism among South Africans". - South African Press Association.

5 000 in protest

ABOUT 5 000 African National Congress members marched on the Pietersburg police station at the weekend to present a memorandum demanding the release of former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Jacob Mpasu Rapholo and 12 other demands.

The document called for improved working conditions, State-subsidised public transport, removal of South African Defence Force units from townships and villages plus access to the SABC.

The hour-long march was led by ANC veteran John Phala and started at Cosatu's local offices in the town. Marchers sang free-

Zulu chiefs plug accord

FIVE Zulu chiefs at the weekend urged hundreds of hostel residents to observe the National Peace Accord.

The chiefs addressed separate meetings at Jeppe Hostel at the invitation of Ubumbano Lwase Nkandla, an organisation formed in 1975 by headmen in Natal to promote local development.

"The blood that has been spilled is enough, and must not be spilled again," Mr Limakho Hendrick Mdladla told one gathering.

"We want our people to respect the peace accord that was signed between the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress and other organisations," Chief MEDhlomo, a leader of the Khabela clan in KwaZulu, told another.

More than 10 000 people have been killed in political fighting in the past seven years.

Mdladla, organiser of the meetings, said that Ubumbano was charged with development in the Nkandla area, near Eshowe in northern Natal.

The chiefs, he said, had addressed the gatherings as part of an effort to unite migrant workers from the Nkandla area. - Sapa.

'Kaunda will lose election'

ZAMBIAN president Kenneth Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (Unip) will lose the October 31 elections by a significant margin, says Kent University International Relations lecturer Stephen Chan. *8/Day 1/10/91*

The likely victors and only other significant party is the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by trade unionist Frederick Chiluba, says Chan.

In a paper written for the SA Institute of International Affairs, Chan says the immediate effects of a Unip loss would be a vast loosening of what have been difficulties in terms of trade and other economic interchange with SA.

"I think that you will find SA being very positively and enthusiastically courted by a new government — it would be very anxious indeed for investment . . .," Chan says.

TIM COHEN

360

UK and US representatives believe Unip could just shade the presidential elections but would have to deal with a parliament firmly in the MMD's control.

"Kaunda would be prepared to accept a situation like that because he had been angling for a new constitutional base which would give the president power over parliament.

"It may mean ditching all of his lieutenants and supporters in the Unip party but he is prepared to do that if it means that he is able to hang on to personal power. The Americans and British are both wrong in thinking that it is going to be a close run affair. My own opinion is that it is going to be quite a decisive defeat — but this is based only on my own intuitive appreciation of the politics of that country."

Rural spin-off from Lesotho power project

MASERU — More than 4 000 Lesotho households are to benefit from the construction of electrical sub-stations, part of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project.

The Lesotho Highlands Development Association (LHDA) said in a statement yesterday there were more than 120 villages situated in the project's catchment area and none had access to a reliable source of electricity. *8/Day 1/10/91*

A socio-economic survey was conducted by the LHDA at the beginning of Phase 1A of the project and electrification of the

villages had been determined as a priority.

Although the LHDA is constructing the sub-stations, the Lesotho Energy Corporation is responsible for the supply of electricity to the villages.

The statement said funds would come from the LHDA while the actual electrification of the villages would be provided for by donor contributions.

Three of the sub-stations would be constructed during Phase 1A of the Water Project, while another would be constructed during Phase 1B. — Sapa.



a group visiting the City Hive in
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Blame rising prices on transport, say farmers

B/day 2/10/91 GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Drastic increases in Spoornet tariffs for transporting farm products, coupled with the effect of VAT, could send consumer prices into orbit, the Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) warned yesterday.

TAU president Dries Bruwer said blame for escalating food prices should not be laid at farmers' doors.

The gap between their prices and consumer prices was widening by the day mainly because of soaring input costs, including transport costs.

He warned that "extraordinary" increases in Spoornet tariffs could lead to distribution problems, particularly of fresh produce, and lead to market shortages.

Currently there were shortages of some products in Cape Town while there was an oversupply in Johannesburg, mainly because farmers were avoiding expensive long-haul transport.

Detailing the tariff increases, Bruwer said that where producers had paid R1,53 to transport a case of mangos from Tzaneen to the Epping market in Cape Town, this would now cost R3,48. The cost of railng a case of pawpaws from Tzaneen to Cape Town had increased on September 1 from R3,07 to R6,96. The transport tariff from Tzaneen to Pretoria had risen 92c a case to R2,32. For the same journey the tariff for a case of mangoes was increased yesterday from 46c to R1,36.

Zambian maize plan details

B/day 2/10/91 (360)
LUSAKA — Zambia expected to import 1,7-million bags of maize from SA this year using some of its copper export earnings as collateral, Finance Minister Rabson Chongo confirmed yesterday.

Chongo said his government had secured a loan from a commercial bank to import the maize, but he refused to name the bank or the amount involved.

The government has also increased the producer price of maize from 800 to 1 200 Zambian kwachas per 90kg bag for the 1991/92 marketing season. The increase was intended to encourage farmers to grow more maize.

Chongo denied reports that the Zambian government, facing a severe maize shortage, had mortgaged all its 1992 copper exports proceeds for the imports. "There is no way we can mortgage all our earnings for one year. The copper is being used as collateral to secure a loan from a commercial bank. It is merely a guarantee that we will be in a position to pay."

Chongo said Zambia was using a similar arrangement for weekly imports of 70 000 tons of oil.

Zambia earns between \$900m and \$1bn annually from copper, the minister said.

Chongo said maize imports from SA would cover more than half of the expected shortfall in the 1991 Zambian crop.

He said at worst \$40m would be spent on maize imports in 1991. Western diplomats estimate the bill will be up to \$90m.

Chongo said the government was also negotiating with Washington for more maize imports.

Zambia faces payment problems for maize imports because Western donors last month froze its balance of payment and import support fund when it failed to repay World Bank arrears.

The government has also dithered on implementing austerity measures such as raising prices of the staple maize meal ahead of the first multiparty elections in 20 years on October 31. — Sapa-Reuter.

Zambian bank hopes to set up SA operation

THE Zambia National Commercial Bank would approach banking authorities in Pretoria soon for permission to establish a full banking subsidiary in SA, bank director Tom Kapapa said yesterday.

If successful, it would become the first African bank to set up a full banking operation in SA.

In May this year, a Zairean bank became the first African bank to set up a representative office here.

(360)

ROBERT GENTLE

Kapapa, speaking in an interview during yesterday's conference, said the bank was thinking of investing at least R10m (which is the minimum capital requirement in terms of the Deposit-Taking Institutions Act) in the venture, though he doubted it would be adequate.

He said the bank would be involved mainly in trade and export finance.

Zambians want to

open bank

Star 3/10/91
By Derek Tommey

The Zambian National Commercial Bank would like to open a banking subsidiary in Johannesburg, says the bank's director of corporate banking and marketing, Tom Kapapa.

During question time at the financial services conference he asked Dr Henrie van Gruening, the Registrar of Deposit-taking Institutions, whether there were any restrictions which would prevent the bank from doing so.

Dr van Gruening said that South Africa did not discriminate against foreign banks but they would have to comply with the same requirements imposed on South African banks.

Mr Kapapa said later the bank, which was owned by the Zambian government, could help facilitate trade with Africa.

Kaunda in attack on

aid agencies

Star Africa Service

WINDHOEK — President Kaunda of Zambia has attacked multinational aid agencies for daring to prescribe to African countries how they should implement economic restructuring programmes.

He was in Namibia to open the country's national agricultural show on the weekend.

He attacked the concept held by aid and development agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, that poor economic performances in Africa — and especially Zambia — were the result of incompetent internal policies.

This completely ignored the severe international economic conditions in which African countries had to operate, he said, lashing out at "discriminatory trade practices".

"I am not saying that their structural adjustment programmes and measures do not work, but that countries themselves, without interference, should be in a position to determine the desired components, pace and direction of these programmes," Dr Kaunda said.

AFRICA

Riots hit copper output in Zaire

B/day 9/10/91

LONDON — Zaire is likely to produce around 250 000 tons of copper this year and output losses as a result of the recent riots are about 3 000 to 4 000 tonnes at most, a senior source from the state mining company Gecamines said.

"Output is expected to return to normal sometime this week," said the source, who was in London attending the annual metals week gatherings.

The independent consultancy, Commodities Research Unit, recently pegged finished Zaire copper output this year at 240 000 to 255 000 tons, down from 345 000 tons last year.

The company still expects to produce about 12 000 tons of cobalt this year and losses from the recent strife were probably no more than 300 tons, the Gecamines source added.

The central African country produced 10 000 tons of cobalt last year, he said.

The recent riots had not damaged mining installations or offices in southern Zaire, he said. Edward Lyssen, the company's Canadian financial director, said two weeks ago that its office in Kolwezi had been demolished.

But the disturbances did reduce output as workers stayed away and supplies of acid and other inputs were held up.

Lorries carrying supplies for the mining industry decided not to enter Zaire when the troubles started and papers were de-

stroyed in railway offices, the source said. There had been no damage to the railway network, he added.

Zaire has several export routes for its copper — through the country's western port of Matadi, via Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, or via East London and Durban.

The Gecamines source said Zaire was likely to meet its official creditors next week in Europe or in the Zaire mining town of Lubumbashi to discuss a resumption of loans.

The country is seeking in the region of \$300m over four or five years to boost its copper output to 470 000 tonnes a year.

The IMF said last month Zaire was no longer eligible to borrow more money because it was behind in its payments. The IMF said its overdue payments totalled about \$81.7m.

Other countries have also cut off aid.

US aid to Zaire totalling some \$13m was also suspended because of arrears in repayments, the chaotic state of the economy and Zaire's record of human rights abuses.

Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko has failed to resolve a political crisis over control of the army.

Monday's talks, after an inconclusive first round on Friday, maintained a climate of instability which many diplomats fear could spill over into fresh violence.

Riots led by soldiers two weeks ago devastated the capital and killed more than 100 people. — Reuters.

Cabinda to get some autonomy

B/day 9/10/91
LUANDA 2 Angolan

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos says his government is in contact with unidentified forces in oil-rich Cabinda and aimed to concede some autonomy to the northern coastal enclave.

"Military tensions still exist in Cabinda, but there have been contacts with some forces with influence among the armed groups carrying out acts of violence there, with a view to creating principles to end that war and provide a statute of autonomy whose terms could figure in the new constitution," Dos Santos said at the opening of the 10th session of parliament this week.

The government and Unita rebels recently reached a peace accord.

But Cabinda, which is separated from the rest of Angola by a small strip of Zairean territory, has been troubled by sporadic separatist violence.

The enclave produces nearly 70% of Angola's oil output of around 470 000 barrels per day. — Reuters.

Zambia's battered economy put on hold

B/day 9/10/91
LUSAKA — Zambia's battered economy has been put on hold until after the country's first multiparty general election in two decades is held on October 31.

The world community is keeping a wary eye on the parliamentary and presidential elections, which could end President Kenneth Kaunda's 27-year rule.

"It's too close to call and there are too many factors which keep changing," said one Western diplomat.

Zambia's international aid was cut off when it defaulted on a \$20.8m arrears payment to the World Bank in September.

A key factor in Zambia's off-again on-again econom-

ic reform programme backed by the IMF is an end to state subsidies, particularly on maize meal.

Despite heavy donor pressure, Kaunda has deferred raising meal prices until after the elections.

Government has just announced maize and wheat producer price rises, but these are being eroded by inflation.

There is general agreement that Zambia's eight million people, burdened by \$7.8bn in foreign debt, face hard times whoever wins the elections.

Economists say moves have been made in the right direction, including plans for civil service reform,

privatisation of state firms, higher interest rates and a tightening of money supply.

The big problem centres on maize meal subsidies, expected to reach \$106m this year (\$61m last year).

Meanwhile, bankers say forex is in "exceedingly short supply".

Government is in effect mortgaging its vital copper exports to pay for fuel and emergency imports of South African maize meal.

Economists estimate year-on-year inflation at more than 100%.

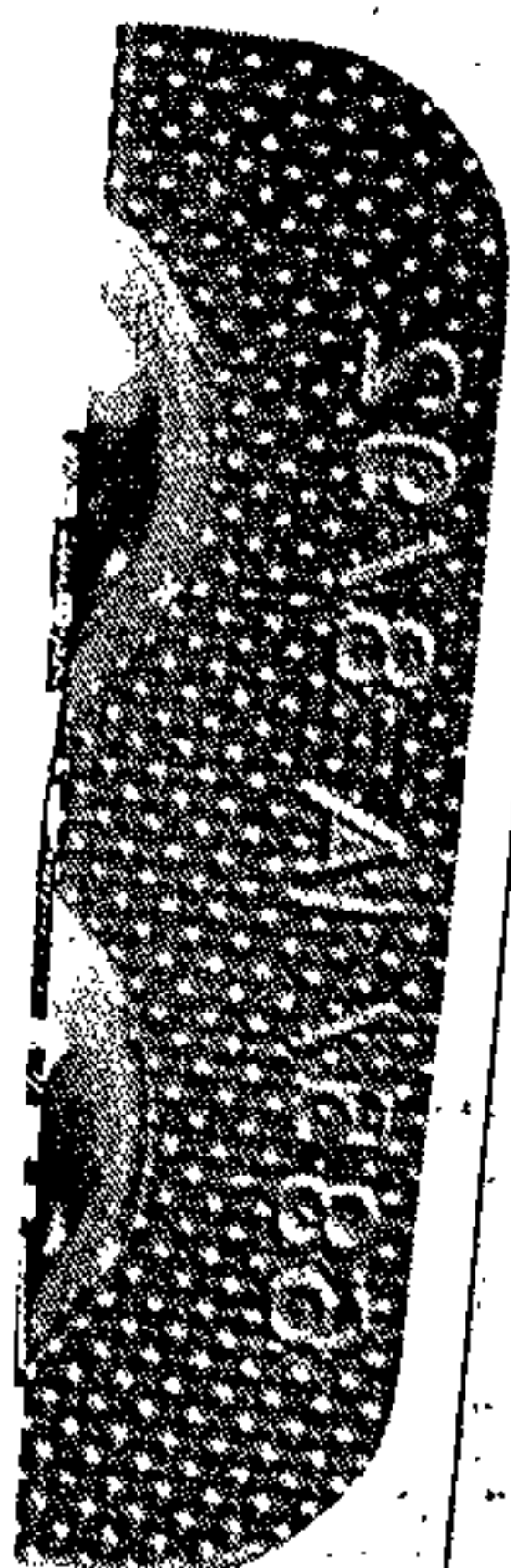
The maximum lending rate for banks is 46%. The government-controlled savings account deposit

rate is 33% — with banks obliged to hold 30% of deposits in non-interest-bearing Treasury bills.

Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) leader Frederick Chiluba, Kaunda's presidential rival, admits immense problems lie ahead.

"If we accept that we must win the election, we must also accept the idea that there are problems we must solve," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

12.5 mg per tablet.



Zambian media men restrained

LUSAKA. — Two Zambian media personalities have been restrained from practising until after the October 31 elections.

High Court Judge Joseph Phiri granted the Press Association of Zambia (Paza) an injunction restraining Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) director-general Dr Steven Moyo and Times Newspapers managing editor Mr Bwendo Mulengela from operating until after the October 31 presidential and parliamentary elections.

Mr Justice Phiri last week ordered that the offices of the two officials remain vacant until after the elections.

Paza chairman Mr Richard Sakala had filed an injunction saying the two were biased against the opposition parties in the campaign coverage. — Sapa

Checkers staff are up in arms



Sowetan 11/10/91
Sowetan Correspondent

THOUSANDS of workers at Checkers - facing possible retrenchment following the sale of the company to Pepkor - are up in arms nationwide because they were not consulted about the deal.

The workers, members of the SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, staged sit-ins and demonstrated at Checkers stores, mostly in the Transvaal, on Wednesday, said union spokesman Mr Important Mkhize.

Mkhize said about 10 000 workers - including about 1 500 in the Western Cape - would be affected by the sale of the company.

"Management has said they, too, do not know what the future holds for workers and that none of them has been given a copy of the agreement of sale, including Checkers directors," Mkhize said.

Workers were "angry about the uncertain situation" and had sent a list of demands to management, including:

*A copy of the agreement of sale to check whether provision had been made for workers;

*A guarantee that workers would not lose their jobs before and after the sale; and

*Employees' conditions of service would not change.

They also demanded that the collective bargaining relationship and the recognition agreement between the union and the company would not be affected by the sale.

Checkers managing director Mr Sergio Martinengo said while he had received a list of demands, he did not know why they had been sent to management because the company's shareholders, not management, could address the demands.

Martinengo could not comment on the demands because the matter was "sub judice".



KENNETH KAUNDA

Kaunda denies plot for power

LUSAKA - Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday denied charges by the opposition that he would use troops to cling to power if he lost the coming elections.

Kaunda, facing his first challenge for the presidency since he imposed a one-party state in 1973, dismissed the allegation as mischievous.

On Wednesday, opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy spokesman Mr Michael Sata told a pre-election rally Kaunda was hiding 100 commandos in Lusaka's Chamba Valley Prison "to create chaos if he loses the polls".

"He knows he has no chance of winning the polls," Sata added.

Kaunda, interviewed at State House by the *Independent Television Network* of London, accused the opposition of provok-

ing him.

"If I arrest some people," he said, "they will say I am muzzleing the opposition. These people are cheats. Where are these commandos coming from?"

Kaunda (67) who led Zambia to independence in 1964, is being challenged in the presidential and parliamentary elections on October 30 by Democratic leader Mr Frederick Chiluba (46) a popular trade unionist.

Chiluba's party was legalised only after Kaunda, bowing to pressure from home and abroad, rewrote the constitution last December to restore multi-party democracy.

The opposition has suggested that it would investigate Kaunda's alleged role in ruining the copper-based economy. - *Sapa*

Lots of agreement, not much action

W/ Mail 18/10 - 24/10/91
 Leaders at the Commonwealth summit agree on the human rights issue, but they seem reluctant to agree on any specific measures.

ANDREW MELDRUM reports from Harare

REGAL waves and royal jewels, motorcades of Mercedes, wailing sirens and traffic jams, speeches with countless references to cricket and Shakespeare, receptions, banquets, briefings and more heads of government than you could shake a stick at.

That gives a taste of the opening of the 28th Commonwealth summit in Harare this week. All but seven of the Commonwealth's 50 heads of government turned up, setting a new attendance record for the summits which are held every two years.

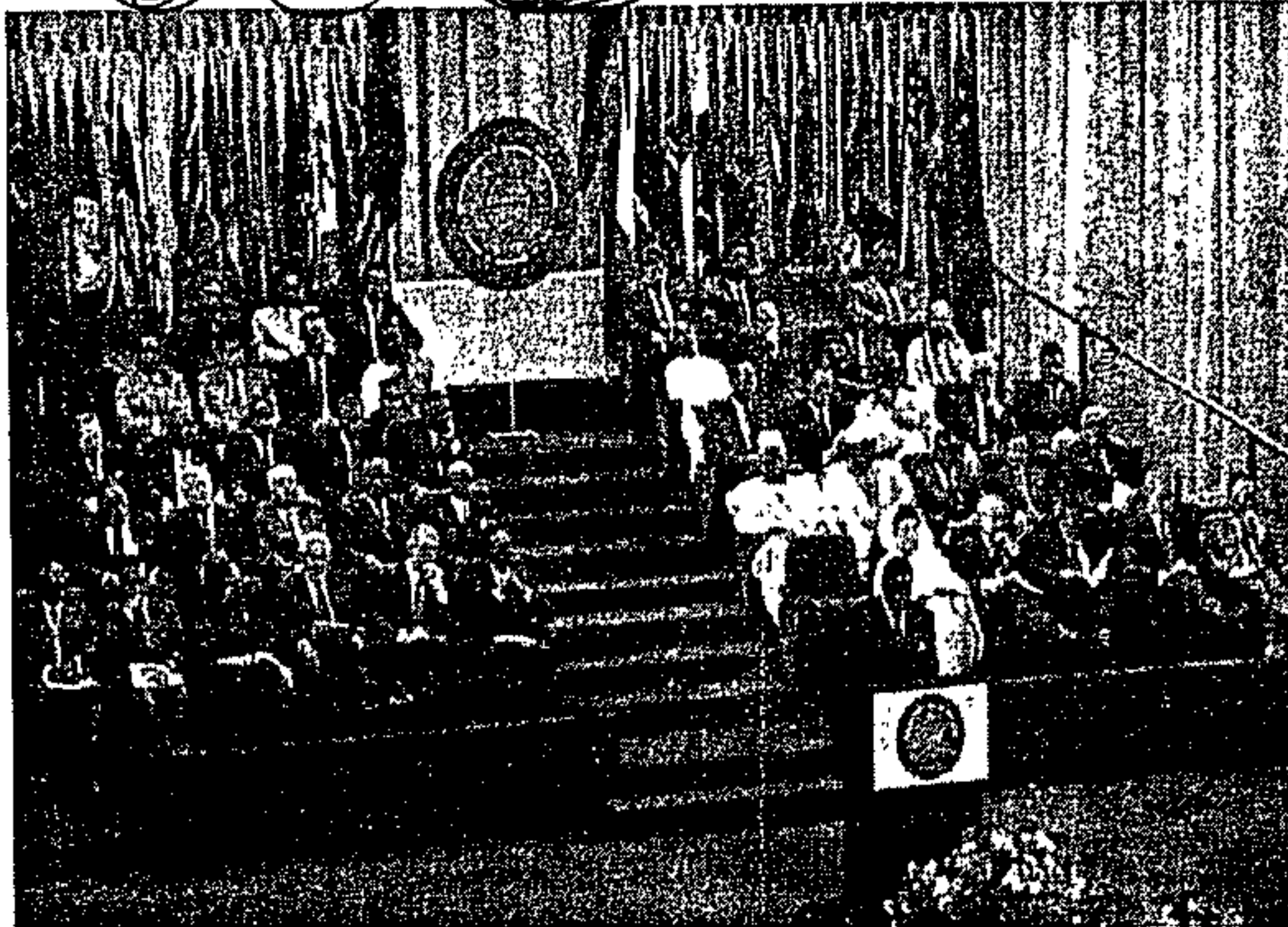
Of course, behind closed doors the Commonwealth leaders deliberated and discussed weighty matters like the future of South Africa, human rights, the need to encourage multi-party democracies ... and cricket.

The consensus reached during their meetings will be issued at the summit's close on October 22 under the name of the Harare Declaration, which is hoped to launch a newly revitalised Commonwealth, the group of former British colonies which has moved from empire to a voluntary and mutually beneficial association.

Even as the summit opened, hopes fizzled that it would produce a significant move forward towards South African constitutional negotiations.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda attempted to get the Commonwealth leaders to invite President FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join them on their weekend retreat to Victoria Falls. Nelson Mandela and Clarence Makwetu were already present in Harare as observers. Such a meeting of "major players" in South Africa under the Commonwealth umbrella would have emulated the historic 1979 Commonwealth summit in Lusaka where Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo joined the leaders and agreed to enter into the Lancaster House talks which swiftly led to a new constitution and Zimbabwe's independence.

But Kaunda found little enthusiasm for his initiative from summit host Robert Mugabe and others. The final blow came with the arrival of Nelson Mandela on Tuesday and his firm rejection of Kaunda's plan. Mandela told British Prime Minister John Major, in no uncertain terms, that he was opposed to the invitation of any officials from Pretoria, according to British government sources. Kaunda's plans collapsed like a flat souffle and the Zambian leader left



OPENING CEREMONY ... President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe giving his speech at the opening of the Commonwealth summit in Harare. Photo:AP

Harare in what looked like a huff shortly after the opening ceremony on Wednesday. Kaunda did not even stay for the Queen's state banquet that night.

Even with his trademark white handkerchief, Kaunda was uncharacteristically grave and tight-lipped in Harare. He was visibly shaken by the news on Tuesday that his son, Kambaranje, was sentenced to death for killing a woman.

Also, it must have been difficult for Kaunda to listen to all the praise for pluralistic political systems as he is waging a bitter campaign for his political survival in Zambia's first multi-party elections in 17 years.

So the South African initiative flopped before it even started. But that did not prevent Major and Mandela reaching a new agreement on ... you guessed it, cricket. The two leaders announced on Wednesday that they would work together to get South Africa to qualify for next year's World Cup.

Sanctions — whether to keep them or scrap them — were discussed but did not excite the same passions that divided the 1989 summit in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Britain still would like to see all sanctions lifted, but affable John Major withdrew the antagonistic sting that his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher, had given the sanctions argument.

And the pro-sanctions side has softened, too. Robert Mugabe, the staunchest sanctions supporter, has made it very clear he does not want

to see the Harare summit split over the sanctions issue.

That leaves human rights and "good governance" as the focus for the Zimbabwe summit.

"The cry for freedom as well as the cry for justice stops at no border," declared Mugabe at the opening. "The Commonwealth of the 1990s should be a torch-bearer of democratic principles which so many expect us to uphold."

All other speakers echoed Mugabe's views, including John Major who said, "the Commonwealth is well placed to catch the tidal wave of human rights and democracy which is sweeping across much of the world. We can ride that wave. Or be carried along by it. We cannot ignore it."

Commonwealth insiders say the organisation is looking for a new cause which can be pursued with the same fervour as the anti-apartheid movement has been supported since 1961. Yet activists say they are worried that nothing concrete will come from the Harare summit.

"We are disappointed because it looks like strong words in favour of human rights are all that we are going to get at the Harare summit," said Richard Bourne, director of the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative. "But we will keep pushing for increased funding to support human rights and for the establishment of a standing Commonwealth commission on human rights."



EARLY DEPARTURE ... Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda left the conference.

Commonwealth Secretary-General, Nigerian Chief Emeka Anyaoku, has already made statements saying that most member states are not ready for strict human rights measures. Indeed, three Commonwealth members are under military rule, five have one-party states and activists estimate that two-thirds of the member states do not have democratically-elected governments or democratic mechanisms to change those governments.

The strongest proponent of human rights among the leaders attending the Harare summit is Gambian President Sir Dawda Jawara, who has appealed since the early 1970s for the Commonwealth to establish a human rights commission.

"A commission would prepare a report once every two years to present to the Commonwealth summits. It would not have any binding judicial powers on its members, it would just present its report," said activist Bourne. "We will be very lucky to get it approved by this summit, but we'll keep fighting for it right up to the end."

So it is not certain if the colour, festivities and fine-sounding words at the Commonwealth summit will produce anything more substantial than fine-sounding words on human rights, unless during the weekend excursion to Victoria Falls the Gambian president can convince his fellow leaders to agree to specific human rights measures.

The president's

THE sentencing to death of Kambarage Kaunda for murder has become a political albatross around the neck of his father, President Kenneth Kaunda, as he prepares for Zambia's first contested election in almost 20 years this month. BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI reports.

Star 19/10/91 (360)

THE death sentence passed this week on his youngest son could not have come at a worse time for President Kenneth Kaunda as he battles for his political life.

Besides anything else, the case severely embarrassed him at the Commonwealth heads of state summit in Harare — possibly his last foray on to the world political stage.

Indeed, many Zambians consider it a miracle that the case ever got to court. Attorneys for the Mwanza family have accused the police of wanting to cover up the case in order to protect the president's son.

The authorities have been clearly reluctant to prosecute. At one stage they reported that "the file had gone missing", investigating officers allegedly authorised the disposal of the body before an autopsy was carried out, and the police failed to follow normal practice of arresting the accused.

It was only public outrage at the official foot-dragging that finally forced the authorities to act. But, even so, it was almost a year after the killing, in August 1990, before Kambarage appeared in court.

Even then it was not as an accused, but to give evidence at the inquest. Kambarage, one of the president's seven children, admitted shooting 20-year-old Tabeth Mwanza two years ago in the back of the head, but said the woman was in a mob which was threatening to stone him and a friend.

HE ADMITTED under cross-examination that Miss Mwanza was no threat to him. He said she was among a crowd that had stopped his car and menaced him. His car had stopped when someone in the crowd hammered on the boot.

He had leapt out with a companion, Rafiq Mulla. Both were armed. Mr Mulla, Kaunda said, fired a warning shot into the air. He himself fired four warning shots, but the crowd had become more agitated and moved closer. "Then I lowered my gun and shot directly at the group," he said.

The coroner then ruled that Kaunda should stand trial for the murder of Miss Mwanza. When he appeared in court two months later, murder charges were dropped and the director of prosecutions ordered him to face lesser charges of manslaughter.

In July this year the case finally came before the High Court. But officials told the judge that a file with important correspondence pertaining to the case had gone missing.

Mr Justice Claver Musumali ordered the officials



HAS POWER TO GRANT PARDON: President Kenneth K

to find the missing file. He also ordered the director of public prosecutions, Gregory Phiri, to appear before him to explain whether he had attempted to cover up the disappearance of the file.

The prosecutor, Kingsley Kaunda (no relation), told

the judge that Mr Phiri reveal that the file was disciplinary action if he Kambarage was not duced a doctor's certifi-

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President's albatross



HAS POWER TO GRANT PARDON: President Kenneth Kaunda.

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Kingsley Kaunda (no relation), told

the judge that Mr Phiri had told him not to reveal that the file was missing and had threatened disciplinary action if he did.

Kambarage was not in court. His lawyer produced a doctor's certificate showing he was suffering

from gastro-enteritis. Zambia has been in the grip of a cholera outbreak for almost two years.

It was to be expected that a case of this nature involving the president's son would carry political connotations. But it was Kambarage's misfortune that the incident happened at a time when his father's political star was on the wane and the opposition was for the first time flexing its muscles.

The opposition had in the interim forced Dr Kaunda to bow, against his vocal opposition, to calls for multiparty political activity in Zambia.

He also suffered some very humiliating defeats in court challenges to the constitution by his opponents.

The lawyer, Sebastian Zulu, who represented Dr Kaunda and his ruling party, the United National Independence Party (Unip), also represented his son in the murder case.

The trial, therefore, became enmeshed in the father's political tribulations. The fact that Dr Kaunda's party lost most of the cases in the High Court against the opposition gave the impression within Unip that the judges were biased against Dr Kaunda and the party, and that Kambarage could therefore not expect a fair trial.

IN AUGUST this year Mr Zulu was making final submissions in the murder case when he suddenly asked the judge to recuse himself because he was biased. Mr Zulu handed the judge an affidavit which alleged that four judges, including Mr Justice Musumali, had written to Frederick Chiluba, the president of the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), President Kaunda's chief opponents, assuring him that they would always rule in his party's favour against Unip.

Mr Justice Musumali is alleged in the affidavit to have told the MMD that he would "fix" Dr Kaunda and his wife Betty by sentencing their son to death. However, Mr Zulu failed to produce the man who made the allegations.

As Mr Justice Musumali told Kambarage Kaunda this week that he would be "hanged by the neck until you are pronounced dead", Mr Zulu was not in court to offer him support. He is serving a one-year jail sentence for contempt of court arising out of the allegations in the affidavit.

Kambarage and his lawyers have taken a defiant stand against the judge. Mr Zulu refused to plead before the judge for a special tribunal to hear his case.

And after he was sentenced to death this week, Kaunda raised his fingers in the "V" for victory sign, the sign of his father's ruling party. He is appealing against his conviction and sentence.

Kaunda's trial has been seen by many as a test of the independence of the judiciary in Zambia, and they have passed it with flying colours.

Many ordinary Zambians expect President Kaunda, if he's still leader of the country after the elections, to grant his son a presidential pardon.

The MMD, if victorious, could use a pardon as an olive branch to its vanguard opponents, and could display their desire for national reconciliation.

Either way, not many people in Zambia expect that Kambarage Kaunda, an airline pilot, will end up paying the ultimate price for his crime.

Zambian exodus

365
c/p news
20/10/91

ZAMBIAN Foreign Affairs Minister Lt-Gen Benjamin Mibenge says foreign residents are leaving Zambia "in droves" following inter-party threats and intimations that trouble will erupt after elections on October 31.

He said the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) had caused the exodus.

But an MMD spokesman said President Kenneth Kaunda provoked the flight by saying there would be civil war if he lost the election. — Sapa

Kaunda is ready to hand over

So we can
22/10/91 (360)



LUSAKA - Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday pledged to hand over power peacefully if he is defeated in the October 31 elections.

Speaking in an interview in Lusaka with the local and international Press, Kaunda said he would be more than ready to hand over power to the victorious party.

"As a democrat, I will stand by the people's mandate. The Zambian people would have decided as to who should be their leader," he added.

He said he felt the leadership of the Movement for Multiparty Dem-

PRESIDENT KAUNDA
ocracy was immature.

He deplored the MMDs call for an international peace-keeping force during the transition period.

MMD president Mr Frederick Chiluba last Thursday appealed to friendly countries to send peace-keeping forces to Zambia during the elections and transition to the first multiparty government in 17 years.

He rebutted Kaunda's accusation that the MMD leadership was immature, and in turn lashed at the ruling party for mismanagement of the economy. - Sapa

KENNETH Kaunda returns home from the Commonwealth summit in Harare to face a gale which is likely to blow him from office.

With the Commonwealth focus having moved from the issue of SA towards promoting "good government", human rights and an end to dictatorships, Kaunda suddenly looks like an emperor with few clothes.

Next week Kaunda faces, against his will but under pressure from the international community, the country's first multiparty elections in nearly 20 years. He is widely tipped to be ousted, if the polls are fair.

If Kaunda goes, few tears will be shed at home or abroad. When he came to power in 1964, on Zambia's independence from Britain, the prospects looked good. The country had abundant rich soils, good rainfall and a blissful climate in which nearly every kind of crop could be grown. There were valuable mineral deposits. The British left Kaunda with £2bn of foreign reserves. The population was 3-million. In 27 years of increasingly dictatorial rule, Kaunda has systematically destroyed the economy in the name of creating a "humanistic paradise on earth". At the same time the population soared to 7.5-million.

For a long time Kaunda was virtually above criticism. He had great personal charm. He was regarded as a great African moral force, an im-

Can Kaunda keep his clothes?

By Day 24/10/91.

360

FRED BRIDGLAND in Lusaka

pression he reinforced by constant references to God and his propensity for crying in public over others' shortcomings. Out of a combination of colonial guilt and racial patronising, British academics, journalists and clerics reinforced Kaunda's "redeemer" image.

It eventually took the Zambian people themselves — easy-going, passive and long-suffering — to see through Kaunda's trick, to demand an end to one-party rule and gain a contested ballot for the presidency.

Gaze in any direction, and the Zambian post-independence story is one of mammoth incompetence and disaster. With foreign debt standing at nearly \$8bn, the World Bank last month cancelled a \$260m loan

Kaunda needed to feed his people after Zambia defaulted on an earlier loan repayment. Per capita income has fallen by more than 30% in 14 years. The drastic fall in living standards led to waves of labour unrest and the increase in strength of the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), led by Frederick Chiluba, chairman of the Congress of Trade Unions, who after next week could become Zambia's new president.

Hospitals and chemist shops are

low on essential drugs, and a cholera epidemic was exacerbated by collapsing water services and rural health facilities. Inflation is at 100%. Spending on education is only a third of the level it was 14 years ago. Richard Musaka, a businessman in the Copperbelt town of Mufulira has two teenage boys at secondary school, but says they remain illiterate. "Standards have gone to hell. I'll be voting MMD," he says.

It is easy to point to the reasons for Kaunda's failure. He embarked on an early programme of nationalisation: those big companies became huge loss-makers, staffed by high-salaried Kaunda appointees. They drained wealth instead of creating it. A classic error was the '60s nationalisation of copper mines, which account for 90% of the country's foreign exchange earnings. Millions of dollars in compensation went to SA's Anglo American Corporation. Then the copper price collapsed, and for years Zambia made great losses from the



□ KAUNDA

mines while continuing to pay big fees to Anglo American for technical advice and materials.

Another epic mistake was to place severe controls on the price of maize, the country's staple food, to keep miners and other urban workers

quiescent. The controlled price was below the costs of production. Peasants stopped growing maize for any purpose other than subsistence. The net result was that Zambia, which nearly all experts agree is so fecund that it should be feeding the whole of Africa, became a supplicant for world food aid.

Lusaka, once a spick and span city with supermarket shelves packed with produce, is rapidly marching back to the Year Zero. The signs are immediately visible at Lusaka's once-glittering international airport. The air-conditioning does not work. Broken light fittings hang drunkenly.

In the main thoroughfare, dust lines supermarket shelves. The tallest building, the headquarters of Unip, was abandoned half completed because money ran out. With 2-million people unemployed, crime has taken off. Ten percent of town dwellers are HIV positive.

Even beer production has collapsed. The state-owned Mosi Breweries had no competition but was hamstringed by price controls which prevented investment in new plant.

If Kaunda loses the election, he has said he will retire to his peasant farm in eastern Zambia rather than to one of his many luxury mansions. If he does so, he will need more luck than his fellow peasants, whom he has so comprehensively impoverished in 27 years of rule by error. — Daily Telegraph.

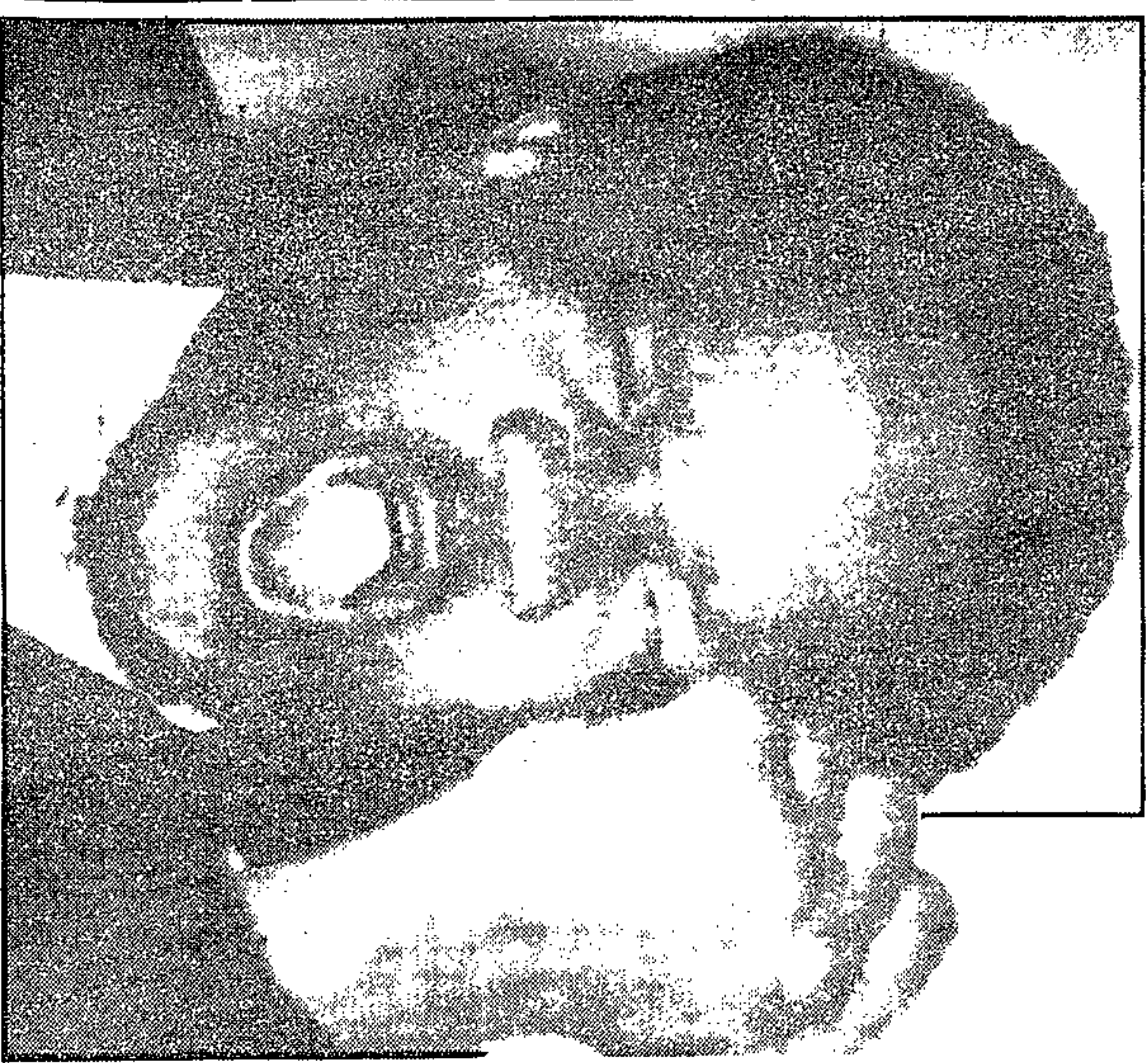
LETTERS

Kaunda's rival the hope of thousands

Star 24/10/91

(360)

The man aspiring to the leadership of Zambia is a very different kettle of fish from President Kaunda, reports MIKE HALL of The Star Africa Service in Harare.



Pragmatist... Frederick Chiluba warns against miracles.

CLAD IN Italian-style double-breasted suit and standing just more than 1.5m tall, Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba — the man many Zambians believe will be their next president — cuts a very different image from President Kenneth Kaunda, now fighting for his political life.

Dr Kaunda — older, taller and some say wiser, speaks of humanism, love, social justice and fair play. He blames economic failure on external factors, and impending famine on low rainfall.

Mr Chiluba talks of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law and accountability. He speaks of slowly rebuilding Zambia's economy and blames the impending famine on distorted, socialist-style agricultural policies.

The son of a copper miner, Mr Chiluba certainly speaks the language Zambians want to hear. Press freedom, market forces, investor confidence, moral rearmament — such terms have become buzzwords in the Movement for Multiparty

Democracy (MMD) of which he was elected president in March.

He was the obvious choice. As chairman since 1974 of the powerful, 300 000-strong Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, he had a record of consistent opposition to President Kaunda's socialist-style one-party state. At 48 he was also the only representative of the post-independence generation.

Mr Chiluba resisted President Kaunda's attempts to co-opt him into the ruling United National Independence Party. He was detained without trial in 1981 for four months, accused of fuelling a spate of strikes. He became a born-again Christian.

Founded as a pressure group just more than a year ago, the MMD rapidly brought a new sense of hope to long-suffering Zambians. Thousands have sat for hours in baking sun or pouring rain just to listen to Mr Chiluba argue for the removal of

Dr Kaunda, who helped to end colonial rule in 1964 and has been in power ever since.

Expectations are high. In crumbling cities, limping copper mines, and poor rural areas where famine looms, Mr Chiluba is expected to perform miracles, as if ousting the president will somehow remove inflation and put drugs in the hospitals, textbooks in the schools, cheap food in the shops and more buses on the roads.

If the MMD wins the October 31 poll, however, it will inherit an empty treasury and a bankrupt economy with a foreign debt that is one of the biggest in the world in per capita terms. The country is already on the brink of famine due to the poor maize harvest.

New aid money from mainstream donors dried up months ago, when the Kaunda government refused to adhere to agreed International Monetary

Fund and World Bank reforms.

If Mr Chiluba wins he may face a backlash from Kaunda loyalists, especially in the large, politicised intelligence and security service which he intends to dismantle. Even within his own party — a loose coalition ranging from socialists to laissez-faire capitalists — plots are being hatched to make his job more difficult.

In the first few months, the bloated public sector will have to be trimmed. Prices of essential commodities are likely to go up, not down. Subsidies will have to be lifted. Privatisation will generate unemployment.

Mr Chiluba, who says his ideology is pragmatism, is confident he can begin to put the economy on the right footing, by cutting back spending on the security service and the military, privatising State-run enterprises, attracting foreign investors and saving public money.

But he recognises the likely crisis of expectations. "It is no easy task to rebuild what Kaunda destroyed. That is why wherever I go I ask people whether they are ready to make sacrifices, to sweat and work hard and everywhere I go they say 'yes'," he says.

Mr Chiluba's formal education is limited. He gained his O levels, a certificate in advanced credit analysis and an A level in politics and government. But he has wide experience in the labour movement.

His colleagues believe he has the strength of conviction and political skills needed to hold together what he himself calls a rainbow coalition.

But what will happen if the MMD loses? "This is my biggest fear," he says. "The people would not believe that Kaunda had won. It would perhaps trigger off demonstrations and violence. But if the elections are genuinely free and fair, we must accept the results. This is the kind of culture we are trying to build." □

AFRICA

Zambian elections: Unity or change?

WMAF 25/10-31/10/91. 360

In less than a week, on October 31, nearly three million Zambians are expected to go to the polls in the country's first multi-party presidential and parliamentary elections since 1972.

It will be a bitter struggle between President Kenneth Kaunda and his ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) who have been in power for 27 years and the main opposition party, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) led by trade unionist Frederick Chiluba.

But political analysts predict that the MMD has the advantages of never having held office and the ability to capitalise on voters' desire for change after suffering a decade of rapidly declining living standards.

Unip on the other hand controls two of the three daily newspapers, the sole television and radio stations and has illicit access to government vehicles and what remains of the treasury funds for campaigning.

Six political parties and about 20 independent candidates will also participate in the elections to some degree, but only Unip and MMD have put up candidates for all 150 parliamentary seats.

MMD is a coalition of unusual bed-fellows; trade unionists, businessmen, farmers, university students, professionals and churchmen. The force that unites them is their common desire to remove Unip and form

Under increasing heat from Zambia's leading opposition party, Unip must fight to stay in power.
BY MELINDA HAN

a new government.

The election campaign has hardly focused on issues or promises. This is because whichever party wins will face the same dire economic scenario; a crumbling economy, sour relations with donors and an empty treasury.

Zambia has one of the highest per capita debts in the world, when its \$7-billion debt to international commercial banks and donors is pegged against its eight million population.

Because Unip failed to repay its arrears to the World Bank, the Bank recently froze aid worth \$80-million; most other donors followed suit.

The International Monetary Fund and World Bank approved structural adjustment programme has also been temporarily suspended. A severe maize shortage also looms by 1992.

The winning party will have little space for manoeuvre or time for economic experiments as their policy will be dictated by donors.

Both parties' manifestos make commitments to widespread privatisation and liberalisation of the economy and a move away from dependence on copper as the earner of 90 percent of foreign exchange towards



Frederick 'the Liberator' Chiluba, Zambia's hope for change
Photo: GISELE WULFSOHN

development of agricultural and other non-traditional exports.

But MMD has a big edge over Unip. It has Unip's 27-year-old track record to point to. The lack of essential drugs in the handful of understaffed hospitals, the hundreds of schools without desks or chairs or books and the severely potholed roads are all fuel for MMD's fiery campaign.

MMD also underscores the rampant corruption and embezzlement of funds in all levels of the Unip government and the state-run parastatal companies that control more than 80 percent of the economy.

"Of course I cannot rule this country as Kaunda has done because he has ruined this country," Chiluba said at a MMD rally in Petauke in the Eastern

Province.

Supporters call Chiluba "the Liberator", "the Black Moses" and "the Messiah".

But the MMD president has not only depended on destructive criticism of Unip but has tried to put in place the cornerstones for what he calls "a new political culture" of accountable government.

He has also attempted to scale down people's extremely high expectations that an MMD government will bring an instant improvement in people's standard of living, by putting some of the onus on the voters themselves. At a recent rally in Chipata, Chiluba said: "When and not if, we win, it will be a time for moral re-armament. Do you really want to liberate yourselves? Are you ready to sweat? Are you ready to make sacrifices?"

Unip is now backed into a corner by MMD popularity. Unity is the last card Unip is playing and their aim is to convince MMD supporters that only Unip can provide this.

President Kaunda has threatened that if MMD wins, the country will be plunged into civil war. In Unip television adverts showing vivid images of war and famine ravaged Ethiopia, a voice asks viewers "Do you want Zambia to become like this? Vote wisely, vote KK" — Kenneth Kaunda.

MMD's stronghold is in the urban areas, but in the rural areas MMD supporters have been intimidated, especially in the Eastern Province.

Unip vigilantes have singled out certain MMD supporters to make examples of them to frighten others. In at least three districts mud and straw huts, maize fields and stores have been burnt to the ground.

Unip has hired witch doctors to bewitch MMD rally sites. Pro-Unip chiefs have threatened to evict residents who vote for MMD. Asian shopkeepers have been warned that a vote for the opposition will cost them their trading licenses.

It will be difficult to determine whether the majority of the voters of Zambia voted for change or succumbed to intimidation and voted for unity until the millions of ballots, which are cast in secret, have been counted.

Tension in Zambia

(260) May 25/10/91

CHOLA CHIMBANO in LUSAKA

A DEEP air of uncertainty hangs over the political and economic future of impoverished Zambia, which holds its first multi-party elections in 18 years next Thursday.

Tension has built up in recent days with the government and opposition each accusing the other of preparing for violence if it loses. The church has taken up a mediatory role in the hope of preventing trouble.

A few weeks ago, political analysts were unwilling to bet on the outcome. Now they are tipping victory for the main opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) with around 105 of the 150 seats in parliament, although predictions are shaky at best.

President Kenneth Kaunda, 67, has dominated the country since independence from Britain in 1964, strengthening his grip after introducing single-party rule in 1973 in order to halt tribalism.

But bureaucracy and corruption have undermined the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) and the government, which has burdened Zambia's eight million people with 7.8 billion dollars in foreign debt.

The presidential and parliamentary elections are the culmination of nearly two years of pro-democracy activity.

Zambia has seen a steady rise in unemployment, crime, budget deficits and inflation. Social services have declined and the black market has eclipsed formal economic activities.

"One thing that is clear is that President Kaunda and his government have known all along what needed to be done in this economy," one analyst said, adding that "Kaunda and his clique of older UNIP members have over the years deliberately blocked economic reforms."

Pro-democracy activists who united in the MMD, and pressure from the international community in linking aid to democratic reforms, forced Kaunda after months of hesitation to reintroduce pluralistic politics last December and call elections this year.

The MMD, led by veteran trade unionist Frederick Chiluba, has promised to work with multilateral institutions to improve Zambia's economy, but there are no illusions over the amount of work needed.



KENNETH Kaunda — getting set for multi-party elections.

Chiluba himself is challenging Kaunda for the presidency.

"This country's economy has been destroyed and there is no money. Are you prepared to work hard to rebuild? Do you know that building is more difficult than destroying?" is Chiluba's message at campaign rallies.

The retirement from politics of some of the leaders of the independence struggle and Kaunda cronies has failed to reduce pressure on the president, whose statesmanlike international image contrasts sharply with the poverty of his country.

Both Kaunda and Chiluba say they will accept the election results, although Kaunda has also said he will "deal" with the opposition, which he accuses of insulting him.

Kaunda says he does not plan to retire until the economy recovers.

Diplomatic sources say the government's record on the economy is not encouraging.

Zambia has abandoned several reform programmes agreed with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) since it started dealing with the Fund in 1972, leading the economy into deeper trouble.

It lost more than 500 million dollars in donor aid when Kaunda ditched an IMF austerity programme in 1987 after food riots the previous year.

It rebuilt donor confidence only when the IMF and World Bank approved a policy paper in late 1990 for a programme covering the period 1990-1993.

The government ran into trouble again last month, defaulting on a 20.8 million dollar arrears payment to the World Bank and delaying the implementation of austerity measures until after the elections.

As a result, Zambia stands to lose more than 200 million dollars in balance of payments and import support from the World Bank and other donors.

Political and economic analysts say the post-election atmosphere should allow greater economic development in a country where political survival has taken precedence over vital austerity measures.

The analysts trace Zambia's economic decline to the 1974 oil crisis and depressed copper prices.

Copper production by Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), the country's main foreign exchange earner, is expected to fall while mining costs are rising, ZCCM said in its latest annual report.

The economic reform plan backed by the IMF and World Bank aims at increasing non-traditional exports, reducing inflation and the budget deficit, developing strong fiscal measures, civil service reform and privatisation of state-run enterprises.

Measures taken so far include devaluation of the local currency, moves towards privatisation and the removal of price controls, except those on the food staple, maize.

As polling day draws near shopkeepers, particularly those of Indian descent, have cleared their stores in case of rioting. Diplomats say many Indians are leaving the country, at least temporarily. — Sapa-Reuter

Election fever mounts in Zambia

Star 26/10/91

LUSAKA — A deep air of uncertainty hangs over the political and economic future of impoverished Zambia, which holds its first multiparty elections in 18 years on Thursday.

Tension has built up in recent days with the government and opposition each accusing the other of preparing for violence if it loses. The church has taken up a mediatory role in the hope of preventing trouble.

A few weeks ago, political analysts were unwilling to bet on the outcome. Now they are tipping victory for the main opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) with about 105 of the 150 seats in parliament, although predictions are shaky at best.

President Kenneth Kaunda (67) has dominated the country since independence from Britain in 1964, strengthening his grip after introducing single-party rule in order to halt tribalism.

Eclipsed

But bureaucracy and corruption have undermined the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) and the government, which has burdened Zambia's 8 million people with \$7.8 billion in foreign debt.

The presidential and parliamentary elections are the culmination of nearly two years of pro-democracy activity.

Zambia has seen a steady rise in unemployment, crime, budget deficits and inflation. Social services have declined and the black market has eclipsed formal economic activities.

"One thing that is clear is that President Kaunda and his government have known all along what needed to be done in this



RIVALS: President Kenneth Kaunda (left) and Frederick Chiluba, leader of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy.

It's Chiluba vs Kaunda in first multiparty elections

CHOLA CHIMBANO

economy," one analyst said, adding that "Kaunda and his clique of older Unip members have over the years deliberately blocked economic reforms".

Pro-democracy activists who united in the MMD, and pressure from the international community in linking aid to democratic reforms, forced Dr Kaunda after months of hesitation to reintroduce pluralistic politics last December and call elections this year.

The MMD, led by veteran trade unionist Frederick Chiluba, has promised to work with multilateral institutions to improve Zambia's economy, but

there are no illusions over the amount of work needed.

Mr Chiluba himself is challenging Dr Kaunda for the presidency.

"This country's economy has been destroyed and there is no money. Are you prepared to work hard to rebuild? Do you know that building is more difficult than destroying?" is Mr Chiluba's message at campaign rallies.

Both President Kaunda and Mr Chiluba say they will accept the election results, although Dr Kaunda has also said he will "deal" with the opposition, which he accuses of insulting him.

Dr Kaunda says he does not plan to retire until the economy

recovers.

360

The government ran into trouble again last month, defaulting on a \$20.8 million arrears payment to the World Bank and delaying the implementation of austerity measures until after the elections.

As a result, Zambia stands to lose more than \$200 million in balance of payments and import support from the World Bank and other donors.

Political and economic analysts say the post-election atmosphere should allow greater economic development in a country where political survival has taken precedence over vital austerity measures.

The analysts trace Zambia's economic decline to the 1974 oil crisis and depressed copper prices.

Privatising

Copper production by Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines, the country's main foreign exchange earner, is expected to fall, while mining costs are rising. The economic reform plan backed by the IMF and World Bank aims at increasing non-traditional exports, reducing inflation and the budget deficit, developing strong fiscal measures and privatising State-run enterprises.

Measures taken so far include devaluation of the local currency, moves towards privatisation and the removal of price controls, except those on the food staple, maize.

As polling day draws near, shopkeepers, particularly those of Indian descent, have cleared their stores in case of rioting. Diplomats say many Indians are leaving the country, at least temporarily. — Sapa-Reuter.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Zambian poll call for Cape rector

THE rector of the Peninsula Technikon in Cape Town, Mr Franklin Sonn, is to join former US President Jimmy Carter's team in monitoring the elections in Zambia this week.

He will be the only South African on the team.

A second group of South Africans will attend as observers under the auspices of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy. Included in this group will be NP, PAC, ANC and DP representatives.

The Commonwealth has also sent a group to monitor the elections, which begin on Thursday.

Mr Sonn, who has never monitored an election before, said he was probably chosen because he was a non-functionary political figure with an understanding of politics.

The elections, the first multi-party elections in 20 years, are expected to see Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda toppled from power if the polls are fair and if the elections do not trigger an outbreak of unrest similar to that in neighbouring Zaire.

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Going concern:

By knowing that the business will continue indefinitely into the future and will not be liquidated, the user is assured that assets (and liabilities) are stated at cost (less amounts written off) and not at liquidation values, which may differ considerably.

Consistency:

By knowing that the same bases and policies are applied to like items from one period to the next, the user can feel confident when comparing financial statements of different periods.

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Kaunda's judgment day

CLIP NEWS 2/11/91

UNCERTAINTY hangs over the political and economic future of impoverished Zambia, which holds its first multiparty elections in 18 years next Thursday.

Tension has built up in recent days with the government and opposition accusing each other of preparing for violence if defeated. The church has taken up a mediatory role in the hope of preventing trouble.

A few weeks ago, political analysts were unwilling to bet on the outcome. Now they are tipping victory for the main opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) with around 105 of the 150 seats in parliament, although predictions are shaky at best.

President Kenneth Kaunda, 67, has dominated the country since independence from Britain in 1964, strengthening his grip after introducing single-party rule in 1973 in order to halt tribalism.

But bureaucracy and corruption have undermined the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) and the government, which has burdened Zambia's 8 000 000 people with nearly R22-billion in foreign debt.

The presidential and parliamentary elections are the culmination of nearly two years of pro-democracy activity.

Zambia has seen a steady rise in unemployment, crime, budget deficits and inflation. Social services have declined and the

blackmarket has eclipsed formal economic activities.

"One thing that is clear is that President Kaunda and his government have known all along what needed to be done in this economy," one analyst said, adding that "Kaunda and his clique of older Unip members have over the years deliberately blocked economic reforms."

Pro-democracy activists who united in the MMD, and pressure from the international community in linking aid to democratic reforms, forced Kaunda after months of hesitation to reintroduce pluralistic politics last December and call elections this year.

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Kenneth Kaunda

Both Kaunda and Chiluba say they will accept the election results, although Kaunda has also said he will "deal" with the opposition, which he accuses of insulting him.

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Zambia has abandoned several reform programmes agreed to with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) since it started dealing with the fund in 1972, leading the economy into deeper trouble.

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It rebuilt donor confidence only when the IMF and World Bank approved a policy paper in late 1990 for a programme covering the period 1990-1993.

The government ran into trouble again last month, defaulting on a R58-million arrears payment to the World Bank and delaying the implementation of austerity measures until after the elections.

As a result, Zambia stands to lose more than R560-million in balance of payments and import support from the World Bank and other donors.

Political and economic analysts say the post-election atmosphere should allow greater economic development in a country where political survival has taken precedence over vital austerity measures.

The analysts trace Zambia's economic decline to the 1974 oil crisis and depressed copper prices. Copper production by Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), the country's main foreign exchange earner, is expected to fall while mining costs are rising, ZCCM said in its latest annual report.

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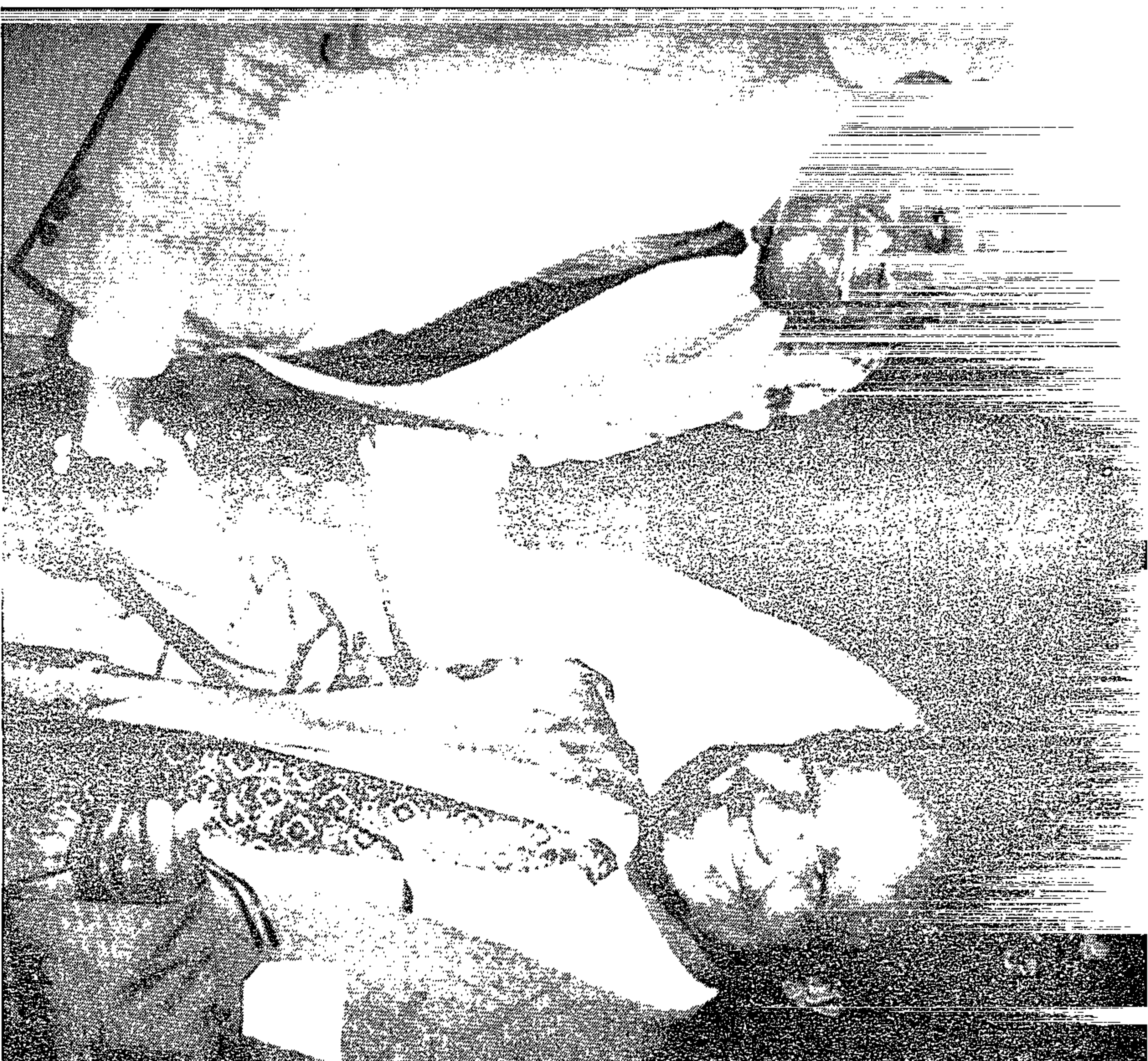
As polling day draws near, shopkeepers, particularly those of Indian descent, have cleared their stores in case of rioting. Diplomats say many Indians are leaving the country, at least temporarily.

A Commonwealth team in Zambia to monitor the elections, said last week the poll was putting into practice principles of democracy spelt out at the Commonwealth summit in Zimbabwe. The biennial summit which ended last Monday issued a declaration of principles stressing the Commonwealth's adherence to democracy and human rights.

"(The election) is significant in terms of not only Africa, but the prospects that the Commonwealth has set out to achieve from the Harare communique," group leader Telford Georges, a Dominican jurist, told a news conference.

He said the group was expected to leave Zambia three days after the elections and would give its impressions of the voting before the results were announced. It would also report to Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

Former US president Jimmy Carter, who expressed concern over preparations when he led a pre-election monitoring group to Zambia last month, is expected back tomorrow. — Sapa-Reuters



RIVAL HANDSHAKE ... The newly elected president of Zambia (right) shakes hands with his closest rival in the presidential race, 61-year-old

NEWS IN BRIEF

Safety assurances from Kaunda

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has assured foreign diplomats in the country that their safety during and after Thursday's multi-party elections would be guaranteed. (260)

The leader of the main opposition party, Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), Frederick Chiluba, on Sunday alleged Kaunda had trained a private 400-man army to cause unrest if the ruling party lost the election. Boy 29/10/91

The hour has come to put Zambia back on the road

Sowetan 30/10/91

360

give a huge boost to Africa's democracy movement.

Dramatic

LUSAKA - THE TV election commercial says it all: a car drives down a street cratered with a moonscape of potholes, and as it thumps along, a hub-cap flies off a wheel.

A voice intones the party slogan: "The hour has come". The hour, that is, of accountability.

After 18 years as a one-party state, during which Zambia has changed from one of the most prosperous countries in Africa to one whose crumbling roads epitomise its collapsed economy, three million voters will have their first opportunity tomorrow to call their rulers to account.

Important

It will be the most important multiparty election held in Africa, a high point in the pro-democracy movement stirring throughout the continent, with the possibility of one of Africa's most venerable leaders being defeated and of Zambia becoming the first Anglophone country to change its government through the ballot box. If that happens, it will

have committed themselves to accepting the result, and four monitoring teams will keep watch: two Zambian, a 20-member Commonwealth team and 40 Americans headed by

former President Jimmy Carter.

Kaunda's challenger, a diminutive, 38-year-old trade union leader Mr Frederick Chiluba, who heads a hastily formed coalition called the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, has been drawing far larger and more enthusiastic crowds to his rallies in Lusaka and the towns of the northern Copperbelt.

But in the provinces, among the tribal villagers and peasant communities where attitudes are more conservative and new ideas slower to penetrate, Kaunda is expected to do better and may pull in enough votes to offset his losses in the towns.

What is clear is that even if he wins, Zambia will be a changed country. At the very least, the MMD will form a strong opposition in the National Assembly, which will transform the nature of politics.

Sharpen

Already, the ruling United National Independence Party, which had grown old and unresponsive, has tried to sharpen its image by appointing some young members to top posts and putting out a new manifesto.

The media has been revitalised. A year ago, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation and the two state-owned newspapers, the *Daily Mail* and the *Times* of Zambia, were little more than bulletin boards of official statements and approved reports.

Vigorous

Now there is a crop of half a dozen new papers, some explicitly supporting the opposition. The most vital is the *Weekly Post*, a vigorous tabloid which specialises in investigative reporting and has exposed a number of scandals that in the past would never have been published.

The courts, showing a revitalised spirit of independence, have overruled a government decree barring the state-controlled newspapers from carrying opposition advertisements, and summonsed the director-

general of the broadcasting corporation to answer charges of contempt for ignoring a court order to air opposition views.

Most striking is the revival of political vitality among ordinary people. In the past, Zambians would mutter under their breath about the decomposing state of their country, but were fatalistically helpless about it. Attendance at

Unip's political rallies was minimal, and the turnout at the one-party elections a national embarrassment. Today, everyone is talking politics animatedly, the election campaign is robust, and crowds of more than 100 000 have turned out at MMD and Unip rallies.

Defeat for Kaunda would be just retribution for his pursuit of ruinous economic policies for nearly three decades. But it would also be sad to see such a decent man go.

In his 27 years as Zambia's leader, he has built up an enviable reputation as a humanist and a man of

Elections could be a real cliffhanger

the kind of disaster that has turned Africa into the world's poorest continent. It is for this that he will now be accountable. - *Observer News Service.*

peace. His role in the region has been heroic. He committed his country, at huge self-sacrifice, to supporting the liberation movements in Rhodesia, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa, all of which had their exile headquarters in Lusaka.

But his economic policies became a case study in

NEWS FOCUS

Oxford man welcomed into Zambia's politics

B/day 31/10/91

360

AS DUSK falls on the dusty red road leading to Chikwanda village in northern Zambia, about 50 women and young girls dance out of the shadows of the jacaranda trees and swarm towards the approaching vehicle.

"Guy Scott is bringing the wind of change to us women," they sing in high-pitched voices. In the Land Rover, the grinning, bespectacled former Oxford university lecturer raises his thumb and index finger in the party salute and shouts its slogan: "The hour has come!"

Scott is one of four white Zambians standing as a parliamentary candidate for the main opposition party, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) in next week's general election.

He is confident of winning the Mpika seat, and political colleagues say he stands a good chance of being appointed Minister of Agriculture if the MMD wins.

He has spent the past seven years in England studying for a doctorate and working as a research scientist and lecturer in robotics. When President Kenneth Kaunda agreed to political reform last year he decided to return home.

MELINDA HAM in Lusaka

He is bitter about Kaunda's economic mismanagement and authoritarian rule. Some of his friends were involved in a plot to overthrow Kaunda in 1980 and imprisoned. Disillusioned, he left for England.

"Any success story in Zambia is a threat to Kaunda's power," he says. "Any business that was doing well had to be nationalised. Any minister who became too popular had to be transferred."

"Corruption and lack of accountability had reached such a pitch, I felt that as an agricultural consultant, I was only managing to slow down Zambia's inevitable collapse by a few days."

At the MMD's national convention in March, three months after it became the first opposition party for nearly two decades, he was elected chairman of its agriculture committee with an overwhelming majority.

Initially sceptical of the MMD, its organisation and leadership, he has since become a trusted adviser on agricultural matters to its president, Frederick Chiluba, a trade union leader. "Fred's all right," he says.

Born in what was then Northern Rhodesia in 1944, the son of a liberal district commissioner, Scott traces his roots back to David Livingstone, the great Victorian explorer who is his great-great uncle, whose heart lies buried about 90km from his constituency, in Chitambo village.

Although some of his colleagues regard him as a bit of an eccentric, his anti-Kaunda songs sung in the local dialect and antics at rallies go down well with MMD supporters. He has spoken at more than 80 political rallies in most provinces.

Some, especially older, Zambians hark back to colonial days when the economy was strong and things worked. They think Scott can help bring back Zambia's past glories.

Scott says his election to the MMD executive marks a watershed in Zambian politics. Kaunda's one white Cabinet minister did not last long. After independence whites and Asians were marginalised.

But can he last in the rough and tumble of Zambian politics? Some believe the prejudices against whites and Asians still run deep. Others feel Zambia has reached a level of political maturity in which politicians will be judged by performance, not by colour. — Daily Telegraph.

Face to face

Southern

31/10/91.

(360)

LUSAKA - The two key figures in today's historic elections in Zambia are incumbent President Kenneth Kaunda and his challenger Mr Frederick Chiluba.

Chiluba has been a trade unionist all his life and Kaunda has been leader of his country for nearly all his adult life. They are very different men, each battling to lead Zambia through the '90s.

Kaunda was born in Lubwa Mission in the Chinsali district of the Northern Province on April 28 1924. His father David was a missionary who came from Nkhata Bay in Malawi.

It is said that when prominent nationalists could not agree on who should lead the party, they decided on Kaunda as he was seen as neutral because of his Malawian origin.

Kaunda cut his teeth in the African National Congress of Harry Nkumbula, where he rose to become its secretary-general in 1953.

Kaunda and Chiluba square up

In 1980 the first attempt was made to remove him from power by force. It failed but led Kaunda to spend huge chunks of his budget on the army. He also appointed army chiefs to the central committee of the ruling party.

He became closely involved in the fight against white minority rule in Mozambique, Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. Zambia paid very dearly for this and was attacked numerous times.

He was violently opposed to the multiparty democracy movement when it started two years ago. But he is now claiming credit for re-introducing democ-

him to continue in his job as head of the ZCTU.

As a unionist he is said to have been an authoritarian leader.

Some are already seeing signs of this streak in his leadership of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy.

Master

MMD officials are already complaining about a lack of consultation before decisions are taken.

Chiluba is said to have personally supervised the selection of all parliamentary candidates. And he is described as a master of political intrigue.

His relationship with his



KENNETH KAUNDA shakes hands with supporters in the run-up to the elections.

His cabinet, he says, will

Controversy

In 1958 during the federation controversy, he broke away from the ANC with young radicals. He was arrested by the British and while in jail, the United National Independence Party was formed.

When Kaunda was released he immediately assumed the leadership of Unip. He has been at the helm since.

During the pre-independence years, Kaunda was minister of the Local Government and Social Welfare. He later became Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia and at independence was elected president of a free Zambia, then one of the wealthiest countries on the continent. 31/10/91

At the 1967 Unip conference, the party almost split along tribal lines between Bembas and Tongas, Lozi and easterners.

Kaunda resigned the leadership for nine hours.

The move healed the split and strengthened Kaunda's hold on power.

Thereafter he banned one of his chief rivals, the United Party, after widespread violence said to have been stoked by Unip.

At the same time he also embarked on a policy of nationalising important sectors of the economy.

In 1970 one of his chief lieutenants, Mr Simon Kapwepwe, left Unip to form the United People's Party. Kaunda acted harshly against Kapwepwe and banned his party.

This intolerance grew as Kaunda's problems mounted. This led to the creation of a one-party state in 1972.

racy in Zambia.

Opposer Chiluba was born 48 years ago in Mwense district in Luapula province and spent most of his childhood in Kitwe on the Copperbelt.

His father, a miner, died when Chiluba was still a child and he was raised by his grandmother.

He dropped out of school and went to work briefly on sisal plantations in Tanzania where he was a personnel clerk. It was here that he developed an interest in trade unionism.

He is said to be sensitive about his educational background but proud of studying privately to gain an A level in politics and government. He is an avid reader and likes to quote the sayings of famous people.

Chiluba was detained by the Zambian government in 1981 and accused fomenting labour unrest. This, he says, strengthened his resolve to fight against injustice. He is a born-again Christian.

Sowetan Expelled

He joined the National Union of Building, Engineering and General Workers in 1968 while working for Atlas Copco. He rose rapidly until in 1971 he became chairman of the union.

He was later expelled from the union amid allegations of financial malpractices.

In 1974 he was elected chairman-general of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions.

After his expulsion from the NUBEGW, he was adopted by the Zambia Union of Financial and Allied Workers, which enabled

vice-president, Mr Levy Mwanawasa, is reported to be strained. Chiluba prefers to consult those he regards as friends such as Mr Vernon Mwaanga, the MMD foreign policy spokesman.

One newspaper has criticised Chiluba for surrounding himself with what it calls professional praise-singers who are looking for jobs in an MMD govern-

ment.

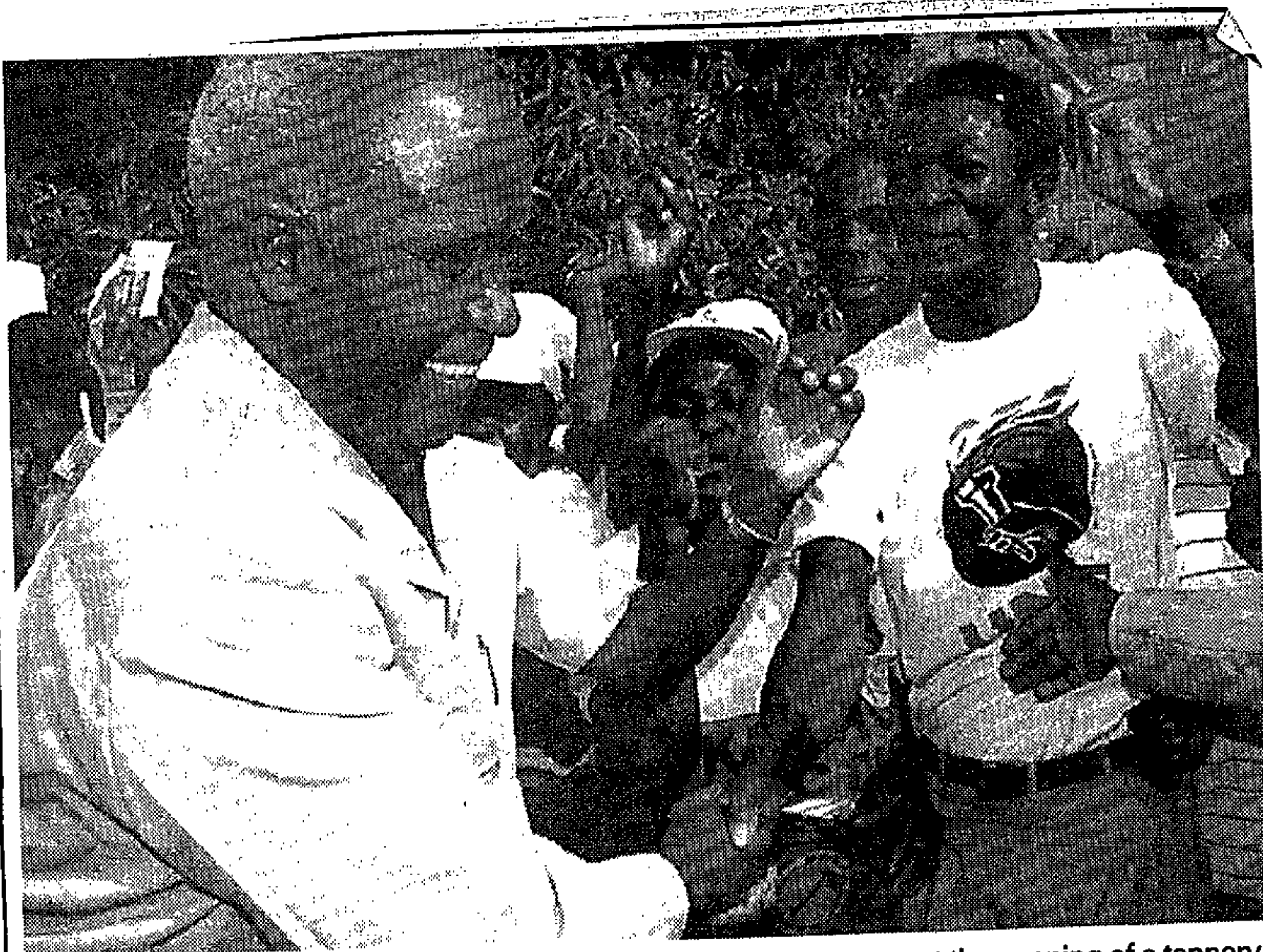
Still, Chiluba has made all the right promises. He says he is committed to the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. He believes in the rule of law and says his ideology is pragmatism.

He wants greater private enterprise, accountability in the political system and what he calls "moral rearmament".

be made of men and women of unblemished record.

But, Zambians are waiting to see what will happen to those of his close associates who have been named as drug traffickers by a government commission.

His watchword as a trade unionist has been: "Don't trust a politician." - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*



CAMPAIGNING . . . President Kaunda shakes hands with supporters at the opening of a tannery at North Mukobako, 150km from Lusaka. Dr Kaunda said he was confident of a landslide victory in today's elections. (360) CT 31/10/91 AP

Opposition confident of ousting KK

LUSAKA. — Zambian opposition leader Mr Frederick Chiluba told thousands of chanting, cheering supporters here yesterday that he was supremely confident of toppling President Kenneth Kaunda.

Zambians vote today in the first multi-party elections in 18 years in what international observers here believe could mark a gigantic step of transition from one-party rule to plural democracy in Africa.

Political analysts have predicted a comfortable win for Mr Chiluba and his Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD).

Dr Kaunda and the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) have been put on the defensive for the first time in 27 years of uninterrupted rule.

Dr Kaunda, 67, whose once-sweeping popularity has fallen with the collapse of Zambia's economy, was forced to end 17

years of single-party rule last year by popular pressure at home and the winds of political change sweeping Africa.

A total of 2.9 million registered voters out of a population of 7.8 million are eligible to cast their ballots today to fill 150 seats in parliament and elect a new president.

Mr Chiluba, 48, a veteran trade unionist, has opposed the president's one-party rule for years.

Kaunda ends campaign with plea for tolerance

Star 31/10/91 (360)
By Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — President Kaunda last night made a strong plea for peace and unity as almost three million Zambians prepared to go to the polls today, and appealed to his countrymen to accept the verdict of the ballot box.

Winding up their campaigns, the two major parties flooded newspapers, television and radio with advertisements in a last-ditch attempt to sway uncommitted voters.

Frederick Chiluba, president of the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), told his supporters at a huge rally in Lusaka yesterday to forget about the past and look to the future.

In an address to the nation carried by both radio and television, Mr Kaunda pledged to accept, without reservation, the results of the election, and called on all Zambians to do the

same.

In his speech, surprisingly free of electioneering, Mr Kaunda called on Zambians to be peaceful and tolerant as they went to the polls. "The loss of blood from one Zambian is a loss of blood from all Zambians," he said.

"Zambians must remain united no matter what happens tomorrow.

"I urge each one of you, without exception, to do your utmost to go to polling day peacefully and come out of polling day peacefully.

"There will be no political losers. Those who go into opposition are still an important catalyst for good government."

Mr Chiluba, the man most people expect to succeed Mr Kaunda after today's elections, told his supporters: "We have already won these elections. There is no doubt about it."

"My message to you today is: Forget the past and begin to build the fu-

ture. We're not seeking revenge."

But the rally was nearly marred by a nasty incident when people stoned a Cabinet Minister's official car which was driving through the crowd going to the rally.

The Minister's driver fired into the air to disperse the menacing crowd.

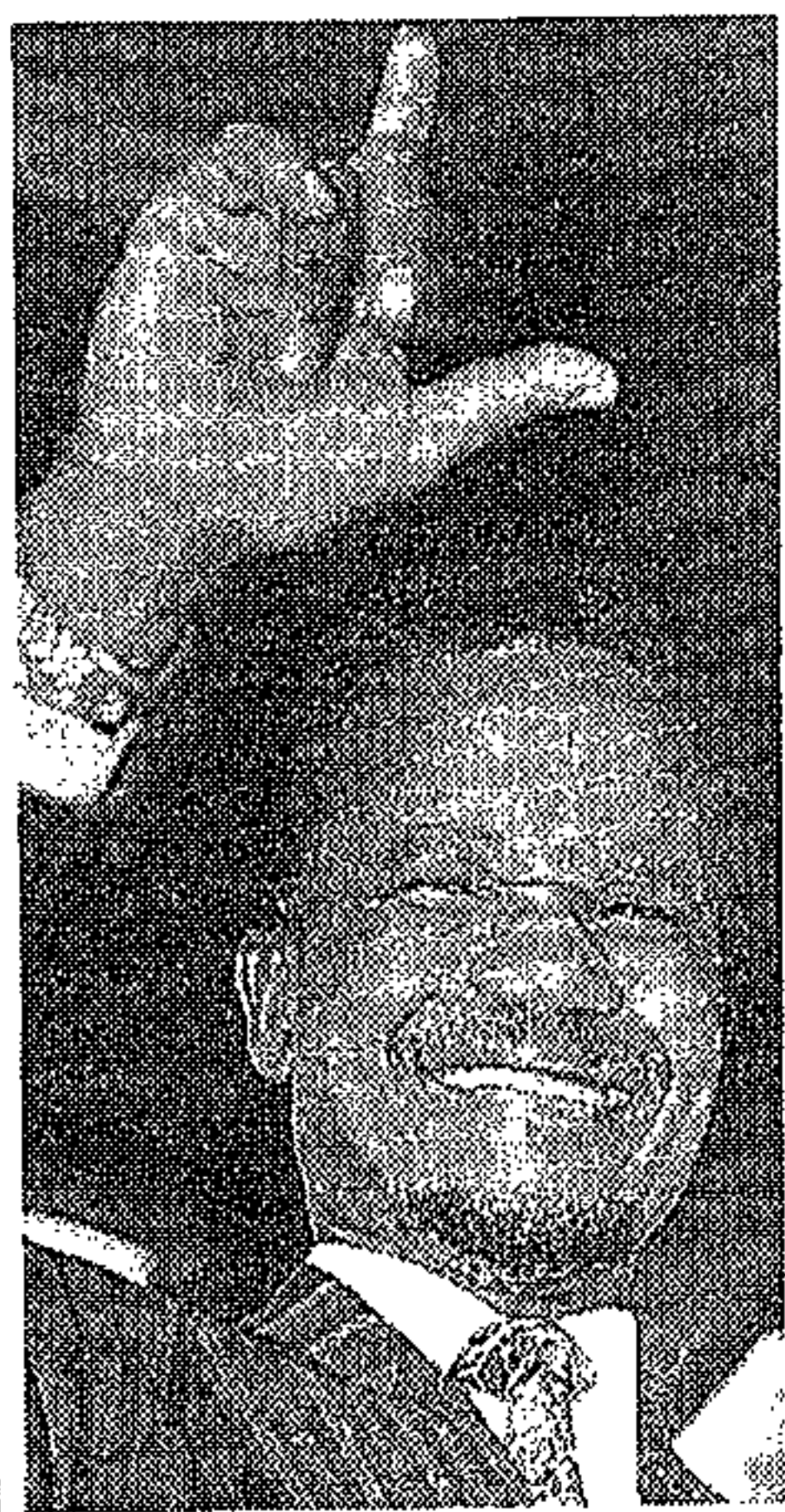
Mr Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) has concentrated on the MMD's policy of privatisation, warning that big parastatals will fall into foreign hands and that many workers, especially miners, will be thrown into the streets.

Mr Chiluba told journalists yesterday that, unlike Mr Kaunda, his government would trade "openly" with South Africa.

He said Zambia would, however, continue to help organisations like the ANC in "a small way".



GUNFIRE: Zambian Movement for Multi-party Democracy supporters flee as the driver for Minister of Home Affairs General Kinsley Chinkuli fires a rifle after MMD backers stoned the minister's vehicle. **INSET:** Opposition leader Mr Frederick Chiluba.



Zambia goes to the polls today

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — President Kaunda made a strong plea for peace and unity and appealed to his countrymen to accept the verdict of the ballot box as almost three million Zambians prepare to go to the polls today.

Mr Frederick Chiluba, president of the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) told his supporters at a huge rally here yesterday to forget about the past and look to the future.

In a nationwide address to the nation on radio and television, Dr Kaunda pledged to accept the results of the election and called on all Zambians to do the same.

Mr Chiluba, the man most people expect to succeed Dr Kaunda after today's elections, told his supporters: "We have already won. My message to you is: forget the past and begin to build for the future".

The MMD is pinning its hopes on people's desire for change.

ZAMBIA - GENERAL

1991

NOV - DEC

Old guard rejects new rules

By MIKE HALL: Chipata

THE people of Lundazi live in fear of their district governor, William Banda, who calls himself "the Saddam Hussein of Zambia" and who is often seen wearing the red uniform of the ruling party's vigilantes, with a pistol strapped to his waist.

They believe he is behind a spate of night-time attacks against supporters of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), the main opposition party fighting President Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) in Thursday's legislative elections.

Not all the old guard are willing to play by the new political rules. In Chipata houses have been set ablaze and at least one person has been hospitalised with serious burns.

The MMD's candidate here, Biswayo Nkunika, is a former army officer. He was implicated in a plot to overthrow Kaunda's government in 1988 and spent two years in prison while on trial for treason. He was pardoned last year.

"Anything can happen now," he said after the most recent incident last week. "If Banda continues with his campaign, we will be forced to hit back. We have told our people that if any more MMD members' houses are burnt, we should also burn their houses."

Zambia's Eastern Province is seen as a traditional stronghold of Kaunda's UNIP. Even during the brief multi-party era after independence in 1964 other parties had no base here.

But living standards are poor and villagers have been worse hit by economic reforms than city dwellers. Many are angry at the government, but they are wary of change and suspicious of the MMD.

Soon after independence hundreds of villagers



Winds of change ... President Kenneth Kuanda greets supporters prior to his electoral battle

Photo:AP

around Lundazi were killed by followers of the Lumpa Church, a religious sect led by Alice Lenshina, who rose against the government. Banda has played on these fears, warning people that the MMD will bring violence.

In Chipata, the provincial capital, Asian shopkeepers have been threatened with having their trading licences withdrawn and public workers have been sacked for supporting the MMD. But intimidation is less effective than in the villages — residents are better informed of events unfolding in the capital 600km away.

It is in the more remote rural areas that UNIP's grip on people's lives is strongest. The party has exploited traditional structures and beliefs, persuading chiefs and village headmen to side with the party, thereby trying to undermine support for the MMD. Headmen have threatened to expel people from their villages for supporting the MMD.

The governing party has also used witchcraft.

Before one recent MMD rally, UNIP officials organised a team of witchdoctors to curse the site where the meeting was to be held. People were told they would fall sick if they attended the meeting. MMD supporters said it deterred many from coming to the rally.

In areas bordering Mozambique, where villagers have been attacked repeatedly by rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), UNIP has played on fears of violence by likening the MMD to the murderous rebel group. According to Ben Shawa, the MMD candidate for Chadiza, such intimidation is effective.

The MMD has found it difficult to penetrate the rural areas, where democracy is new and very fragile.

Zambia may be the most urbanised country south of the Sahara — 55 percent live in towns and cities — but it will take decades for many of the country's villagers to come to terms with political pluralism. — The Guardian

Kaunda on the defensive

By IAN MACKENZIE: Lusaka

ZAMBIAN opposition leader Frederick Chiluba told thousands of chanting, cheering supporters in Lusaka on Wednesday that he was "supremely confident" of toppling President Kenneth Kaunda in Thursday's general elections.

Political analysts predicted a comfortable win for Chiluba's Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) in Zambia's first multi-party elections in 23 years.

Kaunda and the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) have been put on the defensive for the first time in 27 years of uninterrupted rule.

Kaunda (67), whose popularity has fallen with the collapse of Zambia's economy, was forced to end 17 years of single-party rule last year by popular pressure at home and the winds of political change sweeping Africa.

A total 2.9-million registered voters, out of a population of 7.8-million, were eligible to cast their ballots on Thursday.

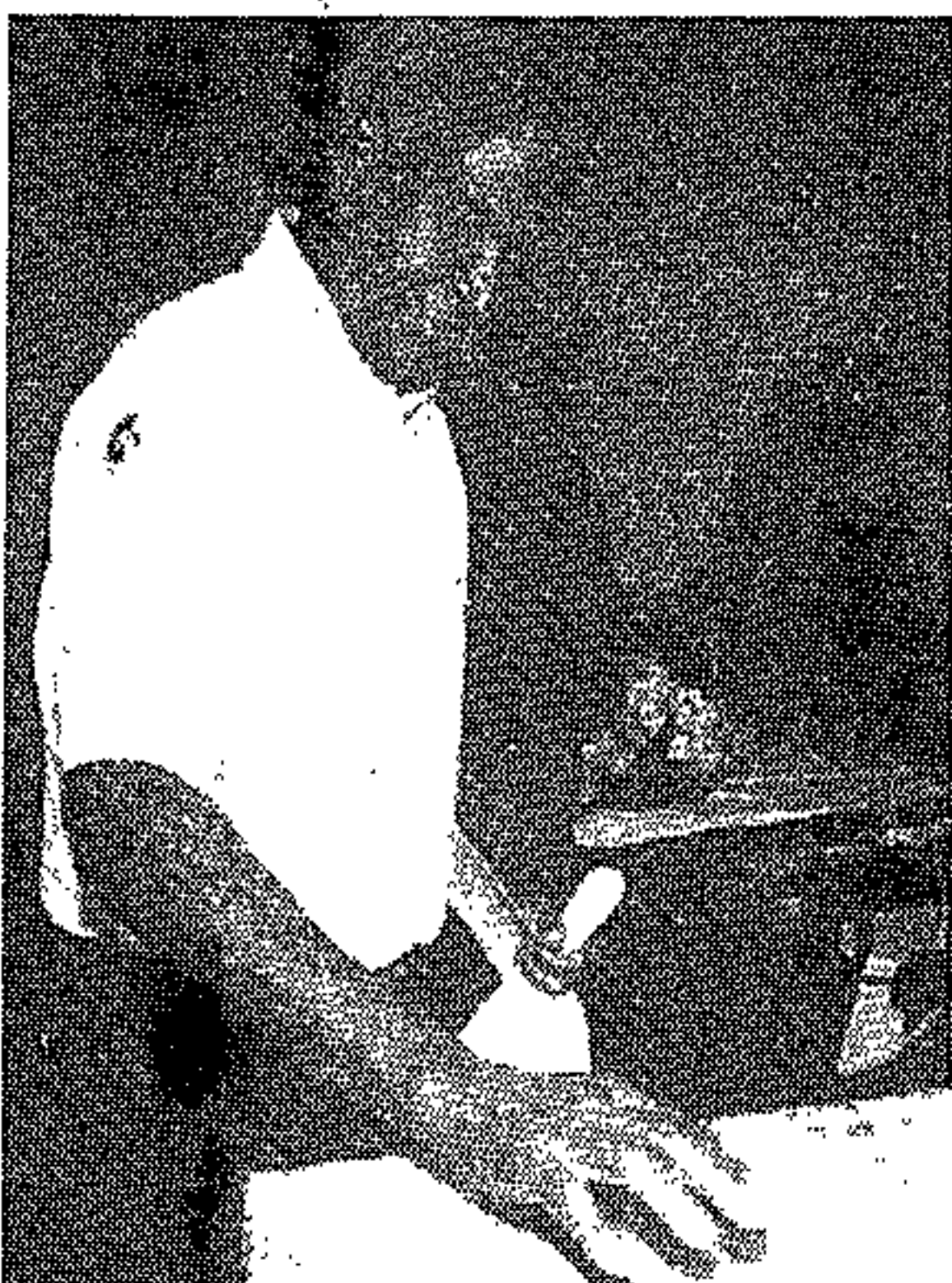
Kaunda is faced in the presidential race by Chiluba (48), a veteran trade unionist who has opposed one-party rule and Kaunda's socialistic policies for years.

On Wednesday's rally, the last before polling begins, violence flared when MMD supporters attacked a car carrying Home Affairs Minister Kingsley Chinkulu.

Witnesses said his car was stoned and the windows smashed. Chinkulu escaped with his security guard firing a pistol into the air.

With both sides accusing each other of preparing for violence, the run-up to the election has been tense but peaceful.

Kaunda, confident of victory, told foreign journalists he would hand over power gracefully if the election went against him, adding that he would show Chiluba round the State House and leave — and then prepare for the next electoral battle in five years' time. — Sapa-Reuter



Massive election turnout

LUSAKA. — Hundreds of thousands of Zambians queued up to vote yesterday in their country's first presidential election featuring more than one candidate since 1972.

Voting closed at 6pm after a day apparently free of violence. Counting began immediately but results were not expected before early today.

Returning officers said over 80% of voters voted.

The poll, agreed after President Kenneth Kaunda gave in to calls for a restitution of multi-party democracy, was widely

tipped to end Dr Kaunda's 27 years in office, revolutionising Zambian politics almost as much as independence from Britain did in 1964.

The massive turn-out of voters trooped to about 3 500 pollings stations across the country. Some turned up as early as 4am even though voting did not officially start until 6am.

Dr Kaunda, 67, an old lion of African politics, stood as ever under the banner of his United National Independence Party.

His opponent, Mr Frederick Chiluba, represents the year-old

Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, an alliance of former Unip members, army officers and trade unionists.

Mr Chiluba said he had far more support than officially accepted by his rival, Dr Kaunda and said: "I shall seek advice from President Kaunda as an elder statesman and notable politician."

The aspirant president assured the nation that there would be no vengeance at all and called for the people to turn up in large numbers to elect the MMD. — Sapa

Kaunda seems set to lose

Argue Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — The opposition Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) seemed today to be heading for a crushing victory over President Kenneth Kaunda and his United National Independence Party in the Zambian election.

Counting of votes was delayed but early counts showed the MMD to be far ahead of Unip in many key seats — in some areas by a margin as high as 10 to one.

In the first result, in Solwezi Central in Northwestern

Province, MMD leader Mr Frederick Chiluba won more than 6 000 votes to President Kaunda's 1 347. (365)

MMD candidate Mr Humphrey Mulemba defeated his Unip opponent for the parliamentary seat in this constituency. (241 111 4)

President Kaunda appeared to be faring better in Eastern Province, which is a Unip stronghold, and where Unip won the two seats by a convincing margin.

But the general situation looked bleak for the president, who claimed yesterday he would win by a landslide.

TEL: 405 BAT KENNEX XL

Zambia goes to the elections

LUSAKA - Zambia's first multiparty election in nearly 20 years got off to a wobbly start yesterday with indications of confusion and mismanagement at some polling stations in Lusaka.

Polling officially started at 6am but some of the polling stations in Lusaka were not able to accept ballots, even though voters had been queueing since 5am.

The stations were inoperative either because there were no ballot papers or because electoral officers had not arrived.

President Kaunda predicted in a television interview on Wednesday night that his party would win by a landslide in the election, which is for the presidency and parliament.

Sowetan Africa News Service

360

However, a local newspaper, projected that Unip will win just under 40 of the 150 seats in the national assembly, with the rest going to MMD.

It was not clear when the official result would be announced but analysts expect to have a good idea of the outcome by tonight, with the official announcement likely to be made tomorrow morning.

Kaunda made a strong plea for peace and unity and also appealed to his countrymen to accept the verdict of the ballot box. -

WORLD

Zambians flock to the polls

LUSAKA — Zambians turned out in their thousands yesterday in the first multi-party elections in 23 years that could change the political face of the southern African nation.

Trade union leader Frederick Chiluba was tipped by political analysts to defeat President Kenneth Kaunda, a veteran statesman and anti-colonial campaigner who has held uninterrupted power since independence from Britain in 1964.

The country's 2.9-million registered voters out of a population of 7.8 million were casting their ballots for 150 parliamentary seats.

They were also choosing between Kaunda, 67, and Chiluba, 48, for the presidency, which will be decided on a 51% majority of votes cast.

Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) and Chiluba's Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) have fielded a full list of parliamentary candidates.

Kaunda was forced by popular

pressure late last year to scrap the one-party rule he had instituted 17 years earlier.

First results are expected around noon today.

Electoral officers said only a handful of voters had been rejected for not having the correct identification.

The official Zambian News Agency reported heavy turnouts from other parts of the country.

Foreign observers monitoring the elections at the invitation of the government and opposition have expressed satisfaction with the arrangements.

Kaunda, dressed in golfing gear and looking relaxed and jovial, cast his ballots at the State House polling station, where more than 50 people had gathered well before voting started.

He said his vote was a "state secret" but predicted a sweeping victory for UNIP before he headed for the State House course and nine holes of golf.

Chiluba was voting in his home at

Ndola in the Copperbelt before flying back to Lusaka later in the day.

Both Kaunda and Chiluba have appealed to their supporters to accept the outcome of the election, whichever way it goes.

The results "must be accepted by all", Kaunda said in a national broadcast that had the air of a valedictory statement.

"Those who go into opposition are still an active catalyst for good government, indeed an integral part of good government," he said.

Chiluba told 50 000 cheering supporters hours earlier he was confident of victory, but added: "We must learn to forgive each other ... my message is forgiveness, unity, reconciliation and hard work."

The victor will face a mammoth task, taking over a near bankrupt economy and with the added problem of regaining the confidence of donor nations angered by Zambia's recent divergence from an agreed economic reform programme. — Sapa-Reuter.



Frederick Chiluba, leader of Zambia's main opposition party, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy, greets crowds in Lusaka yesterday.

Picture: AP

Kaunda is facing heavy polls defeat

Star 1/11/91
By Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — The opposition Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) appeared today to be heading for a crushing victory over President Kenneth Kaunda and his United National Independence Party in the Zambian election.

Counting of votes was delayed but early counts showed the MMD to be far ahead of UNIP in many key seats, in some areas by a margin as high as 10 to one.

In the first result to come out, in Solwezi Central in North-western Province, MMD leader Frederick Chiluba won more than 6 000 votes to President Kaunda's 1 347.

MMD candidate Humphrey Mulemba defeated his UNIP opponent for the parliamentary seat in this constituency.

President Kaunda appeared to be faring better in Eastern Province, which is a UNIP stronghold, and where UNIP won the two seats by a convincing margin.

But in the country as a whole the situation looked bleak for the president, who claimed yesterday that he would win by a landslide.

Most monitors were saying unofficially that their calculations indicated that the MMD was set for a victory by a convincing margin.

Many people kept vigil outside the counting centres overnight. The crowds were in a jo-

vial mood and well behaved.

The ballots are being counted in full view of the candidates and their supporters.

The MMD, while confident of forming the next government, has refused to comment on the likely outcome of the election.

Observers agree that an MMD victory would have a major impact on the politics of the region, leading to more open dealings by Zambia with South Africa and to a strengthening of democratic principles throughout the sub-continent.

The Organisation of African Unity team observing the election said in a statement last night that the peaceful manner in which the Zambian election had been conducted would have a major impact on other African countries.

A clear picture of the election outcome is expected to have emerged by this evening, although the official result may not be released until tomorrow.

The voting was conducted amid high enthusiasm, with polling ranging from 80 percent in some urban seats to 30 percent in outlying areas. Voting started slowly in the morning but later became brisk.

Hundreds arrived at polling stations as early as 5 am, standing in long queues and blazing heat for hours, waiting their turn to vote.

Former American president Jimmy Carter, who is here with an observer team from his Carter Centre in Atlanta, said yesterday things had gone well so far, but he would reserve final judgment until after the election.

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Kaunda Out

Landside victory for opposition

(340)
ET 2/11/91



WINNER . . . The leader of Zambia's main opposition party, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, Mr. Frederick Chiluba greeting the crowd during a rally in Lusaka in the country's first multi-party election in 18 years. Mr. Chiluba was poised to become new leader last night, with voting returns showing him heading for a landslide victory.

Picture: AP

LUSAKA. — President Kenneth Kaunda has been heavily defeated in the Zambian presidential election.

Last night trade union leader Mr. Frederick Chiluba was poised to become the new leader after voting returns showed him heading for a landslide victory in the first multi-party elections in 18 years.

According to computed figures released by the election office in Lusaka yesterday, Mr. Chiluba, president for the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), was leading with a comfortable 229,971 votes against President Kaunda's 61,025 in the 41 parliamentary constituencies so far declared.

Out of the 41 declared parliamentary seats, the MMD has scooped 36 and the ruling United National Independence Party five.

While ballot counting continued, election officials in Lusaka confirmed the results so far indicated Mr. Chiluba had won. Chairman of the Electoral Commission Mr. Justice Mathew Ngulube said although most of the results received by his office were subject to verification, Mr. Chiluba had scored most votes by a large majority.

Zambia's Chief Justice Mr. Annel Silungwe was due to inform Mr. Kaunda last night that he had lost the elections.

The chief justice is expected to declare the presidential results this morning to be followed by a swearing-in ceremony for the president-elect.



AND LOSER . . . Zambian president Mr. Kenneth Kaunda casts his vote in Lusaka earlier this week.

Mr. Chiluba has been informed he should prepare for the ceremony as soon as the results are declared. Dr. Kaunda was said to be preparing to concede defeat.

International observers led by former United States president Mr. Jimmy Carter were scheduled to declare the elections as free and fair at midnight last night.

Commonwealth observers brought in to monitor the elections said yesterday the voting had been fair and free from signs of corruption or coercion.

Dr. Kaunda, 67, has ruled Zambia since independence from Britain in 1964, the longest reign of any African head of state.

"I'm not surprised," Mr. Chiluba told reporters late yesterday afternoon at his Lusaka home. "I knew it was going well. Neither do I feel excited. I have a feeling of the heaviness of the task ahead. It is onerous."

Asked if he would be celebrating a victory, he said: "I am a teetotaler. I've been trying to find non-alcoholic champagne in Zambia, but there is none."

Liberator

Mr. Chiluba also reiterated earlier remarks that the man he defeated, President Kenneth Kaunda, should remain in Zambia "and to be very much part of me".

Since his election as president of the MMD at the party convention in March this year, Mr. Chiluba's popularity appears to have grown rapidly.

He is commonly known as The Liberator, as if his election might overnight reduce inflation, bring prices down, put textbooks in schools and more medicine in the hospitals.

In 1974 he was elected chairman-general of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, a position he has since held. He will step down as leader of the labour movement if elected president of Zambia.

Zambia parties as KK trounced

Star 2 | 11/9

360

LUSAKA — Shouts of "He's gone! He's gone!" and "The hour has come!" erupted from a crowd of men gathered at a beer-hall in the Lusaka township of Kalingalinga. Zambia's national radio was announcing results of the nationwide elections which ended President Kenneth Kaunda's 27-year rule.

The scene at Kalingalinga reflected the party mood which was sweeping the country yesterday, as it became clear that the two-year-old opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), led by Frederick Chiluba, had achieved its victory in overwhelming fashion.

"It was the people's wish," Edward Mwanza (30) yelled over the din of African music and chaotic celebration. "Twenty-seven years is too long, and people were just tired of a one-man show. We wanted change."

A party mood swept across Zambia yesterday as it became clear that the opposition MMD had achieved an overwhelming victory in national elections, ending Kenneth Kaunda's 27-year rule. KARL MAIER and BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI report.

with local residents, began looting state-owned shops.

The ensuing rioting, which spread to the rest of Lusaka, marked the first time students and unemployed youth had joined forces, and the protest took on a political tone.

"The MMD had formed some months earlier, but those riots were the beginning of the end for Kaunda," said Robinson Makayi, editor of the independent newspaper, The Weekly Post. "It succeeded because it was never planned, and Zambia would never be the same. Kaunda did not know it then, but power was reverting to the people."

President Kaunda was last night contemplating a future in the political wilderness as news of the stunning defeat came in.

The MMD was last night expecting the president to throw in the towel as the scale of what looks like a landslide victory by the MMD became evident. It is a stunning achievement by an organization which only came into existence in March this year.



Counting

Counting was still continuing last night but so far the MMD has swept everything before it in all but one of the nine provinces. By last night the opposition had won 44 of the 49 seats in the 150-seat assembly — and by very high margins.

The ruling United National Independence Party's had managed to win only five seats, four of them in the Eastern Province, a Ump stronghold.

The MMD is well ahead in most other constituencies where counting is not yet complete.

A characteristic of the elections was a low poll, and both parties blamed this on the outdated voters roll which had not been updated since the 1987 elections. As a result many young people did not vote, a fact which must have affected the MMD majority. The opposition could have won more votes had the roll been up to date.

There was no word from President Kaunda last night. The two parties have not agreed on arrangements for the transfer of power or when it will take place, but word from the MMD campaign headquarters was that they wanted President Kaunda out of State House as soon as possible.

"As soon as we get 51 percent of the vote we're going to see the Chief Justice (to swear in the new president)," an MMD spokesman said last night.

But not everything was gloom and doom in the Kaunda household. The president's son, Wezi Kaunda, a junior Minister in the Home Affairs dept, won convincingly in his Eastern Province constituency.

The Commonwealth Observer Group yesterday declared the elections to have been free and fair. The counting was delayed in most outlying areas and did not start until midday yesterday. Most results, however, are expected to be in by today when President Kaunda and his government are expected to step down.

Mr Chiluba, arriving in Lusaka from Ndola last night, said President Kaunda had made a contribution to Zambia and would be treated with respect by his administration.

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE: Frederick Chiluba, leader of Zambia's Movement for Multiparty Democracy, which by last night had swept everything before it in all but one of the nine provinces, winning 44 of the 49 seats in the 150-seat assembly by very high margins.

● Photograph: AP

Fall of yet another false prophet

Star 2/11/91

(360)

KENNETH Kaunda must have known the glory days were over even before the campaign started for this week's general election in Zambia.

He must have known that even if his Unip party won a majority in the National Assembly and even if he regained Zambia's presidency, his era of omnipotence was over.

What he probably would not have acknowledged, however, was that the election marked the fall of yet another of the false prophets who rose to power at the dawn of Africa's independence and who then led their countries steadily to ruin.

But Mr Kaunda would certainly have known that, even if returned to power, he and his party would no longer have things all their own way as they did while they outlawed opposition.

From now on he would have an opposition to contend with and there would be no more of the freewheeling days of unchallenged power and patrimonialism, of sycophantic adulation and of complacent manipulation of his country and its economy.

Those days ended when Mr Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (Unip) were forced by rising popular pressure to abandon exclusive rule and allow multi-party politics.

The general election this week, the first since 1968, served only to formally mark the end of the Kaunda era and the dissolution of the myth that had surrounded him for more than 20 years.

Win or lose the election, Kenneth Kaunda had already been dragged down from the pedestal he mounted as a freedom fighter in the 1950s.

GERALD L'ANGE

Editor, Africa News Service

The image he had so carefully crafted for so long, that of the wise and kindly father of the nation who was leading it to salvation, had irreparably been corroded by the ruination of the Zambian economy and the palpable failure of all but one of his policies (he did succeed to some extent in suppressing tribal conflict).

The epitaph of the Kaunda era was to be found not in the warm words of his party praise-singers, but in the cold figures at the bottom of the national bank balance, written in red. And in the hospitals without medicines, the schools without books, the people without jobs, the families without food and the jails filled with desperate men who would rather have worked than robbed.

Reality has at last overtaken Kaunda, as it has overtaken others of those once-revered figures, the freedom fighters who took control of Africa's destiny after independence from European colonialism, but then found that freedom was harder to preserve than it was to win.

Like that other figure who once hovered serenely on the fringe of sainthood, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda has been shown to have been a failure if not also a fraud.

Together with Nyerere, he had been elevated to a status of international respect that sometimes approached reverence. From their pedestals these two fatherly figures preached the politics of state-managed economies and one-party rule while their countries rotted around them.

Kenneth Kaunda is the epitome, in appearance, at any rate, of the kindly

behind the twinkling, sometimes tearful, eyes and grey-haired benevolence is a different persona whose exact dimensions are difficult to perceive.

Either he is a basically ruthless man who will go to extreme lengths to get his way, or he was washed off his feet by the currents of post-independence politics and could not help himself.

In the process he has often ignored basic human rights.

As was the case with so many African despots, these shortcomings were blandly overlooked not only by his own sycophants but also by politicians, academics, journalists and others in Europe and America.

He actually was a better statesman than he was an economist or politician. Or was he just a con man? Either way, he successfully maintained a leading role for Zambia in African and international politics even while his country decayed and his people suffered.

He was especially visible in dealing with apartheid South Africa. In the interests of hastening the end of apartheid, he maintained more effective

communication with the South African Government's leaders than most African presidents did. Either out of genuine commitment or because he recognised a good bandwagon when he saw one, he involved his country directly in the liberation struggle in both Rhodesia and South Africa.

His enthusiasm for both waned somewhat when it became apparent that this involvement was not going to result in an inpouring of foreign aid to Zambia.

However genuine his commitment to human rights for South Africans might have been, it did not extend to his own people in Zambia.

If there is any lesson to be learned from the age of Kaunda and other dinosaurs of the post-independence era, it is surely that leaders and governments who are not accountable to their people inevitably become a threat to them.

There were other such leaders in Africa who climbed after independence onto pedestals

based on false economics and emotional politics and posed grandly there until toppled by harsh reality.

Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was the most famous in his time, but he did not last long enough to do as much damage to his country as Nyerere and Kaunda did to theirs.

Two other fathers of African independence, Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast and Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, took a more liberal economic line, even though eschewing public accountability, and achieved somewhat more success than the others.

Banda is the only one left with absolute power and the reason possibly is that, even though he trampled on his people's rights, he at least gave them a measure of prosperity. Although now in his 90s, he appears to be spry enough to continue his rule.

But the same demand for human rights that swept Kaunda from his unchallenged eminence is running like a tide through all of Africa.

It will almost certainly run stronger in Malawi — and elsewhere in Africa — as a result of what happened in Zambia yesterday.



FATHER FIGURE:
Kenneth Kaunda

Giant
who led
Zambia
to ruin

Kaunda concedes defeat

LUSAKA — Late last night President Kenneth Kaunda conceded defeat in Zambia's first democratic election in almost 20 years. The end of 27 years of Kaunda rule came in a dramatic telephone call to opposition leader Frederick Chiluba, who will be sworn in as Zambia's second president today. Indications are that the opposition MMD coalition have won more than 70 percent of the popular vote country-wide. — Barney Mthombazi (360)

● More reports, pictures — Pages 10 and 11.

Jubilant Zambians hail new president

S/Times 3/11/91

360

ZAMBIA'S veteran president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, stepped down yesterday with a low-key speech in which he conceded victory to opposition leader Frederick Chiluba but vowed to remain in politics.

Dr Kaunda, 67, leaves a considerable legacy of problems. Zambia is virtually bankrupt, with a foreign debt of \$7.8-billion (R22-billion) hanging over its people.

Mr Chiluba and his government face tough and unpopular decisions to get the economy back on track and win the confidence of the international donor community.

Dr Kaunda's defeat by an overwhelming margin marked the first time a top African statesman has been ousted by popular vote — and departed gracefully.

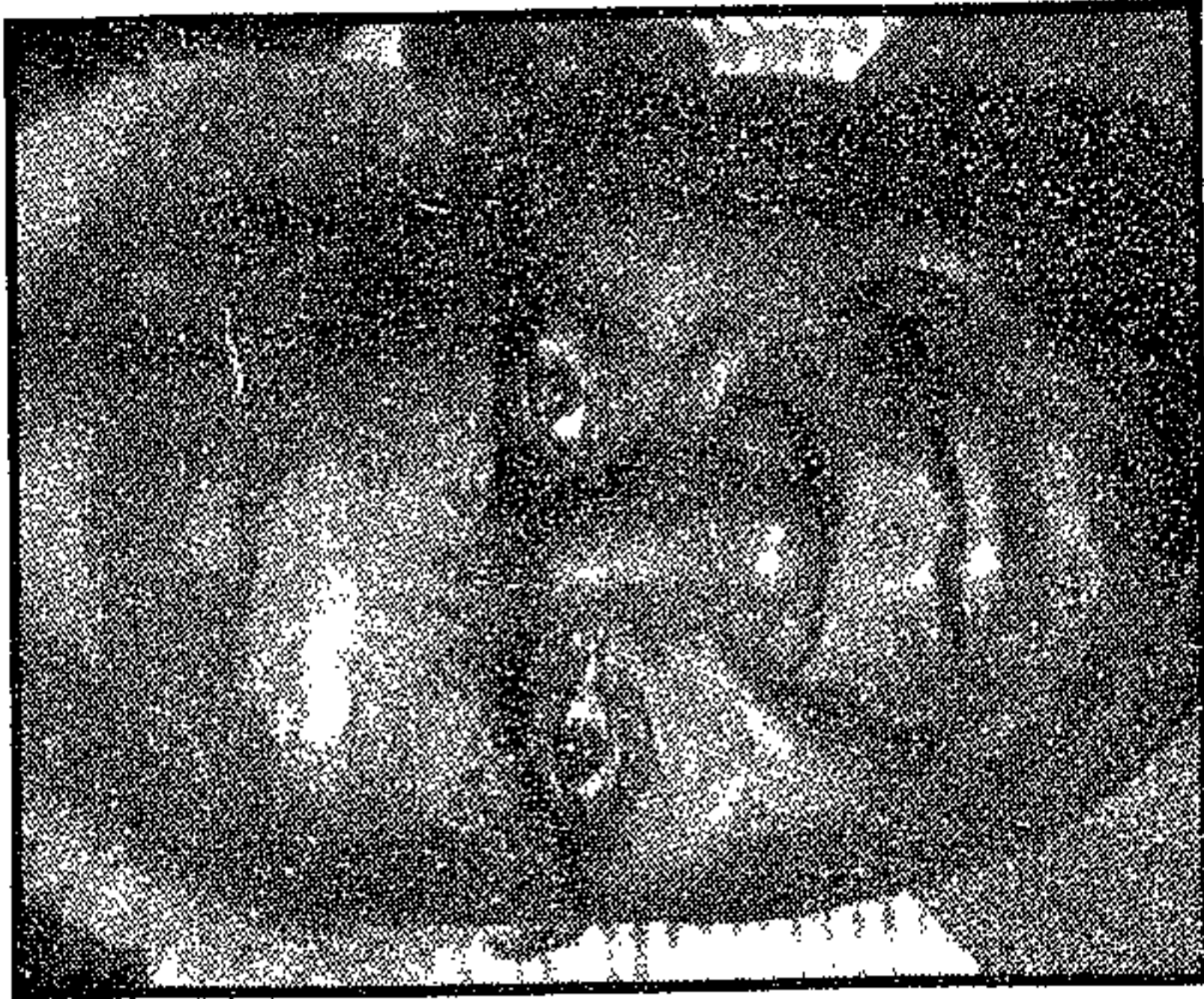
"True to my word, I would like to congratulate President Frederick Chiluba sincerely," Dr Kaunda told the country in a national radio and television broadcast hours before the 48-year-old trade union leader was sworn in.

Dr Kaunda, whose ruling United National Independence Party won as little as 20 percent of the vote in some districts, said he would become an opposition leader.

"You win some and you lose some elections," the grim-faced ex-president said, clutching his trademark white handkerchief as he announced he was handing over power to the politician he once derided as "that inconsequential little man".

Debt

Thousands of jubilant Zambians, flashing the



DEFEATED ... but Kenneth Kaunda has vowed to stay in politics

By IAN MACKENZIE and JOHN EDLIN in Lusaka

Dr Kaunda succumbed to overwhelming popular demand late last year to end 17 years of single-party rule, paving the way for Mr Chiluba's victory.

With vote counting still under way, Unip had won only a handful of places in the 150-seat parliament, while Mr Chiluba's dominant of the presidential

nation of the presidential

poll was even greater.

"As I leave State House for my farm (in Northern Province) ... I would like to thank all Zambians who made it possible for me to serve them in many capacities before and after independence," Dr Kaunda said in his broadcast.

"I tried to do my best for Zambia and, if I failed in any way, it is not because I did not try to do my utmost for the people of the nation.

"This election demonstrates the nature of multiparty politics: you win some and you lose some. This is not the end of the world."

Model

He added that "in a few days I shall return and with my people will begin to look at strategy and prepare to be the opposition".

At a late night news conference in which he announced Dr Kaunda had conceded, the new president called on Zambians to respect their defeated leader.

"He is the founding father of our nation and he must remain in our hearts ... he has a place and we must ensure nothing is done to harass him.

"He is one of us ... he must feel he is a Zambian among Zambians."

Both Dr Kaunda and Mr Chiluba said the Zambian elections and the peaceful transition of power could act as a model for other Third World nations moving to political pluralism.

Officials from neighbouring Angola and Mozambique, former Marxist states that plan to hold multi-party elections next year, attended as observers.

Dr Kaunda described the polls as a landmark in the nation's political development.

"They were peaceful and orderly — this is a true achievement."

However, he deplored the unexpectedly low turnout. Unofficial estimates put the number of voters at only about 40 percent of the registered 2.9-million eligible.

But he added: "Together, we have set a sound foundation on which our nation will stand."

An old acquaintance watching the broadcast commented of Dr Kaunda: "Nothing ever became him as the manner of leaving this job."

OPPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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thumb-and-forefinger sign of Mr Chiluba's Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, converged on the High Court for the swearing-in ceremony, conducted by Chief Justice Anel Si-lungwe. *S. Times* 3/11/91

Mr Chiluba, who stands just 1.52m tall, trounced Dr Kaunda by campaigning against high-level corruption, government mismanagement and failed centralised economic policies borrowed from Eastern Europe in the early 70s.

Under Dr Kaunda's leadership, Zambia has gone from being one of Africa's richest countries to among the poorest.

Its foreign debt is one of the largest per capita in the developing world and debt payments consume half the country's export income.

Schools are without desks and hospitals are without aspirins and syringes, while the roads are potholed.

Mr Chiluba, a teetotaler and lay preacher, has promised sweeping economic reforms, including privatisation of loss-making state copper mines and other industries.

But he has warned economic structural adjustment programmes proposed by the IMF and the World Bank will initially

A bizarre poll, even for Africa

By NORMAN ELLIS
Lusaka

EVEN by the most bizarre of African standards, it has been an eye-opening election campaign in Zambia these past few weeks. *S/Times 3/11/91*

The campaign featured hired witchdoctors, bicycles as bribes, talk of secret armies and an astonishing denial by the head of state that his wife had thrown scalding porridge over a domestic servant.

But, otherwise, it ran on familiar African lines.

Some 40 ballot books "vanished" on the eve of the poll.

S/Times 3/11/91 (360) **Spells**

Police loyal to Kaunda imposed an unofficial curfew in Lusaka townships and roughed up opposition supporters.

Thugs beat up rivals, torched buildings and threatened voters they would lose jobs, homes and even their lives if they didn't choose "the right party".

Witchdoctors were hired to cast spells on a football field where the opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy was to stage a rally. Mortified locals stayed at home.

FW praises the new and old leaders

IN A message of congratulation from President FW de Klerk to Frederick Chiluba, Mr De Klerk said it was a tribute to the Zambian people and their leaders that the election could take place in a calm atmosphere and without violence.

South Africa fully supported the democratic process in Zambia, he added.

Mr Chiluba's assumption of office came at a time when crippling economic problems weighed heavily on

the continent, including Zambia, Mr De Klerk said.

He wished Mr Chiluba strength and wisdom in dealing with Zambia's immense challenges.

In a message to outgoing President Kenneth Kaunda, Mr De klerk said it was fitting that tribute be paid to him for having taken the first steps towards multi-party democracy in Zambia.

"In laying down the reigns of

government through a democratic process, you have set a truly praiseworthy example for our continent for which you deserve recognition."

Mr Kaunda also deserved acknowledgment for his constructive contribution to the ending of conflict in the region and his support for closer economic co-operation in Southern Africa, Mr De Klerk said.

"I also wish to thank you for the positive role you played in encouraging peaceful change in SA."

New Zambian govt wants to use SA ports

CT 4/11/91

360

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A representative of the new Zambian government said yesterday that incoming President Frederick Chiluba would be looking to use South African ports for copper exports.

President Frederick Chiluba was sworn in on Saturday after a landslide victory in last Thursday's elections over the country's leader for 27 years, Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) SA representative Mr Don Smart said: "The new government's first priority is caring for the Zambian people. As SA is a near neighbour with considerable expertise, natural resources and a sound infrastructure, it makes sense to deal with it."

He said President Chiluba intended building a free enterprise economy.

Infrastructure

This would include ending "closet trade" with SA, which would enable SA goods to reach Zambian shelves at cheaper prices and encourage mutually beneficial trade links.

"SA has everything we need in Zambia, as well as the infrastructure, both rail and ports, for the export of Zambian copper," said Mr Smart.

Zambian International Relations Minister Mr Vernon Mwaanga visited SA in June. He said the MMD saw SA as a very important partner in a regional economic grouping, and hoped for massive SA economic involvement.

Zambia is one of Africa's poorest nations, and faces a crippling foreign debt of R22 bn.

Mr Mwaanga said the MMD would sell most parastatals, including mines, to the private sector.

There is speculation that SA mining house Gencor will be invited to take control of the ailing state-run Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines.



WIPED OUT ... A Movement for Multi-Party Democracy supporter jubilantly displays a Zambian newspaper headline during the swearing in of President Chiluba on Saturday.

Picture: AP

Shouldering Zambia's bu

Star 4/11/91

(360)

Zambia's second president in almost 30 years, Frederick Chiluba, faces the almost overwhelming problems of getting his country back on its feet again. BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The Star's Africa Service reports from Lusaka.

FOR Frederick Chiluba, winning the elections in Zambia's first multiparty elections in almost three decades was the easy bit. The road ahead is not only steep, it is littered with banana skins. The people of Zambia, after 27 years of autocratic rule, were prepared for change, any change.

Mr Chiluba and his motley crowd in the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) were beneficiaries of a tide that was ready to roll. They only had to shout "the hour has come" for thousands to come flocking. It could have been anybody. Anybody could have beaten Kenneth Kaunda and his ruling party. It was not really what the MMD stood for that attracted voters.

It was Dr Kaunda who repelled them. More than anything it was when to attack that was crucial and the MMD got the timing right.

The issues didn't seem to matter much here. Dr Kaunda, people kept saying, had been around for far too long and had to go. In fact, in this election campaign Dr Kaunda's party seemed to have on the table policies which seemed much more attractive to the poor, which is just about everybody in present-day Zambia.

Heresy

Mr Chiluba is a rare species — a conservative trade unionist who believes in privatisation and a minor role for the government in the economy.

He favours, for instance, the removal of government subsidy on basic foodstuffs. In Zambia this is heresy. What weakened Dr Kaunda and began the process of decline which culminated in his humiliating defeat last week were the food riots last year, after the maize price was allowed to go up to conform with IMF strictures.

At his inauguration on Saturday in front of thousands of jubilant supporters, Mr Chiluba likened Zambia to a patient waking up after a long deep coma.

He takes up office this week as Zambia's second president since independence almost 30 years ago, on an enormous tide of goodwill from all strata of society.

Dr Kaunda, too, who in the heat of the campaign had called Mr Chiluba a political upstart, bowed out with his reputation enhanced.

Dr Kaunda's quick action in

conceding defeat even before all the results had been declared and his unreserved congratulations to Mr Chiluba received much praise.

Many were fearful, especially after the stoning of a Cabinet Minister's car on the eve of the elections, that the whole thing could turn nasty.

But Dr Kaunda's address to the nation on Wednesday night in which he promised to abide by the verdict of the electorate was statesmanlike.

It cooled tempers tremendously and his supporters are now expected to repair quietly to lick their wounds.

The MMD's crushing victory will convince even the opposition hardliners there is no point in making unnecessary trouble for Mr Chiluba.

But it will be a Herculean task getting Zambia working again. Mr Chiluba himself recited the litany of statistics which paints a very gloomy picture of a country which at independence enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in black Africa.

But falling copper prices, heavy State involvement in the economy with its incompetent managers, policies skewed against agriculture and one of the heaviest debt burdens in the world, have reduced Zambia to an international basket case.

The country also has one of the lowest literacy rates in Africa, school attendance is very poor and patients have a better chance of pulling through at home than in hospital where drugs are in short supply and doctors have left for greener pastures elsewhere.

One taxi driver said he went to fetch the body of a dead relative from the mortuary recently. It was rotten. "There is no ice in the mortuaries," he said.

The Times newspaper, which for years had been Dr Kaunda's uncritical propaganda tool, said in an editorial at the weekend: "To Mr Chiluba and his colleagues we want them to know right away that they are taking over a starving nation, a ravaged economy and a people whose reputation internationally has been reduced to that of beggars, thieves and crooks."

Zambians, the paper said, were yearning to regain their lost respect. "They want to dress well again, eat well again, see their children back in a well-educated system and their sick receiving proper medical care. That's a pretty tall order for a bankrupt economy."



Triumph for democracy... a supporter of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy holds up a Zambian newspaper during the swearing in of President Chiluba in Lusaka on Saturday after the country's first multiparty elections in 18 years. Picture: Associated Press

"Never again," Mr Chiluba told cheering crowds on Saturday, "may we allow the next generation to inherit debt, corruption and misery."

He has done a proper diagnosis of the ills of his country, but he has not proffered any solutions. Instead he has challenged his countrymen to greater application in work and to put more store in honesty, especially in the civil service in order to stamp out corruption.

But Mr Chiluba, too, will have to his bit to stamp out corruption, the biggest threat to his objective of an honest govern-

ment. He comes into power with some of the baggage and dregs of the old Zambia.

Some of his close associates come from doubtful backgrounds. Dr Kaunda during the campaign called them liars and drug traffickers.

He should know. Most of them were his associates before they fell out with him.

Zambians are waiting to see Mr Chiluba's Cabinet line-up. If these men are in it, then he will have undermined his own policy of "moral rearmament".

But Zambia's problems were

in part a result of its uncomfortable relationship with international lending institutions, especially the IMF and World Bank, who in September this year suspended additional assistance to Zambia because the government was in arrears on its debt repayment.

As a result, several donor countries also threatened to stop or reduce foreign assistance to Zambia.

Mr Chiluba has appealed to lending institutions for debt forgiveness. It is quite possible that these institutions will now be much more accommodating

in their dealings with a democratic government.

And former US president Jimmy Carter, said at weekend he had written George Bush and US Secretary of State James Baker, to lend Zambia with an injection of economic aid.

But the biggest threat to Chiluba may turn out to be the durability of the MMD in which is simply a coalition which at a glance seems unlikely to hold together for a long.

It is a collection of trade unionists, business and ordinary people who were simply fed up with what was going on in country, and includes a sweep of the political spectrum from the left to the laissez-faire on the right.

It was very easy to co-opt opposition. They only had to criticise Dr Kaunda's record to make a name for themselves. Now he is gone and they have to agree on very tough economic policies if Zambia is to be saved.

The MMD also has not held together for very long — it formed early this year — and will, therefore, take some time for its members to get to know each other. There are already reports of tension between Chiluba and his vice-president Levy Mwanawasa.

Autocrat

Mr Chiluba, like Dr Kaunda, is said to be something of an autocrat who does not normally consult his colleagues on major policy issues. Others in the MMD accuse him of taking his advice from the businessmen in the movement.

Mr Chiluba himself alludes to the tensions within his government when he told his colleagues: "The Zambian people do not send us here to bicker or to rel or procrastinate. They send us here to enjoy the fruits of power and office and have sent us here to work."

Mr Chiluba has also tried to prove his political acumen has never been involved in government before. That may handicap especially in his dealings with the corrupt civil service. But he is said to be a reader and should learn his ropes quite quickly.

The task is enormous. It is goodwill in every sphere of country and international should allow him enough to apply some very unpopular policies in order to make Zambia prosperous again.

If he fails, not even his every language and showing will save his administration from the wrath of an electorate which will feel cheated again. He won't have Dr Kaunda's endless luck. Zambians have regained their voice.

ing Zambia's burdens



democracy . . . a supporter of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy holds newspaper during the swearing in of President Chiluba in Lusaka on Saturday, the country's first multiparty elections in 18 years. Picture: Associated Press

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It is a collection of trade unionists, business and ordinary people who were simply fed up with what was going on in the country, and includes a wide sweep of the political spectrum from the left to the laissez faire on the right.

It was very easy to co-exist in opposition. They only had to criticise Dr Kaunda's record to make a name for themselves. Now he is gone and they will have to agree on very tough economic policies if Zambia is to be saved.

The MMD also has not been together for very long — it was formed early this year — and it will, therefore, take some time for its members to get to know each other. There are already reports of tension between Mr Chiluba and his vice-president, Levy Mwanawasa.

Autocrat

Mr Chiluba, like Dr Kaunda, is said to be something of an autocrat who does not normally consult his colleagues on sensitive policy issues. Others in the MMD accuse him of taking all his advice from the businessmen in the movement.

Mr Chiluba himself alluded to the tensions within his party when he told his colleagues: "The Zambian people did not send us here to bicker or quarrel or procrastinate. They did not send us to enjoy the trimmings of power and office. They have sent us here to work."

Mr Chiluba has also yet to prove his political acumen. He has never been involved in government before. That may be a handicap especially in his dealings with the corrupt civil service. But he is said to be an avid reader and should learn the ropes quite quickly.

The task is enormous, but the goodwill in every sphere in the country and internationally should allow him enough room to apply some very unpopular policies in order to make Zambia prosperous again.

If he fails, not even his flowery language and showmanship will save his administration from the wrath of an electorate which will feel cheated once again. He won't have Dr Kaunda's endless luck. Zambians have regained their voice. □

Kaunda, crushed but undaunted

AFTER suffering a crushing defeat at the hands of the opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda on Saturday left for his homestead at Shamablakale, Chinsali in northern Zambia.

An undaunted Dr Kaunda pledged to take back the presidency at the next elections and urged his party cadres to map out new strategies to reinstate the supremacy of the United National Independence Party (Unip).

Dr Kaunda was born at Lubwa Mission in Chinsali on April 28 1924. His father David, a preacher, arrived in the country with Scottish missionaries from Nkhata Bay in Malawi in 1904.

Dr Kaunda began his political career in the early 1950s on the copperbelt, Zambia's mining region. He joined the ANC and rose to the position of secretary-general in 1953.

He later broke away to form the Zambia African National Congress in 1958.

The party was banned by the British colonial government and Dr Kaunda was sent to jail. He was released and became president of the newly-formed Unip a year later.

Between 1962 and 1963, he was Minister of local government and social welfare and later becoming Prime Minister of northern Rhodesia. At independence in 1964 he was elected the first president of Zambia, at that time one of the wealthiest countries on the continent.

Zambia ranked as the world's third biggest producer of copper (after the US and the Soviet Union) and the world's largest exporter of the mineral.

Dr Kaunda's administration used Zambia's vast foreign exchange reserves from copper revenues to build the infrastructure of a modern, independent state. Social services, such as education and health care, were free.

But over the years the services deteriorated and Zambia is now classified by the United Nations and the World Bank as one of the poorest states in the Third World.

Dr Kaunda's political intolerance became clear in 1968 when



Kenneth Kaunda . . . I'll take back presidency.

he banned the United Party and embarked on nationalisation.

Government Minister Simon Kapwepwe became disenchanted with the president and resigned in 1970 to form the United Progressive Party.

Domestic political squabbles grew and in 1973 Dr Kaunda declared Zambia a one-party state.

But as conditions on the domestic front worsened, he gained stature as a foreign affairs statesman. He headed the Organisation of African Unity in 1970 and 1988 and the Non-Aligned Movement in 1970.

He was renowned for his fearlessness in criticising other nations, including attacking the US for its involvement in Vietnam and the Soviet Union for its invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The last years of Dr Kaunda's rule have been plagued by family tragedies.

One son, Kambarage, has been sentenced to death for the murder of a girlfriend. Masugyo died of Aids three years ago, and yet another son, Panji, is allegedly involved in smuggling and racketeering and has been named in the murder of a customs official. — Sapa □

Zambia plans to boost SA links

DAVE LOURENS

(360)

A REPRESENTATIVE of the new Zambian government said yesterday incoming President Frederick Chiluba would be looking to use SA ports for copper exports.

He added that Zambia would also do away with clandestine trade practices, which would enable SA goods to reach Zambian shelves at cheaper prices, and encourage mutually beneficial trade links.

The SA representative of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) Don Smart said: "The new government's first priority is caring for the Zambian people.

"As SA is a near neighbour with considerable expertise, natural resources and a sound infrastructure, it makes sense to deal with it." *B/day 4/11/91*

He said Chiluba's stated intentions included building a free enterprise economy in Zambia, and this would include an end to "closet trade" with SA.

Chiluba swept to power on Friday in a landslide election victory, ousting Kenneth Kaunda from the presidency.

"SA has everything we need in Zambia, and the infrastructure, rail and ports, for

□ To Page 2

Zambia

B/day 4/11/91

(360)

□ From Page 1

the export of Zambian copper," said Smart. He flies to Zambia today for talks with the new leaders. Zambian International Relations Minister and MMD member Vernon Mwaanga visited SA in June.

He said the MMD saw SA as a very important partner and hoped for massive SA economic involvement.

Zambia is one of Africa's poorest nations, and faces a foreign debt of R22bn.

During his SA visit, Mwaanga said the World Bank and the IMF had estimated Zambia would need seven to 10 years to stabilise its economy. However, the MMD was aiming at five to seven years.

The MMD would sell most parastatals,

including mines, to the private sector. It would encourage large-scale diversification in the fields of agriculture and manufacturing, but copper mining would remain the main contributor.

The party was concerned about the foreign debt, but planned to ask for debt forgiveness and rescheduling.

There has been speculation in the past week that SA mining house Gencor would be invited by the Zambian government to take control of the ailing state-run Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines. Gencor has said it has not been asked, but would consider a move if it materialised.

● Picture: Page 3

DP welcomes Chiluba's election

By Kaizer Nyatsupaba
Political Staff (360)

The Democratic Party yesterday welcomed the election of Frederick Chiluba as Zambia's new president, saying it was "right" that former President Kenneth Kaunda was removed from power "at this time".

In an interview with The Star, DP leader Dr Zach Beer said Dr Kaunda, like many leaders of his generation, "fell under the spell of socialists who believed that politicians, by interfering in a major way with the economic process, could help the disadvantaged people".

Dr de Beer, who said Dr Kaunda had been a "good friend" of his when he lived in Zambia, said events in Zambia, eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had clearly shown the failures of socialism.

ANC head of information and publicity Dr Pallo Jordan said the ANC's national executive committee would comment on the election later.

Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nel lovhodwe, who said he knew President Chiluba when they were trade unionists, told The Star Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement would send Mr Chiluba a message of congratulations today.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said her party wished President Chiluba well and applauded the election of Kaunda and his party for "accepting the will of the people".

● Shouldering Zambia's burdens — Page 11



Taking the oath . . . Zambia's newly elected President Frederick Chiluba is sworn in by Chief Justice Annel Silungwa in Lusaka.

Picture: AP

Barney Mtombothi reports from Lusaka on the post-Kaunda prospects

New Chiluba govt hints at Zambian embassy in

Star 6/11/91

(360)

(360)

RELATIONS between South Africa and Zambia are expected to improve dramatically following the departure of former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda from power.

The new MMD government in Lusaka, headed by President Frederick Chiluba, is keen to establish ties between the two countries.

Mr Chiluba said at a press conference recently his government would trade openly with South Africa.

He said that under Dr Kaunda Zambia had publicly maintained a

hostile attitude towards SA while conducting trade relations under the table.

His government, he said, believed in honesty and openness.

MMD national secretary Godfrey Miyanda said later an MMD government would be prepared to establish diplomatic relations with Pretoria.

He said, however, the issue was still under discussion within the MMD.

It is expected that the new government will establish some kind of contact with Pretoria soon, probably at trade mission level.

The MMD's priority is to revitalise the Zambian economy as soon as possible, and trade with South Africa it hopes will help it achieve this goal.

Zambia is also expected to make more use of South African ports to export its products, especially copper.

These new contacts are expected to be pursued with more vigour if, as expected, Vernon Mwaanga is appointed Foreign Minister.

Mr Mwaanga, who served under Dr Kaunda in the same capacity, has strong contacts with the South African business community, and

earlier this year paid a highly publicised visit to the country.

The MMD received a substantial amount of its campaign funding and help from SA.

The MMD government's foreign policy, Mr Mwaanga said recently, would be geared towards serving the economic interests of Zambia.

The situation is expected to become clear as soon as Mr Chiluba has put together his new government, but an MMD spokesman said in Lusaka this week that relations between the two countries "will be pretty strong".

The opening of ties between Zambia and South Africa will ruffle feathers in the Frontline states. Zambia under Dr Kaunda held the chairmanship of the Frontline states, and it was mainly through his endeavours that these countries held together and maintained a common policy towards the Republic.

The ANC, too, would not be pleased with the latest turn of events.

For many years, the organisation had headquarters in Lusaka and its policy is still to urge all countries to isolate South Africa.

The symbolism of Zambia — a country which was in the forefront of this campaign — breaking ranks should be very worrying to the ANC leadership.

Mr Chiluba said in his inaugural address on Saturday that Zambia would maintain good relations with its neighbours, but was no longer prepared to "strut around on the world stage like a king without clothes".

This is seen as a criticism of Dr Kaunda's leadership. He went around sorting out other people's problems while Zambia went to ruin. — Star Africa Service. □

Polling is over but real work is ahead

Sowetan 6/11/91

360

LUSAKA - For Mr Frederick Chiluba, winning the elections in Zambia's first multiparty elections in almost three decades was the easy bit.

The road ahead is not only steep, it is littered with banana skins.

The people of Zambia, after 27 years of autocratic rule, were prepared for change, any change. Chiluba and his motley crowd in the Movement for Multiparty Democracy were beneficiaries of a tide that was ready to roll.

They only had to shout "the hour has come" for thousands to come flocking towards his small frame. It could have been anybody.

Rare

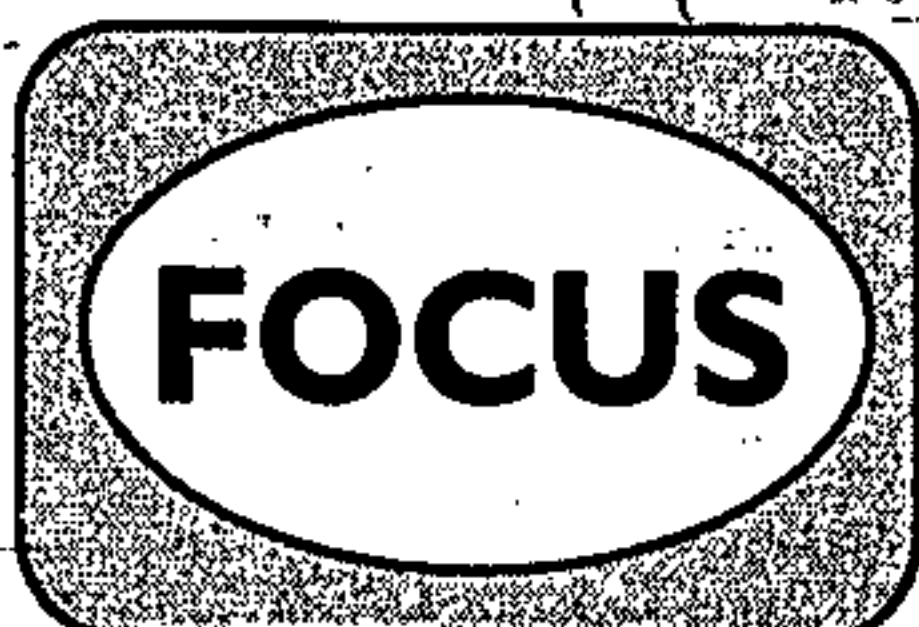
Chiluba is a rare species - a conservative trade unionist who believes in privatisation and a minor role for the government in the economy. He even favours the removal of government subsidy on basic foodstuffs, a heresy in Zambia.

But it was not really what the MMD stands for that attracted voters. It was that Kaunda repelled them.

What began Kaunda's decline were riots last year after maize prices went up to conform with IMF strictures.

At his inauguration on Saturday in front of thousands of jubilant supporters, Chiluba likened Zambia to a patient waking up after a long, deep coma. It will need huge doses of bitter medicine to get well again.

He walks into office this week as Zambia's second president since independence almost 30 years ago.



He has the advantage of enormous goodwill from all strata of society.

Kaunda, who in the heat of the campaign had called Chiluba a political upstart, bowed out with his reputation enhanced. His honourable exit received praise even from the people who hounded him out of power.

Kaunda's quick action in conceding defeat even before all the results had been declared on Friday night and his unreserved congratulations to the new president received much praise here.

Many were fearful, especially after the stoning of a cabinet minister's car by MMD hotheads on the eve of the elections, that the whole thing could turn nasty.

But Kaunda's address to the nation on Wednesday night, in which he promised to abide by the verdict of the electorate, was statesmanlike. It cooled tempers tremendously and his bruised supporters are now expected to retire quietly to lick their wounds.

Hardline

The MMD's crushing victory will convince even hardline supporters of Kaunda that there is no point in making unnecessary trouble for Chiluba.

But it will be a Herculean task to get Zambia working again.

Chiluba himself recited the litany of statistics which paint a

gloomy picture for a country which at independence enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in black Africa.

But falling copper prices, heavy state involvement in the economy, incompetent managers, policies skewed against agriculture and one of the heaviest debt burdens in the world have reduced Zambia to an international basket case.

The country also has one of the lowest literacy rates in Africa; school attendance is poor; and patients have a better chance of pulling through at home than in hospital where drugs are in short supply and doctors have left for greener pastures elsewhere.

Beggars

The *Times* newspaper, which for years had been Kaunda's uncritical propaganda tool, said in an editorial at the weekend: "To Mr Chiluba and his colleagues we want them to know right away that they are taking over a starving nation, a ravaged economy and a people whose reputation internationally has been reduced to that of beggars, thieves and crooks."

Zambians, the paper said, were yearning to regain their lost respect.

"They want to dress well again, eat well again, see their children back into a well-run education system and their sick receiving proper medical care."

That's a pretty tall order for a bankrupt economy.

"Never again," Chiluba told cheering crowds on Saturday, "may we allow the next generation to inherit debt, corruption and misery."

Yet while Chiluba has done a

proper diagnosis of the ills of his country, but he has not proffered any solutions. Instead he has challenged his countrymen to greater application in work and to put more store in honesty, especially in the civil service, in order to stamp out corruption.

But Chiluba, too, will have to do his bit to stamp out corruption. Some of his close associates have doubtful backgrounds.

Kaunda during the campaign called them liars and drug traffickers. He should know. Most of them were for many years his associates before they fell out with him.

Zambians are waiting to see Chiluba's cabinet line-up. If these men are in it, then he will have undermined his own policy of what he calls "moral re-armament".

But Zambia's problem were in part a result of its uncomfortable relationship with international lending institutions, especially the IMF and World Bank, who in September this year suspended additional assistance to Zambia because the government was in arrears on its debt repayment.

Debt

As a result, several donor countries also threatened to stop or reduce foreign assistance to Zambia.

Chiluba has appealed to lending institutions for debt forgiveness. It is quite possible that these institutions will be much more accommodating in their dealings with a democratic government.

Now Kaunda is gone and they will have to agree on tough economic policies if Zambia is to be saved. - *Sowetan Africa News Service*.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matihaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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SA could learn lessons from Zambian election as it prepares for one-person-one-vote

Africa needs issue-based talk

Star 6/11/91 360

AFRICAN politics underwent a generational change with last week's Zambian election. At one level it reached a new maturity with the disappearance of tribalism as a determining factor and an orderly transition of power. At another it continued to show a shallow tendency to be emotionally rather than issue-oriented.

In both it held important lessons for South Africa as we prepare for our own first one-person-one-vote elections.

Yet South Africans took little note of this important event on our doorstep.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo's Institute for Multiparty Democracy sent a team of observers representing the various South African parties, but for the rest our country continued to show indifference towards the continent of which we are now trying to become a part.

Lusaka is no further from Johannesburg than Cape Town is, yet of the 177 international reporters who covered the Zambian election I saw only one from a South African news organisation.

British, American, Canadian, German, Dutch and Swedish radio and television teams were there, but not the SABC.

Africa, to us, is still the back of the moon.

Yet we had better get to know it if we are to play a role there — and to understand some of the trends that will shape our own politics when South African elections are no longer whites-only affairs.

The most important thing the election revealed is that Africa is capable of handling a system of multi-party democracy.

The main justification for the one-party systems that were established was that the confrontationalism of multi-party democracy was alien to Africa's consensus-seeking tradition, and that it would lead to instability in countries where the sense of nationhood was still underdeveloped.

The functioning of a multi-party democracy depends on the sophisticated concept of a division between government and state.

It must be possible to oppose one's government while still being loyal to one's country.

African leaders were saying this was not possible in their context, in part because the boundaries of their countries had been arbitrarily drawn by the colonial powers which meant there was little concept of the nation-state.



Allister Sparks

Politics tended to be rooted in tribal loyalties, and national boundaries often bisected tribal communities.

The one-party state, they felt, was necessary to stabilise this lack of coherence and allow a sense of nation-state to develop.

Within that they tried to incorporate consensus-seeking processes.

Its weakness, of course, was its lack of accountability.

Politicians grew fat and unresponsive in unchallenged power and the only way to throw them out was by military coup.

Now the pressure for change is upon the continent, and Zambia has provided the most striking example of a conversion to multi-partyism.

It showed that if the arguments against it were ever valid they are no longer.

The election was fought in as confrontational a style as any I have seen, yet there was no violence. Nor was there any sign of

instability.

People were opposing the government vehemently, yet at their rallies they sang the national anthem and waved little Zambian flags.

They clearly knew the difference between government and state.

Most important of all, tribalism seemed to have receded to a point where it played no visible role.

The divide in this election was generational, and between rural and urban people, rather than ethnic.

In Lusaka I met Rupiah Banda, a senior Cabinet Minister of many years' standing who was running once again for Dr Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party.

In the Eastern Province town of Chipata I met Andrew Banda, his son, running for the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy.

"A lot of families are split like this," Andrew Banda told me.

"The old people belong to the time of the liberation struggle, but the times have changed."

"My father has been a great politician, but he has not been able to change and so now we have to get rid of him."

Finally, there was the orderliness of the transition: President

Kaunda telephoning Frederick Chiluba hours before the final result was out to concede defeat, then inviting him to State House next morning to show him around.

Contrast that with Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan cancelling Lesotho's 1974 election and seizing power when he found the count was going against him.

Less encouraging was the lack of an issue-based debate. Zambia is a classic case-study of an African country in economic distress, but the question of how this is to be dealt with featured hardly at all in the campaigning.

The MMD campaigned on the theme that UNIP had been in power too long, had brought the country to ruin and that the time for change had come.

UNIP's theme was that it had the experience to see the country through difficult times. The idea that it was time for change swept the country like a veld fire, which is why the MMD won.

But the people who voted for it had little idea of what policies it would introduce. All of those I spoke to said they hoped the price of food would come down and the number of jobs increase.

In fact the opposite will happen.

What the MMD did not stress publicly is that it intends seeking the free market, free enterprise road to recovery.

It is going to privatise the nationalised copper mines and as many of Zambia's 130 para-statal industries as possible.

That will mean retrenchments. The civil service will have to be drastically cut, government departments merged, the military budget slashed and the army itself reduced in size, resulting in more unemployment.

Food subsidies will be removed. The price of maize and other staples will go up to boost production.

So food prices, which the Zambian voters expect to come down, will rocket.

The kwacha currency will be further devalued, sending the 100 percent inflation even higher.

This is the same painful medicine Eastern Europe is having to take. It is having political repercussions there.

My worry is that the Zambian electorate, not having focused on the issues, is even less prepared for what is coming than were the people of Eastern Europe.

And President Chiluba, as a trade union leader, will be particularly vulnerable to charges of betrayal. □

Delay in naming of Zambia's cabinet (360)

LUSAKA — The announcement of Zambia's new government was delayed yesterday and political sources reported hard bargaining for the key post of finance minister. 6/10/91 6/11/91

Diplomats and political analysts said economic reform was the first priority for President Frederick Chiluba, who ousted Kenneth Kaunda, the nation's leader for 27 years, with a landslide election victory last week.

A constitutional deadline for Chiluba to present his cabinet within 72 hours of his swearing-in on Saturday came and went.

The election office said the final count gave Chiluba's Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) 125 places in the 150-seat parliament. Kaunda's defeated, United National Independence Party (Unip) got the other 25.

The office said Chiluba himself received about 80% of the presidential vote and Kaunda 20%.

It reported a turnout of about 50% of the 2.9-million registered voters in a population of 7.8-million.

International donors, including the IMF and the World Bank, want quick policy action on the economy before resuming aid suspended after Zambia defaulted on a World Bank arrears payment in September.

Zambia's foreign debt amounts to about \$7.8bn. Diplomatic sources said its arrears payments to the World Bank and IMF could reach \$35m and \$140m respectively by the end of the year. A key to aid resumption is the politically sensitive move of scrapping basic food subsidies to cut a soaring budget deficit, despite bloody riots over the issue in the past.

Political sources said businessman Arthur Wina, 62, who was Zambia's first finance minister at independence in 1964 and left the government in the late '70s, had been appointed — and then quickly removed after Chiluba advisers protested that he was a spent force.

The sources said Vernon Mwaanga, who served as Kaunda's ambassador to Moscow at the age of 21 and was later foreign minister, had got the same ministry.

Another key economics post, agriculture, went to a white Zambian farmer, Guy Scott.

The sources said the Canadian governor of the Bank of Zambia, Jacques Boussieres, would be replaced when his contract expired later this year. — Sapa-Reuter.

Genmin may be set for Zambia mining venture

ARC 7/11/91 310

DEREK TOMMEY

JOHANNESBURG. — Genmin, with substantial interests in gold, platinum, manganese and coal, is investigating the Zambian mining industry and its prospects, says finance director Philip Rademeyer.

He said the group had received an invitation in August from a close aide to then-President Kenneth Kuanda to have a look at Zambia's mining industry.

This was followed by a one-day visit to Zambia by senior officials, including chairman Brian Gilbertson, and a subsequent visit by project team.

The team is now back in South Africa and preparing its report.

Mr Rademeyer said Genmin's next step would be to get in touch with Mr Frederick Chiluba, the new president, to see whether he still wanted the report.

Mr Rademeyer stressed

that Genmin was not asked to look specifically at Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), the giant copper producer, which is the economy's prime mover, but at the mining industry as a whole.

However, mining analysts said that any report on Zambia's mining industry must deal with the problems facing ZCCM.

They said Zambia's prosperity depended on making the mining industry in general and ZCCM in particular prosperous.

Senior mining officials in Lusaka say the future of the mining industry will depend on the new government's ability to attract foreign capital, reports Sapa-Reuter.

They say that ZCCM's operations have been affected by lack of investment and a lack of funds for spares.

"We cannot get it right if we stay as we are," says a senior official.

"There has been a deliber-

ate policy in the past to keep out foreign investors."

According to Zambian sources, the new government, which was elected on Sunday, has indicated it will split ZCCM, commonly referred to as a "state within a state", into smaller units and encourage privatisation.

One of the first moves of the new government on Monday was to send paramilitary forces to seal ZCCM's Lusaka headquarters.

ZCCM, 51 percent state-owned, took over the successful copper mines then being operated by Anglo American and the RTZ group when Zambia attained independence.

The directors of Zambia Copper Investments, which has a 27 percent stake in ZCCM, comment on ZCCM's problems in their annual report issued last month.

They say that in the past decade ZCCM's results have

been affected by a fall in copper production, low prices, an increasing debt burden and punitively high taxes.

As a result, ZCCM paid no dividends from 1981 to 1989. Matters improved in the late 1980s after the strengthening of the copper price.

This led to dividend payments for the years to March 1989 and March 1990. A further dividend has been recommended for the year to March 1991.

ZCCM had pre-tax earnings (at the end-March exchange rate) of R213,3 million (previous year: R216,7million) in its latest financial year from sales of R1,24 billion.

Net earnings after the payment of tax were R8,6 million (R100,85 million). A dividend of R2,5 million was declared.

Copper production fell six percent to 421 590 tons as a result of shortages and the low availability of trucks and support equipment.

WORLD

Corruption probe in shake-up to salvage Zambia's economy

LUSAKA — A major salvage operation of government-owned firms has been launched by new Zambian president Frederick Chiluba, who is expected to announce his cabinet today.

Political sources said the cabinet announcement had been delayed over the choice of finance minister, the key government post in the economically bankrupt country.

The economy is the top priority for Chiluba, whose landslide election victory last week put an end to 27 years of Kenneth Kaunda's post-independence rule.

International institutions and donor nations are awaiting policy action from the new government before re-opening aid and credit lines, suspended after Kaunda defaulted on a World Bank payment in September.

Chiluba has moved to assert control over the giant Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), the state-owned company which accounts for 93% of the country's foreign exchange earnings.

ZCCM chairman and CE Francis Kaunda (no relation to the former president) has been replaced on an acting basis by British-trained engineer Edward Shamutete, a ZCCM divisional manager.

Also axed were Brian Moyo, MD of Mulungushi Investments; Friday Ndhlovu, who used to head Zambia's National Commercial Bank; and Malcom Freed, MD of

Circuit Safaris, a ZCCM subsidiary.

The new Zambian administration has fired many of the parastatals' top executives and sent others on forced leave, while some were being questioned by police on charges of high-level corruption.

A government spokesman said many of the parastatal firms had been draining money which had been earmarked for development.

Among the parastatal organisations to be dismantled would be the state holding company Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (Zimco), the head office of ZCCM and the Industrial Development Corporation (Indeco), the government spokesman said.

However, rescue attempts would be made for other state-owned firms "by allowing them to operate autonomously and reinvest their profits into production rather than into unproductive activities such as the payment of salaries to the not-so-deserving people," he said.

On Monday, police raided the ZCCM head office in Lusaka and conducted a thorough search. Police claimed they had found incriminating documents.

Zambian police public relations officer, Rahab Chiwaala confirmed that several former executives of parastatals were being questioned about "very gross abuse of office" during Kaunda's administration.

She said there was "concrete proof, much of it very serious, which could lead to prosecution of those involved".

A senior ZCCM official yesterday said that copper and cobalt production was proceeding normally despite the shake-up at the top level of the company.

The company expected to achieve forecast targets of 35 000 tons of finished copper and between 400 and 450 tons of cobalt for November, he said.

"The events of the past four to five days have not impinged on production," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Prisoner release hopes dashed

South

7/11-13/11/91

HOPES that political prisoner Johnson Lubisi would be released were dashed this week when lawyers discovered he has not been indemnified.

Lubisi has been certified as a mental patient and has been held in the maximum security section at Valkenberg Hospital since October last year.

Since being admitted to the hospital, he has not been guarded by prison warders, a development which was seen by some as an indication that he would be released.

He was previously held on Robben Island, where he was serving a life sentence for treason.

A spokesperson for the law firm representing him said Lubisi's hopes had been raised by newspaper reports last week which claimed that he was no longer subject to the provisions of the Prisons Act like other prisoners.

"We wrote to the Indemnity Board last week, asking whether he will be sent back to prison when he was

decertified as a mental patient," she said.

"On Wednesday morning we heard from the board that he had been just temporarily released from the provisions of the Act.

"We were told if he was decertified he would go back to prison immediately."

Lubisi's lawyers will now apply for him to be moved to a mental institution near his home in Nelspruit.

● Unkhonto we Sizwe operative Robert McBride has been moved to Westville Prison, Durban, after a request to authorities that he be put in a security prison with other political prisoners failed.

Ms Paula McBride, his wife, said his family requested the move because conditions in the Pretoria local prison "were not very good".

In Pretoria, McBride was a B-category prisoner with limited privileges, she said. Since he had moved to Westville, he had become an A-category prisoner with more privileges.

SA delegates lift the veil on Zambian election

South

7/11-13/11/91

From Mono Badela Johannesburg

A NUMBER of prominent South Africans travelled to Zambia in three separate groups last week to monitor the election — and to gain experience for future voting procedures in this country.

Franklin Sorn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon, was part of a group headed by former US president, Jimmy Carter, that saw Dr Kenneth Kaunda's ruling party suffer a crushing defeat at the polls.

Another monitoring group, sent under the auspices of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD), concluded that the election was "free and fair".

University of Zululand professor Oty Nxumalo, from the MPD, said his delegation agreed with other

monitors that there "was no cheating" in the election.

The MPD's seven-member delegation consisted of Mr Jeremy Baskin of the ANC, Mr Coetzee Bester of the NP, Mr Kobus Jordaan of the Democratic Party, Mr Peter Mabe of the PAC, Mr Mbulelo Rakwana of Azapo and Mr Oty Nxumalo and Mr Sibongile Nene, both of the MPD.

A third monitoring team was dispatched by the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO).

The South African monitors said they were struck by the extreme popularity of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), the election victors.

They observed that former president Kaunda was very unpopular — an observation borne out by his defeat at the polls where he only received 20 percent of the votes.

They attended a rally organised by

Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) which only drew a crowd of 10 000. At the same venue the MMD drew more than 80 000 supporters.

Another observation made by members of the delegation was that the Zambian people had high expectations of their new government and they expected rapid changes — an expectation which could be difficult to live up to.

There were also hopes that the government would not be as closely tied to the ruling party as in the past, and that UNIP state officials who did not deserve their government posts would be fired.

They found that despite the popular belief held in South Africa that Kaunda assisted the ANC and other South African liberation movements, it was the people of Zambia who gave their support to the South African exiles.

(360)

'Nightmare' at ANC camp

Sowetan 8/11/91

By BULI SIWANI

A CHANCE to study in Africa turned into a nightmare at an African National Congress camp in Zambia for 160 Soweto children, members of the group said.

Instead of studying they lived in the camp in squalid conditions under military discipline for six months.

The pupils, aged between 15 and 25, left Johannesburg in February this year for Nairobi, Kenya, after they were offered five-year scholarships allegedly by the ANC to study in Africa.

"I filled in application forms at a house in Soweto after some friends heard about it from their church," said a girl who asked not to be identified.

The scholarships were for study from Standard 8 to tertiary level.

"My parents gave consent after being assured that the children were not being recruited for military training," she said.

The group also paid

R160 each for transport to Botswana, from where they were told they would be flown to Kenya.

"When we reached the Zambezi River we met some exiles," she said.

"They took our passports and said we would be taken to a hotel in Zambia for the night. We were driven around and eventually slept in the veld.

"The next morning we were driven to the Charleston transit camp in Zambia and told we would

be 'stationed' there for a week until our interviews with Kenyan officials."

A spokesman for the ANC, Mr Carl Niehaus, yesterday denied the organisation was behind the scholarships but said he knew of the group's stay at the transit camp.

"As their education has been disrupted we have arranged for an informal three-year programme at Turret College in Johannesburg to help them catch up," said Niehaus.

However, the girl said they had pleaded to be returned home after it became clear there were no scholarships.

"We were given repatriation forms which allowed us to come back with the first batch of returnees in August," she said.

On their return they were told they would be paid R400 over six months. But they were later told they had been in exile for only six months and would only receive R50.

Chiluba to step aside

Sowetan 8/11/91
LUSAKA - New Zambian President Frederick Chiluba yesterday said he would not assume the post of chancellor of the Universities of Zambia and Copperbelt, leaving it to their respective senates to choose chancellors, Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency reported from Lusaka.

Chiluba, a former trade union leader who swept to power in Zambia's first multiparty elections in 18 years, said: "The two posts of president and commander-in-chief are adequate for me."

(360) Sowetan

Chiluba chooses multiracial team

B/day 8/11/91

360

LUSAKA — Zambia's new president has announced his first cabinet, which is faced with the Herculean task of rebuilding an economy left in ruins by the nation's founder.

President Frederick Chiluba, 48, the trade union leader who trounced Kenneth Kaunda, 67, in multiparty polls last week, named his broad-based multiracial team after four days of intense closed-door discussions and lobbying by top party members.

"This government is a working government," Chiluba told Lusaka-based diplomats. "We will be accountable to those who elected us."

Chiluba, head of the powerful 300 000-strong Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, has vowed to restructure the economy that was based on policies borrowed from Marxist states in eastern Europe, and also stem widespread corruption.

In charge of this onerous task, Chiluba appointed new finance minister Emmanuel Kasonde, a successful farmer and businessman.

Kasonde was a principal secretary for five years in the finance ministry under Kaunda.

Kasonde's first job will be to renegotiate Zambia's structural adjustment programme with Western donors, the IMF and the World Bank.

Prescribed reforms to lift food subsidies of \$500 000 a day, prune the bloated public service, sell off loss-making state corporations that control four-fifths of the economy and pay farmers more for their crops were largely ignored by Kaunda.

Kasonde will also have to tackle Zambia's \$7.2bn debt, one of the highest per capita borrowings in the world.

To the key Ministry of Home Affairs,

Chiluba appointed his trade union colleague Newstead Zimba, general secretary of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions.

Vernon Mwaanga was appointed foreign minister. He is the Democrats' chairman of foreign affairs, a former foreign minister under Kaunda and a one-time representative to the UN.

Guy Scott, a white Zambian who is an agricultural consultant and a former lecturer at Oxford University, England, was appointed agriculture minister charged with reverting the country to the food exporter it was at independence from Britain in 1964.

Nine-tenths of Zambia's income comes from copper. But Chiluba wants the economy's base to be planted in the soil.

Scott's first obligation is to organise the importation of several million tons of corn, Zambia's staple food, as current stocks are expected to run out by the end of the year.

Chiluba left several portfolios vacant such as tourism, commerce and industry. He said he would finalise the list tomorrow.

Only two women were appointed to the cabinet, as deputy ministers.

In the week since he won the elections, the new president has removed several heads of corruption-riddled state corporations, ordered investigations into their accounts and seized government vehicles used by officials of the former ruling party.

Chiluba said he would not immediately change the chiefs of the police, army or air force, or the governor of the Bank of Zambia, who were all appointed by Kaunda.

He urged his cabinet to avoid the trappings of power, privilege and position that Kaunda's ministers gathered around themselves. — Sapa-AP.

(22/11)

SA and Zambia 'to trade in the open'

31 Day 8/11/91
LUSAKA — Zambia will trade openly with SA in future, the country's new president, Frederick Chiluba, said in Lusaka yesterday.

Chiluba, who was addressing his first Press conference as president of Zambia, said: "We don't want to operate like the (former) United National Independence Party government, which conducted business with Pretoria by night but said the opposite by day."

He said the two countries would exchange trade missions as soon as possible, probably within months if not weeks.

The flood of SA goods in Zambian shops was "something tangible you cannot hide", Chiluba said, adding, "Let us trade with them openly."

He said South Africans would no longer have to apply in advance for visas to visit Zambia.

They would be issued the document at

the point of entry and would only have to state how long they intended staying in the country.

He said this would encourage tourism from SA. *(360) (440)*

Chiluba said his administration would re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel, as reasons for ostracising the country were no longer valid.

Chiluba said illegal immigrants, particularly from West Africa, would have "to explain their presence in Zambia" or they should "just leave".

He promised to rid Zambia of all illegal aliens and accused them of contributing to the high rate of crime and "economic sabotage".

He added that his administration would honour all international agreements concluded by former President Kenneth Kaunda's government. — Sapa.

Offshore rig starts drilling

31 Day 8/11/91
LAGOS — Mobil Oil's \$830m condensate rig officially began drilling yesterday, 26 years after the discovery of one of Nigeria's largest offshore reserves.

The operation is expected to produce and process 100 000 barrels of condensate a day while reinjecting 15-million m³ of gas into the reservoir to stem environmentally damaging and wasteful flaring.

The state-owned Nigerian National Petroleum Co last month sold the expected produce of a liquified natural gas scheme to international buyers in a 22 year purchase agreement valued at \$3.3bn.

The rig was constructed under a joint operating agreement between the state petroleum company and Mobil. Reflecting the 60:40 split of profits, the Nigerians were scheduled to contribute \$500m and Mobil \$330m towards operations.

Sources have indicated that the Nigerian govern-

ment may end paying about \$180m with the balance provided by international lenders.

Part of a \$42.3m loan from the Japanese Export-Import Bank to the Nigerian petroleum company is expected to fund the purchase of Japanese goods and services for the project.

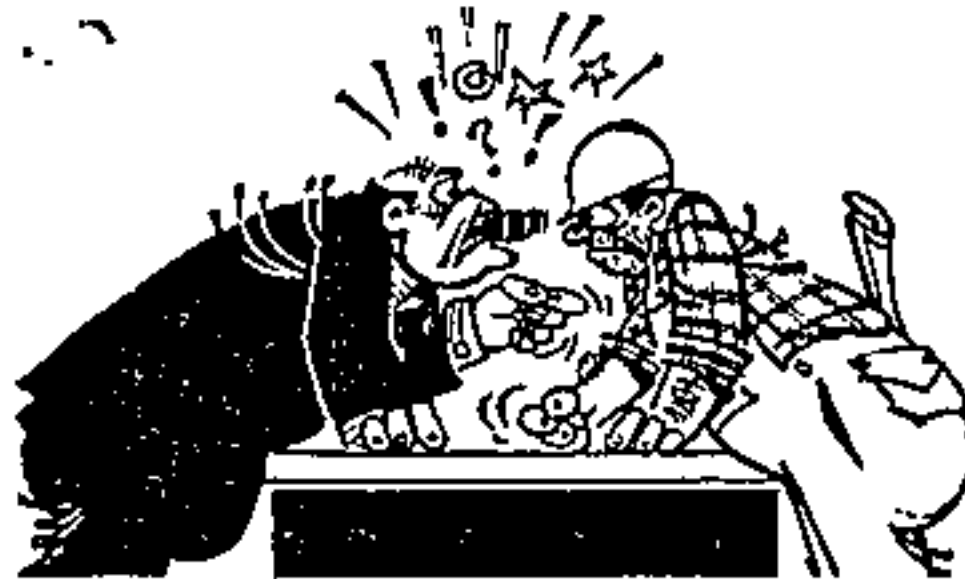
It is expected to yield 84 000 barrels of condensate a day when production begins in 1993, rising to

100 000 barrels a day between 1994 and 1998.

Production is then expected to diminish to 70 000 barrels a day between 1998 and 2003, 50,000 barrels a day until 2008, and then 20 000 barrels a day.

Joint operating agreements are considered to be the prototype for future oil exploration in Nigeria as the government moves towards the privatisation of the Nigerian National Petroleum Co. — Sapa-AP.

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Barplats

ZAMBIA FM 8/11/91

No easy road (360)

Frederick Chiluba, the new president of Zambia, appears to be setting his country on a Thatcherite-style programme of economic recovery.

Chiluba, formerly the country's top trade union leader and a leading opponent of former president Kenneth Kaunda, has promised his countrymen blood, sweat, tears and toil as his government sets about restoring an economy ravaged by 27 years of eccentric rule.

"We are like a country awakening from a coma," he told tens of thousands of Zambians gathered in front of the Lusaka High Court as he was sworn in by Chief Justice Anil Silungwe (dressed in wig and black and red robes).

"We are weak and ill, but still alive and determined to get well again," said Chiluba, 48, dapper and diminutive. "The stream of democracy dammed up for 27 years (since Zambian independence) is finally free to run its course as a mighty African river. The springs of dictatorship have run dry."

Kaunda had ruled Zambia as a one-party state for 23 years until last Thursday's multi-party presidential and parliamentary elections.

It is the first time since Europe started the unscramble for Africa in the Fifties that a post-independence leader has been unseated in an election.

Chiluba and his supporters have pledged to denationalise Zambia's 130 State industries and will welcome massive foreign investment, even from SA.



Kenneth Kaunda ... bowed out gracefully after defeat

FM 8/11/91

(360)

He says government alone cannot solve Zambia's huge problems. "For too long government was the problem. This crisis needs discipline, hard work, honesty, clean government and a determination to grit our teeth, look our problems in the face and tackle them head on."

Chiluba won 75% of the vote in the contest against Kaunda. In the parallel parliamentary elections, his Movement for Parliamentary Democracy (MMD) won a crushing majority in the 150-seat House of Assembly.

The inauguration ceremony was held up for an hour by the singing and dancing crowd. Afterwards Chiluba left with his top aides to plan the liberalisation of the economy, which is aimed at opening the country to foreign investment.

Priorities shift

SA will probably invest in the copper mines and breweries. There will also be a shift in economic priorities to encourage farmers to produce surpluses. Under Kaunda's socialistic system, which kept State-controlled prices below the costs of production to benefit consumers, farmers stopped growing crops except for subsistence purposes.

Chiluba pledged himself also to the most thorough democratisation process yet experienced by any African state.

Referring to the increasingly dictatorial style of Kaunda, he said: "We need to make hard decisions now so that Zambia never again sinks to the depths of misery that democracy is rescuing us from."

The MMD government inherits a bankrupt country with a national debt of US\$8bn — one of the heaviest per capita in the world.

Government committees are already devising a recovery programme that the IMF and world community will be willing to support, with priorities being given to agriculture. Zambia has immensely fertile soils and a favourable climate; it was a net food exporter at independence but has become dependent on international charity to save it from starvation.

Kaunda enjoyed the role of Africa's elder statesman. Ironically, his unseating may inspire the many other African states that still suffer under undemocratic systems — or deter their leaders from taking the chance. ■

ZAMBIA FM 8/11/91 (360)
Market opportunities

The new Zambian government's apparent commitment to market economic policies, which include far-reaching incentives for foreign investors and a comprehensive programme of privatisation, could soon see the return of SA businesses to Zambia.

Confirming these initiatives, Deloitte Pim Goldby partner Frank D'Amico says prospects for substantial trade between SA and Zambia are good because some of the major obstacles for investors had been removed with the introduction of Zambia's Investment Act.

After years of strict currency regulations that prevented investors from taking their profits home, the Act allows for the remittance of a substantial percentage of profits to the investing country — 70% of gross currency earnings for the first three years, 60% for the following two years and 50% thereafter.

Would-be investors could also be lured by the greatly reduced rate of taxation on income generated from new investments. Dividends will be exempt from tax for seven years after opening a business, and company income will be exempt for an initial period of three years.

Investors also will be exempt from customs duties and sales tax on all machinery, equipment and parts required for the establishment, rehabilitation or expansion of an enterprise. Additional incentives are available for certain exports, agricultural enterprises, tourism, import substitution industries and small enterprises.

Ironically, the innovations were spearheaded by Kaunda in recent months, following increasing pressure from the World Bank

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and International Monetary Fund to abandon the country's bankrupt economic policies.

But Kaunda's reforms came too late to save his career. Still, his programme to privatise the bulk of Zambia's ailing state-run economy in five years seems well under way. D'Amico says the World Bank recently commissioned Deloitte's Denmark office to analyse the feasibility of this privatisation, and early indications look promising.

"The most promising development, however, is (incoming President Frederick) Chiluba's commitment to removing socialist policies of central planning and state intervention," says D'Amico, whose corporate finance division has established a substantial network with Zambia in recent months to cope with the queries from interested businesses and Zambians keen on attracting SA investment.

"The South Africans appear to be the natural choice to do business with. They are close to home, and have a special understanding of the peculiar sub-Saharan regional conditions."

But sceptics argue that the Zambian economy is in such ruins that foreign investors are hardly likely to flood back. Much, they say, will depend on the IMF and World Bank's willingness to put up capital, and the future political stability of the country. They point to the mining industry, which is said to be in a state of virtual collapse.

Meanwhile, the SA Chamber of Business's Ben van Rensburg announced this week that the chamber will try to send a delegation to Zambia before the end of the year.

Van Rensburg suggests that agriculture could well be an area of interest for SA business, given the fertile agricultural conditions there.

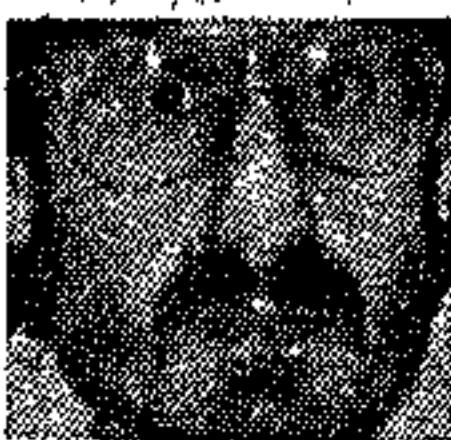
Anglo American's Michael Spicer confirms that Anglo has maintained a presence in Zambia since before nationalisation. It is the largest private investor in Zambia, though a minority shareholder in the country's Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM).

"We will certainly look at any sound opportunities. We've been there for a long time — some 50 years. Anglo developed the Zambian Copper Belt and we have a historical commitment to southern Africa. We will monitor very closely developments and proposals."

Meanwhile, Gencor's CE of finance, Philip Rademeyer, says Gencor already has sent a research team to investigate the country's mining potential. "The obvious target would be ZCCM, but we haven't firmed up on what we want to do. Yes, we are interested, but it would have to be in a joint venture with the Zambian government. We would need reassurances for the repatriation of profits, and the resolution of conflicts." Gencor was approached in October by Kaunda.

Rademeyer accepts that Zambia is in a bad state, but believes it offers better opportunities than many other African countries.

WORM'S EYE



Steven Friedman's fortnightly
review of political events

The turned tide of democracy

DID the tide turn in Zambia — and the continent — this week? Or will it soon begin to flow backwards again?

Our neighbour's peaceful change of power through the popular vote could be a watershed, setting a model for the rest of Africa.

But it's too soon to hail a new democratic era — not only in Zambia and Africa, but in countries such as Russia and Poland too.

One obstacle to democracy may be economic problems: Poland has shown that voters may switch off if political freedom brings only tougher times.

But a bigger hurdle may be the lack of something which is becoming a buzz-word on the left — a strong and independent civil society.

Democracies usually survive not because politicians mean well but because citizens are strong enough to use them to protect their rights. They can only do that if they are organised.

Since citizens have different views and interests, a working democracy usually needs a wide range of independent organisations which can represent citizens' concerns — political parties, unions and employer organisations, consumer and pressure groups.

It is this array of voluntary associations, independent of the state, which is called "civil society".

If it doesn't exist or is weak, citizens aren't strong enough to use the system — or to call politicians to account.

This is why one-party states often take over interest associations and use them to enforce the rulers' will.

In some undemocratic societies, civil society survives: in others, it is crushed. And, where democracies begin without these vehicles for participation, they may not survive.

In Zambia (and Russia), civil society is weak. Until this changes, there will be a danger that the new elected governments will be little more democratic than the old unelected ones.

In a new South Africa, too, democracy's chances may depend on the strength of our civil society.

At first glance, our prospects look good. Despite apartheid, the voteless have formed unions, business groups and other voluntary organisations. And "liberation" activists and thinkers now insist that a new government must allow a strong "civil society".

But our civil society may not be nearly as strong as it seems. Firstly, interest organisation was never easy for apartheid's victims — besides harassment of some groups, many people lack the resources or the time to organise.

So many of our major associations are weak. And many people — such as shack-dwellers and those in the countryside — aren't represented at all.

Secondly, the associations aren't as independent as they seem.

Apartheid — and the "liberation" politics which grew out of resistance to it — politicised so much of daily life that there is great pressure on people to align their interests — or associations — with the political "struggle".

Among the voteless, voluntary associations (civic or education groups) were often formed to advance "the struggle".

Those which were formed for other reasons are also expected to support "the struggle". That is why the National Soccer League and similar groups were at last month's Patriotic Front meeting.

The associations may identify with "liberation" movements because they want to, not because they have to. But why should the urge to support them be weaker when the movements are in government?

If it isn't, our civil society will be little more than a source of support for our rulers.

Nor is "liberation" movement enthusiasm for civil society much of a guarantee.

Many who support the idea want a strong role only for those groups, such as civics, which identify with the movement.

But, if civil society in a new society goes no further than groups which are close to the new rulers, democracy will be as unlikely as it is in countries where free association is weak.

As in Zambia or Russia, our chances of democracy will not depend on the goodwill of politicians or on agreements between them.

A key test will be whether the associations which already exist — unions, business groups, tenants movements — insist on their right to pursue their interests independently, even if most of their members continue to support the majority party.

Another will be whether those whose interests aren't represented at all begin organising and ensure that their voice is heard.

SA not overjoyed by Zambia prospects

Star 8/11/91

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Zambia will now trade officially with South Africa, newly elected Zambian President Frederick Chiluba said in Lusaka yesterday.

Mr Chiluba told a news conference: "We are not starting trade but we are upholding what has been going on, normal trade. Unip (United National Independence Party) traded with South Africa at night. We will do it more honourably, in daylight."

An official announcement would be made as soon as possible by the relevant ministries, he said.

However, South African economic sources considered Zambia a bad trading partner and saw no reason to set up a trade office in a country "where the economy is kept afloat by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund".

A source at the SA Foreign Trade Organisation said the country did not have a good record paying for goods exported from South Africa.

In its unofficial trade with

Zambia, South Africa has been contributing more than 23 per cent to Zambia's total imports, providing machinery, mineral fuels, chemicals, foods, building materials, agricultural and transport equipment.

Mr Chiluba said South Africans visiting Zambia would not require visa applications, but would get them at the port of entry and would only be requested to state how long they would stay.

President Chiluba announced his first Cabinet at the news conference, putting an end to days of wrangling and speculation of a political crisis within his Movement for Multiparty Democracy.

There was concern last night, however, that some senior members of the MMD were not prepared to serve under Mr Chiluba although most analysts said they were unlikely to cause major problems for the new government.

Visibly exhausted, saying winning the elections was the "easy part", Mr Chiluba read an incomplete list of ministerial

posts from a pad in his own handwriting.

The early reaction from the MMD was of relief and qualified acceptance. Western diplomats said he had succeeded in forming a credible government.

In his first statement on foreign policy, Mr Chiluba indicated his government would recognise Israel, a popular move among evangelical Christians in his party.

Mr Chiluba said the economy was the priority: "We must introduce a new work culture which is conducive to rebuilding our ravaged economy."

"We shall endeavour to avoid the over-governing of the lives of our people. Productive private initiative must be encouraged and allowed to flourish."

He pledged that his government would not only work hard, it would be accountable.

The press would have to play a vital watchdog role since the opposition, which has only 25 seats in the 150-member parliament, was weak. — Staff Reporter-Star Africa Service.

KK cast enormous shadow

LUSAKA — President Frederick Chiluba was asked shortly after his convincing victory over Kenneth Kaunda whether Zambia would be printing new banknotes.

He smiled and gave an evasive answer, but added: "I don't wish to have my picture on it."

His response gives an indication of Mr Chiluba's low-key approach to his new job.

This will be a departure from Dr Kaunda's style, which almost amounted to operating the country as a personal fiefdom.

A stranger was never left in doubt as to who was in charge. Everything was named after Kenneth Kaunda, from government buildings to nursery schools. Even the national soccer squad was known as the KK Eleven. And when things

Zambia needed not only new leader, but rebirth as a nation

named after Dr Kaunda became embarrassingly too numerous, there were always his friends to honour. Like the Saddam Hussein Boulevard.

Pictures of the president smiled from every wall. A cheer went up at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka on Sunday when Dr Kaunda's portraits came down and Mr Chiluba's went up. It was reminiscent of the mood when the country changed flags at independence.

The removal of Dr Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (Unip) is more than just the expulsion of a government. It is the obliteration of a national mindset. The father figure has finally departed and Zambians are begin-

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI

ning to feel their way around on their own.

"The man has been around for as long as I can remember," said one man still trying to come to terms with the new reality. Zambia without KK, as he was universally known, was something unthinkable only a few months ago. Now that he has gone, it is almost as though Zambia is another country. In a way, it has been reborn.

to erase the memory of his rule.

In all walks of life, people were urged to work for the good of the party, and his words were the canon. The slogan was: "KK — kwikala bebele", which means "KK — here to stay".

His advisers and Ministers became mere lackeys whose only duty was to sing the praises of the president. Those who dissented were expelled from the party.

The leader was to be glorified and doubters denounced. It was the responsibility of the Ministry of National Guidance, with help from the obedient media, to see to it that Zambians got the right sort of information, and to criticise or blacklist those who refused to toe the line.

Sycophancy became a virtue. That and the party card became the route to better things in life. As one ex-Minister put it: "I feel ashamed now when I think about how we allowed this man to dominate our lives, often against our better judgment."

Zambia was like a pyramid, and at the top sat one man — Kenneth Kaunda. He controlled everything, and if he was not in charge, he appointed the people who were in charge.

And this was fertile ground for corruption. Although Dr Kaunda himself is believed to be an honest man, it is the corruption and the blatant abuse power by some members of his family and close political associates which finally turned people against him.

HIS successor is under great pressure to act against this abuse. It was therefore not surprising that the first action of the new government was to suspend senior managers of State companies while their records are investigated.

Zambians don't just want to see blood on the carpet. They demand merciless butchery. Zambia, they say, is a rich country made poor by untold indiscriminate looting. And the culprits must be hounded and made to pay.

There was surprising sympathy for Dr Kaunda after his defeat. This is



MUTED APPROACH: Frederick Chiluba, seen here in a jubilant mood, will hopefully not be running the country in the autocratic style of his predecessor.

partly because of his address to the nation on the eve of the elections, which many described as statesmanlike.

But even as a dictator Dr Kaunda was never in the same league as Mobutu Sese Seko, next door in Zaire, or Kenya's Daniel arap Moi, who once

promised to hunt his opponents like rats.

Mr Chiluba says he is a champion of democracy. But his first week in office has shown how easy it is for a leader to become a dictator in Zambia. The media, which only a week ago were calling him names, have

not stopped singing his praises. With a huge majority in parliament and a servile press, the route to the past could be tempting for him.

Zambians will be hoping the nightmare won't return to haunt them.

star 9/11/91 (360)

State of emergency ends

LUSAKA — Zambia's 27-year-old state of emergency, which gave police widespread powers of arrest and detention without trial, was to end at midnight last night. Under the country's new constitution, the state of emergency lapses seven days after the swearing in of a new president. Former trade union boss Frederick Chiluba (above) was sworn in last Saturday after defeating former president Kenneth Kaunda in the first multiparty election since 1968. — Africa News Service.



Zambian polls an example to us all

WE SURELY have something to learn from the smooth and peaceful manner in which Zambia transformed itself into a multiparty democracy.

Many observers expected that Zambian elections would certainly be accompanied by violence and chaos and that the new government would perhaps not be allowed by the old government to assume power. Happily all this did not happen — much of the credit of former President Kenneth Kaunda and his party.

Indeed Mr Kaunda did have shortcomings as the ruler of Zambia over many years. For one thing, his misguided economic policies failed to make independence and liberation meaningful for ordinary Zambians who saw their country tumble from the position of being one of the richest African countries at independence, to one of the poorest countries in the world by the time Mr Kaunda relinquished power.

Accepted

But what our leaders can learn from Mr Kaunda is the magnanimous manner in which he accepted the democratic judgment of Zambian citizens and bowed out of power without any hassles. His speech accepting political defeat was both humble and pragmatic.

In fact he spoke like someone who had been through countless democratic elections in the past. He seemed to underline the superiority of democracy over all other political systems when he remarked that it was in the nature of elections that we "win some and lose some".

The same applied to his announcement that he would continue in opposition politics after consulting his party on strategies to win the next election in five years' time!

Indeed, in a multi-party de-

Through My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



mocracy similar to the one recently born in Zambia, Mr Kaunda has as good a chance as President Frederick Chiluba to contest and possibly win the next elections in his country.

All he needs to return to power is the democratic support of the Zambian people and not the barrel of the gun, and soldiers, as happens where governmental changes are brought about through coups and counter-coups.

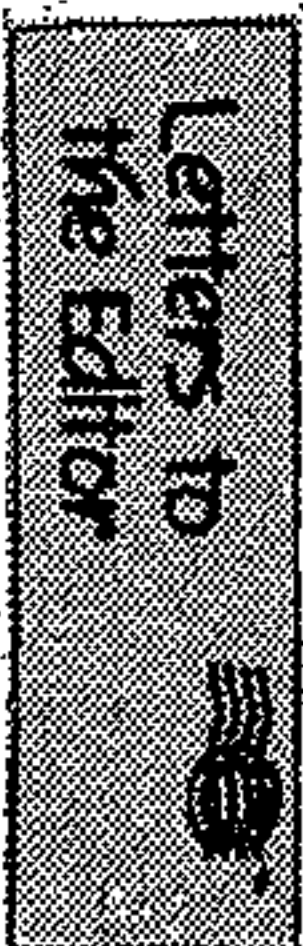
If Mr Kaunda was magnanimous in defeat, President Chiluba was equally magnanimous in victory. He lavished praise on Mr Kaunda as the founding father of the Zambian nation and granted him immunity from possible harassment. He further recognised Mr Kaunda's vast political experience and undertook to solicit his advice on matters of state.

President Chiluba faces a daunting task. He will have to transform Zambia into the prosperous democracy that it once was. Fortunately, throughout his electoral campaign, he did promise his people little but sweat and tears. Zambia's economic recovery is not going to be easy, and it will need strong and determined action on the part of the leaders.

The survival of democracy in Zambia is going to be important for us as well. Prospects for democracy in our own country would be greatly enhanced if we were part of a constellation of democratic and economically viable states in the sub-continent of southern Africa.

Hungry, frustrated and autocratic neighbours would, in the long run, pose a threat to the survival of our own democracy.

Political novice Chiluba unlikely to save Zambia



I HAVE lived in Zambia for over 15 years and only left the country three months ago. I also visited Zambia two weeks ago and am therefore in a position to gauge the situation and interpret events correctly.

From recent articles one gets the impression that Frederick Chiluba (Dr Kaunda's rival in the recent elections in Zambia) is a popular figure among the Zambian people, and has distinguished himself as a statesman with the knowledge, experience, political maturity and good political track record required of a person who should lead Zambia.

Quite to the contrary, Mr Chiluba does not possess any of these attributes. He just happens to have taken advantage of the odds and coincidences that currently obtain in Zambia as a result of the immense

● Address your letters to *Saturday Star*, PO Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000.

harm and destruction the Kaunda (Unip) government has inflicted on the Zambian people and resources.

The glorifying of Mr Chiluba is premature. More because he is the replacement for President Kaunda, not because he is the best man for the job. I wish to share the following points with your readership with regard to what I said above:

● Contrary to the impression given by the article in question, Mr Chiluba is not a founder

member of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). He was invited into the MMD long after it had been formed, as a way of including people from as many political and other persuasions as possible, in order to make the front against Dr Kaunda and Unip more formidable. When Mr Chiluba was asked to be chairman of the first co-ordinating committee, he declined, and instead said he was going to attend a Zambian Congress of Trade Unions meeting. He was afraid of what Dr Kaunda and Unip would do to him at that time!

● The argument Mr Chiluba has always used to gain political mileage, namely that he refused a post of a central committee member offered by Dr Kaunda, is a false propaganda stunt. There is no proof that he indeed was coerced into such an offer against his will — or that if he indeed turned the offer down, he did so because of principle rather than due to the fact that, being such a keen glory-seeker, he was not sure whether he was going to get as much personal glory in the central committee as he was getting in the ZCTU.

● Mr Chiluba is a tribalist of the worst kind. Since his involvement in the MMD he has introduced tribal politics into Zambia, a malaise Zambians avoided and overcame so well since independence. His dream and only political ambition is to introduce a government system where power and economic influence are concentrated in the hands of people from his tribal grouping, the Bemba.

● Standing against President Kaunda and Unip is no proof of a person's popularity or statesmanship. The people of Zambia hated Dr Kaunda and Unip so much that anyone who stood against them would win, not because he/she was popular but because the people wanted Dr Kaunda and Unip out!

This is why everyone went on the street to celebrate in June last year when Mwamba Luchembe (an unknown soldier) announced that he had taken over the government of Zambia. If that proved that Luchembe is a popular person in Zambia, and that he could have been "the hope of thousands" had the coup succeeded, then Mr Chiluba should not cheat himself into thinking that the support people show for the MMD is support for him.

● Mr Chiluba is a former farm worker whose unionism started from that kind of background. His education has not gone beyond junior high.

● He has no political experi-

ence as his track record in the ZCTU and recently in the MMD will testify. Surely this is not the time for Zambia to experiment with a political novice as a president; one Zambians and the international community cannot predict (and may not be able to for some years).

● His utterances on creating a free-market economy and on privatisation are mere means for achieving political mileage. The real test for Mr Chiluba's popularity and leadership capabilities for a country such as Zambia will come now. The chances are that he will be replaced by better leaders once Dr Kaunda and Unip (the major stumbling blocks) have been removed from power. He surely cannot serve a full term of office as the president of Zambia!

Florida
Ronnie Phiri

How democracy was born again in ailing Zambia

S/Times

10/11/91

(360)

THE democratic and peaceful transfer of power from the ruling United Independent Party of Dr Kenneth Kaunda to the Multiparty Movement for Democracy of Mr Frederick Chiluba in Zambia on November 1 1991 was a historic event.

In Zambia it was hailed as a second revolution. Zambia is the first English-speaking African independent country to return to multi-party democracy since independence.

Despite the extraordinarily vituperative campaign where dirty linen was hung out with impunity, the elections themselves were marked by a high degree of peace and order.

People queued up peacefully in the harsh African sun determined to take part in the long-awaited event. They were determined to allow the electoral procedure to occur in the spirit of democracy.

The elections were the first multi-party elections to take place in Zambia in more than two decades and were also the first that were so carefully monitored.

It was not easy for the former ruling party to accept the meticulous scrutiny of the electoral procedures or to be always pleased with the various suggestions made for improvements, especially by former US president Jimmy Carter and internal monitoring groups.

The beneficiaries were the Zambian voters who had the advantage of going to the polling stations with the confidence that there would be no attempt from any contesting party to interfere with or subvert the electoral process.

Had this happened, they would have known that someone like Jimmy Carter would proclaim to the world that the elections were not free and fair. Conversely, his endorsement of the process went a long way to re-establish confidence not in the winning party alone, but in Zambia as a nation.

If anything, the two reasons for President Kaunda's downfall which stand out above all else are the parlous state of the Zambian economy and the rise of a strong anti-Unip mass movement coupled with the feeling that the patriarchal president had stayed in power too long.

That the transition occurred peacefully is attributable to three main factors:

- The stature and sense of responsibility of Dr Kaunda and Mr Chiluba, who went out of their way to restrain emotions.

It was fascinating to watch the youthful Mr Chiluba carefully control the crowd during his closing rally which was attended by about 40 000 people. There were no attempts at incitement and whenever he raised emotions, he was quick to slip into a lower key.

- The high level of political awareness of the ordinary Zambian and the general good-nature and striking courtesy of the people.

By FRANKLIN SONN, rector of the Peninsula Technikon, who was a member of former US President Jimmy Carter's monitoring team in the Zambian election

- The presence of the highly influential Mr Carter and the Commonwealth monitoring team instilled confidence and trust even during the course of the elections.

The question on everyone's lips is how President Chiluba is going to meet the challenges facing him. The World Bank and the IMF have suspended further assistance to Zambia because of its exorbitant arrears in debt repayment.

Before being tempted to condemn Dr Kaunda, we must be reminded that he assumed power after colonialist oppression of the worse kind. He was committed to deliver to a hopeful constituency and he paid a high price for it.

President Chiluba is in a better position to deal with the economy in a modern world and with a population better able to respond because of its higher degree of political maturity after two decades of independence.

Populist Mr Chiluba, 48, is an interesting man. As an accounts clerk, he entered trade unionism and from that base, opposed the single-party government and relentlessly exposed the excesses of the ruling party while calling for reform and democracy.

He went to prison as a Marxist non-believer and emerged after a five-month stint as a deeply religious person who, until his election, was a popular Pentecostal Protestant lay preacher.

At his rally, he openly called for "moral re-armament", a work ethic, higher productivity and pledged that if elected, he would put together a government of morally upright people.

He also called on the population to prepare for sacrifice and hard work. He made no unrealistic promises.

As I left Zambia, the departing words of Dr Kaunda reverberated in my mind: "I will fight the next elections whenever they occur."

These words cast just an element of doubt about the eventuality of a second election.

Will Mr Chiluba and his MMD be able to resist the temptations of power in the absence of a strong opposition, a civil society and a democratic tradition?

Be that as it may, democracy was reborn in Africa. Its force will be unstoppable.

The Zambian example demonstrates that national and international forces can co-operate to ensure a peaceful transition and that the desire of the people for democracy is a universal, binding and inexorable force.

ANC FLEE DEBTS

Sunday Times Reporter

ANC exiles repatriated from Zambia may have returned home in elation but they left behind many fuming landlords and companies.

Scores of ANC cadres reportedly left Zambia without settling their bills amounting to several million kwacha.

Reports say some ANC officials also swindled several businessmen out of hundreds of thousands of kwacha by offering to sell them vehicles which they did not own.

A local paper quoted a Kabwe businessman as having lost K380 000 (R14 600) for an ANC minibus which wasn't for sale.

Chiluba backs SA accord

NEWLY elected Zambian President Frederick Chiluba yesterday called for more economic integration among the Frontline states to raise the standard of living of people in the region.

He said in Lusaka that the governments of the Frontline states should dispense with the confrontational approach and concentrate on improving the

SUNDAY TIMES
FOREIGN DESK

SUNDAY TIMES 10/11/91
quality of life of the people.

The president said South Africa was an economic giant which could play a significant role in this integration, and he urged all the Frontline states to support a political settlement in that country. (360)

"Now that the liberation wars are over, we in the Frontline states should encourage economic interaction among our people at all levels," he said.

Mr Chiluba said Kenneth Kaunda's government had committed Zambia to high indebtedness. He pledged to do everything possible to redress the situation.

ZAMBIA'S new president, faced with the Herculean task of rebuilding an economy left in ruins by the nation's founder, announced his first Cabinet this week.

President Frederick Chiluba, 48, the trade union leader who trounced Kenneth Kaunda at last week's multiparty polls, named his broad-based multiracial team after four days of intense closed-door discussions.

Chiluba — whose Movement for Multiparty Democracy took 125 out of Zambia's 150 parliamentary seats — urged his new Cabinet to avoid the trappings of power, privilege and position that Kaunda's ministers built around themselves.

"This government is a working government," he told a news conference attended by all Lusaka-based diplomats.

"We will be accountable to those who elected us."

Chiluba, head of the powerful 300 000-strong Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), has vowed to restructure the country's debt-ravaged

Forget perks, Chiluba tells new Cabinet

economy. He also pledged to stem widespread corruption.

The diminutive Head of State said his Cabinet was a mixture of "the old and the new" which he hoped would work together to revive the economy as its first priority.

The man Chiluba appointed to take charge of this onerous task is new finance minister Emmanuel Kasonde, a successful farmer and businessman.

Kasonde was a principal secretary for five years in the finance ministry under Kaunda. His first job will be to re-negotiate Zambia's structural adjustment programme with Western

donors, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Prescribed reforms — to lift daily food subsidies of \$500 000 (about R1,4-million), prune the bloated public service, sell off loss-making state corporations that control four-fifths of the economy and pay farmers more for their crops — were largely ignored by Kaunda.

Kasonde will also have to tackle Zambia's \$7.2-billion (about R20-billion) debt, one of the highest per capita borrowings in the world. To the key ministry of home affairs, Chiluba appointed his trade union colleague Newstead Zimba, ZCTU general secretary.

Vernon Mwaanga was appointed foreign minister. He is a former foreign minister under Kaunda and a one-time representative to the United Nations.

Days before elections, Mwaanga was linked to a drug-trafficking ring in a report Kaunda kept secret for five years. Mwaanga has repeatedly denied involvement.

Guy Scott, a white Zambian who is an agricultural consultant and a former lecturer at Oxford University in England, was appointed agriculture minister, charged with reverting the country to the food exporter it was at independence from Britain in 1964.

Nine-tenths of Zambia's income comes from copper. But Chiluba wants the economy's base to be planted in the soil.

Scott's first obligation is to import several million tons of maize, as current stocks are expected to run out by the end of the year.

Chiluba left several portfolios vacant, such as tourism, commerce and industry. He said he would finalise the list this weekend.

Only two women were appointed to the cabinet, as deputy ministers.

In the week since he won the elections, the new president has removed several heads of corruption-riddled state corporations, ordered investigations into their accounts and seized government vehicles used by officials of the former ruling party.

Chiluba said he would not immediately change the chiefs of the police, army or air force, or the governor of the Bank of Zambia. — Sapa-AP

Zambia's mining code could change

360

B/day 12/11/91

LUSAKA — Bank of Zambia governor Jacques Bussieres has asked his government to adjust Zambia's mining code to attract investors under the country's privatisation programme.

In an interview in Lusaka yesterday, Bussieres said Zambia needed an attractive mining code because the sector was still the country's major foreign exchange earner.

He said it was important for foreign investors to be allowed to externalise capital such as profits, which would not be reinvested in an industry which was non-renewable.

"It is important to have a new mining code that would be an incentive to foreign and local investors.

Package

"It's also important if such a code is introduced to allow an investor to get his capital out because mineral resources are a wasting asset."

Meanwhile, an IMF team is expected in Lusaka later this week to thrash out an aid package to assist Zambia's economy.

Zambian Finance Minister Emmanuel Kasonde also said many donor countries and agencies had shown willingness to help Zambia in its change to a democratic political system.

He said the government had ordered all commercial banks to stop any withdrawals

from accounts of the opposition United National Independence Party (Unip) with effect from yesterday.

The measure did not amount to freezing financial assets but only affected withdrawals, he said.

President Frederick Chiluba disclosed last weekend that his administration had blocked a cheque for 80-million kwacha while another for 20-million kwacha cheque was pounced on before a second signatory could endorse it.

Efforts to get comment from the newly appointed Unip secretary-general, former prime minister Kebby Musokotwane, failed.

Kasonde said government had intercepted "dubious" payments running into millions of kwacha in its probe into alleged malpractices concerning some dismissed parastatal chiefs.

It was also reported on Sunday that former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda had firmly rejected appeals from Unip's rank and file to retire from active politics.

"Members of the party still want me to be their leader.

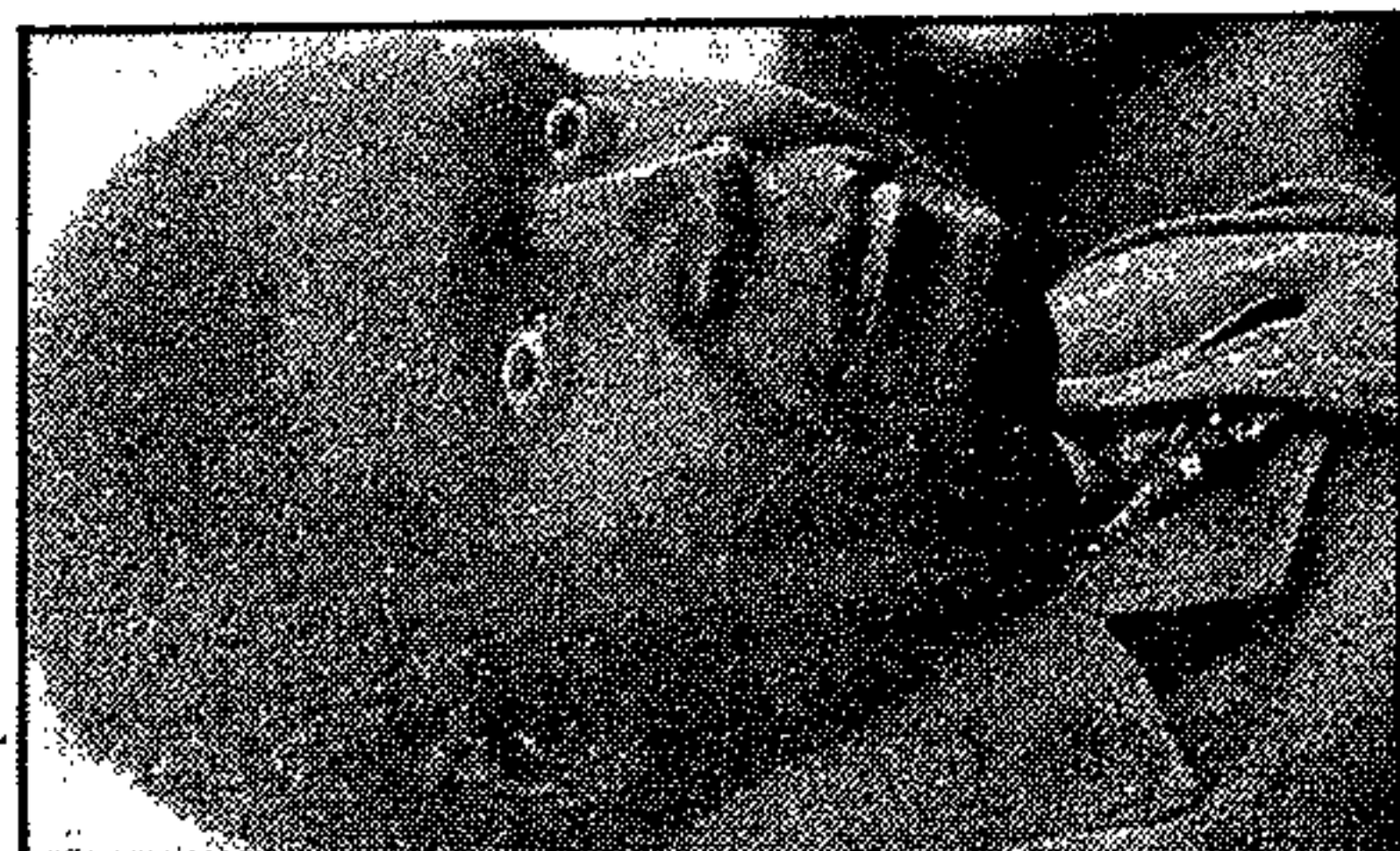
"The people want me," he said, parrying claims by former Unip central committee member Enock Kavindile that his party had suffered a crushing defeat in the October 31 elections because Kaunda was a political liability. — Sapa.

BRIEFING

Zambia's warning for

360

Star 13/11/91



Kaunda... found to be far from indispensable.

IN THE wake of Kenneth Kaunda's defeat in Zambia, Zimbabweans are taking a critical look at the performance of their own government led by Robert Mugabe.

A leading critic of the government, Dr Jonathan Moyo, a political science lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe, has said that justifiably or not, people are already drawing damning parallels between Mr Mugabe and Dr Kaunda and between Zanu (PF) and the United Independence Party (Unip).

Commenting on the delay of several days before Harare sent congratulations to President Frederick Chiluba in Lusaka, Dr Moyo said this gave credence to the growing view that Zimbabwe's ruling party was embarrassed by what had happened in Zambia because the

party's leadership was fundamentally opposed to democracy.

Within Zanu (PF), as was the case within Unip, it had become all too common and rather irritating to hear some party supporters and leaders swear that they could not imagine anyone else being president but Mr Mugabe. This was nonsense.

"Yet, in Kaunda's Zambia, as in other states like Zimbabwe, the leader, the party and the State were fused into one and the same being," said Dr Moyo.

Now Zimbabweans have to live with the reality of another leader. Dr Kaunda had to pack his bags and go to his farm, testimony to the old wisdom that all political parties die at last of swallowing their own lies.

Dr Moyo, writing in the independent Financial Gazette, said

Many Zimbabweans feel that the recent ousting of Zambia's President Kaunda was embarrassing to Robert Mugabe and the ruling Zanu (PF) because the party is fundamentally opposed to democracy.

ROBIN DREW of The Star's Africa Service reports.

countries such as Zimbabwe and Kenya were to a greater or less degree one-man states in which dubious policies and appointments were routinely made either by directive from, or in the name of, the president. States like this tended to be nervous about popular elections and their outcome.

The Zimbabwean political scientist urged Mr Chiluba not to follow the example of other heads of state in the region who had allowed their households to

loot State coffers.

"He should refuse to be called 'comrade' by anyone in or outside his country. He should put an end to Dr Kaunda's culturally depraved and offensive practice of making women and children line up, kneel, sing and dance for him during State occasions and especially upon presidential departures and arrivals at airports.

"As part of a generation of African leaders, Mr Chiluba should know that necessary ce-

remonial honours for a head of state should be performed by the armed forces only."

The Financial Gazette ran an editorial alongside Dr Moyo's hard-hitting views and said it was clear from the events in Zambia that no political party or leader was indispensable.

"People have the power to get rid of inefficient, corrupt and abusive leaders and parties and replace them. Zanu (PF) must take heed of these lessons and begin to take people's wishes seriously. Ultimately the people hold the key to their political life," said the editorial.

The paper said the tragedy of Zimbabwe's multiparty politics was that none of the opposition parties which had sprung up had the leadership able to convince the electorate it could be



Mugabe... armed bodyguards and barbed wire.

trusted with running the affairs of the country effectively.

It also said there was little value in the constitutional provision for other parties to exist when the police denied them permission to hold political meetings and wings of the ruling party intimidated and harassed opponents.

There has also been mounting criticism in the letters columns of independent publications of President Mugabe's practice of having heavily armed escorts around him complete with siren-screaming outriders.

One writer asked: "What price freedom and ideology when our leaders hide behind armed bodyguards and barbed wire? What lesson from the Queen who shunned the wailers and with head held proudly rode in an open car?" □

The one great hope for Africa is that the next generation of leaders will reject the socialist excesses of the current crop of dictators. And President Frederick Chiluba's recent victory over Kenneth Kaunda is a sure sign that Zambia is already on the road to recovery.

Chiluba (48) is a former Marxist who converted to free market principles after studying credit management in New York in 1972. He says his first priority is to trim government spending and make the civil service accountable and effective. Foreign investment is to be encouraged and nationalisation abandoned.

His party, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy, has estimated that

Zambia — now \$7bn in debt — will need five to seven years to stabilise the economy, though the International Monetary Fund and World Bank have estimated 10 years. When Zambians protested against IMF-imposed austerity measures in 1987, Kaunda broke with the fund and foreign aid dried up.

And how does Chiluba plan to turn it around? "We must introduce a new work culture," he said after his victory. "There must be less talk and more work."

His anti-corruption drive has removed the heads of a number of State-run companies, some of whom are under police investigation. His long-term goal is to dismantle loss-making parastatals, including parts of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines.

But it's not only on the economic front that Chiluba — who is called "The Liberator" by supporters — is making remarkable headway. He allowed the state of

emergency — in place for Kaunda's entire 27-year reign — to expire. He has pledged to stamp out corruption and immorality from government. And he has said that freedom of speech will extend to criticism of the government.

A born-again Christian and teetotaller, Chiluba comes from Ndola in the Copperbelt and built his base of support as chairman of the 400 000-member Zambian Congress of Trade Unions. He was among hundreds of dissidents whom Kaunda had detained without trial over the years for opposing his one-party rule and socialist policies.

And though Kaunda called him "that inconsequential little man," the 1,52m Chiluba has not responded in kind. "Although Dr Kaunda is defeated, he deserves the respect of Zambians. We must learn to forgive each other... my message is forgiveness, unity, reconciliation and hard work."



ANC owes millions to Zambia

Star 19/11/91
By Mike Hall
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress owes Zambia a large debt. Not only has the country played host to the movement for the last 20 years or more, but when the ANC packed its bags and went home it left behind scores of bills running into millions of rands.

When it closed up earlier this year, the head office of the ANC-in-exile here owed Zambia's state-owned Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (PTC) alone the equivalent of about R1 million. PTC has since been paid just over a quarter of this amount.

"In addition to the ANC's composite account of 16 million kwacha, there are a many more individual members who owe us much more," said a spokesman in the accounts department of PTC. He said he was unable to give a total figure owed by ANC members.

The movement also owes large sums to the Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company, the electricity corporation Zesco and the National Housing Authority, from whom the movement rented property. However, officials were not prepared to disclose how much was owed.

Scores of private landlords who let property to ANC exiles are also owed large sums in unpaid rent and other bills. Many, who are themselves being sued by the utility companies, are taking legal action against the ANC.

One ANC official who has stayed in Lusaka and who declined to be named, said there was hardly enough money to pay for the food of scores of members still living in Zambia. "It's unlikely we'll be able to pay any other bills."

Until last year there were up to 3 000 ANC members in Zambia. Most returned home earlier this year.

The former head office of the organisation has been bought by the Zambian government and will be turned into a museum of liberation movements who fought from Zambian soil.

Star 20/11/91

Zambia takes legal action over ANC debts

Staff Reporter
and Sapa

360
A writ for seizure (fieri facias) has been issued against the ANC, whose cadres allegedly left huge outstanding bills with various landlords in Lusaka, Zambia, when they were repatriated to South Africa.

Many more f.i.f.a. suits are expected to be lodged in the Lusaka High Court by lawyers representing various landlords and other firms claiming to have been duped by the ANC cadres.

Property in the ANC's representative office is threatened with seizure unless concerted efforts are made to settle the huge amounts.

About 3 000 ANC exiles were repatriated back home in July in about 16 chartered flights, and contracts for rented ten-

ancy expired in about June.

ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, in a circular in May, appealed to all ANC exiles to make quick arrangements to be on the 16 flights, warning that those who opted to remain in Zambia would be doing so at their own risk.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday that the organisation had held discussions at the "highest level" with Zambia's post and telecommunication authorities and the Zambian government.

"The ANC is quite clear that any debts for which it is responsible will be met," she said.

The lawyer for one of the landlords, Claydon Hakasenke, said yesterday that bailiffs would seize property from the ANC offices in Lusaka.

13/10/91 20/11/91

Chiluba fires top media chiefs

LUSAKA — Zambia's new government fired two heads of state-controlled newspapers and broadcasting in a fresh purge of bureaucrats appointed by ousted President Kenneth Kaunda, it was reported yesterday.

Bwendo Mulengela, managing editor of the Times of Zambia group, and Stephen Moyo, director-general of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, were removed "with immediate effect", the Times of Zambia said.

Mulengela, a former languages and literature lecturer, and Moyo, a onetime director of the Institute of African Studies, both previously employed by the University of Zambia, were appointed by Kaunda between 1988 and 1990.

Kaunda was trounced in elections by trade union

leader Frederick Chiluba's Movement For Multi-Party Democracy.

Chiluba complained during the campaign for elections that the state media was heavily biased in favour of Kaunda.

Chiluba, 48, said last week that he would replace heads of the state media with professional journalists, not politically-inclined academics like the two who were dismissed.

Injunction

Most Zambian journalists resented the pro-Kaunda stance adopted by the government newspapers, radio and television.

The Press Association of Zambia won a court injunction against Moyo and Mulengela last month, suspending them from their posts for crusading on be-

half of Kaunda's party and ignoring opposition movements. (360)

The Democrats were forced to file several injunctions before their campaign advertisements were run by the state media.

Former US President Jimmy Carter, one of the foreign observers during elections, noted that the government media was biased against the opposition.

A result of state controls was that a lively independent press was born in the run-up to the elections for the first time since Kaunda led Zambia to independence from Britain in 1964.

Mulengela said he was "mentally prepared" that his job was temporary and only secure while Kaunda was in power.

"I am not bitter about my removal," he said. — Sapa-AP.

Zambia 'among the poorest of least developed nations'

Blouay 21/11/91
LUSAKA — The UN has identified Zambia as one of the seven least developed countries among developing nations.

The UN publication, Development News, says Zambia, Angola, Cambodia, Ghana, Madagascar, the Solomon Islands and Zaire are the least developed among developing nations.

The revised classification of least developed countries made by the UN says a country must have poverty combined with structural impediments which make it more difficult for them to achieve sustained development without special assistance from the international

community". (360)
In the same vein, the UN has recommended that Botswana be upgraded from the least developed countries category because it has a relatively higher per capita GDP and satisfies the graduation rule.

Although the newly independent Namibia has applied to be considered for such status, this has been rejected due to its high per capita GDP and availability of natural resources.

The UN defines such countries as those with low incomes which suffer from long-term handicaps to growth due to low levels of human resource development and structural weaknesses. — Sapa.

'We've no interest in SA fugitive'

Zambia has approached the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees over fugitive Winnie Mandela trial witness Katiza Cebekhulu who is being held in de-

St/21/11/9
tention in Zambia. The country's Deputy Foreign Minister, Dr Remmy Mushota, yesterday said the new Zambian government had no interest in Mr Cebekhu-

lu's affairs (360)
Mr Cebekhulu surfaced in Lusaka earlier this year after disappearing on the eve of the kidnap and assault trial against Mrs Mandela. — Sapa.

New ray of hope for Cebekhulu

ZAMBIA has approached the United Nations High Commission for Refugees over Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, a key witness in the Winnie Mandela trial who is being held in detention in Zambia.

Cebekhulu surfaced in Lusaka earlier this year after disappearing from South Africa on the eve of the kidnap and assault trial against Mrs Mandela and three co-accused.

Zambian Deputy Foreign Minister Dr Remmy Mushota said yesterday that the new Zambian government had no interest in Cebekhulu's affairs.

Mrs Mandela was convicted of assault and sentenced to six years' jail by the Rand Supreme Court, but she immediately gave notice of leave to appeal against the judgment. - Sapa.

Zambia to withdraw Kaunda's privilege

8 Day 22/11/91

360

LUSAKA — Former Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda's presidential diplomatic passport is to be withdrawn, the Home Affairs Ministry said yesterday.

"The government is considering giving the former head of state an ordinary diplomatic passport befitting his old status as a head of state, for international travels," said Deputy Home Affairs Minister Lt-Col Chanda Sosala.

After trouncing Kaunda in the country's first multi-party elections, President Frederick Chiluba pledged the veteran statesman would not be harassed.

Diplomatic passports were being withdrawn from all former leaders in the defeated United National Independence Party (Unip) government.

Meanwhile, Chiluba yesterday announced that the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for eastern and southern Africa would hold its annual conference in Lusaka from January 27 to 31.

He said a heads-of-state summit would be preceded by the council of ministers' conference of this 20-member economic grouping from January 24 to 26.

The PTA heads of state summit will among other things discuss economic integration and the unfolding political situation in SA.

In Lusaka yesterday, World Bank Africa Desk vice-president Edward Jaycox said Zambia had acquired a lot of goodwill through its peaceful transition to democracy, and needed workable economic reforms.

The structural adjustment policy had failed during the previous govern-

ment, but there was hope that the new administration might succeed due to its serious approach to economic issues.

Briefing the media on his one-day visit to Zambia, Jaycox said the international community could not help Zambia like an orphan, but the state should ascribe to austere economic prescriptions designed to revamp the battered economy.

Every effort should be made by the new administration to adhere to the prescribed economic reforms before the international community could provide financial aid. — Sapa.

Banks where busin

8 Day 22/11/91

DAR ES SALAAM — Getting service from the staff at Tanzania's main state-owned bank makes getting blood out of a stone seem simple.

"Never lose your temper with them, or they just freeze up and it takes even longer," says a foreign resident familiar with the slow torture of completing forms and watching them passed from desk to desk.

But the languid pace is about to be shattered by a series of reforms aimed at jerking the state-owned banks into the closing stages of the 20th century.

This is to be done by sloughing off the skin of socialism and allowing foreign competition.

Tanzania's financial system is in ruins after years of steady decline

since all banks were along with almost everything after the socialist revolution of 1967.

"Existing institutional levels of productivity of services to customers a recent, unpublished report.

But sweeping change is taking place in a key year-old economic programme of market-

These have the World Bank and IMF

Since taking over Ali Hassan Mwinyi steered the country socialist legacy of Julius Nyerere.

Winnie trial man speaks

LUSAKA — Katiza Cebekhulu, Winnie Mandela's co-accused who is currently in jail in Zambia, insists he had a meeting with President Chiluba, who (he says) promised to have him released. (360)

Mr Cebekhulu said in an affidavit quoted by a weekly newspaper that the meeting took place on November 4, two days after the Zambian leader was sworn into office.

Mr Cebekhulu said he was taken to Government House in Lusaka, where he met President Chiluba. The Zambian leader, Mr Cebekhulu said in an affidavit, asked him if he wanted to go home.

However, President Chiluba has denied ever

Star 23/11/91
AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

meeting Mr Cebekhulu.

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga said Mr Cebekhulu's utterances should be treated "with the utmost caution".

However, Mr Cebekhulu told human rights lawyer John Sangwa that the president had promised to secure his release.

Part of Mr Cebekhulu's statement, reported in the Weekly Post, says: "I was talking to President Chiluba in the guest house. He asked me: 'Katiza, do you want to go back to your country or don't you?'"

"I said I wanted to go back, but I was scared of

the ANC, because they would kill me."

Mr Cebekhulu is reported to have also said that a British official had promised to facilitate his release to another country.

"I told her I wanted to go to another country because if I went to South Africa I would not be safe. So she said I would be going to London," Mr Cebekhulu said.

He could not understand why he was still in jail, he added.

"On November 13 an officer who was present when I talked to President Chiluba told me to pack my things because I was leaving."

Mr Cebekhulu is likely to be handed over to the United Nations.

Last chance for aid, ⁽³⁶⁰⁾ World Bank tells Zambia ^{ARG 25/11/91}

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Under the new government of President Frederick Chiluba, Zambia is being given its "third and last chance" of being helped by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to restore its ravaged economy.

This was how World Bank vice-president Edward Jaycox summed up recent negotiations between officials of the bank and the IMF and the new government.

"We have tried twice and failed both times," he said of previous efforts to get the government of former President Kenneth Kaunda to implement an economic reform programme.

"Although there is a new government, this is the third and last chance for the bank."

Mr Jaycox said the bank had not emerged "unscathed" by the actions of Kaunda's government.

"We cannot continually ask donors to support programmes that fail. Our credibility has been damaged. Our

word is not going to be worth much if we fail again," he said.

Mr Jaycox said the Chiluba government had committed itself to work for a transition to a market economy, to deregulate the economy, to balance the budget and to attract private investment.

"This is very different to the previous programme."

IMF and Bank officials are expected to stay in Zambia for about three weeks to formulate a new recovery programme.

Under the Kaunda government, which was ousted in last month's elections after 27 years in power, Zambia's relations with the IMF and World Bank were troubled.

Three months ago the bank suspended all assistance to Zambia after Kaunda's government said it was unable to pay arrears on past loans.

Western donors froze aid funds earlier in the year when the government abandoned key elements of the reform programme, such as the politically-sensitive agreement to lift subsidies on the staple food, maize meal.

Expose ANC

Sowetan 25/11/91

360

WE congratulate the people of Zambia for having taken this decisive step in redressing the chaos that they have suffered for almost three decades.

We are also aware of the formidable task which is facing the new president. Lesser men would have been daunted by the task facing you and your government.

However, we believe that you will be able to surmount all the problems which you have inherited.

The previous totalitarian regime of Kenneth Kaunda not only brought your country to the brink of starvation and suffering but also aided and abetted the

criminal activities of the ANC in your country, both against its members as well as against the Zambian people.

The corrupt leadership of the previous incumbent was directly responsible for compromising the sovereignty of your country, by assisting one liberation organisation against others.

We appeal to you and your government to investigate crimes committed by the ANC against our people and which were simply covered up by the despotic Kaunda regime.

Please help us to expose the true nature of the ANC prison camps and the terrible deeds that were com-

mitted there.

In order to prosecute those who were responsible, extradition arrangements will have to be made with the South African government.

People like Cebekhulu, who is being held against his will, according to the reports we have received, should be brought back to South Africa.

They will then be able to give their evidence in an open South African court of law so that light can be shed and the South African and international community can know the truth about their disappearance.

**MWEZI TWALA,
Johannesburg.**

This president's not short of quips

STAR 26/11/91

(360)

FREDERICK Chiluba begins his career as president of Zambia suffering from a couple of disadvantages that never afflicted his predecessor, Kenneth Kaunda.

One of these is his short stature. Standing about 1.5 m in his socks, the new president is hardly an imposing figure. But, like the good politician that he is, he can turn his shortness to good advantage.

When he was asked by a journalist whether he would emulate Kaunda and insist on being called "Your Excellency" he responded: "No. It's too long a title for such a short man."

Score one for the pint-sized president. Or maybe it should be score two, for he had already capitalised on his lack of inches during his election campaign against the taller Kaunda.

Kaunda had himself tried to turn the matter to his own advantage, saying that Chiluba was much too short to become president. And when Chiluba sat on a chair on the platform at rallies, with his feet dangling in the air like a child's, the effectiveness of the jibe was distressingly obvious to his supporters.

Out of Africa

GERALD LANGE



But the little man turned it to his advantage. He had his supporters chant: "Five-foot-two in, six-foot-two out," and it became something of a war-cry at election rallies, even though Kaunda is himself not even six feet tall.

It certainly did Chiluba no harm as he and his party were swept into power on a landslide vote.

President Chiluba has taken the precaution, however, of deciding that in future he will stand up at all his news conferences.

Another disadvantage he suffers is that he doesn't play golf. Now Kaunda is an avid golfer and as president he used the game as a political tool. He knew that, as in business, some of the best political deals are made on the golf course.

Kaunda even had his own golf course, adjoining State House in Lusaka. Only those invited by the

president could play on it, and in practice it was reserved for Kaunda and his cronies, except when he wanted to impress a visiting dignitary.

Chiluba is not without sporting interests, however — he plays table tennis. And while ping-pong might not have the political clout of golf it is not without advantages of its own. Remember how the Americans used table-tennis to make a major diplomatic breakthrough to China during the Nixon presidency? Chiluba is certain to be a hit in Beijing, at least.

But Mrs Chiluba might have to be a little more careful on the diplomatic circuit than she was when asked whether her husband (who became a born-again Christian while imprisoned by Kaunda) played golf.

"No," she said. "He plays God."

Yet another disadvantage suffered by President Chiluba is that he doesn't sing — at least not as far I know. Kaunda, on the other hand, is happy to break into song at the drop of a handkerchief and often entertained guests with a ditty.

He even went out singing. At Lusaka airport, boarding the plane to fly to his farm after losing the election, he sang political songs to his supporters while they wept.

For a change, he did not weep himself. But he might when he faces a life without a private golf course.

And what will Chiluba do to entertain visitors? It is difficult to imagine him, and President de Klerk swatting away at the ping-pong table. He can hardly take his guests to church. President Chiluba might have to learn to play golf after all — even if he has to use a ladder to climb in and out of the bunkers.

□ □ □

PHYSICAL qualities seem to have played a not unimportant part in the Zambian election. Noel Mvula, the candidate for Kaunda's Uniparty in the Nkana constituency, could not believe that he had been defeated by the MMD's Barney Bungoni and said the election must have been rigged. Why so? Because, he said, Bungoni was just too old to have beaten him. □

R27-m debt cancelled

Sowetan 28/11/91
LUSAKA - The Netherlands has cancelled R27 million of Zambia's R80 million debt in appreciation of political changes.

Netherlands director for development co-operation with Africa and the Middle East, Mr. Wim Wessels, said in Lusaka yesterday his government had cancelled a third of the total debt and could scrap another R55 million next year.

"We are encouraged by political developments," Wessels said at the annual bilateral consultations on development co-operation.

He urged the new government to reorient its priorities in the budget and review its expenditure on non-productive sectors

such as security and the military, adding that African countries should observe good governance.

"There should be more accountability. In the past the government was either not forthcoming or would delay executing projects sponsored by donor countries.

"If the Zambian Government pursues its economic policies and takes care of the poor, I have great confidence there will be positive help and debt relief."

Mr Dean Mung'omba, the deputy Minister in the office of the president, said Zambia would need considerable balance of payments support from the donor community in the next two years. - Sapa.

(360)

Zambian govt announces steep rise in maize price

Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — The new government of President Frederick Chiluba has lived up to its intention to phase out food subsidies by announcing a 50 percent increase in the producer price of maize, the country's staple food.

The Minister of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, Dr Guy Scott, said this week that the price of a 90 kg bag of maize would go up from 800 Zambian kwacha (about R27,50) to 200 kwacha (about R41).

Dr Scott said the increase was aimed at encouraging increased pro-

duction by the country's farmers.

The price of maize is a politically sensitive issue in Zambia. Support for the previous government of Dr Kenneth Kaunda began to erode in June last year after nationwide riots protesting against the maize price increase which the government had to effect to comply with International Monetary Fund conditions.

After 30 people died in the food riots, Dr Kaunda immediately scrapped the increase, hoping to defuse the situation. But the IMF then suspended all contact with his government in response.

Zambia, facing immense economic problems, has imported more than a million bags of maize from South Africa to avert famine in the country.

● The Netherlands has cancelled \$10 million of Zambia's \$30 million debt in appreciation of political changes.

Encouraged by political developments, Netherlands director for development co-operation with Africa and the Middle East, Wim Wessels, said in Lusaka yesterday that his government had cancelled a third of the country's total debt and was likely to scrap another \$20 million next year.

Chiluba met Cebekhulu, confirms MP

STAR 29/11/91

360

Star Africa Service

A British MP has confirmed that Katiza Cebekhulu, Winnie Mandela's co-accused, met President Frederick Chiluba early this month, despite the Zambian leader's denial that such a meeting took place.

Mr Cebekhulu, who is being held in Lusaka Central Prison, has said in an affidavit that he met President Chiluba on November 4. He said President Chiluba had promised to have him released.

President Chiluba denied meeting Mr Cebekhulu.

But British MP Emma Nicholson said Mr Chiluba met Mr Cebekhulu in her presence.

Ms Nicholson, who was in Zambia as a member of the Commonwealth Observer Group, told a British newspaper that she had met President Chiluba to congratulate him on his victory in the elections.

She had then taken the opportunity to raise with him human rights questions in Zambia, in particular Mr Cebekhulu's case.

Ms Nicholson said President Chiluba professed to know nothing of the case, but immediately had Mr Cebekhulu brought before him at the State House guest house, where he interviewed him in her presence.

"The prisoner was pale and very poorly dressed in borrowed pyjamas," she said.

"But he had not been physically abused and he had had adequate nourishment during his stay in Lusaka Central Prison.

His story was dreadful."

Ms Nicholson said Mr Cebekhulu said the ANC kidnapped him, but he did not know who organised it.

She said Mr Cebekhulu told them that on the day he was kidnapped he woke up and watched a man being stabbed to death in the same room.

Mr Chiluba immediately said Mr Cebekhulu had committed no crime in Zambia, Ms Nicholson said.

"My large concern, which I know is shared by President Chiluba, is the physical safety of Mr Cebekhulu, and since he has started to discuss the alleged crime, it is of large importance that the world should know this is a man at risk and why.

"I fear that if he is just released in anonymity that he will be a dead man. I have no knowledge of whether his evidence is accurate, but I believe it should be tested in a court of law, and in order for that to happen someone, somewhere, should take care of him physically."

Ms Nicholson said she would contact the headquarters of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva to see what they could do in this regard.

She has already spoken to British Prime Minister John Major and the Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker about the matter.

Ms Nicholson also briefed the US Ambassador to London (Mr Cebekhulu told her he wanted to go to the US).

"They are all deeply concerned for the prisoner's safety," she said.

Zambians had no choice

ON listening to news reports and reading newspaper articles in both local and international media on the Zambian presidential elections — for example your report on November 10 headlined “How democracy was born again in ailing Zambia” — one gets the impression that only the positive side has been highlighted so far.

The shortcomings and violations of democratic principles, which are so vital for those who wish to learn some useful lessons from the Zambian experience, have been omitted. On analysing the facts the following emerges:

● While Mr Frederick Chiluba has been portrayed as the Zambian people's first choice as leader and as someone who has

been duly (or democratically) elected, the truth of the matter is that he rose to power by default.

Fewer than half the 2,9-million voters cast their votes. Of these, fewer than 1,2-million put their votes in Mr Chiluba's box to register their rejection of Kaunda and UNIP (not their preference for Mr Chiluba).

The population of Zam-

bia is eight million. The man who was sworn in as the new president was “elected” by fewer than 40 percent of the registered voters.

The main advantage Mr Chiluba claimed he had over the founder members of the MMD during his campaign for party presidency — prior to the MMD national convention and later — was the fact that

he had a clean political record because he had not held a UNIP or ministerial post under Dr Kaunda.

Furthermore, just before the elections, Mr Chiluba reaffirmed that if he was elected president of Zambia, he would appoint a cabinet composed of people who had not been members of UNIP.

However, Mr Chiluba himself has been a long-

standing UNIP card-carrying member and has served on the boards of UNIP parastatals. Furthermore, most of the cabinet ministers he picked were former UNIP cabinet ministers.

Why has Mr Chiluba abandoned the policy of tribal balancing? Is it because his own tribe (Bemba) has secured economic and political power

and, therefore, he stands to benefit?

If, as he has argued, tribal balancing is not democracy, why does he then subscribe to racial balancing (which is irrelevant in Zambia) by insisting on appointing a Dr Scott (a white) to the Zambian cabinet? Surely, Dr Scott cannot be the custodian of any Zambian who may be oppressed on tribal lines?

Why has Mr Chiluba so systematically marginalised the founder members of the MMD, particularly in the cabinet appointments he made recently (more so since these people are not from this tribe)? — J VAN EEDEN, Pretoria.



FREDERICK CHILUBA ... Zambia's new president

LIVE LETTERS
Box 1090 Johannesburg 2000

Zambia: No formal ties yet ⁽³⁶⁰⁾ with SA

WINDHOEK. — While efforts towards democracy in South Africa were to be fully supported, Zambia would not be restoring formal diplomatic ties until apartheid had been eliminated, Zambian President Frederick Chiluba said here yesterday.

The newly-elected Zambian leader was addressing a news conference at State House while on a day-long visit to Namibia to promote trade and co-operation between the two countries.

"We believe that the efforts that are taking place now in South Africa must be supported fully by all of us," Mr Chiluba said.

Referring to Zambia's trade links with South Africa, Mr Chiluba said countries in the region had to trade with each other "and with that help perhaps establish good political relations in the long run".

He said President F W de Klerk was "trying his very best" and the ANC was doing "even a little more" to ensure peaceful change.

The parties involved must not be shunned. "They must not only be assisted, they must be befriended so that changes take place in a peaceful atmosphere," he said. — Sapa

ICA Write off our debts, pleads Chiluba

WINDHOEK — Zambian President Frederick Chiluba yesterday appealed for the international community to write off the debts of Africa's new "fragile democracies" of Namibia and Zambia.

He told a media briefing at State House that Namibia's Swapo government had inherited debts of R700m from SA.

"To ask them to continue to pay is like finding them guilty of introducing democratic government," Chiluba said, adding he felt the debts had mounted because there had been no accountability.

"We inherited a debt of \$7bn in Zambia.

"That is something like \$1 000 for every Zambian, all of it from outside, and the people for whom it was borrowed never benefited because there was no accountability," he said.

Chiluba said new democracies needed a hand of friendship from their creditors to show their appreciation for what was being achieved.

He thanked British Prime Minister John

Major for Britain's offer to write off bilateral debts, but added there was difficulty with multilateral debts.

"It would be a boost if the nations outside wrote off what was outstanding so as to give us a fresh start."

In another briefing, Chiluba said while efforts towards democracy in SA were to be supported, Zambia would not restore formal diplomatic ties until apartheid was eliminated.

The Zambian leader was on a 24-hour visit to Namibia to promote trade and bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

"We believe that the efforts that are taking place now in SA must be given full support by all of us," said Chiluba.

"And we will do well to ensure that the political dispensation now in place does take full maturity."

Zambia was moving towards that area.

"But we have to ensure that apartheid is fully eliminated and when the full dispensation

takes place, when the political climate allows ... the new government has been set, certainly no one will stop political and diplomatic relations."

Referring to Zambia's trade links with SA, Chiluba said countries in the region had to trade with each other "and with that help perhaps establish good political relations in the long run."

Describing current efforts in SA, he said President F W de Klerk was "trying his very best" and the ANC doing "even a little more" to ensure peaceful change.

The parties involved, Chiluba said, had to be befriended so that changes took place in a peaceful atmosphere.

"It's a prelude to better things — that is why we pray and hope that these changes do not take much longer," he said.

"We need SA, a free SA, an independent SA to join the family of the SADC and Preferential Trade Area in our region." — Sapa.

AFR

Zambian police swoop on aliens

LUSAKA — The Zambian government has launched a widespread drive to rid the country of aliens accused of plundering the country through illegal sales of precious stones. 6/10/91 6/12/91

In the southern tourist town of Livingstone, police armed with AK-47 assault rifles descended on illegal currency dealers in a surprise swoop on Monday, detaining more than 40, including women from the Copperbelt, Lusaka and Zimbabwe.

Southern province police chief Edward Mwanamuchende said the exercise also netted scores of street vendors in the city centre.

He said the 15 women were released on bond. But the men were still being questioned and about 20 had been found with large sums of foreign currency, including SA rands and US dollars.

On the Copperbelt, a combined team of paramilitary police and immigration officers moved into Kitwe's riverside residential area, rounding up more than 100 illegal immigrants in a weekend raid.

Illegal trading points for west Africans in Bulangililo and Twatasha townships have been deserted in the wake of intensified police and immigration activity. Residents said the aliens fled to nearby forests.

In eastern Zambia, calls have been made for an extension of the clean up to the provincial capital Chipata, which is popular with illegal immigrants from Malawi.

Residents claim thousands of Malawians have settled in the area and that they are marrying Zambian women to qualify for loans from co-operatives. — Sapa.

Lusaka's poor lose homes

360

DIANA Jere huddled with her five children and her few possessions in the rubble of her bulldozed house. *CIPRA*

All that protects her from the rain are a few tin sheets. *8/12/91*

In the early morning of November 21, bulldozers — guarded by troops — began knocking down more than 100 illegally constructed squatter houses in Kanyama township, on the orders of Lusaka Urban District Council.

Council spokesman Bannister Loongo said they were simply carrying out orders.

"The council had passed a resolution that all illegal structures built contrary to the Country and Town Planning Act were to be destroyed."

Jere spent more than ZK400 000 on building her three-room cement and brick house where she has lived with her family for a year.

Richard Kabamba, a vegetable seller and a father of six children, also had his house demolished.

"If the government bothered to give us notice we would have got the proper papers or at least dismantled our houses and saved the bricks," he said.

Michael Sata, newly appointed Minister of Local Government, and stal-

wart of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), said he was powerless to stop the demolition. "I'm sorry the people have suffered."

"It is a problem the Lusaka District Council has brought on us."

Former President Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party still rules the councils.

But Jere blames the MMD directly, and Sata in particular, for her misery: "Sata has done nothing to protect us. This is not the change we wanted."

"I would never have voted MMD if I knew my children would be homeless."

At a press conference after visiting Kanyama, Sata revealed that the squatters, desperate to have land to build a house, had been tricked by crooks who allegedly "sold" them the land but gave them no title deeds.

"I saw the misery the action by the council has brought. These people must help us identify those who gave and sold them plots," he said.

Sata says his ministry's policy will be to create a housing bank, with conditions suited to poor people.

But meanwhile, the demolition teams are following council orders to the letter. —AIA

Zambia has no model to sell, says Chiluba

HARARE — Zambia had no model of democracy to sell in the other frontline states, President Frederik Chiluba told his Zimbabwean hosts yesterday.

Rapturous applause greeted the diminutive Zambian head of state when he met members of the Zambia-Zimbabwe Friendship Association on his first tour of neighbouring states since last month's election victory over Kenneth Kaunda.

Chiluba held protracted talks with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe. He said they discussed streamlining border controls and improving trade.

Chiluba said the chairmanship of the frontline states — vacated by Kaunda — would be settled at a meeting of the seven member grouping in Lusaka early next year.

He said he and Mugabe shared a belief in the future role of the frontline states' organisation despite the changes taking place in SA. The organisation was formed to link states which felt threatened by apartheid and destabilisation.

"We believe that the new political dispensation in SA must be accorded all the aid it requires, and as usual the frontline states will take a leading role," he said.

Although Zimbabwe is a multi-party state, the harassment of opposition groupings and payments of

MICHAEL HARTNACK

state funds to Mugabe's ruling Zanu (PF) have aroused discontent.

There was a murmur of applause when Chiluba told a gathering at the Zambian high commissioner's residence: "Zambia is too rich to be poor. Something had to be done. But you can never change the economy if you have the same people in the government whose philosophies will never allow that change."

He added hastily: "Let me state that Zambia has no model for democracy to sell anywhere."

"We are not selling anything outside," in a pointed allusion to critics of other African regimes, who hope to emulate his example.

Sapa-Reuter reports that Chiluba reiterated hard times lay ahead for Zambia's 8-million people as the government's economic reform programme started to bite.

"Finding an empty treasury after mismanagement dating back 27 years cannot be rectified in one month. The cupboard is empty ... even the crumbs are getting smaller," he said.

Chiluba warned of possible social friction "because structural programmes might entail deprivation".

"But we have no choice. In Zambia, we must be ready to lose one job today to have five jobs later."

Red C

Chiluba desires SA trade

HARARE - Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba has said open trading with South Africa does not compromise his opposition to apartheid.

Chiluba, on his first visit to Zimbabwe since defeating Dr Kenneth Kaunda, said after meeting President Robert Mugabe: "We will continue to stand together opposed to apartheid."

Relations

Trading had always gone on, and the break had been in the language, he said.

He said relations with Zimbabwe were "pretty good".

Of the incident when his vice-president, Mr Levy Mwanawasa, was seriously injured in a car crash in Lusaka on Sunday, Chiluba said for the moment he would call it an accident. Mwanawasa is in South Africa for treatment.

Japanese bubble is about to burst

STAR 12/12/91

TOKYO — After years of unprecedented economic growth, two gloomy words are once again making an unwelcome return to the Japanese vocabulary: "fu keiki," or "hard times."

Shopkeepers, restaurant owners, stock market investors and private economists all are talking about the bust they're convinced is hitting this country after almost five straight years of boom, even though government officials claim otherwise.

In fact, the economy is still expanding, although at a slower pace, and has been for about 60 straight months.

"What's there to be grim about?" says Adrian Tschoegl, chief economist at SBCI Securities (Asia) Ltd.

Tschoegl likens the anxiety to a hangover after the years of revelling in the economic boom.

"People thought the party would go on forever, but of course it can't. Now it's the morning after, and things are getting back to normal," Tschoegl said.

But the sense of gloom persists. The Nikkei Stock Average, the Tokyo Stock Exchange's key

barometer, has fallen 1 166,54 points in the last five straight trading days, including almost 400 points on Tuesday after a central bank survey showed pessimism among Japanese corporate leaders.

"This is the worst cycle of the market," said Mike Kawakami, a senior trader with Merrill Lynch. "There's no good news, economic fundamentals don't look good and earnings are bad."

The central bank survey also showed that major manufacturers have revised their forecasts for pretax profits for fiscal 1991, which ends next March 31, sharply downward to show a 12,9 percent decline from the year earlier. Non-manufacturers anticipated a 1,5 percent decline in pretax profits.

Officials at the central bank insist that most indicators, including key capital spending plans and liquidity, show the economy remains firm.

But many private economists believe otherwise.

Nomura Research Institute, the private research company affiliated with top brokerage

Nomura Securities Co., forecast that corporate capital investment would slow to 3,4 percent in the current fiscal year, from 17,6 percent growth in fiscal 1990, and fall almost 6 percent in fiscal 1992.

Lagging profitability and demand are signs that stagflation — combined inflation, a decline in business activity and unemployment — are on the way, says Johsen Takahashi, director of the private think tank Mitsubishi Research Institute.

"Much of the boom in consumption has been supported by the 'bubble'," says Takahashi. "I think we can expect a long slump — 1992 will be no good — maybe about two years."

Almost everyone agrees that the days of the "bubble economy," when land and stock prices more than doubled and the newly rich gorged on luxury imports, are over.

Government economists say the slowdown results from policies aimed at cooling the overheated economy and restoring some rationality to Japan's outrageously inflated real estate and stock markets. — Sapa-AP.

Zambia makes headway with World Bank

360

LUSAKA — The Zambian government has successfully concluded preliminary negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

In the same vein, the Zambian Government has assured the donor community that it would meet conditions of economic reforms, including the removal of subsidies and the trimming of the public service.

Deputy Minister in the President's Office, Mr Dean Mung'Omba, revealed in Lusaka that the negotiations were successfully concluded on Monday.

Mr Mung'Omba said the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) government was committed to the reduction of subsidies on various goods, including the staple maize meal, stressing:

"The government wishes to create a free market economy and will promote increased private sector involvement in all fields of the economy including mining" STAR 12/12/91

In order to make the investment code more amenable, the MMD would review the Investment Act to incorporate additional incentives for both foreign and local investors and also to establish a "one stop" investment centre, Mr Mung'Omba added.

Parastatals would be reformed to make them profitable while the civil service would be trimmed to a manageable size.

Mr Mung'Omba also pledged his government's commitments to honour and meet all its international obligations, including the repayment of debts — and honouring all agreements signed by the defeated United National Independence Party (Unip) government headed by former President Kenneth Kaunda.

The Minister, who was speaking after the bilateral consultations between Sweden and Zambia, said his government would revamp neglected infrastructure like roads and schools and improve the country's industrial performance.

Leader of the Swedish delegation, an assistant Secretary of State, Mr Karl Engstrom said his government would vigorously support the economic reforms towards the establishment of a market economy and a democratic political system. — Sapa.

Trade surplus soars 192 percent

TOKYO — Japan's trade surplus for November soared by 192,9 percent to \$6,56 billion from \$2,24 billion the year before.

The monthly surplus was mainly with the United States, which was up 0,8 percent from a year ago to \$3,59 billion.

Japan's trade surpluses with the United States, the European Community, South Korea and Taiwan have been a growing

source of friction in recent years.

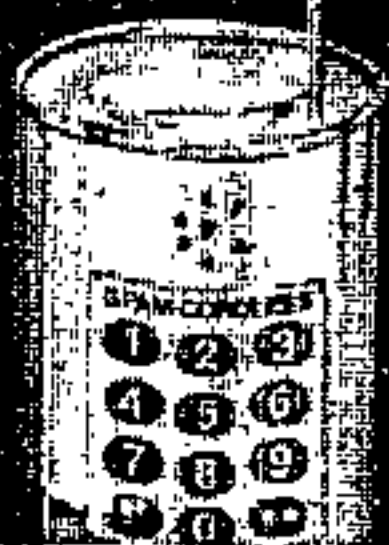
The monthly report was released a day after the Ministry of International Trade and Industry predicted that Japan's overall trade surplus for fiscal 1991, which ends next March 31, is expected to total \$100 billion, or 44 percent more than the government's original projection of \$56 billion.

Trade officials said the pre-

diction means that the general decline in Japan's trade surplus since its peak of \$101,6 billion for 1986 may be changing. Last year, the surplus totalled \$69,9 billion.

The Finance Ministry report said Japan's exports in November totalled \$27,06 billion, up 5,1 percent over a year earlier, helped by strong exports of automobiles, telecommunications equipment and semiconductors. — Sapa-AP.

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Repatriations from Zambia are suspended

360

Source: 13/12/91

LUSAKA - The repatriation of 52 000 Angolan refugees from Zambia has been suspended because Angola was still not safe, according to UN Commission for Refugees representative Mr Stefan Bergland.

He confirmed in Lusaka this week that the exercise had been halted because most of Angola was infested with landmines, making it unsafe for returnees.

An understanding between President FW de Klerk and the UNHCR had also been concluded where an amnesty in principle was in place for all South African returning exiles, although it was not yet legislated.

The situation had fulfilled the returning of ex-

iles back to South Africa "in safety and dignity".

"The UNHCR has a policy of repatriating refugees and exiles in dignity and safety. Dignity is there (in Angola) but safety is absent."

Bergland said the exercise would be resumed next April to give a chance to the Angolan ruling party and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement to sort out outstanding issues before refugees returned home.

In a revived repatriation of ANC exiles, the UNHCR said it would despatch the remaining 900 in two weeks' time.

Immigration and police officers would round up all illegal aliens and deport them regardless of their country of origin.

REVIEW '91 The old order moves on

Winds of change ... if the money flows

W/MC

19/12/91 - 2/1/92

360

ZAMBIA'S new president, Frederick Chiluba, rode Africa's democratic tidal wave into Zimbabwe last week for a quick two-day visit. Robert Mugabe was businesslike, if not subdued, when greeting Chiluba, the five-foot tall union leader who toppled the giant Kenneth Kaunda from his 27-year reign.

Mugabe's ruling Zanu-PF party is similar to Kaunda's Unip in its monolithic structure and lack of grassroots responsiveness, so the Zimbabwean president must have warily eyed the

Zambian newcomer. Mugabe has troubles of his own with the trade unions and he could well view Chiluba as a troubling portent of his future political challenges.

Chiluba diplomatically emphasised that he was not coming to Zimbabwe to spread Zambia's democratic shake-up to its neighbours.

"We are not selling our system elsewhere ... There hasn't been a military takeover in Zambia, it was a demo-



In southern Africa, nationalist leaders, propped up by one-party states, and state controlled economies are on the way out. In their wake, come negotiations for multi-party democracies and a free market... if the economic situation improves.

BY ANDREW MELDRUM

cratic process insuring continuity and economic problems.

Zimbabwe believes in this," said Chiluba. He said his most important task would be to sort out Zambia's critical

economic problems. "Zambia is too rich a country to remain so poor," he said, adding that he expected "a lot of social frictions" once his government removed food

subsidies and slashed jobs on the swollen government payroll.

Chiluba said although his new administration had decided to carry on business openly with South Africa, his government intended to continue Kaunda's diplomatic pressure through the frontline states to bring about the end of apartheid. He said the frontline states would also continue to encourage negotiations to bring peace to Mozambique.

Chiluba, who had to battle in his election campaign against Zambia's state-controlled daily newspapers, radio and television, stated unequivocally that Africa needed a freer press.

The Zambian leader's short, succinct trip to Zimbabwe, which was followed by similar whistlestop visits to Malawi, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola, highlighted the trends that have swept through southern Africa in the past year and will certainly shape regional events in the coming year.

Chiluba is proof that the democratic winds are bringing changes to the staid post-independence order. The first generation of nationalist leaders are on their way out as are the stultifying one-party state structures that have sustained them. State-controlled economies are also coming to an end while negotiation and political accommodation are seen as the way to resolve long-running wars like the Angolan and Mozambican conflicts. Diplomatic pressure on Pretoria to accept majority rule will continue, while a more pragmatic attitude will encourage mutually beneficial economic relations.

All this is good news that bodes well for southern Africa. The troubling aspect is the region's economies are in such bad shape that they might not be able to sustain the new freedoms and democracies. Another worry is that Mozambique's start-stop negotiations are not settling that painfully destabilising war and the super-powers apparently are not interested in applying the necessary pressure on Renamo to agree to peace.

The success of Zambia's first multi-party elections in 17 years displayed the irresistible force of the continent's democratic tide. The boiling unrest in Zaire and Kenya should prove that point even further in 1992, with the prediction that the lid will blow off the Mobutu pot while Daniel arap Moi's pressure cooker will continue to rattle noisily.

Malawi remains quietly under the iron grip of the Banda regime, as run by his Official Hostess, Cecilia Kadzimir, and her uncle, John Tembo.

As in Namibia, the super-powers proved their effectiveness in settling Africa's long-running wars by swiftly bringing an end to the 17-year Angolan civil war. Previous African efforts to mediate a peace failed, but when the Soviet Union and the United States

agreed there should be a settlement, it was quickly achieved and peace established with amazing speed. The coming year should see Angola proceed towards multi-party elections in September. The voting will shake-up the existing order, but a relatively peaceful transition is expected.

The frontline states, particularly Zimbabwe, have tried to encourage an equally effective settlement in Mozambique, but that remains the region's most intractable war.

Mugabe, the frontrunner to replace Kaunda as frontline spokesman, has clearly determined that Zimbabwe's role should be to bring together the African National Congress and Pan

Nationalisation a mess, says Chiluba

NEWLY elected Zambian president Frederick Chiluba has some advice for potential members of a future SA government who advocate nationalisation — go ahead and do it.

But then expect to end up in the mess Zambia is in, he says in an interview in this month's edition of Leadership magazine.

"Our own experience in Zambia is that this kind of socialist approach is the cause of the mess we are in. So we cannot follow such a course," he says.

But since SA is a different country with different leaders, they might wish to "go the whole hog". They will

then have to go through the same problems Zambia has gone through.

"My only answer is that, having gone through this process, and having learned our lessons the hard way, we will be the last to support nationalisation"

Eastern Europe and Africa have provided sufficient lessons for all countries to learn from, Chiluba says in the Leadership article.

On relations with SA, Chiluba says there was great hypocrisy in his predecessor's approach, and there had

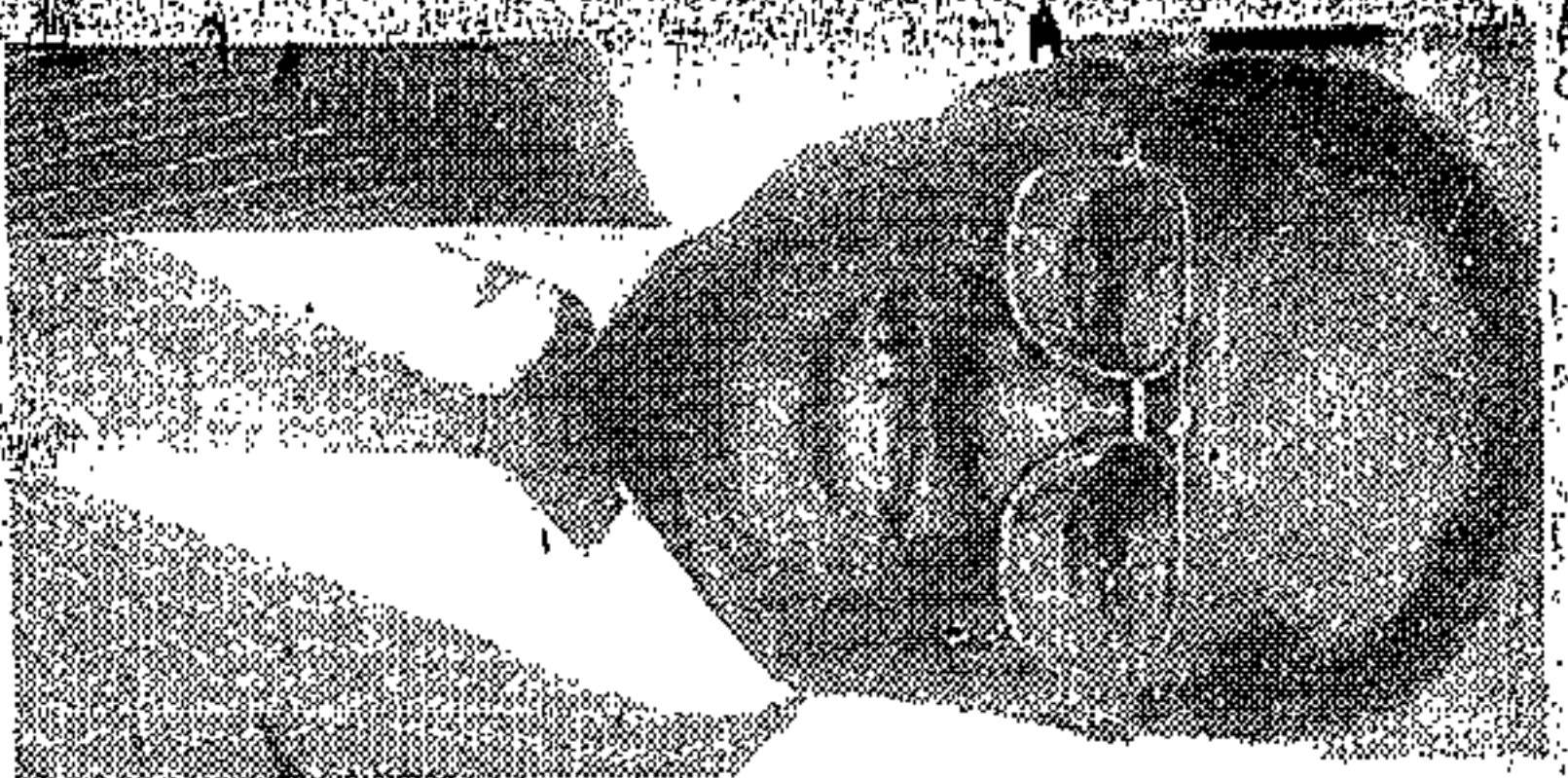
been sustained growth in trade between the two countries.

"It was only the language used in public which sounded as if we were at war." (360)

The new government did not want double standards but did not intend to abandon the ANC. Zambia would continue to support the process towards democratisation in SA, but it also wanted to activate the links between the two countries.

"I realise that apartheid may not have been totally broken, but instead of going there at night, we want to go there during the day," he says.

31 Dec 1991
TIM COHEN



BONIFACE KAWIMBE

Let's share, Zambia tells SA

Sowetan 20/12/91

By MOKGADI PEELA

THE recent visit to South Africa by the Zambian Health Minister has the potential of benefitting both countries if they co-operate in sharing health facilities and technical know-how.

Dr Boniface Kawimbe said while South Africa had advanced medical facilities and pharmaceutical companies, it could benefit from Zambia's "high quality health care".

He cited Zambia's primary health care programme as one area in which his country was better than South Africa.

Another sphere in which South Africa could benefit from Zambia was the Aids programme, Kawimbe added. "In Zambia the government never tried to hide the problem, as a result our Aids programme is highly developed."

When the Zambian Vice-President Mwana Wosa was injured in a car accident recently, he was flown to Johannesburg for specialised health care.

Kawimbe said co-operation in health between the two countries would also help to standardise medical equipment. He said he had visited South Africa to procure the delivery of emergency medical supplies.

He conceded, however, that due to misguided economic policies by Kenneth Kaunda's government, Zambia's health system had suffered. It was an accepted fact that health services were usually as healthy as the

economy.

Typical examples of this sad state of affairs were the usual shortage of drugs and the depleted health infrastructure. Of even more serious concern was cholera which was a direct result of poor water and sanitation, he said.

Because of bad conditions of service Zambia had experienced a huge brain drain. The University of Zambia School of Medicine, which had to date produced 600 doctors, could only boast about 100 who are still practising in the country. The same holds for radiologists, laboratory technicians and nurses.

Kawimbe said the new

government was reviewing the conditions of service to make them more attractive.

On the question of where the money would come from, Kawimbe said fresh funds should be mobilised to aid the ailing sector. "We are going to establish a national health insurance scheme whereby all employees and employers will have to subscribe."

He said the change of government in Zambia was enjoying tremendous support from the donor community who had already pledged millions of dollars to aid various programmes.

Kawimbe said diseases that ravaged Zambia were

malaria and Aids. In Lusaka alone there were 250 000 malaria cases while the number of HIV carriers in the country was 17 000 of whom 5 000 were full-blown Aids cases.

The incidence of HIV positive ante-natal mothers in urban areas stood between 15 and 25 percent.

"The sad part is that people take this figure to say that 25 percent of Zambians are HIV positive. Nobody has ever done a cross-sectional study of the HIV situation in Zambia.

"We have only had certain groups of patients being studied," Kawimbe said.

Customs catch up with Kaunda's son

Star Africa Service (360)

LUSAKA — Zambian customs officials this week confiscated modern musical recording equipment worth millions of rands from one of the sons of former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

According to customs, Kaweche Kaunda imported

the equipment with an American partner, Danny Sims, last year without paying duty on it.

The 45 million kwacha (R15 million) equipment was brought from the US by Mr Sims, but the Kuanda family was believed to have supplied the money, say sources.

Many Zambians expressed

outrage at hearing of the expensive import at a time when the country was suffering from a critical shortage of foreign exchange.

Mr Kaunda and Mr Sims had planned to build a Sun City-type entertainment complex at Zambia's tourist capital of Livingstone, but the project fell through.

STAR 20/12/91.

Chiluba visit (360)

Zambian President Frederick Chiluba ended a two-day visit to Mozambique yesterday by indicating that the change of government in Lusaka would not affect their close relations. He said co-operation between Zambia and Mozambique would continue.

STAR 23/12/91.

Zambian hospital is collapsing

360
Jouren 24/12/91

LUSAKA - Zambia's University Teaching Hospital is in near collapse because of the dilapidated equipment, shortage of manpower and cash to run the institution efficiently.

The hospital's deputy director Dr Isaac Yikona, speaking on the Zambian TV programme "Topic" in Lusaka on Sunday night, said: "If we had our own way, we would have closed the hospital. The institution has virtually collapsed because only partial medical services are being provided to the people."

The hospital's laboratories were not functioning, while theatres were operating inadequately and only in emergency cases, he said.

"The mortuary status was a disaster. It is handling 200 bodies, more than the available capacity to hold 50 bodies at a time," Yikona stressed.

The hospital, which needed a cash flow of more than R7 billion a year, was only operating at 30 percent capacity while the equipment had totally broken down, needing urgent rehabilitation.

The hospital's public relations officer Mr Don Mwape echoed Yikona's sentiments by saying the Ministry of Health should immediately step in to redress the many problems faced by the few doctors.

A panel suggested the new Movement for Multiparty Democracy government should build satellite hospitals within the periphery of Lusaka to reduce the strain on the hospital, which should only deal with referrals.

If adequate funding and the improvement of equipment were undertaken patients currently being sent abroad could be treated at the hospital.

"It is tragic that this is happening when we have very qualified doctors, but they don't have the equipment and the facilities under which to operate," Yikona lamented.

Minister of Health Dr Boniface Kawinbe said: "We are doing everything to reverse the past trend." *Sapa*

Top Zambian in SA for trade talks

LUSAKA — Zambian toria.

Foreign Affairs Minister Vernon Mwaanga is in South Africa for talks with Government officials and to visit the country's Vice-President, Levy Mwanawasa, recuperating at Johannesburg's Brenthurst Clinic.

Mr Mwaanga is expected to talk to South African Foreign Affairs officials about the exchange of trade missions between Lusaka and Pre-

Zambian President Frederick Chiluba said on Thursday that Mr Mwaanga would explore possibilities of consolidating trade links, which for many years had operated in the shadows.

"We want to trade officially because Pretoria has been a long-time trading partner," Mr Chiluba said when he blessed Mr Mwaanga's visit to South Africa, the first

such official trip by a Zambian government official since independence in 1964. (360) (SAPA)

Zambia was also expected to establish diplomatic relations with Pretoria after a declaration letter in Harare by the Commonwealth heads of governments had been adhered to.

Zambia has since re-established diplomatic relations with Israel. — Sapa.

Kaunda and his friends wiped off city streets

Star Africa Service 30/12/91

LUSAKA — After soundly defeating Kenneth Kaunda two months ago, the new government of Frederick Chiluba seems determined to wipe off any memory of Dr Kaunda and his friends from the national consciousness.

Paintings and posters of the defeated president have already been removed from public places and buildings, and Dr Kaunda's appointees in the huge parastatals which control the country's economy have been sacked.

Now the government is turning its attention to Dr Kaunda's former companions and friends, whose names appear prominently in the main streets of the Zambian capital. The government wants to remove the names of all who have earned a reputation as dictators.

The Saddam Hussein Boulevard (named after you know who) which runs past State House and leads to one of Lusaka's exclusive suburbs of Kabulonga, is to be renamed Los Angeles Boulevard. The change should please the handful of American diplomats residing along the drive.

The Iraqi leader was one of Dr Kaunda's closest friends and the name change will not please the former president at all. The two leaders share the same birthday and Dr Kaunda was the last foreign head of state to visit Baghdad just before the outbreak of the Gulf War.

The Josep Tito Road, named after the revered former president of Yugoslavia, is to become the Simon Kapwepwe Road in honour of the late Simon Kapwepwe, the country's second vice-president who later fell out with Dr Kaunda.

According to a notice from the district council, the Haile Selassie Avenue will become the Harry Nkumbula Road.

Mr Nkumbula was one of the founding members of the African National Congress (ANC), the first political party to fight for independence in the then Northern Rhodesia.

A road is also to be named in honour of one Juli Chikamoneka who gained notoriety by stripping naked in front of shocked officials in 1960 to protest against colonial rule.

The changes are expected to take effect before January 1.