BACKGROUND REPORT:

CRISIS IN ZAIRE

Emergency U.S. airlift of military supplies--fighting in a mineral-rich province of a central African country--Moroccan troops sent in to aid the Zairean regime--France and Belgium involved--what is going on in Zaire? What are the reasons for U.S. involvement and what are the risks?

I. A HOUSE OF CARDS

"Zaire is a good friend and a good investment"

--President Richard M. Nixon toasting Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko in 1972

"Over a period of years, President Mobutu has been a friend of ours. We've enjoyed good relationships with Zaire. We have substantial commercial investments in that country."


HUNGER IN A LAND OF WEALTH

A country of disparities, whose capital is an oasis of office buildings and superhighways in a desert of rural poverty and malnutrition, Zaire is a classic case of the "development of underdevelopment." While foreign capital flows into mining, hotels, and other investments oriented toward the Western market economies, the rural areas are left without basic services or an adequate diet.

"Once self-sufficient in food crops, increasing quantities of food must now be imported by Zaire," the U.S. Agency for International Development stated in its fiscal 1977 budget submission. "Malnutrition is endemic...At least 70 percent of the rural population does not have access to health services" (USAID Submission to Congress for FY77, Africa Programs, pp. 128-9). According to a 1975 World Bank report, a third of the population suffers from "deficiencies in caloric intake" and most of the population gets insufficient protein (World Bank report cited in Guy Gran, "Policy Making and Historic Process: Zaire's Permanent Development Crisis," a paper presented at the African Studies Association meetings in November 1976).

The Zaire Self Help Project, a Quaker-supported grassroots development project in Kasai Occidental, described the link between poor diet and poor health in a 1975 report:

Heavy reliance on manioc, a starchy root crop, contributes to low
requirements that political cases be heard before the State Security Court. According to the Constitution, all trials should be open to the public. However, if the publicity should endanger public order and morality, the proceedings may be held behind closed doors.

Article II: In non-political trials, there is generally a presumption of innocence until the facts clearly prove otherwise. Court sessions are conducted openly in good order. While the jury system is not used, the presence of three judges on the ruling panel greatly reduces much of the danger of slanted justice. The fairness of trials for persons accused of political crimes is not similarly assured.

IV. OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTING

Amnesty International's 1974-75 Annual Report stated that a general amnesty for all political prisoners and political exiles had been declared in November 1974. Amnesty International's 1975-76 Annual Report noted the 16 January military trial of about 40 persons in an abortive June 1975 coup plot. Death sentences, which apparently have not been carried out, were given to seven persons, seven were acquitted and 26 were given terms of six months to 20 years.

Freedom House lists Zaire as "not free."

THE Oligarchy of Mobutu Sese Seko

In Kinshasa, the capital, Zaire's "300 families" dine on beef, eggs, and citrus fruit imported from abroad (Robin Wright, WP 4/9/77; V.S. Naipaul, New York Review of Books 6/26/75), and President Mobutu has built for himself and the Zairian elite a life of opulence and corruption.

[Mobutu] has diverted enough of his country's wealth into his personal coffers to become one of the world's richest men. And he has created a super-rich class of underlings whose lavish tastes are, at best, conspicuous (David Lamb, Los Angeles Times/Philadelphia Inquirer 4/5/77)

The aura of princely grandeur surrounding Mobutu is...bolstered by a life style that includes palatial residences in each of Zaire's eight provinces and others in France, Belgium, and Switzerland. There is not only a luxurious palace in Kinshasa but a 20-square-mile "presidential domain" at N'Sele 40 miles away, which contains two more residences and a swimming pool billed as Africa's largest. To shuttle between his international chain of palaces, Mobutu uses the national airline, Air Zaire, as a personal transport service. His high-handed habit of commandeering planes at a whim has made Air Zaire's timetables something of a joke. When Mobutu visited West

Germany last spring, he took the line's 747 for himself and a DC-10 for his wife, leaving Air Zaire suddenly without its two largest planes (Time 10/28/74).\footnote{President Mobutu reportedly holds controlling interests in the country's largest taxi company, the Banque de Kinshasa, skyscrapers in the Ivory Coast, and "substantial chunks" of Zaire's wholesale and retail trade. Forty-two and a half per cent of the gross world receipts from the highly publicized Muhammad Ali-George Foreman fight in Kinshasa in 1974 are said to have ended up in Mobutu's pocket (Stephen R. Weissman, The Nation 11/30/74; Russell Warren Howe, New Leader 4/11/77).}

A former police clerk and Brussels-trained journalist under the Belgians, Mobutu Sese Seko "has ruled what was once considered an ungovernable country by buying off his opponents and permitting them, like his supporters, to indulge in the spoils of one of Africa's most blatantly corrupt systems... (B)ribes are necessary to accomplish anything from making a long-distance telephone call to clearing customs at the airport. 'To survive in Zaire today,' said a European businessman, 'you need to know only two things: Who do I see and how much will it cost?" (Lamb, op. cit.)

In March 1976 Monsignor Kabanga, archbishop of Lubumbashi (the capital of Shaba province), wrote a pastoral letter calling on the nation's leaders to respect the dignity and worth of every person and speaking of the "suffering" and the "moans" of the poor. President Mobutu is reported to have summoned the Catholic bishops and demanded that they repudiate the letter. They refused to do so. (Siradiou Diallo, Jeune Afrique 2/11/77; Professor Jan Vansina, quoted in the Washington Post 3/19/77)

THE U.S. STAKE IN ZAIRE

"Whatever Zaire has become today, both politically and economically, the U.S. assumes a large share of the responsibility."

--Peace Corps/Zaire, Country Program Evaluation (June 1976)

Plagued by increasing poverty, beset by financial problems, Zaire is a house of cards. On that flimsy structure the United States has built one of the pillars of U.S. policy in Africa.

In a continent full of interests and movements potentially hostile to the United States, "our close relations with Zaire are based on the importance of the country in the region and the basic commonality of attitudes and policies in foreign affairs" (Sheldon B. Vance, State Department spokesperson, testifying before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee 10/24/75; Hearings, Security Supporting Assistance for Zaire; emphasis added). The Carter Administration's current budget submission for Security Supporting Assistance sums up U.S. policy this way:

The fundamental U.S. interest and objectives in Zaire are to... maintain political and economic stability in this important sub-Saharan country which exercises an influential and moderate role in Africa and Third World Forums (emphasis added)

That "influential and moderate role" fits overall U.S. policy in Africa; one of whose goals, as formulated in 1976, is "to prevent the radicalization of Africa" (Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, testifying before the House International Relations Committee 6/17/76).
DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT: WEALTH LEAVES THE COUNTRYSIDE

Guided by the Mobutu government and international business and financial institutions, Zaire's growth is occurring almost solely in a few places (see areas shown in black on map). While national and foreign investments have built up the mines and manicured suburbs of the copperbelt in Shaba province and the luxury quarters and air-conditioned offices of Kinshasa and Kisangani, Zaire's farming communities have "suffered from low investment and restrictive pricing policies" (Senate hearings, op. cit.), resulting in a decline of 1.4 per cent in per capita agricultural production every year from 1971 to 1976 (USAID Security Supporting Assistance FY78 Submission, p. 218), and an "overall transfer of wealth from the countryside" (Gran, op. cit.). According to a U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare study, "unemployment is substantial and increasing amidst rapid population growth and large-scale rural-urban migration. At the same time imbalanced distribution of government resources has led to growing regional income inequality" (Syncrisis: The Dynamics of Health, Vol. 14: Zaire, June 1975, p. 158). Rural distress and burgeoning urban slums are major consequences of this skewed growth which, because it relies mainly on machinery, creates few jobs. Zaire's social and economic order, as Business Week observed 1/31/77, is "troubled" indeed.

Although "our connections with Zaire are politically dated from the very birth of the country," "we do have...a warm spot in our hearts for President Mobutu," U.S. State Department Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Edward W. Mulcahy told a Senate subcommittee in 1975 (Hearings, op. cit., p. 32). Covert CIA actions helped place Mobutu in power "once, and probably twice," in 1960 and 1965 (Stephen R. Weissman, The Nation 11/30/74), and substantial secret CIA payments have reportedly been made to him. For his part, Mobutu has spoken up at the United Nations for the pro-U.S. Lon Nol regime in Cambodia, and tried to block recognition of the MPLA-led Angolan government by the Organization of African Unity; allowed his country to be used as a center for CIA covert action; and opened wide the country's doors to foreign investment. 4

3. See, for example, former CIA Angola Task Force chief John Stockwell's letter of resignation from the CIA (WP 4/10/77). The Angola Task Force was based in Kinshasa. After pointing out how the U.S. was "solidly discredited" for the CIA's operations against Angola in 1975-6, Stockwell asks, "Can one not argue that our Angolan program provoked the present invasion of Zaire?"

4. "...although the country owes $2 billion in foreign debts and its roads are overgrown by bush and jungle, it offers enormous prospects for quick killings.

"A Pakistani businessman, whose enterprises were twice nationalized in the last 10 years, is back to open a chemical plant. Why in the light of his experiences has he returned, he was asked...he...rubbed his thumb and forefinger together and said, 'Tell me where else in the world I can write off my entire investment in just six months'" (Michael T. Kaufman, NYT 4/19/77).
In the African context, U.S. investment in Zaire is substantial. Even at a conservative estimate of $1.25 billion in 1975 (estimate based on State Department figures cited in Gran, op. cit.), Zaire is second only to South Africa as a receptacle of U.S. investment in sub-Saharan Africa. Direct investments by Gulf Oil, General Motors, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, Inter-Continental Hotels (owned by Pan Am), Continental Grain, IBM, Singer, Amoco Minerals (owned by Standard of Indiana), and other U.S. firms amounted to $150 to $200 million in 1975; another $34 to $40 million of Texaco and Mobil Oil assets were then in the limbo of Zairean nationalization. Other loans and contracts, especially in big projects such as a copper complex in Shaba province (involving the Fluor Utah construction company) and the massive Inga hydroelectric scheme (involving Westinghouse, U.S. Steel, and Morrison-Knudsen of Idaho which is building 1,050 miles of electric power lines from Inga to Kolwezi in Shaba province), totalled $875 million in 1975 (Gran, op. cit.).

Loans supporting these big projects have been made by a number of U.S. agencies. The U.S. Export-Import Bank, as of July 1976, had made over half of all U.S. government bilateral loans for business contracts with Zaire. The U.S. Agency for International Development, PL 480 (the Food For Peace program), Commodity Credit Corporation, and other agencies that draw on the U.S. treasury have also extended loans and credits; the total, as of October 1976, stood at $525.9 million (USAID FY77 and FY78 Submissions to Congress).

Borrowing heavily, Zaire has been unable to meet its obligations: less than 10 per cent of the amount owed U.S. government agencies had been repaid as of February 1976 (USAID Submission to Congress for FY77). Little wonder that Zaire merited the Export-Import Bank's lowest rating ("D") as a credit risk (U.S.)

Payoff: Most Europeans and Americans also learn to bend to the Congo's ubiquitous matabish, or bribe. At first, moral righteousness tends to prevail over pragmatism; thus, Inter-Continental vowed that it would not resort to bribery to open the hotel on time. But with construction running months behind schedule and 10 per cent over budget, officials compromised. Critical furnishings and building materials were flown in during the final months, only to encounter further maddening delays of as long as three months in customs offices at N'Djili airport. "We chose the only route open to us," admits an Inter-Continental official, "the matabish."

_Newsweek, November 22, 1971_

5. Since 1960, the U.S. has steadily encroached on Belgium's relationships with Zaire. In 1975 the United States displaced Belgium as Zaire's largest single supplier of goods, selling it $207 million, nearly 18 per cent of Zaire's total imports, versus Belgium's 15 per cent share. (In 1969, the U.S. had supplied 12 per cent, Belgium 22 per cent of Zaire's imports by value; International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Annual 1969-75). The story was similar for government-to-government assistance: in the period 1969-72, Belgium supplied 71 per cent of Zaire's aid from Western countries, the U.S. 18 per cent; but during 1973-4, U.S. and Belgian aid were virtually equivalent, each country providing about 34 per cent of Zaire's total aid from Western countries (calculated from OECD, Development Cooperation, Paris, 1974, table 73, and USAID Submission to Congress for FY77, Africa Programs, p. 142). The relative amounts of U.S. and Belgian aid and trade have fluctuated over the years, but the trend toward U.S. dominance in both spheres is unmistakable.
Senate hearings, op. cit., p. 18). But Zaire has continued to receive loans. Private banks in Europe and the United States, counting on repayment out of Zaire's mining revenues, have taken the lead in furnishing them, thus complementing U.S. government loans and credits.

The bulk of private loans came when copper's prospects were shining. In 1974, when the price of copper climbed to a freakish high of $1.50 per pound, Zaire borrowed and spent prodigiously; Mobutu even talked of cutting back production as part of a producers' cartel. But when the price returned to near its "normal" level (bottoming at 52 cents per pound in late 1975), and Zaire's oil import bill quadrupled over 1972 levels, things began to look bad. Then Zaire began defaulting on loan repayments (many loans having been for short terms and at stiff interest rates). Under severe pressure from the Ford Administration (Tad Szulc, New Republic 2/21/76), the International Monetary Fund moved to rescue Zaire, and its creditors as well. In return for Zaire's austerity measures (a 42 per cent devaluation which boosted import costs by about 70 per cent, price increases, a credit squeeze--hitting low-income people very hard), the IMF came up with a $160 million loan and a deal to postpone for three years 85 per cent of Zaire's international obligations (Gran, op. cit.). Subsequent negotiations, linked to further IMF influence over Zaire's economic policies and involving a Citibank-syndicated loan of $250 million, took place in 1976 (Business Week 1/31/77).

Today, Zaire's modern economy rests on a tottering stack of loans amounting to $2.5 billion, a huge amount for a Third World country (WSJ 3/24/77). Zaire's debt to private lenders stands at an estimated $800 million, nearly half of which is owed U.S. banks (WSJ 11/8/76; Africa News 4/11/77). Given this debt, the IMF's importance in determining the internal economic policies of Zaire looms even larger now, since governments and private banks look to the IMF both as arbiter of Zaire's economic life and as the ultimate insurance company for what have proved to be bad loans. Since the IMF draws on the United States Treasury, it operates as yet another vehicle whereby American tax dollars underwrite private lenders and their shaky borrowers.

Zaire illustrates how U.S. taxpayers, through government use of their dollars to lend and underwrite loans to an unsound client, become the captives of that client. Intricately tied to the Mobutu regime, the U.S. is in danger of being pulled with it into a quagmire. Zaire's fragile economy, built precariously on mineral production, has excluded the country's most precious resource, its

6. At least $105.5 million more has been loaned to Zaire since then; however, repayment figures have been omitted from the current U.S. Agency for International Development submission to Congress as "not available at time of printing."

7. The IMF is no stranger to the Zairean scene. In 1967 it imposed a similar regimen (also requiring belt-tightening for already impoverished Zaireans). Together with its sister institution the World Bank, the IMF plays a major role in setting Zaire's economic policies. Gran considers, on the basis of considerable research in Washington, that "the highest level of policymaking for the Zairean economy" takes place among a few high IMF and World Bank officials, who meet each year to review a five-year plan for Zaire. In Zaire itself, a World Bank team headed by a U.S. economist has been attached to President Mobutu's office since 1973. In Zaire's highly centralized government, Mobutu's office is the seat of power (U.S. Senate hearings, op. cit.).

8. Minerals account for 80 to 90 per cent of export value; copper alone accounts for 60 to 70 per cent of export value and 40 to 50 per cent of Zairean government revenues (Gran, op. cit.). About 48 per cent of the U.S. cobalt requirement is imported from Zaire.
people. Oriented toward the Western market economies and a tiny elite, Zaire has seen ever more money, much of it loans, concentrated on that narrow base; but a lopsided reliance on minerals (and their unstable prices) has led to an inability to repay loans; so even more loans, and further reliance on minerals and neglect of human needs, have followed.

In increasing distress, the rural areas have become volatile sources of discontent. The disturbances in Shaba province are a reflection of the general malaise of the country. With Zaire's financial future (and the money of many international lenders) mortgaged to the underground wealth of Shaba, it is no wonder that many are rushing to "stabilize" the situation there. But "stabilization" implies further support for the Mobutu regime and its lopsided economy--and bombs and bullets in abundance.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CRISIS

"We have no outstanding commitments in Zaire."

"U.S. Flies Supplies to Zaire to Assist in Halting Invasion"--"Stability of Zaire Could Be Periled, Vance Tells Hill"--"Egyptians Arrive in Zaire to Discuss Military Aid"--"France Airlifting Moroccan Soldiers to Help Out in Zaire"--"U.S. to Send $13 Million in 'Nonlethal' Aid to Zaire"--such were the headlines in March-April 1977. President Mobutu Sese Seko's hold on Zaire was being threatened by an armed movement in Shaba province, home of the Kolwezi copper mines.

Early in March, soldiers variously estimated at 5,000 (Zairian figure) or 500 (Belgian sources cited in the Washington Post 3/16/77) took over several small towns in western Shaba province and started moving east. At the end of March they took the town of Mutshatsha, an important point on the way to the Kolwezi mines, and they soon began "consolidating their hold on... southern Shaba province, setting up a civil administration, trying to maintain social services, and bringing in new supplies," according to intelligence sources in Kinshasa (Robin Wright, WP 4/7/77).

New York Times correspondent Michael T. Kaufman reported from Kinshasa that the insurgents were "believed supported by their fellow Lunda tribesmen, who dominate the region, and that they were 'familiar with the terrain of the region and have tribal and family links with the population'" (NYT 3/19, 3/23/77). Mutshatsha fell without a fight and the insurgents were said to have been welcomed by the population, and some of the Zairean troops to have gone over to their side, a correspondent of the Paris daily Le Monde reported from Lusaka. "It is thought here that the same scenario will take place in Kolwezi," he wrote (Jean-Claude Pomonti, Le Monde 4/7/77).

HOW DO YOU PUT DOWN A REBELLION 1,500 MILES AWAY?

The challenge to Mobutu was compounded by the size of the country: 1,500 miles from Kinshasa, the capital, to Shaba province; only a few hundred miles of good roads; surface transport all but impossible. Whence the supreme importance of moving troops and supplies by air.

The C-130, built by Lockheed, is a 4-turboprop-engine, military transport plane capable of carrying 92 soldiers, or a 155mm. howitzer, or 45,000 pounds of
Mobutu Wants Cokes To Go With His Plane

WASHINGTON, April 19—President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who expects shortly to receive a C-130 transport plane that he purchased from the United States, apparently wants the plane to be delivered full of Coca-Cola.

A State Department spokesman confirmed that President Mobutu had requested the soft drink. A Defense Department official, who asked not to be identified, said Mr. Mobutu had asked that $80,000 worth of the beverage be delivered in the C-130. He added that, "I don't have a clue" as to why the Coke is being sought. "I just don't know."

The Pentagon official said that approval of the request, which was reportedly made within the last week, would have to come from the State Department and added that he was "dubious" about whether Mr. Mobutu would ever receive the Coke.

"We're not sending arms... We're sending batteries and shoes and britches and matters of that nature," White House press secretary Jody Powell told reporters...

Malnutrition is widespread and may actually be increasing throughout Zaire. Protein deficiency is the principal nutritional problem, with average daily protein intake estimated to be between 33 and 43 grams or just half the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization recommended daily allowance for the country... Overall... malnutrition is considered to be a primary or associated cause of approximately 60 per cent of Zaire's high morbidity and mortality.

"As with other health problems, malnutrition most severely affects children under five years of age and pregnant and lactating mothers. The substantial level of malnutrition is especially serious because of its synergistic effects, both exacerbating existing illnesses, and increasing susceptibility to new infection."


equipment, with a range of up to 4,700 miles. One of the early products of the military-technological explosion sparked off by the Korean war in the '50's, the C-130 in Vietnam was described as "heavily used in logistic pipeline. Airlifts troops and material in-country; performs low level supply drops; evacuates wounded; rescue version makes airborne pickup of downed airmen" (Frank Harvey, Air War--Vietnam, New York, Bantam, 1967, illustrations).

President Mobutu's meagre air force includes some five American C-130's (International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Military Balance 1976/77). From the reports of the emergency U.S. airlift to Zaire in mid-March, we learn two interesting facts:

(1) The money for the equipment airlifted—which included spare parts for C-130's—came from funds appropriated for Zaire for July-September 1976 but not yet spent (Philadelphia Bulletin 3/16/77).

(2) "Many" of Zaire's C-130's had been grounded for lack of spare parts (Reuters, NYT 3/32/77).

In the arms trade, spare parts are a means of control. By providing equipment and then withholding a key component, a supplier is able to say when the equipment will or won't be used. Putting these two stories together, one might hazard the guess that Zaire's C-130's had been grounded six months or more; and that with the flow of spare parts resumed in mid-March, Mobutu was given a green light to go ahead and try to crush the rebellion.

"...the possibility of withholding spares is potentially a powerful instrument. For instance, for a typical aircraft engine, 10 per cent will break down after 800 working hours without spare parts, and 50 per cent will break down after 1,800 hours. Supplying countries control the trade in spare parts as closely as the trade in weapons. They are, moreover, unwilling to supply spare parts together with the delivery of complete equipment" (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, The Arms Trade with the Third World, 1971, p. 68).
March 15 (WP 3/16/77). Soldiers need shoes and britches; they also need to be taken to the area where they will be using their (U.S.-supplied or other) weapons. When the State Department announced in April that another $13 million of what it called "nonlethal" military equipment would be sent to Zaire, it was disclosed that about $9 million of that amount would be for a C-130 plane, with the rest going for fuel, spare parts, and communications equipment (NYT 4/13/77).

U.S. AID AND THE MILITARIZATION OF AFRICA

"Tiptoeing into Zaire" was the phrase used by the Boston Globe to describe the emergency airlift of mid-March. "The $1 million in medical supplies and spare airplane parts," the Globe wrote in an editorial March 18, "...is such a small amount when one measures it against the waste of war that one has to wonder why anyone even bothers."

Measured against Zaire's total defense budget, U.S. military aid is far from insignificant: $30.5 million in the current fiscal year, or 17 per cent of the estimated $175 million Zairean military budget for 1976-7.

"From late 1962," according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, "the U.S.A. has been the main supplier of arms to Congo (Zaire) and the level of U.S. supplies has been closely connected to the intensity of the fighting in the country. Thus, supplies increased drastically in 1964 and 1967 when the central government was involved in combating first the radical followers of Gizenga, armed with weapons from the Soviet Union, China and some radical African states, and then an uprising of foreign mercenaries joined by local forces" (The Arms Trade with the Third World, revised edition, 1975, p. 243).

Relatively low at $3.8 million in the fiscal year 1975, U.S. military aid to Zaire shot up to $19.3 million in fiscal 1976 with the fighting in neighboring Angola; $10.2 million in the transitional quarter July-September 1976, and $30.5 million in fiscal 1977, with a further $32.5 million requested for the coming fiscal year (NYT 3/15/77).10

In June 1976 it was announced that Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld would visit Zaire and Kenya to discuss those countries' requests for military aid. DMS Inc., a market advisory service for defense contractors, commented: "The U.S. is now anxious to demonstrate it has not turned its back on Africa, nor relinquished the area to Soviet domination. To this end, the Pentagon is now eyeing Zaire and Kenya as recipients of major new arms assistance." One might also suppose that to American policymakers, Zaire and Kenya were good choices for black African countries that, tied to the U.S. by substantial military aid, would act in America's behalf "in Africa and Third World forums."11 Either way, a major arms transfer would be a significant escalation of the arms race in a continent that had thus far been largely immune to that deadly form of competition.

10. The Carter Administration's current request includes $2,500,000 for "essential technical and professional career training" of 136 Zairean military personnel in the United States under the International Military Education and Training program (up from 72 trainees in the current fiscal year) and $50,000,000 Foreign Military Sales financing which Zaire is expected to use for "the purchase of equipment needed to modernize basic ground force units," including such non-lethal items as "track and wheeled vehicles" (i.e. tanks or armored personnel carriers) and "artillery and communications equipment." Another $10,000,000 is requested for Security Supporting Assistance under the Agency for International Development (Congressional Presentation of FY78 Security Assistance Program).
WHO ARE THE INSURGENTS?

Despite much speculation, a precise picture of the insurgents' objectives, ideology, leadership, and popular appeal has yet to emerge.

From Mutshatsha, Robin Wright reported in March that people were fleeing, not from the insurgents, but from government troops. "The Lunda tribe, which dominates in this southeastern section of Zaire, is fiercely independent. It has opposed the government since the former Belgian Congo gained independence in 1960. "The Lunda have never recognized Zaire's national boundaries. For centuries their 'nation' has been a 15,000-square-mile area that spreads across parts of Zaire, Angola and Zambia.

"The Zaire government charged last week that the [insurgents] are traitors because they fled to Angola after the failure of the secessionist movement and allegedly became Angolan citizens. The Lunda do not agree. They contend that they have always moved freely in and out of countries, following tribal, not international boundaries" (WP 3/24/77).

On the Katangese insurgents' background, this much we can say:

- A small army of Katangese under white officers was formed in 1960 to help some local Africans and foreigners launch an unsuccessful attempt to form a separate state, Katanga.

- The Katangese forces were defeated by United Nations troops in 1963. Many Katangese fled to then-Portuguese-controlled Angola.

- After some 8,000 Katangese returned to the Congo (Zaire) in 1964-5 to fight under a white mercenary commander against Lumumbist forces, they mutinied. Several thousand are reported to have been massacred in 1966 by General Mobutu's troops. Some Katangese are said to have fled once again to Angola, where they joined the Portuguese in the fight against Angolan nationalists.

- After the 1974 coup in Portugal, many Katangese sided with the Angolan MPLA, chiefly against the rival FNLA, who were seen as an extension of Mobutu's army.

- We don't really know how many Katangese were left after all this fighting and movement. We do know, however, that the Katangese exiles in Angola hate Mobutu, whose soldiers killed so many of them in the 1960's.

- The insurgent forces, compared to the Zairean army, are well trained and battle-hardened.

- Their leader, General Nathaniel M'Bumba, is a former Zairean police officer from Shaba province who was dismissed from his post in 1967 and is described as broadly apolitical, a description that matches his statement in a telephone interview in March, to the effect that the aim of his movement was "to chase Mobutu from power and create a government of national unity" and that his movement in no way intended to sabotage the production of copper or manganese, or to expel the foreign workers who help run the mines (London Financial Times 4/9/77).

Despite "unconfirmed reports from Zaire that Cubans, based in Angola, were leading the invaders" (NYT 3/16/77), the U.S. government has continued to maintain that there is no direct evidence of Cuban participation. Should Cubans turn out to be involved, it would not be the first time. During the 1964 Congo crisis, in which the U.S. provided six T-28D armed trainers, "Two or three Americans, recruited by the CIA, flew the T-28's in combat missions in Kivu. When they were withdrawn by the State Department because of severe criticism, U.S. planes were flown by Cuban exiles" (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, The Arms Trade with the Third World, 1971, p. 661).
THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE WAR

On March 18 the Zairean air force began bomb and rocket attacks against "rebel strongholds" in Shaba province, Washington Post correspondent Robin Wright reported. The attacks were being made at such places as Dilolo and Sandoa--small towns which the insurgents had taken and manned "with a small force, perhaps no more than 100" (according to Western analysts cited in the New York Times 3/19/77). The munitions used in the bombing included U.S.-made 2.75-inch rockets, Wright reported.12

"It is questionable how effective the bombing can be," Wright wrote. "The Katangan invaders so far have used guerrilla tactics, operating after dark, which makes it almost impossible for the aircraft to spot them" (WP 3/23/77). The bombs and rockets would, however, be effective against small towns: disruptive to the soldiers there, and a stern reprisal against those who supported them.

As the fighting continued, things began to look bad for the Zaireans. Ground troops, not air attacks, were what was needed: "The area is dense with forests that provide easy cover for rebels who know the territory well," as Wright noted. And Zaire's army--"poorly organized forces with no recent experience in either conventional or guerrilla warfare" (Wright, WP 4/8/77)--was hardly about to fight a protracted battle.13

On April 7 the Zaireans announced that troops from Morocco--an arms client of the United States14--would be sent to help out in the fighting in Shaba province.

11. A glimpse of Kenyan participation in old-fashioned U.S. "carrier diplomacy" was offered in a March 25 article by John Darnton in the New York Times:

"The East African coastline has assumed significance with the growing East-West politization in Africa that has come with the prospect of racial war in the south. The only harbor on that coastline where United States ships are free to call is Mombasa in Kenya.

"Last month, as tensions rose between Kenya and Tanzania and President Idi Amin of Uganda summoned American residents to a meeting, a United States military vessel, the carrier Enterprise, docked at Mombasa."

12. The 2.75-inch rocket, manufactured by several American companies, with its fragmentation warhead was one of the "antipersonnel" weapons developed for Vietnam. The warhead is designed so that it will break, on explosion, into a large number of small, fast-moving metal fragments, hitting as many people as possible and often causing serious injury to them (see E. Prokosch, The Simple Art of Murder: Antipersonnel Weapons and Their Developers, NARMIC, 1972).

13. "Perhaps most critical is the state of Zaire's 25,000-man army, which observers say is underpaid, poorly trained and undisciplined. There have been reports that some of the soldiers have fled to avoid combat with the Lunda tribesmen spearheading the invasion of Shaba province.

"The key question is whether Mobutu can afford to prosecute a war and whether he will face a military mutiny if he does," one diplomat [in Kinshasa] said" (AP, Baltimore Sun 3/31/77).

14. Between the fiscal years 1965 and 1974, Morocco received almost half of its external arms supplies and military aid from the United States: $51 million out of a total of $114 million from all countries. In fiscal 1975 the U.S. gave Morocco $14 million in Foreign Military Sales credits, enabling the country to buy almost $300 million worth of arms.
Egypt, another U.S. arms client, sent a team to Kinshasa to discuss providing troops and supplies. France put a fleet of aircraft at the disposal of Morocco to airlift the troops and supplies that French President Giscard d'Estaing had reportedly urged the Moroccans to send. France and Belgium were sending in arms, and the French sent spare parts, "presumably for the 17 Mirage IV planes, five helicopters and the more than 200 armored cars that France had earlier sold to Zaire" (Andreas Freund, NYT 4/11/77); South Africa was secretly negotiating to provide fuel and funding, according to sources in Kinshasa; West Germany decided to fly in $2.1 million in "humanitarian and medical aid" (WP 3/19, 4/8, 4/9, 4/14/77; NYT 4/11, 4/15/77).15

The Moroccan chief of staff, arriving in Kolwezi, was faced with the problem of disciplining three Moroccan soldiers who had tried to rape a Zairean woman and had then beaten her and her baby and stabbed two of her children, ages 2-1/2 and 6, to death (Wright, WP 4/15/77).16 Meanwhile, as "heavy artillery or mortar exchanges" took place around a hamlet between Kolwezi and Mutshatsha, wounded persons, possibly the casualties of air strikes, were being treated at mission hospitals 100 miles northwest of the supposed line of battle (Kaufman, NYT 4/16/77);17 and Lunda tribesmen, Wright reported, had become "victims of [a] massive and almost systematic intimidation campaign by government troops" because of their tribal affiliations with the insurgents; six persons having been "killed from beating or stabbing incidents," with "unconfirmed reports of other deaths and imprisonment" (WP 4/21/77).

In mid-April, French paratroopers were photographed in Kolwezi; some 80 Belgian "military instructors" were also known to be in Zaire; the arrival of the French "advisers" and Moroccan troops in Kolwezi had caused "morale" to rise (at least among the Europeans there; NYT 4/13, 4/17/77). "France has had a consistent interest in protecting French-speaking Africa," C.L. Sulzberger wrote. "As recently as 1976 it referred officially to its little-known mobile 'force d'intervention'... Some years ago the admiral commanding the intervention force's forward element told me it was ready to intervene anywhere in Francophone Africa" (NYT 4/16/77).

The dramatic increase in French involvement served to take the spotlight off Washington, where a restive Congress might have tried to tie the Administration's hands; America's overt role now seemed minor in comparison.18 The emer-

15. In terms of the military situation, outside aid was crucial. Aid from outside sources might enable the defenders "to turn around a situation that looked virtually hopeless some days ago" according to intelligence sources (Charles W. Corddry, Baltimore Sun 4/19/77).

16. "The incident could have serious repercussions on the joint Zaire-Morocco military campaign in this valuable mining center," Wright commented. "...The Zairean army is viewed by many Africans here as an alien force, especially since the Katangan rebels now pushing close to Kolwezi are from the local Lunda tribe. The murders could further alienate Kolwezi residents and facilitate Katangan infiltrations."

17. According to the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC), French-made Mirage fighters were being used in napalm attacks. "Flying in formations of five at a time, the jets are dropping 1,500-pound napalm bombs on such towns as Mutshatsha, Kisenge, Kayembe, Lufupa, Lupusa and Kanzenze. 'Only smoke and cinders remain' in a number of villages, according to FLNC reports" (Guardian, New York, 4/27/77).

18. The French airlift of Moroccan troops was "a classically Gallic go-it-alone
gency U.S. airlift of mid-March had been characterized in the New York Times 'Week in Review' as "small but significant," and the Times in an editorial had dubbed the operation "Think First, Fly Later"; a month later the Week in Review called the American aid (now standing at $15 million) "limited" and commented that the Carter Administration was "apparently wary of supporting Mr. Mobutu's weak regime" (NYT 3/17, 3/20, 4/17/77).

The situation in Zaire may well get worse, and France and Morocco and the United States be sucked deeper and deeper into the quagmire. Or--with reporters intermittently barred from Shaba province--it is possible that the French paratroopers and their Moroccan allies will succeed in mopping up the insurgent soldiers and meting out whatever grim punishment may be coming to the tribesmen who supported them, with little attention paid by the rest of the world. Then things will return to "normal," and the nation of Zaire will be as shaky, and the people of Zaire as badly off, as before.

gesture," the Philadelphia Inquirer said in an editorial 4/12/77 urging restraint on France's part. Earlier, though, President Carter had indicated that consultations with France had been taking place: "...we have been cooperating in exchanging information with the Belgian government, the French government, and others, just to try to stabilize the situation and to lessen the chance of expanding the conflict" (press conference 3/24/77).

"The future of Africa is central to the prophecy that feeds the Communist sense of dedication and historical confidence. The Communists accept change as an immutable aspect of our reality, and they believe that they understand the direction it will take."--Z. Brzezinski, Introduction, Africa and the Communist World (Stanford Univ. Press, 1963)

This background report was prepared by David Sogge, International Division, American Friends Service Committee, and Eric Prokosch, NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex, a project of the American Friends Service Committee). It may be quoted provided citation is given.

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