



INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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Chief, Records & Information Div, WHS
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SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McGIFFERT

SUBJECT: Status Report on Zaire (U) -- INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

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HVS

(U) PURPOSE. This memorandum responds to your note of July 21, 1978 requesting a status report on Zaire including an indication of where, when, and how the next decision point for the USG is likely to occur.

(S) SECURITY SITUATION. The Inter-African Force (IAF) composed of soldiers from Morocco, Senegal, Togo, Gabon and a medical contingent from the Ivory Coast appears to have accomplished its initial mission of restoring calm and order to the mining towns of Shaba. Commanded by the very able Colonel Loubaris of Morocco, the IAF has calmed down FAZ indiscipline and looting. While rebel forces are reported to remain in Shaba, they are no longer considered to be an effective fighting force. Regarded as a group of brigands; reportedly, they spend their time rustling cattle and preying on the local populace. Possibly some of these so-called rebels are actually FAZ deserters engaged in banditry. Although the IAF has managed to curb somewhat Zairian Army indiscipline and looting, the FAZ state of effectiveness in and around Kolwezi continues to be very low. In this regard the French have accelerated the training of the FAZ Airborne Brigade which is slated to replace the IAF. One of the battalions assigned this brigade was instrumental in retaking the Kolwezi airfield during Shaba II. If the French accelerated training program is successful, it is expected that the brigade would be ready to replace the IAF some time after February 1979. USDAO, Kinshasa, considers some point after June 1979 a more realistic estimate. Reports state that Mobutu is considering establishing three new brigades to be commanded by French, Belgian, and PRC officers as a possible device to facilitate the transition between the departure of the IAF and the resumption of total security in the Shaba region by FAZ Forces. [redacted] has indicated to USADO, Kinshasa, that the Moroccans would stay as long as necessary; that morale was high and supplies adequate. However, due to an air of retrenchment on the part of France regarding logistic support, the Moroccans are giving some thoughts to the possibility of suggesting a bilateral US/Moroccan meeting to negotiate possible airlift support for resupply of the IAF.

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(C) POLITICAL SITUATION. There has been considerable movement on the political front. US efforts to promote a political reconciliation between Mobutu and Neto resulted in the Zaire-Angola Reapproachment Agreement. This Agreement was signed in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, on July 22, 1978 and provides a resolution of three long-standing contentious issues between the two countries:

- o creation of an OAU Verification Commission to assure inspection/monitoring of dissident base areas in the border regions of both countries;

- o voluntary return of refugees under international organization supervision; and,

- o reopening of the Benguela rail line.

Although the Agreement does not provide for anything concrete concerning formal diplomatic relations, if implemented, it will improve substantially prospects for an ultimate reconciliation and long-term security within the region. On the domestic front, Mobutu appears to have taken a significant step towards national reconciliation with the July 12 announcement of his International Amnesty Measure. In effect, this measure provides amnesty for Zairian refugees and those imprisoned for threatening internal security. According to reports, one of the more notable beneficiaries of the measure is the former Foreign Minister, Nguza, who is highly regarded by the US. Although Mobutu has not fully implemented those measures required for long-term political stability, the Zaire-Angola Agreement and the International Amnesty Act represent significant first steps--steps that probably resulted from pressure by the US and our allies. Thus, if Mobutu is to continue along the path of political reform, we must continue to make politico-economic reform a pre-condition for Western assistance.

(S) NEXT DECISION POINT FOR US. Likely scenarios for the next US decision point relate to the accelerated French training program for the FAZ Airborne Brigade; responding to possible Moroccan requests for IAF logistical support; and developing a mechanism for aid to the OAU Verification Commission. Given the French commitment to training the FAZ Airborne Brigade, perhaps the US should be prepared for a French proposal that the US assume a greater role by providing additional logistical support to the IAF. Since 1960, no serious effort by any donor nation has been made to upgrade the Zairian Armed Forces; the French appear to be willing to undertake this task. However, it is doubtful that, given their other commitments in Africa, they can or would be willing to do so for an indefinite period of time. A somewhat similar situation exists with the Moroccans. Although [redacted] thinks the Moroccans would stay as long as needed, the recent coup in Mauritania and tenuous indications that the new regime is casting about for means to come to terms with the Front Polisario over the Western Shaba, could result in Morocco assuming a

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greater role in the fighting against the Algerian-backed Front. This added burden could cause the Moroccans to have second thoughts about their role in the IAF unless significant outside aid in providing logistical support is forthcoming. With regards to the OAU Verification Commission, the Zairian Ambassador to the Congo has informed US Embassy, Brazzaville, that Zaire would be looking to the US for logistical support. Angola will be represented on the Commission by Nigeria and the Cameroon while Sudan and Rwanda will serve as Zairian representatives. According to Zairian Ambassador, a need exists for choppers, aircrafts, etc. The light aircraft would be used to permit the verification teams to carry out their functions. Given the US role in facilitating contacts among the Zairians, Angolans and Congolese which led to the Zaire-Angola Agreement, it would be difficult to withhold logistical support that could be essential to the implementation of the verification portion of the Agreement.

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CONCLUSION. Due to the Moroccan dominated IAF, the current politico-military situation in Zaire is calm as result of order maintained by the Force. The next decision point faced by the US is likely to occur in an international context at some time, yet unspecified, but related to our efforts to have Mobutu implement those measures that will lead to long-term stability in Central Africa. How this decision point is likely to occur is also an open question; however, if US initiatives such as those that led to the Zaire-Angola Rapprochement are continued, it is unlikely to occur in a crisis atmosphere.

Office of the Secretary of Defense *S.U.S.C. 8552*
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RTM
 ROBERT J. MURRAY
 Deputy Assistant Secretary

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 There is a related decision already upon us regarding, as the Moroccans put it, "replacing the equipment they have sent to Shaba". In our view, this must be decided largely in the context of Morocco's FMS program rather than in a manner which suggests repayment for Moroccan Shaba contributions. *col*

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