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IN THIS ISSUE:

**1. THE NEW UNITY MOVEMENT
STATEMENT ON IRAQ**

**2. THE COVER-UP FOR SUHARTO -
BUTCHER OF INDONESIA**

3. WHY IS AFRICA POOR?

THE NEW UNITY MOVEMENT PRESS RELEASE

STOP THE WAR ON IRAQ!

IMPERIALIST THUGS - OUT OF THE GULF!

The unleashing of a savage war upon Iraq by American-led Imperialist forces on Thursday 17 January 1991, is one of the most loathsome and revolting crimes committed against the people of Iraq and the rest of the Middle East. The New Unity Movement condemns in the strongest term possible the orgy of brutal military savagery. We join all those people who throughout the world have raised their voices against this systematic murder of opponents and the reckless way in which the world is being pushed to the brink of another World War.

The shameless way in which the 'allied forces' have used the cover of the United Nations Organisation to pretend that the attack on Iraq has the sanction of "the world community" is a measure of the utter contempt in which the warlords of the rich industrial countries - particularly the United States, Britain, Japan and the rest of the members of the European Economic Community - hold the peoples of the Middle East and "third world" countries. The statement of George Bush made shortly after the sudden pearl harbour-type strike against Baghdad is a crude rationalisation of the Hitlerite aims of the "great powers"; the cold, unfeeling support for war from the British Prime Minister hours later was an additional affront to all humanity. With Francois Mitterand they form an evil trinity that the world can well do without. The "socialist" president of France wasted the fewest words. "Let the guns speak now" is all that that Monsieur Guillotine could offer. This is an outrage upon all humanity. A plague upon their houses!

And thus these well-heeled dogs of war began with mega-bombs, missiles and other instruments of death and terror, the destruction of Baghdad, a city with 4 000 years more of civilization than the Pentagon from which the computerised vandals have come.

We repeat. It is the control of the world's oil supplies and the monopoly finance that it generates, and the installation as the supreme imperialist bridgehead in the Middle East of Israel that motivates the "allied forces". Saudi Arabia and the Kuwaiti governments have become their willing stool pigeons. We reject with contempt the praise that Mr Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli Minister of Defence, has heaped upon warmongers. Democracy and the "defence of liberty" are foreign to all who now support the "Gulf War."

WE say again: **"Imperialism - Out of the Gulf! Stop the war on Iraq!"**

R.O. DUDLEY President 17 January 1991

COVER UP FOR SUHARTO - THE BUTCHER OF INDONESIA

Throughout history, rulers have sought to distort or deny historical facts to justify and continue their rule. They have not been shy to utilise the whole array of communications networks and media to bombard the people with falsehoods. The distortion not only takes the form of changing of facts but also of OMISSION where pertinent facts or whole episodes in history are left out to create a false impression. This face of the ruling class we know all too well.

However, when people hailing from within the ranks of the oppressed, or worse still, members of liberatory organisations adopt a visage not unlike that of ruling class news reporters, it is alarming and disgraceful. One cannot help but refer to Ismail Meer's¹ article on his trip to Indonesia in these base terms. In an article entitled "Mandela Recalled Historic Ties on Indonesia Visit" (Leader - 07:02:90), Meer traces his sojourn, as part of an African National Congress delegation, to Indonesia.

This article:

1. paints Indonesia as a country of harmony, tolerance and unity;
2. presents Suharto, ruler of Indonesia, as a person committed to democracy and the preservation of human dignity;
3. brazenly describes their (Meer and company) reception by the Indonesian authorities as though they were a government in waiting.

A superficial, romantic and fraudulently false impression of Indonesia is created, interspersed with Meer's ingratiating appraisal of Suharto. Nowhere is there even a passing allusion to the horrendous events that brought Suharto to power in the mid 60s, or of the continuing injustice the people in that country suffer under his regime.

TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT:

The person who ruled post-World II, "independent" Indonesia was Sukarno. He had secured a tenuous coalition of three main political trends by the mid-60s: The Nationalists under himself, the Communists and Religion supported by the military.

Sukarno's brand of nationalism failed to seriously address the economic problems Indonesia faced. His paltry attempts to introduce reform, especially in the area of land division and agriculture, to benefit the peasantry were opposed and thwarted by the military bureaucrats and conservative elements within his Nationalist bloc.

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To detract from the lack of domestic success Sukarno adopted an apparently 'radical' posture on international affairs. Publicly, he became a

¹ Also known as I.C. Meer. Formerly, a prominent member of the Natal Indian Congress. In the 1940s he was a leading member of the Communist Party of South Africa

vociferous critic of imperialism and neo-colonialism. In addition he forged closer links with the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. For this reason the United States of America and world imperialism regarded Indonesia as a threat to their regional interests.

During this period, the 1960s, the Communist Party of Indonesia (abbreviated PKI) was the largest non-ruling Communist Party in the world. The PKI had a membership of more than three million and a mass support of approximately 10 percent of the Indonesian population.

These two factors, firstly, Sukarno's 'radicalism' and, secondly, the strength of the PKI made the USA view Indonesia with extreme wariness.

The Sukarno-led coalition was rent apart on 30 September 1965 with the murder of six generals in the army. Imperialism and the military-religious bloc within Indonesia were quick to falsely brand this as a prelude to a Communist coup. Historical evidence, however, points to the fact that it was a result of a fallout between dissenting divisions within the army.

The army took over. . . What followed was a nightmare for the Indonesian people.

The army went on an all-out butchering spree on the pretext of cleaning up the country of troublemakers - it was in fact an anti-left pogrom (organised massacre).

An obscure general, Suharto, co-ordinated the killings.

People with even the remotest links to the PKI and even those who had never heard of Marxism were murdered; people were forced to lie about friends and marauding gangs sanctioned by the army. Sukarno was increasingly isolated from the running of the country as, the army took control. He resigned in 1968 and Suharto has ruled ever since.

During that long black period between October and December 1965, 250 000 Indonesians were confirmed killed. A Sukarno-instigated commission estimated the figure to be 480 000 at least. 117 000 political prisoners were jailed for up to thirteen years each. Nor did the atrocities end there. TODAY (1991), TWENTY-FIVE YEARS LATER, these ex-prisoners are:-

1. not allowed to meet in groups of more than five;
2. not allowed outside Jakarta without permission;
3. banned from foreign travel;
4. required to have their identity documents stamped by the authorities.

What was the reaction of Imperialism?

1. Time magazine (15 July 1965) called it "The West's best news for years in Asia."
2. During the massacre, United States ambassador to Indonesia, Marshall Green, said he admired the work of the army.
3. United States embassy officials provided Suharto's henchmen with a list of several thousand names of communists which they had compiled.

4. United States State Department documents covering United States assessments and policy for the entire three months preceding the Suharto 'coup' are either off limits to researchers or lost.

As far as Imperialism was concerned the right side had won and it did not matter at what price. Throughout this Suharto proved himself the Blue-eyed boy of Imperialism.

This is the real Suharto - Murderer and imperialist lackey - whose bloodstained hands were clasped by Meer and company.

In concluding his article, Meer writes that Suharto thanked them and handed . .

"Ten million American dollars as a gift from his people to the task of reconstructing democracy and human dignity for all in South Africa. . . We were overwhelmed and full of rich memories. . ."

The attitude of the New Unity Movement toward a foreign government stems from the latter's treatment of its own workers and peasantry. Any respect for democracy and human dignity must be reflected in its domestic policies. Suharto's brand of 'democracy' we can do without. His bloodstained ten million dollars is a small price to pay for his atrocities to be swept under the carpet by Meer and company.

What "rich" memories do the former comrades and relatives of those murdered by Suharto have of him? What do the oppressed and exploited in that country think of a foreign liberatory movement being wined and dined when their own organisations are trampled underfoot?

The New Unity Movement adopts an internationalist approach to struggle.

"We identify with the struggles of oppressed and exploited people wherever they may be. Their struggle is our struggle; their victory is our victory and their defeats are our defeats. When they get killed, we 'are diminished' and their mourning becomes our grief." (APDUSA VIEWS - No. 36)

We cannot lose sight of this perspective. To do so is to cut ourselves off from the rest of humanity and by that act to betray our own people.

WHY IS AFRICA POOR?

**NOTES OF A READING OF "THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE AFRICAN
CRISIS" PUBLISHED IN 1988 BY BADE ONIMODE²**

"Africa" says Onimode* "is poor because she is rich."

He develops this paradoxical statement by showing the perverse logic of capitalism and imperialism as seen against mass poverty of Africa and the enormous wealth of the continent. African riches are impressive. In industrial diamonds, columbium, cobalt, chromium and beryllium, Africa either heads the list of the world's producers or is on the shortlist. It is a storehouse of tin, manganese and copper. Iron ore and bauxite reserves are aplenty. The Congo and South Africa have contributed to the atomic age with their uranium. The importance of Algeria was enhanced with the discovery of oil there. The USA, Western Europe and Japan depend on Africa's mineral wealth. Thus these countries depend on Africa for more than 50 percent of their imports of bauxite, natural gas, phosphate, cobalt, uranium ore, chromium and manganese.

Africa's agricultural resources - cocoa, coffee, tea, foodstuff, vegetable oil, cotton and pyrethrum are enviable.

This tremendous wealth is supplemented with an able-bodied population of approximately 492 million (in 1982) in 10 million square miles. Africa has excellent transport potential in numerous navigable rivers and highly accessible plains and lowlands. .

In the backdrop of such an excellent resource base, why does Africa remain the poorest continent in the world? And, indeed, why is it wallowing in squalor and crises?

In the words of Bade Onimode, "The main reason for this is that, for centuries, Africa's huge wealth has been plundered for the benefit of non-Africans."

Also on page 5 Onimode refers to the UN survey in which it is stated that 21 out of 30 countries classified as "least developed" in the world are in Africa.

Although Africa is primarily an agricultural country the graph of production shows a permanent downward line, resulting in massive food imports.

In 1980 each African country had an average food bill of 102 million dollars for cereals and livestock. For non-oil producing African countries, the total food import bill rose from 1,9 billion dollars in 1973 to 6 billion in 1980.

The annual growth rate of manufacturing in 1973 was negative in 6 countries. In 1980 it was negative in 13 countries.

Africa's foreign debts have also been piling up:
7 billion dollars in 1965 28 billion dollars in 1975

² Onimode is a lecturer in Political Science at the University of Ibadan.

The consequences of all this manifest itself in inequalities in power, wealth, income and social opportunities with regard to education, health and related facilities.

Western writers will quote figures of the increase in wealth but they will not tell you that just as capitalism introduced more wealth than all previous modes of production, it has also generated more painful squalor than any previous period in history. Thus African multi-millionaires are present. Living cheek by jowl are the multi-millionaires - the Mobutus, the "mandarin" millionaires of Nigeria, on the one hand, and the millions languishing in misery, open starvation, malnutrition and unemployment, on the other hand.

The resultant human decay has its spin off in escalating crime, drug abuse and prostitution.

What Onimode says on page 18 of his book has a familiar ring in the South African scenario:

"With the development of neo-colonialism, colonial regimes everywhere carefully cultivated a domestic petty bourgeois class of comprador merchants, traditional rulers, feudal landlords, civil servants, professionals and politicians. These not only provided local support for imperial authority but constituted the nucleus of the post colonial ruling group."

In the neo-colonial countries the petit bourgeois class, carefully groomed, constituted the leadership initially of the anti-colonial nationalist struggle. They are the ones who later compromised the objectives of the struggle, to mere political freedom. A national struggle could lead to liberation wars, leading to popular revolution but the development and the nurturing of the petit bourgeois as referred to above, accepted compromise which resulted only in the removal of settler racism.

Mechanisms of domination and exploitation were retained by this pro-imperialist colonial elite. This type of freedom, Onimode classes "flag" or "political" independence - without achieving national economic independence.

On page 19 he says "the basic strategy is the forging of symbiotic collaboration between reactionary domestic petit bourgeois and the imperialist bourgeois for the joint, if unequal domination and exploitation of the post colonial state."

Onimode also deals with the argument of Western economists that multi-nationals are partners in development because they convey foreign capital to poor countries, transfer technology, create jobs, pay wages and taxes and promote industrialisation.

He counters by saying that this argument conceals the "stark reality" - the pillage of natural resources, super exploitation of labour, net capital transfer from the poor countries, technical retardation and political instability.

The countries of origin of foreign capital to Africa are the United States, West Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Canada, Netherlands - 90 percent of the total flow of foreign capital -- limited to just 8 countries.

Onimode argues that by supporting and consolidating pro-imperialist governments and organisations the multi-national corporations are vehicles of destabilisation. He refers to them as "Trojan horses". In country after country in Africa it is the activities of the multi-national corporations that have been facilitated by the active and willing co-operation of the petit bourgeois.

The following figures are quoted:

ANNUAL EARNINGS OF DIRECT PRIVATE INVESTMENTS BY UNITED STATES FIRMS
US DOLLARS IN MILLIONS.

	1960	1964	1967	1970
Africa	33	380	453	845
South Africa	50	87	128	141
Libya		258	292	557
Liberia		18	16	28

Dealing briefly with South Africa, Onimode quotes the following figures with the regard to foreign direct investments.

1956	1968	1973
R2,757 million	R4,990 million	R9,163 million

These figures exclude short-term capital and the immense export of technology to South Africa. Onimode says "Profits extracted by the multi-national corporations from South Africa are amongst the highest in the world." Conservatively estimated it is R9 16,3 million annually.

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