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BACK TO KATANGA

The U.S. and the Crisis in Zaire

The swift Carter administration decision to send up to \$2 million in emergency military supplies to Zaire continues a 17-year-old policy of U.S. intervention in that sprawling central African country. But there are also indications that the U.S. is seeking to avoid further military involvement in what may become a protracted revolt in Zaire's Shaba province. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance told a Senate committee March 23 that the U.S. is working with Nigeria and other African nations on a "political solution" to the conflict.

The U.S. first intervened in Zaire, the former Belgian Congo, just after it gained independence in 1960. Recent Western accounts agree that the Eisenhower administration moved almost immediately to overthrow and then try to assassinate the first African prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, a radical nationalist considered by Washington to be pro-Soviet. With Lumumba eliminated, the U.S. continued to seek establishment of a stable pro-Western regime, culminating in the 1965 military coup which brought President Mobutu Sese Seko to power.

Since then, Zaire has been a linchpin of U.S. strategy in Africa. A State Department official told the *New York Times* Jan. 4, 1976, that "the United States viewed the position of Zaire within Africa as roughly similar to that of Brazil in South America," that is: mineral-rich, strategically located, pro-Western. The official added that "there was a thrust within the State Department to bolster Zaire in the hope it could extend its hegemony throughout the continent."

Half of all U.S. military aid to Africa currently goes to Zaire, and the CIA reportedly maintains its largest station there. During the recent war in Angola, the U.S. used Zaire as a conduit to funnel as much as \$60 million to the defeated pro-Western factions. At the same time, U.S. military assistance to Zaire increased sharply from \$3.5 million in fiscal year 1975 to \$30.2 million in the current fiscal year.

The United States also has major economic interests in Zaire. Private U.S. investment—mostly in mining, construction and oil—now totals nearly \$1 billion. Zaire supplies 7 percent of the world's copper, 67 percent of its cobalt and a third of its industrial diamonds. Last year, the U.S. registered a healthy balance of trade with Zaire—importing nearly \$100 million worth of raw materials and exporting \$190 million in manufactured goods. More than 50 major U.S. banks and corporations do business with Zaire. The Idaho-based construction firm Morrison-Knudsen is building one of the world's longest electrical power transmission lines in Zaire, a 1,200-mile link from the Inga dam to the Shaba copper mining district. Financed by the U.S. Export-Import Bank and already into substantial overruns, the project has cost nearly \$400 million so far.

The U.S. has an enormous loan commitment to Zaire and has been active in recent years in trying to keep the Mobutu regime

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Mobutu's army: dissension in the ranks

INDONESIAN INVASION

Congress Hears Report of 100,000 Killed in E. Timor

The Carter administration has quietly adopted a policy of support for Indonesia's military takeover of East Timor and is asking Congress for increased military aid to the Jakarta regime. Indonesia formally annexed the former Portuguese colony last July, but reportedly still controls less than 20 percent of the land and half the population, and is continuing to wage a bloody war against the Fretilin independence forces. A report prepared for the parliament of neighboring Australia charges that Indonesian forces have killed up to 100,000 civilians—15 percent of the population—since invading East Timor December 7, 1975. The report—which stimulated hearings in Washington last week—calls Indonesia's actions in East Timor "the most serious case of contravention of human rights facing the world at this time."

The report was prepared by James Dunn, a former Australian consul in East Timor, who currently heads the Australian parliament's foreign affairs research unit. His report says Indonesian soldiers have indiscriminately gunned down civilians in the major towns, wiped out entire villages in the mountains, engaged in widespread rape and looting, regularly used torture to gather information, and bombed villages with napalm. Dunn based his February 11 report on interviews in January with Timorese refugees now in Portugal. His findings, including the figure of 100,000 civilians killed, confirm a report compiled by the Indonesian Catholic Relief Agency operating in East Timor

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INDIA FACES UNCERTAINTY

Indira's Stunning Defeat

It will henceforth be known as the "Janata wave"—the tide of popular sentiment that last week swept Prime Minister Indira Gandhi out of office and ended 30 years of Congress party rule in India. But the vote was less an endorsement for the diverse politics of the opposition Janata party than it was a vote against the state of emergency which Gandhi had imposed on India 22 months earlier.

When she called the elections in January, Gandhi was confident that she could win a mandate for her emergency rule, defending it as a wise and critical move aimed at saving India from chaos. But she underestimated the deep popular feeling against the emergency—both in the cities, and in the villages of rural India where most of the population lives.

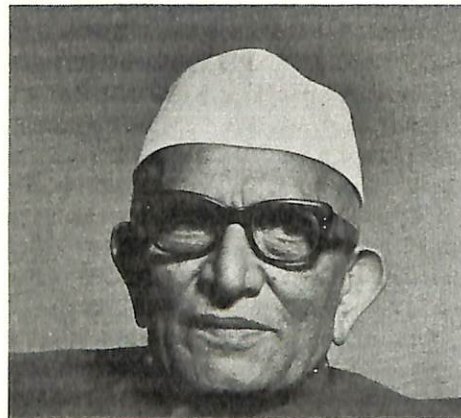
It is "a gross underestimation of the Indian electorate," said a Janata official before the election, to think that people do not care about their rights. "If it was just a question of freedom of the press, then perhaps the cliché of lack of interest would be right," he added. "But it is of course infinitely more than that." For rural India, what the emergency meant above all was forced sterilization.

The sterilization drive was supposed to be voluntary, but under the aggressive direction of Gandhi's son Sanjay, strong pressures and sometimes force were used to implement family planning. In Uttar Pradesh, the state where Indira and Sanjay lost their seats, there were riots and deaths in several cities last fall over the sterilization drive. In Sanjay's district, farmers told reporters of fleeing the area, missing the planting season, to escape the vasectomies. In another district, a state bus driver told a reporter he had been denied his salary for two months because he refused to get a vasectomy. Another

said his father had been suspended as a school clerk until he was sterilized.

The backlash against sterilization and its chief proponent Sanjay Gandhi gave the opposition its single most important issue. But India's rural electorate was also angered by other aspects of the emergency. "Just because a man is poor and maybe cannot read," one farmer told a *New York Times* reporter, "does not mean that he cares nothing for his human rights. The Congress government has tried to shut my mouth, and therefore the Congress loses my vote."

If Indira Gandhi miscalculated the popular mood, she also underestimated the ability of her opponents to unite against her. What brought the opposition parties together, after decades of factionalism, was their opposition to Gandhi and the emergency. "Dictatorship or democracy" was their rallying cry—and people responded. A case in point was the candidacy of Socialist party leader George Fernandez. Fernandez ran his campaign from prison, where he was being held on charges of leading an underground movement to overthrow Gandhi. He was not even from the district where he ran, and



Prime Minister Morarji Desai: inherited problems

most of the voters never saw him. His enthusiastic supporters said a vote for him "will truly be a vote against Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorship." Fernandez won by over 300,000 votes. He was released on bail two days after the election.

Whether the opposition can hold their alliance together in victory remains a major question. The Janata party incorporates three right-wing parties and the Socialists. They are allied with the Congress for Democracy, formed during the campaign by ambitious former Agriculture Minister Jagjivan Ram, whose defection six weeks before the election turned the tide decisively in favor of the opposition. Ram spent his political life in the Congress party, and he indicated several times that he would not rule out a reconciliation once Gandhi was defeated.

An even bigger question is what the policies of the new government, with its conflicting political tendencies, will look like. In its platform, the Janata party promised to lift the state of emergency. That was already done by Indira Gandhi as one of her last acts in office, but key provisions of the emergency had also been written into law and the constitution—measures which the new government will seek to repeal. One of the rights to be restored is the right to strike, and with it is certain to come labor unrest which had been contained by the emergency. The Janata platform stressed economic and social problems and promised to emphasize small-scale industry and development of the rural sector. The platform charged that during the emergency, 1.5 million workers lost their jobs, prices rose, and "millions of Indians go hungry." Now these problems belong not to Indira Gandhi, but to her victorious opposition. —JA

E. Timor

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and smuggled out of the country to Australia last December.

Eyewitnesses told Dunn of Indonesian troops shooting people with their hands raised on the day of the invasion in Dili, the capital. They said the following morning, a group of 27 women were lined up on a wharf and shot one by one while a crowd was forced to count as the bodies fell into the ocean. The procedure was repeated a few hours later with 59 Timorese and Chinese men, the refugees said. They also reported that some 500 ethnic Chinese were killed the first day of the

invasion, and estimated that 7,000 Chinese—half of East Timor's Chinese population—have been killed.

The Dunn report stirred up a political furor in Australia, where Indonesia's occupation of East Timor has been a simmering issue, pressed by an active movement in support of Fretilin. Six members of parliament, including the deputy leader of the opposition Labor Party, sent a letter to Rep. Donald Fraser (D-Minn) asking him to hold hearings on the charges in the Dunn report. This was followed by a petition to President Carter signed by 94 Australian MPs calling on him to comment publicly on the Timor case and to use his influence with Indo-

nesia to stop the reported atrocities and violations of human rights.

When the Indonesian government learned that Dunn was slated to testify in Washington, it threatened demonstrations at Australia's embassy in Jakarta and warned that relations with both Australia and the U.S. would be "hindered" by the congressional hearings.

Dunn testified March 23 before a joint hearing of Fraser's subcommittee on International Organizations and the subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific headed by Lester Wolff (D-NY).

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert Oakley testified a week earlier before Wolff's subcommittee. He dis-

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Arnold -

Thanks for all the material
you have sent me - I have
tried to put it to good use.
Enclosed is the radio report I
did on Dunn's testimony as
well as the latest Bulletin.
Keep up the excellent work.
Benny