

Intercontinental Press

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International Women's Year Conference

Will International Women's Year Conference Be More Than Jimmy Carter Bargained For?

By Matilde Zimmermann

"Showdown in Houston" a recent headline in the *Christian Science Monitor* predicts in inch-high type.

The International Women's Year conference to be held November 18-21 in Houston, Texas, is shaping up as a major confrontation between feminists and right-wing forces in the United States. Twenty thousand women are expected to attend.

The conference is sponsored by the State Department and financed by the U.S. government. It is a component of the pro-women's-rights mask President Carter wears as he goes about the business of curtailing abortion rights, gutting affirmative action, and putting the Equal Rights Amendment on the back burner.

The hall where the official proceedings will take place won't hold much more than the 1,900 elected and appointed delegates and a few thousand official guests. Workshops, films, and other activities are being organized for the thousands of women who will come as observers.

Large numbers of feminists see the national conference—as they saw the preliminary state meetings—as a way of advancing the struggle for women's rights. As the state conferences began to occur in early 1977, it became apparent that International Women's Year was not going to be the quiet pro-Carter affair its organizers had planned.

Preliminary conferences were held in every state and tended to be two or three times larger than anticipated. There were 2,000 women at the first conference in Vermont; 10,000 came in New York, 4,500 in Minnesota.

The state conferences drew a total of more than 130,000 women of all ages and many different backgrounds. In some states there were sizable contingents of minority women. In Arizona, for example, 30 percent of the participants were Chicanos, Black, and Native American women.

Many—perhaps most—of those who attended had never been to a women's

liberation meeting, but the vast majority came because of concern over feminist issues. They wanted to defend abortion rights, speak up for gay and lesbian rights, get the ERA passed, and end sexual discrimination in education and employment. The motions passed in state after state reflect these sentiments.

Small groups of antiabortion and anti-ERA women attempted to disrupt the early state conferences. By late spring the right wing had stepped up its campaign and was mobilizing its forces to take over state conferences and elect antifeminist delegates to the Houston conference.

This effort was successful in a number of states. The Mormon church mobilized women for the Utah conference, and that gathering of 14,000 overwhelmingly passed motions against the ERA and abortion. A motion to abolish women's suffrage even got considerable support.

The Mississippi conference elected an all-white delegation (including five men) in a state that is more than one-third Black. The local Ku Klux Klan leader bragged that the KKK "controlled the one in Mississippi."

Men openly led many of the right-wing interventions at the state conferences. In Georgia men with walkie-talkies directed the floor fight for the antiabortion, anti-ERA forces. In Oklahoma it was male fundamentalist ministers who bused their congregations to the conference and, in the words of one observer, "directed the voting like drill sergeants."

The Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Robert Shelton, told a *Detroit News* reporter that the KKK had infiltrated "most of the state International Women's Year meetings" and would be sending women and men to Houston. The men were going, according to Shelton, "to protect our women from all the militant lesbians who will be there."

Other right-wing groups expected in Houston are the numerous "right-to-life" (antiabortion) organizations, the John Birch Society, Eagle Forum, and Stop ERA. The last two organizations are led by Phyllis Schlafly, the most prominent crusader against the women's liberation movement.

Antifeminist slates won a majority in ten states and will have about a quarter of the delegates, according to estimates published in the press.

The fact that antifeminists are coming in large numbers to a women's conference means that there will be a clear and open clash of ideas. The outspoken enemies of women's rights are a tiny minority in the United States, but they have powerful friends in high places. Supporters of women's rights have to be able to answer their arguments and expose them in public debate. In the past, some leaders of the women's movement have pushed a strategy of avoiding debates with antiabortion and anti-ERA forces, or even of skirting the issues that arouse the right-wingers' fury. No one thinks that will be possible in Houston.

The conservative groups also attempted to get Congress to call off the national conference or withhold its funds. A bipartisan congressional committee heard testimony September 14-15 on how the state conferences had been "rigged" by the feminists.

The *Congressional Record* of October 6 reprints the testimony of Mary Schmitz, a leader of the antiabortion and anti-ERA forces in California. Among the things that outraged Schmitz at the California conference were a "Lesbians Fight for Rights" banner, a "Stop the B-1 Bomber" leaflet, and a workshop led by Women Strike for Peace. She complained that "some of us were followed from workshop to workshop by crowds of lesbians. . . ."

Congress of course is not seriously considering cancelling the Houston conference. The event is widely publicized, and President Carter himself intends to address the delegates. The conference does pose a certain problem for the Carter administration however—a problem that has nothing to do with threatened disruption by the right wing.

Carter's problem is with the conference majority, the thousands of women who will come from all over the country precisely because they are worried about the attacks on women's rights over the past year.

These attacks come from the government itself, from all of its branches, and from both federal and state bodies. The blows have come on a variety of fronts—abortion rights, affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, gay rights, pregnancy disability insurance, and economic equality.

A discussion is going on within the women's movement and within the National Organization for Women, the largest feminist organization in the country, about how to fight back against these attacks. At the time of the NOW national convention last April, the elected leadership preached a strategy of reliance on Carter and other "friendly" Democratic Party politicians. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 23, 1977, p. 570.)

NOW and other women's organizations are beginning to respond to the challenge

Next Week . . .

"Back to Kant? The Retreat of Lucio Colletti."

A review article by George Novack assessing the major works of Italian Marxist philosopher Lucio Colletti.

and opportunity presented by International Women's Year. "We have to mobilize for this conference," NOW president Eleanor Smeal said recently, "or eleven years of hard work goes up in smoke." She warned that the national conference "will be interpreted as NOW's defeat if it goes badly. . . . We must be there in such large numbers that the anti-women's rights movement cannot disrupt it."

The Houston conference is government sponsored; it will be run as tightly and undemocratically as the state conferences were. Nevertheless, feminist organizations and thousands of individual women see Houston as the place to protest the setbacks they have suffered—and they are right.

American feminists have two purposes in mobilizing for the Houston conference. One is to isolate the antiabortion, anti-ERA forces by exposing them as the minority they really are. The second is to deliver the strongest possible message to the government sponsors of the conference that women are determined to stand up for their rights. □

French Stalinists Rap Prague Trial

After the conviction of four Czechoslovak dissidents October 18, the French Communist Party daily newspaper *L'Humanité* called their trials "a caricature of justice" and said the defendants were on trial for their ideas.

"Even though this time the prosecutor never referred to Charter 77," the editors said, "it is clear that the four intellectuals who were brought before the Prague court were arrested because they expressed opinions different from those of the present leaders of Czechoslovakia.

"To the argument that they violated the law by publishing outside the country works that Prague calls subversive, we answer that the law ought to be changed immediately.

"In any case, do not count on our sanctioning, even by our silence, what we view as a clear denial of justice—whatever the defendants' political positions and even if we do not share them. This is especially true because the ideas articulated by Charter 77 do not seem to us to represent any kind of threat to socialism.

"No argument of state or party interest, and no false concept of international solidarity, will persuade us to accept such a caricature of justice, which only makes socialism look bad. Clearly, less damage would be done to the Czechoslovakian state by having the writings of some discontented intellectuals circulate abroad than has been done by the way they have been treated in their own country." □

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Kidnappings Used as Pretext for Massive Police Operation

By Gerry Foley

Ruthlessly exploiting the desperation of tiny groups of terrorists, the West German government has staged a vast drama of repression designed to intimidate critical elements in its own society and to promote an international witch-hunt.

Bonn's operation, described as the most massive in the country's postwar history, has been enthusiastically assisted by the capitalist press throughout the world. At the same time, the massacre by police of 120 striking sugar workers and their wives and children in Ecuador on October 18 [see page 1217] has gone virtually unnoticed.

The West German government's use of the terrorist incidents to cut back democratic rights guaranteed by its own constitution and its whipping up of a gigantic witch-hunt have been portrayed by the international press as a "moderate" response to extremists allegedly seeking to provoke Bonn to adopt fascist methods.

In the October 23 *New York Times*, columnist C. L. Sulzberger argued that the West German government actually could improve its "democratic" reputation by pressing its campaign for international "antiterrorist" measures:

Because of this background [successive German governments' failure to educate the population about the crimes of Nazism and the codling of former Nazi criminals]—psychologically explainable but politically and morally uncomfortable—it is desirable that Bonn should move as fast and effectively as possible in the U.N. to press its anti-hostage resolution. It must capitalize on the respect it has so recently won for achieving a victory against extremism—by effective democratic means. And Bonn's allies and friends, who all stand to gain by such a measure, must render the utmost possible help.

Bonn's resolution was ostensibly aimed at stopping "air piracy" by calling on all governments to try hijackers themselves or return them to their country of origin. However, no special resolution is necessary for dealing with criminals, since there are already international conventions in regard to this. In cases of political terrorism, the actions of governments will obviously be determined primarily by domestic political pressures. The only effect of such a resolution will be to strengthen international political police operations and thus to strengthen repression in each country.

The West German press has made it absolutely clear that Bonn's campaign against "international terrorism" is leading to an attack on the rights of political refugees in general.

In its October 24 issue, the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*, the most prestigious of the mass-circulation press in West Germany, carried a long feature trying to put a large part of the blame for the growth of international terrorism on the "liberalism" of the Gaullist governments. The article was introduced by the following statement:

Paris is today the center of international terrorism. Under the leadership of an Egyptian, Latin American guerrillas, Palestinian fanatics, and German Red Army Faction members have organized.

This feature went on to point out:

About 140,000 exiles, more than in any other European country, are living in France today. While the West German authorities reject about 90 percent of applications for asylum by non-Europeans, and Italy grants the right of asylum only with "geographical conditions," France grants up to 90 percent of the requests for asylum by persons coming from all parts of the earth. It does this, as one ministry official has said, "without considering the difficulties this can cause in our own country."

The article continued:

Thus, precisely in France, as the Briton Colin Smith has said, "two violent and radical traditions, that of the Latin American liberators and the Kamikaze mentality of the Palestinian guerrillas, have been able to combine into a new type of terrorism." This has been promoted also by the pro-Arab policy traditionally followed by the Quai D'Orsay [the French foreign office], which has avoided any sharp confrontation with Palestinian leaders.

It is in France that criticisms of the witch-hunt campaign in West Germany have aroused most attention. That no doubt recommended the country as a target for the kind of accusations raised by *Der Spiegel*.

The lead article in the same issue of the West German magazine reported on the commando raid in Mogadishu, Somalia, which liquidated a group of terrorists that had hijacked a plane to back up the Red Army Faction group that kidnapped industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer. This commando operation had won international "admiration," *Der Spiegel* wrote. However, the writer of this article noted a certain strident tone in the chorus of praise:

In the triumphant shouts of former critics and new friends of German efficiency, no matter how much they wanted to please, there was a rather disturbing note:

The tone was set from the *New World*: "The West German government has won the praise

and the admiration of the civilized world," declared the *New York Daily News* in an editorial. America poured praise on the Germans from its cornucopia.

All the major TV stations featured news from the German front, for up to fifteen minutes.

The West German commando action, it was reported, inspired enthusiasm in Japanese government circles as well.

In its October 17 issue *Der Spiegel* had carried a special interview with Japanese security advisor Shinkichi Eto. The main subject of discussion was the hijacking of a Japan Airlines plane by Japanese terrorists who then held some of the passengers hostage in Dacca, Bangladesh. Eto argued that Tokyo had given in to the demands of the hijackers only out of racial servility:

"At the start, the government was determined to stall as long as possible. . . . But when Tokyo learned that the first hostage the hijackers threatened to shoot was an American, the mood in the cabinet changed totally. Do you know why?"

The *Spiegel* reporter proffered:

"Because it was a foreigner?"

Eto answered:

"That's right. It was the white-man complex of the Japanese. If it had only been Japanese hostages, the government might have held tough. But since a white American—not a Black American—was involved, the government was ready to give up."

Embarrassment at Tokyo's surrender in the Japan Airlines hijacking increased the admiration of Japanese political circles for the West German government's determination and for the Mogadishu operation, *Der Spiegel* reported. The Japanese were now supposedly calling on their government to follow the example set by Bonn if such incidents occurred again.

The Tokyo English-language newspaper *Mainichi Daily News* also approved the West German action in Mogadishu, but it pointed out that the Japanese authorities lacked the political preconditions for following this example. In an October 19 editorial, it said:

To begin with, such a blitzkrieg as staged by the West German antiterrorism commandos was only possible in a country capable of dispatching its troops abroad under a Constitution which recognizes rearmament. In the case of Japan, the prerequisites for handling such a case are entirely different.

In dealing with the current incident, the West German authorities enforced a complete news

ensorship, refusing to announce the list of hostages. This is only possible when there is a "national consent" to keep silent in an incident like this.

Is it possible in this country to carry out such a censorship? The answer is "No." Should the government hammer out measures one after another while remaining mum on the list of hostages, it would be subjected to terrific public pressure.

The Japanese imperialists cannot stage commando raids in East Asia because that would encroach on the prerogatives of a more powerful imperialist center, Washington. That is where Tokyo's real servility comes in, although Eto did not see fit to mention this. In Africa, the U.S. is prepared to accept involvement of the European powers.

Washington obviously is quite aware that such overseas commando operations set a precedent, and establish a pretext, for imperialist intervention. If such actions are justified to rescue hostages taken by terrorists, why can they not be used to rescue citizens or representatives of imperialist countries allegedly threatened by governments or by unrest in colonial countries? This is the classic excuse for "gunboat diplomacy."

Tokyo cannot impose the sort of censorship Bonn has because the Japanese labor movement will not tolerate it. No working-class leadership with a minimal instinct for political self-defense would grant such powers to the capitalist state apparatus. The fact that the West German Social Democratic Party not only permitted this but actually served as the agent of the capitalists testifies to the extreme corruption of the bureaucratic leaderships of the workers movement in the country.

It is the capitulation of the bureaucratic leaders of the German workers movement that has enabled Bonn to exploit the terrorism of tiny groups of petty-bourgeois adventurers to mount a huge witch-hunt. But this campaign does not threaten the German workers movement alone. As it gains momentum, it inevitably encourages attacks on democratic rights in other countries as well. The French government, for example, had already been stepping up its repression against political exiles and foreign-born workers.

Bonn's ability to whip the West German press into line also enabled it to manipulate the media in order to achieve the bloody drama it so clearly wanted. In an October 19 dispatch, *Washington Post* correspondent Michael Getler reported:

Schleyer's family tried vainly to pay off a \$15 million ransom to help free him, but his son claimed today that the government had intentionally leaked word of the plan to a news agency so that the terrorists would cancel the deal.

In its October 21 issue, the *Mainichi Daily News* reported:

Japanese police authorities said Thursday [October 20] that the murder of kidnapped West

German industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer was an "expected result" of the West German government's success in rescuing the hostages of the Lufthansa jet hijacked by terrorists believed to be associated or sympathizing with Schleyer's far-left kidnapers.

The Tokyo paper also explained clearly the political implications of Bonn's operation:

They [police officials] said that decisions on how to combat terrorism cannot be made by the police alone, but must be based on prevailing public opinion.

They admitted that at the present time it is difficult to measure the response of the Japanese people to the strong steps taken by the West German government to resolve the Lufthansa hijacking.

In general, the international capitalist press and not just the West German has tried to assure the desired "response" on the part of the people to the ruthless actions of the West German authorities.

Scarcely any major paper has questioned Bonn's fantastic story about the alleged suicides of three terrorists whose release was demanded by the Lufthansa hijackers and by the kidnapers of Schleyer.

Getler reported the following statements by West German officials without comment:

Officials conceded that two of the terrorists had died from bullet holes in the back of the head, but they argued that the gang leaders had deliberately staged their deaths to embarrass the government.

Interior Minister Werner Maihofer charged: "Some people will push their treachery so far as to make their own suicide look like an execution."

This "treachery" of the imprisoned terrorists was also supposed to explain the fact that two bullets were fired in Andreas Baader's cell, besides the one that passed from the nape of his neck through his brain.

The big capitalist papers carried long analyses of the political objectives of the terrorists, speculating among other things that their idea was to force the Bonn regime to "expose its latent fascism." Considerable interest was shown in possible relationships between the metaphysics of New Left professors such as Herbert Marcuse and the operations of the terrorists.

However, no "analyst" in the capitalist press seemed interested in exactly what the terrorists thought they could gain by simulating their own murder.

In fact, the incident that has most embarrassed West German authorities responsible for the imprisoned terrorists was the death on hunger strike of Holger Meins in 1974. If the prisoners found the conditions under which they were held so unbearable that they were driven to suicide, they could have embarrassed the government most effectively by saying so.

On the other hand, if the prisoners had really succeeded in smuggling in all the things that were supposedly found in their cells after their deaths, there would have been no reason for them to give up all hope of escape or at least of carrying out a final attack on the forces of "order." Their entire history shows that they were more interested in the élat of armed actions than in embarrassing the government politically.

Defense lawyers were supposed to have smuggled a small arsenal, including pistols, ammunition, and explosives, into the maximum security isolation cells of the prisoners. The prisoners themselves, despite constant surveillance by guards and daily searches of their cells, were supposed to have constructed an electronic communications system. But even these technical feats would be put in the shade by such elaborately staged suicides.

One imprisoned terrorist, Irmgard Möller, supposedly went so far as to stab herself four times in the chest and throat, but avoided killing herself so that she could accuse the prison authorities of murder. It was not easy either for Möller to make these accusations. It was five days before she was allowed to talk to her lawyer. In its October 24 issue, the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported the story she told:

In the night of October 17-18, Irmgard Möller heard noises in the corridor. She called out very loudly, and despite the soundproofing of the cells, she had the impression that Jan-Carl Raspe answered. A little later, at about 4:30 a.m., she lost consciousness. When she woke up, she was on a stretcher, covered with blood. She heard the following phrase: "*Baader und Ensslin sind kalt*," which can mean either "Baader and Ensslin are cold" or "Baader and Ensslin have been cooled."

Rouge speculated that the prisoners had been gassed so that their "suicides" could be carried out without difficulty.

Möller's revelations have gone virtually unreported in the capitalist press.

Many articles on the terrorist incidents in Germany have taken a long historical view, comparing them with events under the Weimar republic. But little interest has been shown in the many historical examples of governments shooting political prisoners in retaliation for the actions of their associates. This method is entirely consistent with Bonn's deliberate sacrifice of Schleyer and its commando operation in Mogadishu.

The West German government and the international capitalist press are obviously determined to exploit the actions of tiny terrorist groups in order to cover up the expansion of the state and private repressive forces.

The Red Army Faction thought they could frighten the capitalists by desperate actions. They proved to be nothing but ignorant pawns in the game of a class far more ruthless than the most desperate terrorist. □

Carter Vetoes UN Sanctions Against South Africa

By Ernest Harsch

The South African regime's allies in the United Nations Security Council—the American, British, and French governments—have once again come to its rescue. On October 31, the three powers vetoed resolutions proposed by African representatives that called for a ban on foreign investments and credits for the racist regime, a halt to arms sales and other military collaboration, and a move toward UN punitive measures.

It was the fourth time that they used their veto powers on Pretoria's behalf. In 1974 they blocked South Africa's expulsion from the UN and a year later voted twice to prevent the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo.

In an earlier effort to head off the demands for sweeping sanctions, the three Western powers, together with the Canadian and West German governments, proposed instead a mandatory arms embargo, but with a six-month, renewable time limit. The African representatives in the UN demanded an indefinite arms embargo.

But even this, on the surface, was a shift in official Western policy toward the racist white minority regime. They had been forced to adjust their previous stance as a result of mounting international protests against the apartheid regime's crackdown on Black activists, especially the outlawing on October 19 of every major Black organization in the country, the arrests of scores of Black leaders, and the "banning"¹ of a number of prominent antiapartheid figures.

One reflection of this international pressure has been the demands of forty-nine member states of the Organisation of African Unity, not only for a mandatory arms embargo, but also for the imposition of worldwide trade sanctions against the apartheid regime and an end to foreign investments in South Africa.

The Western moves in the UN in response to this pressure are certainly a diplomatic blow to Pretoria. In particular, they are a setback to Prime Minister John Vorster's efforts over the past few years to enlist a greater degree of open political

support from his American and European allies.

But a mandatory arms embargo, even if enforced, would at this stage do little more than inconvenience the South African racists. Referring to Pretoria's ability to manufacture many of its own sophisticated weapons and military equipment, correspondent David B. Ottaway commented in the October 28 *Washington Post*, "The Western arms embargo on South Africa now in the making has come far too late to have any significant effect on that country's ability to wage conventional or guerrilla war against other African countries or its own black population in the foreseeable future."

As with some other recent adjustments in imperialist policy toward southern Africa, the initiative for the cosmetic arms embargo came from the White House.

On October 24, Andrew Young, the American representative to the UN, declared that he favored the imposition of "some form of sanctions" against Pretoria. Three days later, President Carter, during a Washington news conference, stated, "My decision has been to support strong sanctions against the sale of weapons to South Africa. This will be carried out immediately by us." He also indicated that Washington would extend the partial "voluntary" arms embargo it had adopted in 1963 to cover spare parts for military equipment and possibly other items as well.

A few days later, however, on October 30, Young made it clear that this extension of the U.S. embargo would not include an end to the shipment of American nuclear fuel for Pretoria's nuclear reactors. He claimed that such a move "would only encourage separate development of South Africa's own nuclear potential." But in reality, it has been Washington's technological collaboration with Pretoria over the past two decades that has helped the white supremacist regime build up its nuclear industry to the point where it is now capable of producing its own atomic weapons, if it so desires.

Although the Carter administration has been following what it calls a "new" policy toward southern Africa since assuming office in January, it is notable that the president did not even mention a further reduction in the flow of American military supplies to Pretoria until after Vorster's recent crackdown and the subsequent increase in protests over American com-

licity with the apartheid regime.

The criticisms of the White House were even reflected within the Congressional Black Caucus, a body of Black congressional representatives that has thus far largely supported Carter's policy toward Africa. The caucus chairman, Parren J. Mitchell, declared October 21, "It's a desperate situation in South Africa and we in the caucus are becoming desperate because of the lack of definitive action by our government."

He rejected the White House contention that it was necessary to temper American criticisms of Pretoria because of Washington's efforts to gain South African cooperation in its neocolonial plans in Namibia and Zimbabwe, stating that the argument was "part of the game-playing that is going on in this administration to justify support of this racist regime."

Besides seeking to prevent even greater disillusionment with the White House among the Black population in the United States, Carter was also forced to shift his official stance toward the Vorster regime in an effort to shore up American political influence with the Black-ruled states of Africa. Ottaway pointed out in the October 25 *Washington Post*, before Carter's announcement on the arms embargo, that "the Carter administration appears to be facing a major crisis of credibility in its carefully nurtured African policy."

The pledge by Carter in his October 27 news conference to extend the formal restrictions on the sale of military supplies to Pretoria was an implicit admission of how extensively Washington had violated its own "voluntary" arms embargo since 1963.

This included the provision of spare parts for American military equipment, participation in the building of a military communications and intelligence system near Cape Town, and the sale of "dual purpose" aircraft—such as Bell helicopters, L-100 transport planes, and twin-engine Lear jets—that were shipped to South Africa under a civilian guise but could also be used for military purposes. For instance, Pretoria used its commercial fleet of Boeing 747 jets to ferry troops during the South African intervention in the Angolan civil war.

And in helping to lay the groundwork for Pretoria's efforts to attain a nuclear weapons capability, Washington has trained South African nuclear scientists, opened the facilities of the former Atomic Energy Commission to them, provided nuclear equipment for the South African research reactor at Pelindaba, and sold Pretoria enriched uranium, which can be used for weapons production. As Young announced, this nuclear collaboration will continue.

Some of Pretoria's other allies, France, Britain, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, and Israel, to name only the most promi-

1. A person who has been banned is placed under a form of house arrest or confined to a particular area. He or she cannot meet more than one other person at a time who is not a member of the immediate family, and cannot write or say anything for publication.

ment, have been even more direct in their military collaboration with the apartheid regime. During the past decade alone, they have sold Pretoria hundreds of millions of dollars worth of jet fighters, tanks, armored cars, helicopters, missiles, nuclear supplies, and other armaments.²

The mandatory arms embargo proposed by the Western powers would not now seriously impair the Vorster regime's ability to continue stockpiling more and more weapons, even if Pretoria's allies adhere to their own pledges (which, judging from past performance, is unlikely).

With foreign assistance, the South African racists have been able to build up their own extensive armaments industry. In an October 26 dispatch from Johannesburg, *New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns reported:

Their output exceeds that of some major European nations. A plant near Johannesburg manufactures jet trainers and fighter-bombers, and shipyards in Port Elizabeth turn out ocean-going corvettes. In addition, local manufacturers now produce armored cars, a broad range of field artillery up to 260-millimeters, small arms, and almost every type of ammunition, including air-launched missiles.

Computers for military applications are also manufactured, as well as an extensive range of radar equipment. Local plants also produce several types of light aircraft, including some designed for spotting.

A number of these weapons, it should be noted, are produced within South Africa under license from European companies.

As the UN vetoes showed, what the Western powers were really aiming at with their proposal for a mandatory arms embargo was to head off demands for trade and investment sanctions, which would be much more crippling to Pretoria.

American companies and banks alone have about \$3.8 billion in direct and indirect investments in South Africa. The British imperialists have an even greater economic stake.³

While willing to give on the largely symbolic issue of an arms embargo, the major imperialist powers are digging in their heels against anything that would cut into the fabulous profits they are able to squeeze out of South Africa's extremely underpaid and repressed Black work force.

In fact, Carter has in the past spoken in favor of even greater American economic involvement in the apartheid economy. In

2. For a more detailed examination of the foreign military collaboration with Pretoria, see "How the White House Arms South Africa" and "South Africa: NATO's Secret Partner," in the March 8 and March 15, 1976, issues of *Intercontinental Press*.

3. On the foreign economic role in South Africa, see "Accomplices in Apartheid," a four-part series in the April 11, April 18, April 25, and May 2, 1977, issues of *Intercontinental Press*.

Autopsy Confirms Biko Was Murdered



Englehardt/St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The official autopsy report on the death of Steve Biko confirms that he was killed by a blow on the head.

One of the best-known young Black leaders in the country, Biko died in a cell in Pretoria Central Prison September 12. The regime initially claimed that he died after a one-week hunger strike, but evidence that he was beaten by his captors later surfaced. The autopsy report has still not been published, but some details became available to reporters October 25.

According to the report, the primary cause of death was an "extensive brain injury" inflicted by a severe blow on his head. The injury was of a "contra-coup" type, meaning that it was on the opposite side of the head from where

the blow struck. The brain damage resulted in a reduction of blood circulation to other organs, leading to blood clots and acute kidney failure.

The report also cited at least a dozen other bruises and abrasions on Biko's body, as well as extensive rib injuries.

The widespread protests over Biko's death and the overwhelming evidence that he was murdered by his jailers has forced the apartheid regime to order an inquest. The inquest opened in Pretoria October 27, but was quickly adjourned until November 14. "The maneuver effectively silenced the Biko family and delayed release of crucial documents," the October 28 *Washington Post* reported.

As with the many other deaths of Black political prisoners in South African jails, the Vorster regime is not admitting any guilt, nor is it giving up its attempts at a cover-up.

Justice Minister James T. Kruger has claimed that Biko may have been injured while resisting the police. The Afrikaans-language newspaper *Die Vaderland* said that Biko's injuries were the kind that could have been suffered "by any person who has slightly bumped his head, either by a fall or walking into a door." A number of progovernment newspapers published nearly identical articles going to the extent of claiming that Biko may have inflicted the injuries on himself.

Biko's widow, Ntsiki, has no doubts about how he died, however. Explaining that she was planning to sue Kruger for hundreds of thousands of dollars, she said, "I believe they must have beaten him themselves."

an interview published in the November 5, 1976, *Johannesburg Financial Mail*, just three days after he won the presidential elections, he declared that economic sanctions against Pretoria would be "counter-productive." When asked if he would encourage more American loans and investments in South Africa, Carter replied, "Yes indeed."

Rather than applying any effective pressure on Pretoria, the actions of the Western powers, despite their "anti-apartheid" verbiage, have only encouraged the Vorster regime to continue escalating its racist and repressive policies. In an October 24 dispatch from Johannesburg, Otta- way provided some evidence of this:

Some local observers have become convinced, however, that the Vorster government does not really believe the United States is ready to apply

all that much diplomatic or economic pressure. . . .

These observers believe Vorster and his ministers took this very much into their calculations in deciding last week to go ahead and ban 18 black and white opposition groups and detain scores of black leaders.

Justice Minister James T. Kruger has himself admitted that the cabinet took the possible international response into account before deciding to launch the crack-down.

The extensive ties that Pretoria has with Washington and the European powers underlines the continued importance of independent mobilizations by all real supporters of democratic rights, against both the repressive policies of the Vorster regime and the complicity of Washington and other governments in the racist system of apartheid. □

'Terrific Pressure From Ranks' of Colombian Unions

By Eduardo Medrano

President López Michelsen, who was completely inflexible and unmoved by the demands of a powerful workers movement at the time of the national citizens strike September 14, seems to be quite accommodating when he faces representatives of the bourgeoisie, whether they are his allies or his opponents in the government.

For example, the "ill-timed" statements of Minister of the Interior Rafael Pardo Buelvas against the *Lleristas* and the *Pastranistas*¹ made them furious and caused a ministerial crisis the beginning of October. But López solved the problem quickly. Pardo Buelvas was dismissed, along with three other officials—the heads of the Agriculture, Mining, and Treasury ministries.

With this move López demonstrated his political skill, killing two birds with one stone. First, he removed the immediate target of the *Lleristas* and *Pastranistas* (without, however silencing these critics entirely). Secondly, he made the "necessary" changes without altering the ratio of the Conservative and Liberal factions that cooperate with his government. The new ministerial posts went to *Alvaristas*² and independent Liberals. In fact, the new minister of the Interior, Alfredo Araújo Grau, is a close ally of Alvaro Gómez.

Not everything went smoothly for López, however. Getting rid of the minister of the treasury, Abdón Espinosa, caused him some problems. Espinosa was perhaps the most "competent" of the three treasury ministers the López government has had; at least that was the opinion expressed October 5 by the president of the Banking Association, Eduardo Arias Robledo.

But Espinosa had two faults. He liked to have things his own way, and he was a *Llerista*. Apparently, during his months as minister, Espinosa often disagreed with López and several times tried to resign. López kept him on because he was hoping that Espinosa's anti-inflation schemes would work.

But the aspirins of bourgeois economists don't do much good against the cancer of

inflation. The inevitable happened: Under the direction of this brilliant minister, prices rose at such a rate that the workers had to do everything they could—and more than thirty of them died—to let the whole world know about the situation.

But it was not this horrible fact that brought about Espinosa's downfall. It was something else. Gomez Hurtado, who had lost Pardo Buelvas at the hands of the *Lleristas*, forced López to dismiss the *Llerista* Espinosa. López agreed and asked for the resignation. But Espinosa had the last word in a lengthy resignation letter in which he predicted that without him there would be tremendous economic convulsions within a matter of months.

For Colombian workers, this juggling of ministers didn't mean very much. It was a smokescreen to cover the stalling of the government and the bosses in the Consejo Nacional de Salarios (National Wage Board), which was then in session and was under pressure from the workers organizations to grant a general pay increase.

When these negotiations broke down, the workers found themselves in a new confrontation with the regime.

"Silent" demonstrations are being organized on a national scale for October 28, to protest the fact that trade unionists were killed, imprisoned, or penalized for taking part in the strike September 14.³

The students are seeking to take steps toward the kind of national unity that trade unionists have. According to the October 17-24 issue of *Alternativa*, the Unión Nacional de Estudiantes Universitarios (National Union of University Students—the student organization led by the Communist Party) called a national unification conference of the student movement for October 14 in Bogotá.

Peasants have also begun to hold meetings to plan activities in defense of their rights. According to *Alternativa*, at the end of September the executive committee of the Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos (National Association of Tenant Farmers) and the Encuentro de Jornaleros (Day-Laborers Coalition) decided in Tuluá "to support the democratic popular movement."

There are various strikes in progress. The October 17-24 issue of *Alternativa* reports:

3. See "24-Hour General Strike Shakes Colombia," *Intercontinental Press*, September 26, 1977, p. 1036.

Right now there are strikes at ECOPETROL,⁴ at the Medellín lubricant factory, and in the cement industry. A sitdown strike is going on at the Treasury. Unions have called for preparations for a strike in the maritime trades, the Justice Ministry, and the administrative branch of the post office. At Chrysler the workers are going to vote to strike any minute, and 2,000 longshoremen in Buenaventura have called a strike demanding improved benefits. The situation is the same in the banks of Ganadero, Bogotá, Comercial Antioqueño, and Anglocolombiano; they are getting ready for a new strike to protest the thirty-eight firings from the last strike.

Meanwhile, Tulio Cuevas, the president of the Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia (UTC—Union of Colombian Workers), in statements both to the conservative magazine *Guión* (October 10-16 issue) and to the left-wing *Alternativa* (October 17-24 issue), emphasized the fact that the unity achieved by the trade unions in the national citizens strike will be maintained. He attributed this unity to "a force that is irresistible because it comes from the ranks, from the workers." In addition, Cuevas spoke of the possibility of forming a "permanent council of a consultative nature in which the organizations that came together to launch the recent strike will be represented."

"There is a terrific pressure from the ranks," he told *Alternativa*, referring to the attitude of the rank-and-file toward the union leaders. Cuevas has also told interviewers that the trade-union movement needs to take political action "even though it might cause interunion strife."

As the most authoritative trade-union leader in Colombia, he really ought to call for the construction of a labor party based on the trade unions. As long ago as 1966 the UTC tried to launch a drive for a labor party. A UTC presidential campaign—once the union breaks its ties with the Conservative Party—would be the logical political culmination of the process begun by the strike of September 14.

The broad mass of workers who saw Cuevas as their leader in the recent events would be quick to support him in the political sphere as well. They would be happy to break with the capitalist parties that support López and his attacks on working people.

That type of political action—building a

4. Colombian Petroleum Enterprise, a semigovernmental body that controls the extraction and refining of crude oil in the nationalized sector.

1. *Lleristas* are the followers of Carlos Lleras Restrepo, Liberal ex-president of Colombia and a rival of López. *Pastranistas* are the followers of Misael Pastrana Borrero, Conservative ex-president and also López's rival.

2. Followers of Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, the most prominent figure in the wing of the Conservative Party that cooperates with the López Michelsen government. The other wing of this party, which is in the opposition, is led by Pastrana.

workers party and running a trade-union candidate—will not cause the “interunion strife” that Cuevas fears. What causes “interunion strife” is the fact that Cuevas

and other labor leaders keep calling on workers to place political confidence in *bourgeois* parties that don’t represent their interests but rather those of the bosses.

Socorro Ramirez, the socialist candidate, has offered to withdraw from the race if the trade unions put up a candidate. That is a good beginning. □

120 Killed in Worst Massacre Since 1922

Police Gun Down Striking Sugar Workers in Ecuador

By Fred Murphy

On October 18 the 1,800 workers at the Azucarera Tropical Americana (Aztra) sugar mill near the village of La Troncal, Ecuador, went out on strike. They were demanding that their employers observe contract provisions granting an automatic wage increase with each increase in the price of sugar. Despite two government-decreed sugar price hikes, salaries had remained the same.

Late in the afternoon of the eighteenth, about 4,000 persons—workers and many of their wives and children, who had brought food to the strikers—were inside the main building of the sugar mill, which had been occupied. A squad of about 200 heavily armed troops of the national police arrived. The officer in charge demanded that everyone leave the mill within two minutes—through a single door only 1.5 meters wide.

An advertisement placed by Ecuador’s three main trade-union federations in the Guayaquil daily *El Universo* October 25 described what happened next:

“Without even waiting for compliance with this absurd time limit, the police attacked brutally, with gunshots, tear-gas bombs, and saber blows against the defenseless workers. This caused the death of some compañeros by drowning, and others fell from bullet wounds. Numerous others were wounded.”

More details of the massacre were given in a dispatch from Guayaquil to the October 25 *Le Monde* by Thierry Maliniak:

“In a general panic, workers, wives, and children ran out the rear of the building, which opened directly onto an irrigation canal several meters deep. Dozens of persons fell into the water, pushed by those who followed.”

Union leaders said 120 persons died altogether. Several hundred were arrested. Maliniak’s report noted that “firemen involved in the rescue effort said most of the bodies showed bullet wounds or the effects of blows to the head.” It continued:

“Many corpses have disappeared, and a number of persons during the confrontation saw police picking up bodies and throwing them into the canal or into cooking vats in the sugar mill.”

As news of the massacre spread throughout the country, protests by workers and students and by political parties and other groups mounted. The military government responded by issuing a statement implying that leaders of the sugar workers union were themselves to blame for the deaths. It accused them of “having led the workers, in a dubious manner, to the exit opening onto the canal.”

The government at first claimed that only sixteen workers had died, but soon raised the figure to twenty-five as more bodies were recovered.

The regime’s version of the events met with general disbelief and provoked more outrage. By the end of the week (the attack occurred on a Tuesday), unions and student organizations were demanding the dismissal of the minister of the interior, Colonel Bolívar Jarrín, and the minister of labor, General Jorge Salvador Chiriboga, who had ordered the attack. Demands for an independent investigation into the massacre were also raised.

On October 20, the three union federations called for three days of national mourning, as well as for mobilizations to demand the release of the arrested Aztra workers and “insure that the guilty ones are punished and removed from their posts, since actions of this nature cannot be tolerated in the country.”

The union statement called the attack on the Aztra workers “the most monstrous crime in the history of the workers movement since the [Guayaquil] massacre of November 15, 1922.”*

*In the early 1920s a rapid decline in world demand for cacao, a principal export product in Ecuador, caused a deep economic crisis in the country. “By November, 1922, the situation of the masses was untenable and the call went out for a general strike. The leading force of the strike was the small urban proletariat in Guayaquil. . . . Despite the absence of a large industrial proletariat, the port city was paralyzed by the strike. The reaction of the bourgeoisie was violent. On November 15, 1922, two thousand workers were killed in the streets of Guayaquil by the army and police” (North American Congress on Latin America, *Latin America & Empire Report*, November 1975, p. 6.)

The upsurge of protest continued to mount. On Monday, October 24, representatives of twelve political parties and organizations issued a joint statement saying, “The massacre of the Aztra workers has moved the country. The arguments of the authorities . . . neither justify nor explain the bloody methods employed with a violence identical to that used in civil or international war.”

The same day, workers at the San Carlos sugar mill in Milagro, who had held a demonstration of solidarity with the Aztra workers the day before, declared an indefinite strike. At the Valdez sugar mill workers held a two-hour strike October 24 and stopped work indefinitely October 25.

The Guayaquil daily *El Universo* reported October 26: “With the strike at Valdez the two largest producing sugar mills in the country are paralyzed; the suspension of work occurs at a time when several months of harvest remain.”

Demonstrations and assemblies were held by university and secondary school students in Guayaquil, Milagro, Azogues, Cuenca, and Babahoyo, as well as in Quito, the capital city. The student marches were met with police attacks in which many persons were injured and dozens arrested.

The military government held a cabinet meeting October 25, but refused to give in to the demands of the sugar workers and students. According to a report in *El Universo*, the cabinet resolved:

“To reject the accusations made against the ministers of the interior and of labor . . . since they acted in accord with the law and the national interest. . . .

“The tragedy occurred, to the regret of the government and all Ecuadorians, as a result of the irresponsible attitude of leaders of the extreme left, who incited, agitated, and even closed the way to the withdrawal of their compatriots, who thus fell in a tragic and lamentable way.”

At the same time, the military reaffirmed that a referendum in which Ecuadorians are to vote on a new constitution returning the country to civilian rule will be held as scheduled on January 15, 1978.

Capitalist Governments Move to Head Off Slump

by Jon Britton

Jimmy Carter painted a rosy picture of the U.S. economy for international bankers and financial officials meeting in Washington, D.C., last month.

In a September 26 speech to the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank,¹ Carter described the economy as "healthy and growing" and stated, "We will meet our economic growth target" this year (of 6%, adjusted for inflation). Moreover, he said he expects a "vigorous" expansion next year.

But then, betraying some uncertainty about his forecast, he added that he is "committed" to taking action to ensure that the administration's economic goals are attained.

More forthright was a communiqué issued by the twenty-member "interim committee" of the IMF's Board of Governors a few days before Carter's speech. It expressed "concern about the faltering of economic activity during recent months in a number of industrial countries." It also noted "a deceleration in the growth of world trade" and "the persistence of high unemployment."

The key recommendation contained in the communiqué was that "all countries in relatively strong [financial] positions should make every effort to ensure adequate growth of domestic demand compatible with containing inflation."

This marked a clear shift from the committee's year-earlier communiqué, which said: "Policies in the industrial countries at the present time should give priority to the reduction of . . . inflation."

"Fighting inflation," it seems, now takes second place to pumping up the main imperialist economies.

In fact, in the weeks leading up to the IMF meeting, the governments of Japan, West Germany, and France all announced "reflationary" measures. At an October 13 news conference, Carter stated that he will probably push for tax cuts next year as part of his "tax reform," to give the ailing U.S. economy a shot in the arm in 1978.

More recently, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced a program of economic stimulus, with a promise of more to come next year if inflation continues to slow down.

There are ample reasons why the capitalist rulers want to stave off or at least moderate another worldwide slump.

For one thing, protectionist pressures are mounting rapidly as the profits of West European and American capitalists in steel and other industries are threatened by a rising tide of cheaper goods from Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and elsewhere.²

On October 13, for example, President Carter promised a group of steel executives and top officials of the United Steelworkers union tougher enforcement of laws against "dumping" (exporting goods to the U.S. at "unfair" prices).³

And his words were not empty rhetoric. Less than two weeks before the White House meeting, the Treasury Department had provisionally raised tariffs against shipments of carbon steel plates from Japan, contending that the companies involved were guilty of dumping. It is now considering a similar ruling on a much more far-reaching case, filed September 30 by U.S. Steel Corporation, against the entire Japanese steel industry.

Actually, these dumping charges are virtually impossible to prove because data on the real costs of production of capitalist concerns in Japan is, as in the United States, a closely guarded "business secret." Thus, a government ruling against Japanese firms is more a political act than a legal judgment and risks retaliation.

The next economic downturn is bound to intensify the clamor for additional barriers against imports as markets contract, competition sharpens, and profits are squeezed even more. The result could be an all-out trade war in which the imposition of tariffs and import quotas would strangle world commerce.

Another worry for the capitalists is the soaring debt of the semicolonial countries.⁴

2. See "The Spreading Plague of Protectionism," *Intercontinental Press*, July 25, p. 852.

3. In dumping cases, the plaintiff usually must prove only that export prices fall below the posted prices in the foreign manufacturer's home country. That is easy with consumer goods such as shoes, but hard to prove in the case of an intermediate product like steel. Furthermore, steel officials in the U.S. contend that, as a result of government help, prices in Japan for domestic steel are far below cost and that Japanese companies are hiding substantial losses in their financial statements. To back their charges, U.S. companies have to prove Japanese export prices are below a "constructed price" based on cost of production plus 18% overhead and profit.

4. See "Bankers Fear Defaults by Semicolonial Countries," *Intercontinental Press*, October 10, p. 1114.

This now amounts to the enormous sum of \$180 billion or more, with about \$50 billion owed to U.S. banks. In Brazil and Peru, more than 40% of export earnings now go for debt service. The due dates of much of this debt are "bunched up" in 1978 and 1979. If a world slump causes further drops in export earnings in those years, massive defaults may become unavoidable, threatening the solvency of the biggest banks and a collapse of the international credit system.

The capitalists also have potentially explosive political problems that would make another downturn in the near future untimely.

France, for example, has been very much on their minds. There was a collective sigh of relief in the world capitalist press when the Union of the Left split over "updating" its Common Program. Now, according to the November 7 *Business Week*, businessmen are breathing easier:

More than a year of pessimism, generated by fears of a victory by the Socialist-Communist coalition in next spring's national elections, is giving way to cautious optimism as businessmen come to believe that the left will not, after all, soon rule France.

On the other hand, "uncertainty also could plague France if the left loses," Robert Prinsky, writing from Paris, warns in the October 25 *Wall Street Journal*. He continues:

Trade unionists and other leftists currently are lying low, anticipating major changes following a leftist victory, a Socialist official observes. "If we lose and they see the path to change is blocked, their reactions could be passionate," he says.

Moreover, a rise of working-class struggle in France could spark or reinforce similar struggles in other European countries, such as Italy and Spain, where capitalist governments are weak. Even now unemployment in West Europe is "as much as 30% higher than it was at the trough of the world recession in the spring of 1975," OECD⁵ General Secretary Emile van Lennep stated recently.

All is not well politically in imperialism's main bastion, the United States, either. Here the rulers are faced with the beginnings of a working-class radicalization, now being spurred by massive layoffs in steel, copper, and other industries; an increasingly restive Black population, as shown by the response to the New York blackout in July; and controversies swirling around moves to undercut the right of women to abortion, roll back affirmative-action gains of women and oppressed nationalities, deport undocumented workers, gut environmental-protection laws, and impose an energy austerity

1. Sister bodies set up in the aftermath of World War II to engineer economic recovery and monetary stability.

5. OECD—Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Its membership consists of twenty-four industrialized capitalist countries.

program. The "Lancegate" and "Koreagate" offspring of Watergate are alive and kicking as well.

Should another depression hit in this situation, with a Democrat in the White House and the Democratic Party in control of Congress, the basis of capitalist rule in the United States since New Deal days would be rudely shaken. The Democrats would join the Republicans as a "depression party," and dissident unionists, Black activists, and other partisans of social change would become much more open to the idea of independent working-class political action.

So it is not surprising that governments of the major imperialist powers are taking steps to head off a new slump:

- Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda said October 3 that his government would spend an additional \$7.6 billion in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1978. The stimulus package calls for public works projects, additional government loans for 100,000 houses, extra spending on local government public works, and encouragement for private investment in plants and equipment, according to the October 4 *New York Times*.

A supplementary budget submitted to the parliament would bring total government expenditures in fiscal 1977 to \$109.8 billion, up 16.8% over the previous year, producing a deficit amounting to about 30% of the total budgeted revenue.

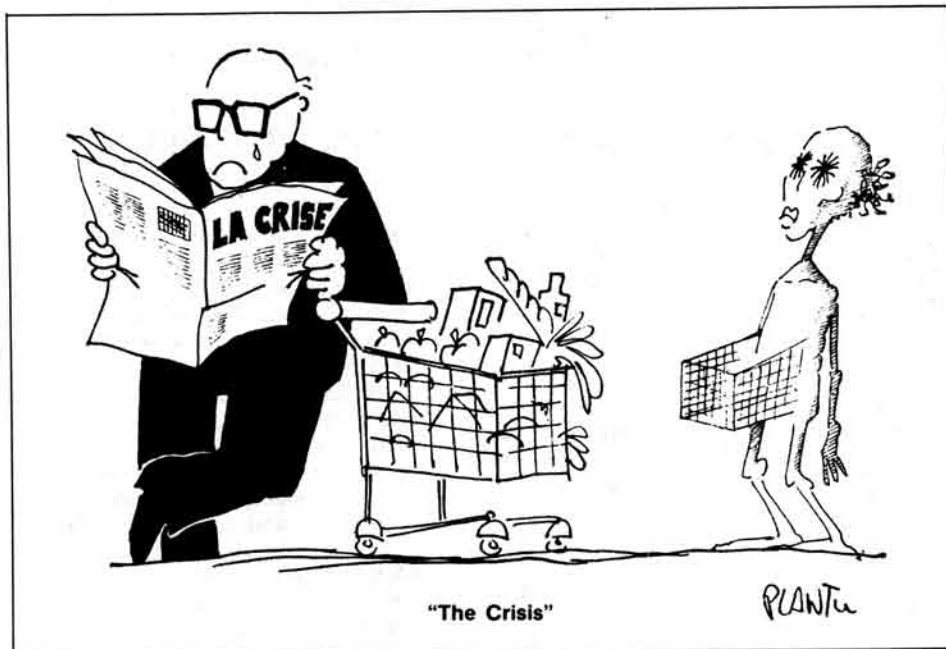
- The French government of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing announced its second package of expansionary economic measures for 1977 on August 31. The measures, including increased grants to families with school-age children and more loans for business investment and housing, supposedly will inject about \$1 billion of new spending into the economy this year.

Then, on September 7, the French government proposed a \$2 billion budget deficit for next year, which would be the first planned deficit in several years.

- West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's coalition government of Social Democrats and Liberals agreed September 14 on a package of measures that it expects will pump an extra \$5 billion into the economy. Tax cuts for business and individuals are included.

- As for the United States, "increasingly concerned about the sluggish pace of investment, Administration planners have expanded by several billion dollars the tax reduction for business that President Carter is likely to propose to Congress as part of a broader tax reform package," Edward Cowan reported in the October 10 *New York Times*. The overall tax cut, to be phased in over several years, is projected to be \$20-22 billion, Cowan said, citing sources in the Carter administration.

At his news conference October 13, Carter confirmed that "tax reductions . . . may come next year or perhaps later—I think next year," and "will be tied



Plantu/Le Monde Diplomatique

integrally with the overall tax reform package."

The details of the package are still being debated within the administration but advance disclosures indicate that a central feature will be major new tax breaks for big business to "encourage" capital investment, which has been slow to recover from the 1974-75 downturn.⁶

- In Britain, where capital investment has been stagnant and 1.43 million are unemployed, just below the postwar peak, the stimulatory measures include an increase in individual deductions on income tax returns, which the treasury expects will add \$1.2 billion to consumers' pockets. There is also a package of measures worth \$700 million designed to bolster the depressed construction industry. Finally, the government has declared an \$18 "Christmas bonus" for each of Britain's nine million pensioners.

Besides stimulating economic expansion at home and abroad, the Callaghan government no doubt hopes these measures will enhance the Labour Party's standing with voters when, as expected, it calls national elections for next year.

- The Canadian government announced October 20 a phasing out of its two-year-old program of wage and price (mostly wage) controls. Under revised guidelines, basic annual wage increases will be limited to 6%, well below the current rate of inflation of 8.4%, for many new wage contracts that are concluded between now and April 14.

In addition, the paltry sum of \$150 million has been allocated for public works projects to alleviate high unemployment (exceeding 15% in some areas), and taxes

will be slightly reduced for low and middle-income taxpayers.

The antislump measures announced by capitalist governments so far have been labeled "modest" and their effectiveness questioned by commentators in the financial press. And for good reason.

In the case of Japan, whose government has taken the strongest reflationary actions, the stimulus is not expected to have much effect on lagging capital investment, the main drag on the economy. According to the October 14 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "neither [an] expected rebound of profits in the six months to March 1978 nor recently announced Government reflationary measures . . . are likely to increase the investment flow in light of the uncertain prospects for long-term growth. . . ."

For Europe, the "signs of a more expansionary tilt to economic policy in France, West Germany and . . . Britain are partly offset by the austerity programs recently adopted elsewhere," Paul Lewis writes in the September 1 *New York Times*. "In Sweden, Denmark, Portugal and Spain," he continues, "the governments have all been forced to step on the brakes in the last few weeks in an effort to reduce inflation and cut down trade deficits."

And in the United States, it is hard to say how much of a boost Carter's tax "reforms" will give the world's main "locomotive economy" in view of the fact that both his energy and Social Security proposals call for whopping tax increases. In any case, his plans for added stimulus are likely to be stymied by a huge U.S. trade deficit, which could hit \$30 billion this year, and a sinking dollar.

Why this is so will be the subject of a future article. □

6. See "Steel—the Shutdowns Begin," *Intercontinental Press*, October 3, p. 1080.

A Military Straitjacket With Islamic Trimmings

[The following is an interview with a Pakistani revolutionary socialist who recently visited Pakistan. It was obtained in early October by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. The military regime of Gen. Zia ul-Haq has announced that it has canceled the general elections that had been promised and that it will continue martial law for an indefinite period. What do you think were the factors behind this move?

Answer. First of all, the current economic situation. The strikes and demonstrations against the government of Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) had brought the economic life of the country, which was in bad shape anyway, to a complete standstill. At this stage, the economy can be described as bankrupt.

Secondly, the political situation was not stabilizing at all, as had been expected after the military coup in July. There was a lot of uncertainty about the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), about how long their alliance would have lasted if they had won the elections. And if they lost the elections again, that would of course have been another disaster. The whole upsurge was started in the first place after the PNA charged that the elections in March had been rigged by Bhutto. So the PNA felt that they had already won the elections.

But if they lost again, one doesn't know what would have happened. If the demonstrations had started again, anything could have happened. It would have been complete chaos if they lost.

And I think another important reason why the army stayed on was that the PPP might have boycotted the elections, since they realized that if they contested them they might lose. That would have meant that one whole opposition group was not participating in the elections.

Q. Did the military think that it needed both the PPP and the PNA in the elections so that the regime that was elected out of it would have the appearance of legitimacy and thereby a chance at restoring some stability?

A. Yes. But not only the army. The PNA also wanted the PPP in the elections. They felt that it was important to demonstrate that they could defeat the PPP politically.

Q. What kind of grouping is the PNA?

A. The PNA is an alliance of eight right-

wing Islamic parties, plus one liberal bourgeois formation known as the National Democratic Party. During the March elections and since the army coup, the PNA leaders have been talking about denationalizing the sectors of the economy that had been nationalized by Bhutto, such as banking, insurance, and a few rice, cotton ginning, and other factories.

That just goes to show the contradictions of the whole upsurge. Here was an upsurge of poor people wanting food, a decent living, and democratic rights. But the local bourgeoisie represented by the PNA was able to utilize this movement in their favor, by talking about democratic rights and opposing Bhutto.

So the PNA does not throw a veil over itself by promising left-wing economic reforms. It is an out-and-out right-wing alliance. Incidentally, American imperialism is now supporting the PNA directly. During the demonstrations, Bhutto alleged that a lot of American dollars had been spent on the PNA. And they were actually spent. People working in American banks in Karachi, such as Citibank, Bank of America, and the European-American Bank, noted a lot of money coming in and being used by the rightist politicians.

And it now looks like Moscow is backing the PPP. So much so that one of Bhutto's right-hand men, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, went to the Soviet Union after the military coup.

Q. How did Bhutto's "socialist" PPP originate and how did it come to be hated so much by the masses?

A. The PPP started off as a party with a collection of leftists, young students, and a few young landlords who felt an appeal for Bhutto as an individual. But after Bhutto came to power, all the landlords swung behind him, because they found that he was not actually opposed to their interests, despite his promises during the 1970 elections to give land to the peasants and nationalize all major industries.

Bhutto did nationalize the banks. But that was just a token nationalization. All the capitalists have been compensated wherever they've been nationalized. And the other nationalizations, for instance in the automobile industry, were just the government bureaucracy taking over the management role from the comprador capitalists.

The PPP was popular in the first year of its regime. But by 1972 the world economic recession had started affecting Pakistan very badly. There was a rapid inflation

and the working class became very restless. After the PPP came to power, the working class thought that now there was a socialist party in power. So they started striking and raising demands. The strike actions continued up to May 1972.

It was then that the true character of the PPP emerged. Its leaders said, "Enough is enough. We can't take this anymore." So in May the armed might of the state, the Federal Security Force and the police, was sent against the Karachi working class. There was wholesale killing. Many working-class leaders have been in jail since then. Many radical trade unionists cannot get jobs; they are blacklisted.

After 1972, the PPP regime moved against all kinds of opposition, specifically in Baluchistan.

So since then, the hatred and resentment against the PPP started, especially amongst the industrial working class and the people in the cities. It was a very explosive situation.

Q. So this anger against Bhutto erupted after the March elections . . .

A. Immediately after the elections the Pakistan National Alliance charged that the entire elections had been rigged, which they were. It has been proven. The PPP leadership itself has admitted to an extent that there was election rigging.

This was all that the urban working people needed. They had had enough of the PPP regime anyway. The PNA's call for the removal of Bhutto was, luckily for them, identical to the feeling of the ordinary person in the street.

The demonstrations started first under the PNA leadership, but soon just slipped out of the PNA's hands, especially when the working class founded the Pakistan Labour Alliance. For the first time since 1972 the working class stepped into the political arena and struck on political demands. They called for the immediate removal of Bhutto and the holding of fresh elections, and, of course, for the restoration of all democratic rights and liberties and the release of all working-class radicals who were in jail. They also called for an end to the fighting in Baluchistan.

When the working class moved in, Bhutto clamped down with martial law in the major cities. In Karachi, where the population is not Punjabi in the majority, the predominantly Punjabi army was given a free hand and they killed a lot of people.

But when the Punjabi troops were asked to do the same in the Punjab, that's when they balked. A split appeared within the army. Five brigadiers refused to move their troops against the demonstrators. So the army leadership at that time felt that the only way to overcome the split within the army was to take over, which they did.

Q. What kind of impact did the upsurge

in the cities have on the nationalist struggle in Baluchistan?

A. Well, the army was forced to move some of its forces out of Baluchistan and that must have aided the Baluchi armed struggle. The Baluchi liberation forces supported the democratic struggle in the cities.

There is a complete news blackout about the struggle going on in Baluchistan, in Pakistan and in much of the rest of the world also. By and large, few people know much about what is going on there.

The Baluchistan People's Liberation Front, which started its activities about four years ago, has developed and grown to such an extent that it now has its own areas up in the mountains where the army can't go. It has set up its own schools and hospitals. The front talks about "people's democracy" and of linking up their struggle with the struggles going on in the rest of Pakistan.

The army, which has moved into Baluchistan en masse, is becoming demoralized. It's a huge, modern, and efficient army, but has been unable to put down this guerrilla movement, which used old arms dating from the Second World War. But the Baluchis capture a lot of modern arms from the army, as well.

After every battle, the Baluchis leave leaflets behind explaining how their struggle is linked up with the struggles in the rest of Pakistan. So now in the army itself, amongst the ordinary soldiers, there is a lot of discontentment. A number of army officers' wives have gone to army general headquarters in Rawalpindi, asking that their husbands not be sent to Baluchistan, because many of them don't return. The BBC reported early last year that, according to official Pakistani government sources, they had lost 6,000 soldiers.

Even with all its forces, the Pakistani army can't win. The entire people of Baluchistan just hate the army. There is no way that they can accept an army solution. It's a classical Vietnam-type situation. I don't see any way that the army can control or put down the struggle.

Q. Do you think the situation in Baluchistan was a factor in the military decision to retain control of the government?

A. Definitely. The army itself cannot control the situation in Baluchistan, but the officers feel that they can control it if they are in power. They can then get as many military resources as they want, at the expense of the rest of the country.

Q. How has the shah of Iran reacted to the situation in Baluchistan, since Baluchis live across the border in Iran as well?

A. I think he is definitely upset about it. He's been giving arms, helicopters, and

armored personnel carriers to the Pakistani government.

Saudi Arabia has also actively given financial and material aid. Jordan has,



PAKISTAN DICTATOR ZIA UL-HAQ

and Washington, obviously. One reason why American imperialism is so involved is that Baluchistan is thought to have big oil and mineral deposits. The American Oil Company (Amoco) and others had been prospecting there, only to be stopped by the guerrillas.

Q. Washington probably also fears that the struggle in Baluchistan could spread to the Baluchis in Iran . . .

A. Definitely. But I find it surprising that the Baluchistan People's Liberation Front doesn't talk about extending and coordinating their struggle with the struggle for national rights in Iranian Baluchistan.

Q. Has the radicalization in the cities also continued?

A. First of all, the radicalization process was restricted to the urban areas, which means that about 20 to 25 percent of the population was involved. It was an urban struggle through and through.

As I said earlier, the whole situation since 1972 has been explosive. It had just been waiting for an excuse to erupt. Which is what happened. The working class as such—the industrial proletariat and the white-collar workers—and also the urban poor, the jobless and unemployed, and large sections of the petty bourgeoisie were radicalized by the upsurge.

This whole radicalization was based on democratic demands. It was not explicitly socialist. But the dynamic of the struggle was that the only way the democratic tasks could be solved would obviously be under socialism.

Let me talk first about the working class itself. Since 1968-69, the workers have been very radical. Whenever there's a strike, you see a red flag go up on top. Whenever they take over a factory, it's always under *mazdoor raj*—workers power. So the working class itself played an important part in the upsurge.

Once the workers entered this whole mass urban upsurge, they were the only organized social force as such. In Karachi, a city of five million, the workers, the industrial proletariat, number about 150,000. But when they called a general strike, they said that every shop, every factory, every car, every bus, nothing must move in Karachi. It was the call of 150,000 people, but it was accepted by everyone. So in the whole of Karachi at the time, nothing, literally nothing, moved. It was incredible.

So here the role of the working class in underdeveloped countries comes out—their social strength, despite their numerical weakness. They are the best organized force.

But the radicalization also spread to a lot of petty bourgeoisie. They were really active in the demonstrations and the strikes. They were out on the streets and many were killed.

And for the first time, women came out onto the streets. Pakistan being an Islamic country, women are supposed to stay in the house and look after the husband and feed the children. But they came out on the streets.

It was during the upsurge that revolutionary socialists working in the trade-union federations were able to start talking to the workers about the importance of women's rights. Specifically, they talked about their freedom to work, that they should not be locked up in their house, and also about their rights in the household, to divorce, and other things, democratic rights in general. And when these comrades talked, people listened to them. This definitely had an impact.

When I was there last month, there was a woman comrade there who was really enthusiastic about this whole change in the mood of the working class and how they felt more open towards women also taking part in demonstrations.

The women took the initiative themselves. No one asked them to go out onto the streets. They just did it. So now one feels that in the future, whatever political struggles are going to come about, an active and important part will be played by women.

Another thing about the radicalization. A lot of people think that Islam has a strong hold on the people. But at least as

far as the working people are concerned, this is not true. During the strikes and demonstrations, the revolutionary socialists, who are known to be atheists, were able to openly criticize Islam. For the first time, when they spoke of Islam in public meetings, no one, but no one, objected. Everyone listened.

Everywhere that I went, on the streets, in people's houses, in the shops, anywhere, everyone was talking politics. It was the conversation of the year. It shows the extent of the politicization that has occurred in Pakistan, especially in the cities.

Everyone talks about the uncertainty of the future. No one knows how long, if the elections had been held and the PNA had come into power, they could have lasted. There's a climate of deep uncertainty. And that is one of the reasons why the army has decided to stay on.

Q. Have people begun to draw any lessons from the upsurge?

A. There has always been mistrust of bourgeois politicians. Always. The masses don't trust either the PNA or the PPP. But it's still a question of the lesser of two evils, as they see it. So far, Pakistan has had no active organized communist opposition, ever. Whatever there is is split up into small groups.

But now and during the upsurge, there was a lot of rethinking. A lot of left-wing groups actively participated in the demonstrations, with their leafletting and agitation. Now I feel that, at least in the left-wing movement, there is a kind of rethinking that is against continual splitting and for uniting around specific issues and concrete actions.

But as far as the ordinary man on the street is concerned, he has not seen any active organized left-wing group. He is radical and comes out onto the streets every time to protest, but there is no leadership. It is the perennial crisis of leadership. That is exactly what we are trying to overcome there, to the best of our abilities.

Q. What kind of obstacles do revolutionary socialists in Pakistan face?

A. By and large, most of them are blacklisted. They can't get jobs anywhere. So they are forced to go back to the countryside, where family ties are stronger, so they can at least get something to eat.

Apart from that, comrades who are active in the unions are frequently arrested, released soon, then rearrested. So their whole lives are spent in and out of jail. The state does not allow us to organize at all, so whatever organizational work we do has to be underground.

Q. What is the repression like now under the military regime?

A. First of all, the whole repression is being carried out now under an Islamic cover. The PNA has been talking about the *Nizam-e-Mustafa*, which means the social and religious system from the time of Mohammad in the 680s. They want to reintroduce that whole setup, where if you are convicted of stealing, your hand gets cut off, if you are found guilty of adultery you get stoned to death. Hanging and public whipping are the order of the day.

So this thing about people's hands being cut off, it has already happened, but only once so far. Who has to steal? It is obviously not the rich man. He can steal in more sophisticated ways. It is just an attack against working people, under the cover of Islam.

Also under Islam, the worker is not supposed to fight back against the employer, since the employer, if he has paid the required amount of religious taxes, is also a Muslim, and therefore a "brother." Because of this, Islam itself will become more and more discredited.

Q. What do you think will be the reaction to the military regime?

A. Their reaction to martial law, when Bhutto was still in power, was one of pure

hatred. It was the first time that the army actually moved in and killed people on the streets. Demonstrators would go up to the troops and say, "Look, what we are struggling for are things to eat, for the bringing down of prices, for our freedoms. Why are you killing us for that?" Protesters would rip off their shirts, bare their chests, and dare the troops to kill them. And many of them were killed.

So in the eyes of the urban poor, the army has been completely discredited. That is an important breakthrough.

At this time, the only way that the ruling class can bring the economy to its feet, as they say, is to crush the workers movement even more, to stop their radicalization, and to extract as much surplus profit as possible. And they will only be able to do that through repression.

Once that starts, I don't know what the future of the country will be. Self-defense organizations of the working class may develop as they did to an extent during the upsurge in 1972. They weren't armed then, but maybe the next time they will be, since the army is there and it will be in the streets.

So the prospects for the future are grim in some respects, but hopeful in others, as far as revolutionists are concerned. □

Key Issue in December Election

60,000 in Australia Protest Uranium Mining

More than 60,000 persons took to the streets October 22 in most major Australian cities to protest the mining and export of uranium. The actions were reminiscent of the antiwar marches of the late 1960s.

The demonstrations followed the announcement that Malcolm Fraser's Liberal Party government was determined to go ahead and fulfill existing uranium contracts despite growing opposition to mining in Australia. On Hiroshima Day, August 6, antiuranium marches attracted about 50,000 persons around the country.

Although Australia has no nuclear energy program of its own, it has a large percentage of the world's known uranium deposits. The antinuclear campaign has thus centered around the demand "Stop uranium mining!"

One important focus of the movement has been the question of Aboriginal land rights. Most of the uranium deposits are on land occupied or claimed by various Aboriginal tribes. But their rights have largely been ignored by the mining companies.

In Melbourne, about 25,000 persons participated in the Saturday afternoon rally. The Sydney march attracted a similar crowd and was addressed by the Labor

Party's deputy leader in parliament, Tom Uren.

The Australian Labor Party's federal conference recently adopted a firm stand against uranium mining and committed any future Labor government to a policy of breaking all existing uranium contracts.

Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen recently banned all street demonstrations in that state. Nevertheless, an antiuranium march of 4,000 took place in Brisbane, the capital of Queensland. The march was broken up by police, and 371 persons were arrested, including a Labor Party senator.

A rally of about 5,000 took place in Perth, and smaller actions were held in other centers.

The number of Australians opposed to uranium mining is growing rapidly. A recent poll indicated that opposition rose by 20 percent in the two months following the Fraser government's announcement on uranium mining.

Fraser has called federal elections for December 10. Uranium mining and export is bound to be a central issue in the electoral campaign. The Uranium Producers' Forum has already spent an estimated \$1 million in a pro-uranium propaganda effort. □

Selections From the Left

Ang **KATIPUNAN**

National newspaper of the Union of Democratic Filipinos. Published twice monthly in Oakland, California.

A front-page editorial in the October issue calls on the Filipino community in the United States to take its place in the movement to overturn the *Bakke* decision. It says the fight to defend affirmative action quotas is "in the forefront of a nationwide re-emergence of active concern for racial equality."

"The Filipino people have every basis to participate in developing this mass movement," the statement concludes. "In the history of the Filipino community, thousands of Filipinos have rallied against instances of racial discrimination. We have fought not only for our rights, but sought to protect the rights of all minorities who are the target of racist activities like *Bakke*."

klasse-kampen

"Class Struggle," published fortnightly in Copenhagen by the Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International.

The editorial in the October 4-17 issue comments on the recent congress of the Social Democratic Party. The SP is the governing party, although it has only a plurality in parliament. Since a government of the bourgeois parties was forced to resign by a workers revolt, the Danish bourgeoisie has shifted the task of applying its austerity program to the Social Democrats.

"Not all the resolutions from the Social Democratic Party congress in September are intended to be taken with the same seriousness. The statement about some of the resolutions made by Anker Jørgensen [the premier] after the congress, 'we will take a look at them,' made this clear. When the political spokesman of the party, and now Minister Svend Auken, writes that he thinks that 'many Social Democrats are secretly glad that we have to deal with a bourgeois majority in the parliament so that we do not have to worry about our own ideas,' he is expressing a basic reality as well.

"The principles the Social Democracy really stands by are its declared determination to get capitalism to function better through applying an incomes policy [i.e., wage restrictions] and by other state intervention on behalf of the bourgeoisie and . . . by getting the workers to keep

quiet . . . and assuring the party's control over them. . . .

"Most party members and other Social Democratic voters do not support the party because they want lower wages, because they think there are too few people employed, or because they think that social services should be cut.

"Most Social Democrats expect their party to be able to achieve reforms to benefit the working class. At the worst they might unenthusiastically support a party that they might consider a bulwark against attacks from the bourgeoisie.

"On the other hand, they do not support the bureaucracy in the top echelons of the party because it defends the bourgeoisie's class interests within the working class, which is precisely what it does. . . .

"In periods of crisis, these contradictions emerge most clearly. This was what was reflected in the vague and confused opposition at the congress to the party's rightward course. Earlier it was expressed in the criticism by the leading Social Democratic housing organizations of the party's policy and the criticism by the party's trade-union leaders of its incomes policy and its trampling on the traditional rights of labor.

"The party is by no means in a crisis, nor is the party leadership threatened by any left wing. But there are clearly possibilities for revolutionists in the workers movement to undermine the party's bastions, its leadership, and its bourgeois policy by calling for unity in action around a working-class policy to deal with the crisis."

Granma

Official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. Published in Havana.

The October 16 issue of the weekly English-language edition comments on President Carter's decision to release Puerto Rican nationalist Andrés Figueroa Cordero. The move, it says, was made solely to "prevent the United States from becoming the target of universal condemnation had Figueroa died in prison."

Granma points out that the U.S. authorities have known for a long time that Figueroa Cordero has terminal cancer, yet they refused to release him until he was close to death.

"Figueroa's release can be interpreted only as the result of a political rather than humanitarian gesture because the president's decision was aimed exclusively at avoiding more criticism being hurled at Washington for its stand on the Puerto

Rican political prisoners."

The Cuban newspaper cites the treatment all five Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners have received during more than twenty years in U.S. jails as further proof of the government's lack of humanitarian concern.

"What claim of humanism could be argued when Lolita Lebrón, Irving Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Oscar Collazo continue to be the political prisoners who have spent the longest time in jail in the Americas?"

Granma compares Cordero's release to that of another Puerto Rican nationalist, Pedro Albizu Campos. Albizu Campos was released almost thirteen years ago just in time to avoid his dying in the U.S. prisons where he had spent more than twenty years.

LUTTE OUVRIERE

"Workers Struggle," fortnightly newspaper published in Montréal by the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire-Revolutionary Workers League.

The second issue of the new Trotskyist French-language newspaper (dated October 12) in Québec reports the vacillations of the ruling Parti Québécois on the abortion question.

Before coming to power the PQ declared itself in favor of "removing from the criminal code all medical procedures associated with abortion and guaranteeing that any woman can get an abortion from her doctor and have it covered by health and hospitalization insurance."

Prime Minister Lévesque now says that his government "doesn't consider itself bound by the position taken by the PQ convention on such a controversial matter."

Feminists in the PQ responded by introducing a motion to censure Lévesque at the PQ National Council meeting September 24-25—the first censure motion the prime minister has faced since his election almost a year ago.

The motion was overwhelmingly defeated; the council voted instead to set up a committee "to publicize and improve the party's program on the status of women."

Suzanne Chabot points out that free and legal abortion in Québec can never be won if the struggle takes place only within the government party. She urges feminists in the PQ to join with women's organizations, trade-union women's commissions, and campus women's groups in a powerful movement to put a "resounding yes" where the government now says "no" to abortion rights.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Carter Offers to Buy Nuclear Waste

. . . But Has No Place to Put It

Under a proposal made public by the Carter administration October 18, the U.S. government would take responsibility for the management of spent nuclear fuel now piling up at power plants across the country. For a fee to electric utilities that could amount to \$3 million a year for each reactor, the government would acquire title to spent fuel and store it permanently.

Carter also offered nuclear waste storage to other countries, as long as they would agree to forgo reprocessing of spent fuel to remove plutonium.

In the United States at present there are about 2,000 metric tons of spent nuclear fuel. According to estimates by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, there will be 3,400 metric tons at the end of 1977, and the figure will continue to mount at a rate of 1,000 metric tons a year. Unless some means of dealing with this material is found, twenty-three U.S. nuclear plants may be forced to shut down beginning in 1979.

No proven means of secure storage is yet available. The Department of Energy is embarked on a \$123.5 million study to evaluate possible burial sites in deep underground rock salt or hard rock formations in thirty-six states, with a target date for the first site of 1985 or 1986.

The study has already met with an unfriendly local response in a number of states. The Vermont legislature passed a law earlier this year requiring legislative approval of any atomic waste facility, to be granted only if it would "promote the general welfare" and "not have an undue adverse effect on health, safety, . . . and the natural environment." A similar law was passed in South Dakota, and local officials and politicians in Michigan, Louisiana, New Hampshire, and Indiana have all expressed opposition to having nuclear waste facilities in their states.

The spent fuel problem will get worse if Carter's projection of 300 more U.S. nuclear power plants by the year 2000 is met. According to Carter environmental aide Gus Speth, "By 1985 nuclear power plants could be generating every three years an amount of radioactivity equal to the current inventory."

The Carter proposal was welcomed by the Atomic Industrial Forum, the nuclear public-relations outfit, which called it "a

welcome step for the industry." Thomas Cochran of the Natural Resources Defense Council had a more accurate characterization: "It transfers spent fuel from one owner that is financially incompetent to one that is institutionally incompetent."

3,000 March Against French A-Plant

More than 3,000 persons marched in southeastern France October 23, protesting plans to build a nuclear power plant between Meysse and Cruas, on the right bank of the Rhone.

The march was supported by the Left Radicals (a bourgeois party), the United Socialist Party, and the Socialist Party. The participation by the SP marked a shift on the part of the party's leadership, which now claims to favor an eighteen-month to two-year "moratorium" on the construction of new nuclear plants.

The Communist Party, which supports the Giscard d'Estaing government's plan to greatly increase reliance on nuclear power, refused to participate in the protest.

In contrast to many previous demonstrations, the police refrained from initiating provocations.

The plant is highly unpopular among local residents. Ninety-one percent of the 590 inhabitants of Meysse have signed a petition against it, and a poll showed 55 percent of the 1,700 residents of Cruas opposed. Twelve thousand residents of eighteen local communities signed a petition against the plant earlier this year.

Asbestos Death Town

In the October 13 issue of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*, Mary Rabbone describes the situation in Baryulgil, an asbestos-mining community in southern Australia:

"Since 1950 many of the miners who have worked the mine have died, most of them while still in their 40s. The miners and townspeople, most of them Aborigines, are only now beginning to learn that these deaths are associated with contact with asbestos dust.

"Asbestos waste is strewn over the whole town. Children play in it, throwing soft asbestos dust into the air like snow and covering themselves. . . ."



Although Australian health officials were aware of the dangers as early as 1974, no tests were made on miners or residents until very recently, following layoffs resulting from the sale of the mine.

"The Health Commission was given an incomplete list of the miners who have worked the asbestos mine since the 1950s. Many of the miners had died and only two had had a post mortem. About 130 former miners have been examined.

"As well, about 200 other people living near the town were also examined. The tests showed a large incidence of lung cancer."

"Baryulgil is not an isolated case," Rabbone concludes. "The Australian Blue asbestos mine in Witternoon Gorge, WA [Western Australia], was closed in 1966. Already 26 of the 6000 people who worked there have mesothelioma, a rare lung cancer caused by asbestos, and at least 150 others have claimed compensation for other asbestos-related diseases since 1958."

Twenty Years Later

Local authorities have begun work on a project to remove 1.5 million cubic meters of sediment from the bottom of Minamata Bay, Japan.

The sediment contains concentrated amounts of highly toxic mercury, dumped there over the years by the Chisso chemical corporation. Mercury poisoning of the surrounding population (the "Minamata disease") has claimed more than 200 lives in the last twenty years and disfigured countless others.

Dredging of the bay is expected to cost more than \$80 million, half of which is to be paid by Chisso.

Opposition to Marcos's Reactor Plans

Work is more than 20 percent complete on the first nuclear power plant in the Philippines.

A 620-megawatt light-water reactor is being built by Westinghouse in the town of Bagac, forty-five miles west of Manila. The \$1.09 billion project is one of ten plants that the Marcos regime plans to construct by the year 2000. Financing is being provided by the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

Opposition to the plant by residents of

Bagac and the nearby town of Morong began in early 1976. They circulated an international letter of appeal pointing out the environmental, economic, and social effects of the plant.

The government responded with repression. On August 4, a community meeting in Morong was surrounded by sixty fully armed troops of the Philippines Constabulary, plus the local police. A Methodist minister was threatened with arrest for raising criticisms of the nuclear project.

The Natural Resources Defense Council in the United States has filed a lawsuit against the Export-Import Bank, demanding an environmental impact statement on the project. Westinghouse's application to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for an export license is also being challenged.

"Apart from environmental considerations," the *Philippine Liberation Courier* reported in its October 7 issue, "local opposition to the plant is based on concern about the economic rationality of such a costly project for a small underdeveloped country. . . . Project opponents also point to the fact that Philippine dependence on the U.S. for financing and providing a source of uranium only increases the American stranglehold on the country. Environmental concerns, moreover, have been heightened by the revelation that as of July 1977, with 21 percent of the project already completed, no place had been pinpointed for storage of nuclear wastes that will be generated by the plant."

Mediterranean Pollution Treaty

Government representatives from thirteen countries bordering the Mediterranean reached agreement October 21 on a treaty to control the discharge of industrial waste, municipal sewage, and agricultural chemicals into the sea.

The agreement establishes a "black list" of substances that must not be released into the Mediterranean: mercury, plastics, the pesticide DDT, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs—highly toxic liquids used in electrical equipment), used lubricating oils, and radioactive wastes. A "gray list" seeks to control and limit the discharge of other pollutants, such as copper, zinc, lead, arsenic, and fluorides.

The treaty must now be ratified by the Mediterranean countries. A more general convention on pollution drawn up at a Barcelona conference in 1976 has so far been approved only by the governments of Spain, Tunisia, and Monaco.

U.S. Dam Safety Challenged

A report criticizing inadequate safety measures in the operation of 330 water storage dams by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation was issued in mid-October by the National Research Council.

The study followed a series of investigations and congressional studies prompted

by the 1976 Teton Dam disaster in Idaho, which killed 14 persons and drove 30,000 more from their homes.

The report by the National Research Council concluded that the Bureau of Reclamation has no centralized section for dam safety; safety monitoring instruments in some dams are "questionable," and others have no such instruments; dam maintenance personnel are inadequately trained; no suitable alarm systems are in place to warn of a big dam break; and the bureau's coordination with civil defense groups in communities downstream from dams is inadequate.

A Dam Safety Act passed by Congress in 1972 excluded Bureau of Reclamation Dams at the bureau's insistence. It claimed it had an adequate safety program.

Ten Potential Dangers, and More on the Way

A committee of U.S. government agencies has recommended to the Environmental Protection Agency that ten chemicals or groups of chemicals covering "a vast area of human and environmental exposure" be tested for their possible role in causing cancer, genetic mutations, and birth defects. "These are substances which have a high degree of suspicion of one sort or another plus a high degree of exposure," said a member of the committee.

The chemicals are found in thousands of consumer products now on the market and are handled by millions of workers:

Chloromethane. Thirty-one thousand workers are exposed to this chemical.

Hexachloro-1,3 butadiene. A waste product of a number of industrial processes.

Nitrobenzene. Used in the dye industry, as well as in soaps, woodwork cleaners, and metal polishes.

Toluene. More than one million workers

are exposed to this solvent, which is used in many consumer products. Five billion pounds are produced each year.

Alkyl epoxides. Four billion pounds of the most widely used of these chemicals, ethylene oxide, are produced yearly. A big danger of worker exposure exists.

Alkyl phthalates. Used as plasticizers in a wide variety of products. Large volumes of these substances enter the environment as industrial wastes.

Chlorinated benzenes. Used in industrial processes and consumer products. About 350 million pounds are produced each year.

Chlorinated paraffins. Used in many household and paint products, adhesives, and fire retardants. Eighty million pounds of these are produced yearly. Carbon tetrachloride is a well-known member of this group.

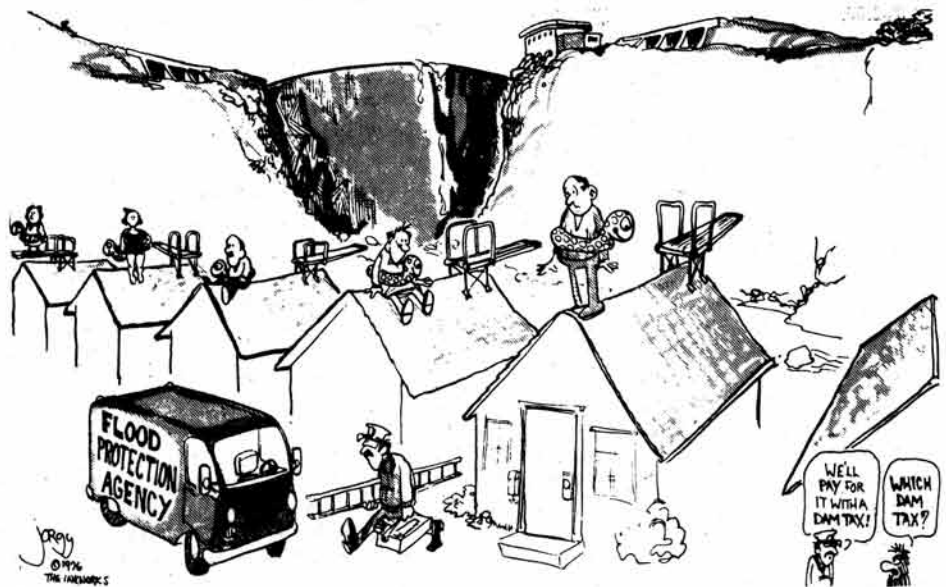
Cresols. Two million workers are exposed to these industrial solvents.

Xylenes. Used in many consumer products. A high degree of exposure both to workers and to the general public exists.

The task force that prepared this list was established under the Toxic Substances Control Act of 1976. It is slowly working its way through a list of 330 chemical substances singled out for study.

Task force members say it is likely that more chemicals will be added to the list. "There are some that we are reviewing now that may turn out to be even worse than the ones we have already submitted," said Dr. Jean French, an official at the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

The EPA now has one year to decide whether tests will actually be conducted on the ten substances singled out by the task force. If testing is ordered, it will be conducted by the manufacturers themselves, not by the EPA.



Jorgy/The Inkworks

AROUND THE WORLD



10,000 Auto Workers Strike in Argentina

Ten thousand workers at the Renault automobile plant in Córdoba, Argentina, went on strike October 10.

The workers were demanding a wage increase "to compensate for inflation of 150 percent," according to a statement by the Argentine CGT (General Confederation of Labor) quoted in the October 22 issue of *Rouge*.

On October 16 the Renault management took out a newspaper advertisement warning the workers to return the following day. "Those not willing to fulfill their work obligations will be fired," the ad said.

Soon thereafter government troops surrounded the plant and arrested 130 workers. Juan de Onís reported in the October 23 *New York Times* that about 150 workers were discharged from their jobs.

News reports of the strike did not say whether any of the workers' demands had been won. It was the largest strike in Argentina since the October 1976 work stoppage by light and power workers in Buenos Aires and other major cities.

24,000 in Argentina Sign Protest in Behalf of Political Prisoners

Hundreds of persons joined a demonstration in front of the Congress building in Buenos Aires October 14, demanding freedom for all political prisoners who have not been brought to trial and an inquiry into the fate of 571 persons who have "disappeared" after being seized by police.

A petition stating these demands, bearing 24,000 signatures, was delivered to the military junta the same day.

The government responded by breaking up the protest with tear gas and shots fired into the air. According to a report in the October 19 issue of *Le Monde*, nearly 600 demonstrators were arrested and several foreign journalists were called in for "questioning."

Five organizations worked together to organize the collection of signatures for the petitions. These were the Argentine League for Human Rights, the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, the Ecumenical Movement, and two groups formed by relatives of those who have "disappeared."

According to *Le Monde*, the signature-gathering effort "represented the first time a movement of such breadth has appeared

in Argentina since the military coup of March 24, 1976."

Low Marks for Mao's Education Theory

Chinese leaders have been forced to moderate some of the antieducational measures introduced by Mao, and in the process to acknowledge the damage done to the school system by the so-called Cultural Revolution.

The biggest change is that some high school students will not be compelled to put in several years on the farm before proceeding to college.

The official news agency Hsinhua admitted October 21 that Chinese universities were not turning out the well-trained scientists and technicians the country needs.

At the height of the Cultural Revolution every university and secondary and primary school in China was closed. The country has paid a heavy price for Mao's emphasis on ideological fervor and political and "practical" experience over educational standards. Although there has been some recovery in recent years, there are still fewer than 600,000 students in higher education, compared to 820,000 before the Cultural Revolution.

All errors of the past are, of course, the fault of the Gang of Four. The vice-president of Peking University recently blamed China's problems on the theory that "to have more knowledge is to be more reactionary," but attributed this orthodox Maoist idea to the ousted clique.

Protests Score Arrest of Senegalese Editor

The Senegalese regime of Léopold Sédar Senghor arrested Mame Less Dia, the editor of the monthly magazine *Le Politicien*, in September. He was accused of publishing documents, which had allegedly been stolen from court files, substantiating the magazine's charges of corruption against Ousman Diagne, one of the country's biggest capitalists. Diagne is director of the Senegalese Board of Trade and Industry and president of the employers association, Groupement Economique.

The Senegalese Journalists Association criticized Dia's arrest and the regime's decision to prevent any contact between Dia and his lawyers.

The opposition newspapers, *Afrique*

Nouvelle (New Africa) and *Ande Soppi* (Unity for Change), as well as the journalists association, have issued appeals condemning Senghor's moves against freedom of the press.

Majhemout Diop, the leader of the Parti Africain de l'Indépendance (African Independence Party), has demanded Dia's release.

University Closed in Liberia Following Student Unrest

Cuttington University College, about 150 miles northeast of the Liberian capital of Monrovia, was shut down by the authorities in October. The action followed class boycotts by students demanding the resignation of the school's president and dean, and other concessions. About 500 students attend the school, including some from Nigeria and southern Africa.

Sri Lanka Labor Leaders Protest Move to Hamstring Trade Unions

Trade unionists in Sri Lanka have begun to protest plans by Prime Minister J.R. Jayewardene to restrict the rights of workers to freely organize.

Shortly after coming to power, Jayewardene's United Nationalist Party (UNP) regime issued a "Statement of Policy" on August 4. It declared that trade unions should only be formed "without political affiliations," and that union dues collected from pay checks "will be used with State supervision."

An earlier UNP regime, under Dudley Senanayake, tried to impose similar measures in 1968 that would also have included restrictions on the right to strike and given the regime extensive powers to interfere in union affairs.

Five trade unions and federations belonging to the Trade Union Coordinating Committee issued a declaration September 22 protesting the UNP's new attacks against the labor movement.

"We consider," they said, "that any legislation that will directly or indirectly limit or restrict existing trade union freedoms, to make their own rules and to conduct their own affairs under leadership of their own choice, free from State control, as well as to take trade union action in accordance with their own freely determined procedures, will be undemo-

cratic and will be completely abhorrent to the interests of the working class."

They call on the Jayewardene regime to "refrain from using any kind of legislative compulsion upon the trade unions. . . ."

The statement was signed by M.A.Q.M. Ghazali, general secretary of the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union; K.P. Piyasena, honorary general secretary of the Public Service Technical Officers' Trade Union Federation; N. Sanmugathasan, general secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation; Ranjith Fernando, general secretary of the Ceylon Bank Employees' Union; and Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union. Tampoe is also secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist Party, Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International.

California Tests to Screen Out Black and Latino Freshmen

The University of California is proceeding to dismantle its affirmative action program, even before a final ruling in the landmark *Bakke* case.

The latest move is a new admissions policy that will give greater weight to standardized test scores in evaluating applicants for the 1979 freshman class.

The effect will be an immediate drop in the number of minority students. If the new standards had been applied to the 1976 freshman class, for example, less than 2 percent of the white freshmen would have been rejected, but 8.8 percent of Black students and 9.5 percent of Latinos.

California's Black Superintendent of Schools Wilson Riles supported the stricter admissions standards, for which he was bitterly attacked by other Blacks. "I know that black boys and girls can make it, given clear criteria and some assistance," Riles said. "They're not for some back-door entrance."

Pinochet 'Answers' Prisoners' Relatives

In June of this year, twenty-six relatives of Chilean political prisoners who have "disappeared" staged a sit-in and hunger strike at the Santiago offices of the United Nations. The protest ended June 23 after the Pinochet regime pledged to UN officials that information on the prisoners' whereabouts would be provided within ninety days.

Three months later, on September 23, the Chilean government made its report: "The persons whose alleged disappearance is denounced are not presently under detention by any security organism in the territory of the Republic."

This brief statement flies in the face of evidence assembled by the Catholic church's Vicariate of Solidarity. Based on the testimony of at least two witnesses in

each case, 568 "disappeared" persons are known to have been arrested or detained by the government. Evidence based on the testimony of one witness each accounts for the arrest of 1,200 more.

New Problem for the Pope

According to surveys reported in the November issue of *U.S. Catholic* magazine, belief in hell is declining.

While 70 percent of Catholics still believe in life after death, only one-third believe in hell. Of those who do, only one in eight



POPE PAUL: Informed that eternal damnation is losing its sting.

considers damnation to the eternal fires a real personal threat.

Rev. James Breig said that for many, "hell is sort of a whimsical place, more of a joke than an eschatological reality. It is a fictional domain, created from one part Dante and one part Milton with a dash of religious art thrown in."

Secessionists Jailed in Ghana

Two persons were sentenced to prison terms in Ghana in early October on charges of having advocated the secession

of the Volta Region in the western part of the country.

Steve Mensah Senyo, a twenty-seven-year-old tutor who was arrested for distributing "seditious" pamphlets, was convicted on three counts of conspiracy to carry into execution a seditious enterprise, publishing seditious writing, and possessing documents containing seditious writing. Although he pleaded not guilty, he was given a five-year jail term. Benetsu Kumah Adziraku, a twenty-five-year-old student, was sentenced to two years in prison on the same charges.

Shortly after the trial, Maj. Gen. E.K. Utuka, the commander of the Border Guards, accused the neighboring regime in Togo of financing and training members of the National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland, which favors the secession of the Volta Region (known also as Western Togoland) and its incorporation into Togo.

The Ewe peoples in the southern part of the Volta Region, in particular, have for a number of years been struggling for national unification with other Ewe peoples living across the border in Togo. In response to their struggles, the Ghanaian military junta threatened severe punishments, including death by firing squad, for anyone advocating secession.

In its campaign against the secessionists, the regime in Ghana has received important backing from the Nigerian military junta, which itself was confronted with a massive secessionist struggle by the Ibo people in Biafra in the late 1960s. I.J. Sagay, the Nigerian high commissioner in Ghana, said in September during a visit to the Volta Region that the Nigerian regime "will give Ghana moral, political and material support to help it retain its territorial integrity."

Free Rein for Political Police

An Associated Press dispatch from Sydney reported October 26 that Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser is planning vastly expanded police powers for the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO).

Fraser reportedly told Parliament that ASIO would be authorized to "intercept telephone and telex messages, open mail, use bugging devices, break and enter, pay informants and have increased access to government files."

The report said Fraser explained that warrants would be required before ASIO agents could exercise such powers.

Unemployment High in Africa

In a report on the labor situation in Africa, the International Labor Organization estimated that more than 60 million African workers were either unemployed or underemployed, out of a total work force on the continent of 140 million.

Role of the 'Frontline' States

By Jim Atkinson

[Ninth in a series]

As the Rhodesian settler regime has found itself increasingly unable to contain the Black nationalist insurgency or dampen the combativity of the masses through its methods of blanket terror, it has turned increasingly to staging cross-border raids against neighboring African countries. These are not "hot pursuit" raids in the classic sense. Most are attempts at preemptive strikes, staged in the hope of knocking out guerrilla bases; while others are aimed more at economic targets with the hope of prompting the "frontline states" to stop assisting the freedom fighters.

One of the most serious of these raids was staged against a large refugee camp at Nyadzonia in Mozambique in August 1976. On August 28, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees announced that at least 675 persons were killed in the massacre, carried out by Rhodesian troops at the camp on August 8.¹³³ In June 1977, Mozambican President Samora Machel accused the Rhodesian regime of launching no less than 143 raids into Mozambique since the previous March. Charles Tibone, administrative secretary at the Office of the President in Gaborone, Botswana, said the same month that the Rhodesians had staged at least 100 raids against Botswana since UDI in 1965—almost all of them in the last year.¹³⁴ On May 29, 1977, the Rhodesian armed forces staged a fifty-mile raid into Mozambique, seizing the town of Mapai for four days. And, on other occasions, Rhodesian troops and planes have struck at economic targets in Mozambique such as railway lines, telecommunications installations, and bridges.

The peoples of Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana can rightly appeal for support and solidarity throughout the world in defending their countries against the Rhodesian settlers. However, the neocolonial regimes in these countries have not themselves taken the action needed to provide effective defense for the masses against the Rhodesian raids. Above all, they have refused to train and arm the masses in the border regions—a policy that would provide the greatest protection and security—in fear that a mobilized, armed population would also fight for their rights against the neocolonial regimes themselves.

Furthermore, fearing the implications for the political stability of their own countries from the development of the Zimbabwean national liberation struggle in a revolutionary direction, the "frontline states" have given only cautious, inconsistent, and conditional support to the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. This vacillating, and at times treacherous, role has emboldened the racist Salisbury regime over the years, prolonged its life, and thereby increased its capacity to strike at neighboring African countries.

The "frontline states" have at different junctures of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle given limited assistance to the nationalists. Zambia, for example, allowed both the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) to set up bases in Zambia from the mid-1960s; and it later extended this assistance to the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi) after Frolizi's formation in 1971. Since January 1976, both the Zambian and the Mozambican governments have allowed the Patriotic Front, an alliance between Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU and the faction of ZANU led by

Robert Mugabe, to carry out guerrilla incursions from their territories into Zimbabwe.

The Zambian and Mozambican regimes have also attempted to increase pressure on the settler regime by ending most of their economic relations with Rhodesia. The Zambian government has kept its border with the Rhodesian regime partially closed since December 1973. The Mozambican government closed its border and banned trade with the settler regime in March 1976.

However, these limited anti-imperialist actions by the "frontline states" fall within the framework of a policy that is fundamentally counterrevolutionary. All of the African-ruled countries bordering Zimbabwe are run by neocolonial regimes that collaborate with and safeguard the basic interests of the imperialist powers. Still dependent economically on the imperialist centers, these countries have been unable to achieve industrialization and economic progress. And, as a result of the world capitalist recession since 1974, some of them are today even poorer in real terms than at the time of formal "independence."

Zambia is a case in point. With its economy centered from the time of colonization to the present day on the mining of copper for the manufacturing industries of the imperialist countries, Zambia has gone backward economically in the past few years as a result of a crisis of overproduction in the anarchic world capitalist copper market. Since the peak of the 1972-74 capitalist upswing, when world copper prices (as registered on the London Metal Exchange) reached more than £1,400 a ton, copper prices have fallen by more than 50 percent. By October 1977, it was down to around £690 a ton. At the same time, the Zambian economy has been hit by soaring inflation in the prices of the manufactured goods and machinery that it is forced to import from the imperialist powers. The results have been mounting balance of trade deficits; closures of copper mines; rising unemployment; strict import quotas leading to shortages of basic commodities like sugar, meat, cooking oil, and coffee; a mounting burden of foreign debt; and a fall in the standard of living of the masses to below the level at the time of "independence" in 1964.

To police an increasingly discontented population, the country's bourgeois rulers have set up a dictatorial one-party state system and progressively removed virtually all basic democratic rights. Opposition parties are illegal, the trade unions are integrated into the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP), there are no independent newspapers, and it is now almost impossible to speak out (let alone demonstrate) against the regime. Dissidents can be jailed without charge or trial under the state of emergency that has been in force without interruption since 1964.

Despite the fact that the Frelimo¹³⁵ regime in Mozambique calls itself "socialist," the truth is that it is no less neocolonial in character than the Zambian regime. The "socialist" content of Samora Machel's regime is restricted to its rhetoric. No amount of demagogy about "anti-imperialist struggle" can cover over the fact that the key imperialist economic interests in Mozambique, including those of South Africa, are being safeguarded by the government and that an authoritarian police state has been erected to discipline the masses and repress dissidents. Two years after independence in June 1975, the masses had still been barred from voting in national elections of any kind; opposition to Frelimo is a criminal offense; there are thousands of political prisoners in jails and so-called reeducation centers; independent trade unions are curbed and strikes banned; and a pervasive secret police force is on the constant lookout for dissidents.¹³⁶

135. Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front).

136. Imperialist interests are defended in Mozambique under article 14 of the constitution, which states that "foreign capital shall be authorised to operate within the framework of the State's economic policy." Only about fifty, mainly small, Portuguese-owned firms have been nationalized since independence in June 1975—and, in these cases, only because they were abandoned by their owners and managers during the settler exodus that accompanied Portugal's withdrawal.

Even in the nationalized companies, the workers are not involved in

133. *The Times* (London), August 8, 1976.

134. *The Star* (Johannesburg), June 20, 1977.

Under these conditions of imperialist domination, economic stagnation or retrogression, and harsh political repression, the masses in the neocolonial "frontline" states will look for ways to mobilize against their oppressive regimes and win basic democratic rights and improvements in the material conditions of their lives. In this context, the full-scale mobilization of the masses in Zimbabwe against the settler regime threatens, from the point of view of the neocolonial regimes, to inspire and ignite the masses in neocolonial Africa. Even more dangerous to the neocolonial regimes would be the development of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle into a socialist revolution, taking Zimbabwe out of the world imperialist system. Just as revolutionary Cuba became an inspiration to the oppressed masses of Latin America, so a revolutionary government in Zimbabwe would be a beacon to the masses of both neocolonial and white-ruled Africa.

In short, the neocolonial regimes see the mounting struggle for national liberation in Zimbabwe as a potentially destabilizing factor throughout southern and central Africa. Their answer to this threat is to seek a rapid transition to neocolonial forms of rule. They believe that the established nationalist leaderships, who so far hold the allegiance of the vast majority of Zimbabweans, would, if they entered government, attempt to maintain capitalist property relations and have the best chance of channeling the radicalization of the Zimbabwean masses.

In this regard, the policy of the neocolonial governments—and the Organization of African Unity (OAU)—mirrors much of the thinking of the main imperialist powers. Furthermore, these neocolonial states look to British imperialism, as the "legal" colonial power in Zimbabwe, and increasingly to Washington as well, to play a key role in engineering a successful, "orderly" transition to neocolonial rule. When forced periodically to endorse new guerrilla incursions, by the intransigent refusal of the Salisbury regime to place the settlers' privileges at risk under a neocolonial arrangement, their main hope is that the increasing conflict in Zimbabwe will finally jolt the settler regime into negotiating a neocolonial "settlement" and prod the imperialist powers into putting greater weight behind forging and underwriting this "solution" to the Zimbabwe conflict.

A transition to neocolonial rule in Zimbabwe has been made especially urgent for the "front-line" governments by two developments since 1974. One has been the world capitalist recession,

decision-making. The government appoints administrators to run state-owned plants and sets production targets. Strikes are illegal, President Machel saying on September 20, 1974, that "at this stage in the life of our country there is no more room for strikes." The incipient trade unions (known as "workers committees") that sprang up after the downfall of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal in April 1974 have been suppressed by the Frelimo regime.

To defend its rule against the masses, Frelimo has set up a one-party state system. This is laid down in article 3 of the constitution, which says that "the People's Republic of Mozambique will be guided by the political line defined by Frelimo, which is the leader of the State and of society."

For the first two and a half years of independence, Frelimo refused to hold general elections. The "People's Assembly" remained an appointed body throughout this period. Elections were scheduled to be held early in 1978, but these were to be of the rubber-stamp variety, taking place within the straitjacket of the one-party system, with voters unable to exercise any real choice.

Since October 1975, the regime has curbed dissent with the aid of a political police force, the *Serviço Nacional de Segurança Popular* (SNASP—National Service of People's Security), which has sweeping powers to "detect, neutralise and combat all forms of subversion, sabotage and acts directed against the People's Power and its representatives, against the national economy or against the objectives of the People's Republic of Mozambique." Its director, who is answerable to the president, may decide whether anyone arrested should be "given over to the competent police authority, sent to court or to camps for reeducation." Several thousand dissidents are thought to be held in the regime's "reeducation camps."

For a fuller account of Frelimo rule in Mozambique since independence, see Tony Hodges, "Mozambique: The Politics of Liberation," in Gwendolen M. Carter and Patrick O'Meara, eds., *Southern Africa in Crisis* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1977).

which has wreaked havoc on the neocolonial regimes' weak economies and added to the dissatisfaction of the masses and the regimes' political instability. The second has been the impact throughout southern Africa, and especially in Zimbabwe, of the collapse of Portugal's African empire. The inspiration given Africans by the nationalist victories in Mozambique and Angola raised the combativity of the Zimbabwean masses, making a transition to neocolonial rule even more urgent from the point of view of the "frontline" regimes.

In October 1974, six months after the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal, Zambian officials started a series of top-level meetings with the South African government. Together, they mapped out tactics which they hoped would bring the settler regime and the nationalist leaderships around a negotiating table to hammer out a neocolonial settlement. After approaches from South African Prime Minister John Vorster, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith declared on December 11, 1974, that he would release a number of nationalist detainees, having received assurances that "terrorist activities in Rhodesia will cease immediately" and that the nationalists were prepared to enter "settlement talks" without preconditions.¹³⁷

The Zambian regime had—through a mixture of persuasion and threats—goaded the four main nationalist movements of the time (ZAPU, ZANU, Frolizi, and the African National Council) to fuse into a common organization, the "enlarged" African National Council (ANC), in order to enter talks with the settler regime.

The nationalist leaders made this major concession, under Zambian pressure, even though the settler regime had made it abundantly clear that it did not intend to end white supremacy. "Let me reassure you all that it is your government's firm intention to maintain law and order in Rhodesia and we are not prepared to deviate from our standards of civilisation," Smith assured the settlers in his December 11 speech announcing plans to start talks.¹³⁸

In fact, the settler regime merely used the ensuing year of stalemated talks as a time-buying device to regain the upper hand against the insurgents in northeastern Zimbabwe and to strengthen its armed forces.

Meanwhile, the Zambian policy was endorsed by the entire OAU with the adoption of a manifesto, the "Dar-es-Salaam Declaration," by the OAU Liberation Committee in April 1975 and its ratification by the OAU summit in Kampala, Uganda, the following July.

To enforce its policy of freezing the guerrilla war, the Zambian government took advantage of a deep internal split in ZANU, which culminated in a wave of factional killings and assassination of ZANU Chairman Herbert Chitepo in March 1975, to crack down on Zimbabwean militants who were critical of the Zambian moves. By March 24, the Zambian police had arrested more than seventy ZANU leaders (many of whom were not implicated in the factional killings); and, over the next year, about 2,000 rank-and-file ZANU militants were kept in virtual detention at camps under Zambian army guard.¹³⁹ On September 11, 1975, eleven ZANU members were shot to death by the Zambian army at a camp near Kabwe.¹⁴⁰

The London *Guardian* spelled out succinctly the consequences of the Zambian government's actions. "ZANU is very much at the mercy of the African host governments," wrote Africa correspondent James MacManus, "and until they decide to allow the guerrilla war to be stepped up, Mr Smith and his security forces

137. Colin Legum, ed., *Africa Contemporary Record, 1974-75* (London: Rex Collings, 1975), p. B511.

138. *Ibid.*

139. *The Guardian* (London), January 6, 1976.

140. For an account of Zambian government repression against the Zimbabwean nationalist movement, see *Intercontinental Press*, January 12, 1976, p. 8.

have a valuable breathing space."¹⁴¹

The Mozambique government (both during the "transitional period"¹⁴² before independence on June 25, 1975, and after) pursued identical policies to those of the Zambian government. It placed a leader of ZANU, Robert Mugabe, under house arrest for several months during 1975 after he had voiced criticisms of Kaunda's actions against ZANU in Zambia.

While the Smith regime gained months in which to bolster its security forces, it showed no signs of wanting to talk seriously with the nationalist leaderships about a transition government. The obstinate refusal of the settler regime to consider collaborating with the Black nationalist leaders forced the "frontline" states to authorize a new series of guerrilla incursions against the settler regime—in the hope that the spread of the war would jolt the settlers into agreeing to a return to the negotiating table and consider seriously a neocolonial "settlement." The Zambian, Tanzanian, Botswanan, and Mozambican presidents agreed to endorse new guerrilla incursions from January 1976—as a tactical adjustment within the overall framework of continued support to the basic precepts of "détente" in southern Africa.

In particular, they hoped that stepped-up guerrilla activity might prod Britain into intervening more actively to assist a transition to neocolonialism. On March 29, 1976, Kaunda called on Britain to send troops to Rhodesia and to set up an "executive committee" to run the colony with "genuine whites" like Garfield Todd and Roy Welensky.¹⁴³ The "frontline" states' view of the guerrilla war as a pressure mechanism was clearly outlined by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere at a press conference in Bonn on May 5, 1976, after a round of talks with West German Foreign Minister Genscher and Chancellor Schmidt. "The question," he said, "is not whether it is going to be peaceful but just how much guerrilla pressure is going to be necessary to bring Smith to London. I still want him to go to London to talk . . . to discuss a constitutional settlement."¹⁴⁴

From this standpoint, the neocolonial regimes applauded the diplomatic offensive launched by British and American imperialism early in 1976 to achieve a negotiated transfer of power to a Black neocolonial regime. After listening to U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger spell out Washington's new policy on Zimbabwe in a speech in Lusaka on April 27, 1976, Kaunda threw his arms around this spokesman for imperialism and declared: "Some of us were emotionally charged while you were speaking."¹⁴⁵

Later, in September 1976, when Kissinger was shuttling between African capitals to hammer out his settlement proposals, Kaunda declared: "Your mission has got to be a success. If not, the destruction of property and life will be immeasurable."¹⁴⁶

After the opening of the British-sponsored Geneva Conference on October 25 of that year, the "frontline" states stepped up their pressure for a decisive imperialist role in getting a neocolonial regime off the ground. On November 10, Nyerere called on Britain "to play its full role" and said: "Britain, as the colonial power, must hold two portfolios in the interim government. These should

be the portfolios of external affairs and defence."¹⁴⁷ The Tanzanian government also came out in favor of Commonwealth military intervention in Zimbabwe. The Commonwealth countries would be only too ready to provide an armed unit to police Rhodesia, declared Dar es Salaam radio on November 2, and it would be this unit that would "disband the rebel army and supervise the creation of a national army for an independent Zimbabwe."

After the breakdown of the Geneva conference in mid-December, following the settler delegation's refusal to countenance a transfer of power from the white regime to a neocolonial administration, the "frontline" governments continued to support imperialist intervention in Zimbabwe. Welcoming the conference's British ex-chairman, Ivor Richard, to Maputo on January 6, 1977, Machel said: "War is fed by blood and it destroys lives. We therefore say welcome to the chairman of the conference, welcome to Great Britain. We hope you will find the solutions. You will find all the necessary cooperation."¹⁴⁸

The "frontline" states gave a similar welcome to the Owen-Young Plan, published by the British government on September 1, 1977. "The western powers have now firmly indicated they are prepared to use their influence to bring about the transfer of power to the majority of people in Southern Africa," Nyerere said the next day. "A number of initiatives to that end have been started. Tanzania welcomes these initiatives."¹⁴⁹

Three weeks later, at a "frontline" summit in Maputo on September 23, presidents Nyerere, Machel, Kaunda, and Khama (of Botswana) decided to give broad endorsement to the Owen-Young Plan, giving British Foreign Secretary David Owen the green light to appeal successfully the following week for the appointment of a UN special representative for Zimbabwe to work with a British-appointed resident commissioner during the six-month "transition" period projected under the Anglo-American plan.

The Owen-Young proposals, Nyerere said after the summit, "form a sufficient basis for further negotiations between the parties concerned."¹⁵⁰

For their part, the imperialist powers see the "frontline" states playing an important role in the transition period to neocolonial rule. In a New York television interview on June 9, 1977, the *New York Times* reported, "Mr. Young said that the countries adjacent to Rhodesia would have to assume responsibility for such matters as the dismantling of the guerrilla army that has been fighting the Smith Government."¹⁵¹

In endorsing a new wave of guerrilla attacks against the Smith regime from their territory, the "frontline" states know that they are treading on dangerous ground. They have therefore endeavored to keep the freedom fighters under as tight a rein as possible, to prevent the liberation struggle from spiraling out of their control. Viewing the "armed struggle" like a tap, to be turned off as soon as the settler regime shows willingness to consider the neocolonial option, these regimes are attempting to keep the Zimbabwean militants under control by their strict supervision of the funding, logistical support, and provision of arms for the guerrillas. For this reason, the OAU summit in Mauritius in July 1976 passed a resolution halting all direct OAU funding of the Zimbabwean nationalist movements and ruling that in future all funds would be channeled through the OAU Liberation Committee and the government of Mozambique. The guerrilla camps are not run by the nationalists themselves but are administered, guarded, and policed by the neocolonial regimes' armies.

In addition, the neocolonial regimes have not hesitated to use their repressive machinery to crack down on dissidents in the

141. *The Guardian* (London), January 6, 1976.

142. The "transitional" government in Mozambique was set up in September 1974 following the end of the war between Frelimo and the Portuguese army. It consisted of both Frelimo and Portuguese ministers.

143. Todd was settler premier of Southern Rhodesia from 1954 to 1958 and opposed Smith's unilateral declaration of independence and white supremacy from a standpoint similar to that of the British government. Roy Welensky was prime minister of the Central African Federation (a federation of the colonies of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland that lasted from 1953 to 1963) from 1956 to 1963. Today, Welensky also advocates a transition to neocolonial rule.

144. *The Guardian* (London), May 6, 1976.

145. *The Times* (London), April 29, 1976.

146. *The Times* (London), September 17, 1976.

147. *The Guardian* (London), November 11, 1976.

148. *The Guardian* (London), January 7, 1976.

149. *The Times* (London), September 3, 1977.

150. *The Times* (London), September 24, 1977.

nationalist movements who have stepped out of line. For example, in January 1977, the Mozambique government detained more than eighty-five leaders and militants of ZANU following a conference of commanders of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) in Beira. Among those detained were Elias Hondo, ZIPA's director of operations, Dzinashe Machingura, ZIPA's deputy political army commissar, and ZIPA's directors of security and intelligence, training and personnel, and logistics and supplies.¹⁵² By October 1977, none of those detained had been released.

At the same time, the neocolonial regimes know that the main nationalist leaderships share their goal of maintaining the capitalist system in Zimbabwe and they hope that these procapitalist leaders will be able to keep the Zimbabwean masses in check.

They have not, however, simply left the nationalist leaders to get on with the job of channeling the radicalization and anger of the masses. They have also decided to interfere directly in the nationalist movement to select leaders for the future regime they aspire to establish. Since late in 1975, they have backed the leaders of the ZANU faction led by Mugabe and leaders of ZAPU—two groups that formed an alliance later that year.

The first signs that the Nkomo and Mugabe groups were being singled out came shortly after the split in the "enlarged" ANC in September 1975, when rival factions (one led by Nkomo, the other by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, ZANU leader Ndabaningi Sithole, and ex-Frolizi leader James Chikerema) "expelled" each other from the ANC. The Nkomo-led ANC became the group now known as the ANC (Zimbabwe), the "internal," legal wing of ZAPU. The rival ANC splintered in turn into the United African National Council (UANC) under Muzorewa's leadership; the African National Council (Sithole) linked to Sithole's faction of ZANU; and the People's Movement, which owes allegiance to Mugabe and his ZANU group.

The "frontline" states immediately shunned the anti-Nkomo ANC faction, refusing to recognize the Zimbabwe Liberation Council (ZLC) it set up September 3 to lead a renewed guerrilla offensive. Instead, they gave their backing to a rival guerrilla command set up in November. This eighteen-member Joint Military Command, composed of nine ZAPU military leaders, was to be the leadership of a new army, ZIPA, to which the neocolonial regimes gave exclusive support.

The "frontline" states combined their backing for ZIPA with a mudslinging campaign against the rival ZLC, which was denied all facilities by the Machel, Kaunda, and Nyerere regimes. In particular, the government-controlled press in the "frontline" states gave prominent coverage to a "manifesto," supposedly drawn up by freedom fighters at the Mpagao camp in Tanzania in November 1975, denouncing Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chikerema. "In our opinion," the Mpagao manifesto said, "the three leaders are incapable of leading the African National Council." The document went on to say that "an executive member who has been outstanding is Robert Mugabe."¹⁵³ Throughout 1976, the media in the "frontline" states kept up a barrage of propaganda to discredit Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chikerema and to promote Nkomo and Mugabe.

In September 1976, with "frontline" support, Mugabe's ZANU faction and Nkomo's ZAPU/ANC(Z) formed the Patriotic Front—as the "political leadership" of ZIPA. At a summit meeting in Lusaka on January 8-9, 1977, the presidents of Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, and Tanzania decided "to give full political, material and diplomatic support to the Patriotic Front," finally writing off Muzorewa's UANC and the ZANU faction led by Sithole. The "frontline" presidents' decision was ratified by the OAU Liberation Committee later that month and by the OAU summit in Libreville, Gabon, in the first week of July.

The neocolonial regimes have not given this franchise to the

Patriotic Front/ZIPA because it differs politically in any fundamental way from the UANC or the Sithole-led faction of ZANU. In fact, the political programs of all the main nationalist leaderships are virtually identical. All aspire to set up a Black-run neocolonial regime.

The reasons for the "frontline" states' decision to "pick out" the Patriotic Front are the following. First, they seek to weaken the Zimbabwean national liberation movement as a whole by playing up and accentuating the factional divisions that beset it. By promoting the Mugabe and Nkomo-led groups, they calculate, they can deepen the rifts in nationalist ranks, sow confusion and demoralization, and weaken the entire movement. In addition, they hope, they will be able to extract greater loyalty from the favored factions by assisting them in their bitter power struggle against their rivals. Indebted to the "frontline" states for the rise in their fortunes, the Nkomo-Mugabe bloc may be more inclined to kowtow to the commands of the neocolonial regimes. In short, the "frontline" states are employing standard divide-and-rule tactics toward the nationalist movement.

Two other considerations may have influenced their decision. In the case of some of the ZANU leaders now in the Patriotic Front, there is evidence to suggest that their relative lack of support among the masses inside Zimbabwe (by comparison with Muzorewa especially) was a factor recommending them for endorsement by the "frontline" states. After all, their indebtedness is now considerable, since their factional advance has depended almost entirely on the support given them by these governments. By contrast, a leader like Muzorewa, who has a massive popular following inside Zimbabwe and is more likely to be influenced by mass pressure in order to retain support, has been viewed as less reliable, particularly since the UANC is loose, heterogeneous, and relatively undisciplined. Equally, the ZAPU faction may be favored by the neocolonial regimes partly because it is by far the most centralized, disciplined, and monolithic of the nationalist groups.

A related consideration for the "frontline" states may be the different stands taken by the various factions on the explosive issue of elections. The UANC, a formation that depends on a direct appeal to the masses and calculates that it would probably win an election held today in Zimbabwe, strongly urged during the Geneva conference that the "transitional government" should be elected—on the basis of "one man, one vote," the nationalists' traditional rallying cry.

The ZAPU group, though it enjoys significant mass support in the western region of Zimbabwe, fears that it would lose an election. It therefore relies more on its tougher, disciplined organizational apparatus to bully its way to power, and reacted violently against the election suggestion—as did the smaller ZANU factions, led by Josiah Tongogara, Mugabe, and others, who know that they would have no chance of winning a free election.

George Nyandoro, a key external leader of the UANC, has noted that "when we got to Geneva we proposed that the people of Zimbabwe should choose their government on the basis of one man one vote. To our surprise this popular demand was violently opposed not only by Smith, from whom we expected opposition, and the British imperialists, but by other fellow delegates including the front-line states."¹⁵⁴ Like the Patriotic Front, the neocolonial regimes wanted the transitional government to be appointed, along the lines that brought the Frelimo leaders in Mozambique into power through a negotiated deal with the Portuguese imperialists. The "frontline" states hope that, if elections have to be held at all, polling will be on a rubber-stamp basis under a strictly supervised one-party system, as in Tanzania and Zambia. "After independence and elections there should continue to be a Party of National Unity. Party Governments in situations like Rhodesia

151. *New York Times*, June 10, 1977.

152. *Financial Times* (London), May 6, 1977.

153. *The Guardian* (London), January 6, 1976.

154. George Nyandoro, "Speech to OAU Liberation Committee," Lusaka, January 1977.

are dangerous," Nyerere said on November 10, 1976.¹⁵⁵

The "danger" for the neocolonial regimes is that the granting of even the most basic democratic rights (like the right to vote in free elections) is likely to be incompatible with the defense of a "stable," procapitalist regime in Zimbabwe. Another "danger" is that free elections in Zimbabwe would set an example for the masses in Tanzania, Mozambique, and Zambia, who are openly skeptical about the "one-party participatory democracy" and "people's power" systems imposed on them by their rulers.

The most criminal consequence of the neocolonial regimes' one-sided support for the Patriotic Front is the intensification and deepening of the debilitating factional rifts in the Zimbabwean nationalist movement. Their promotion of the factional fortunes of Nkomo and Mugabe stands in the way of the formation of a united front, which is necessary to mobilize the masses in all-out, united struggle against the settler oppressors. The ANC(S) has charged that the Patriotic Front "has been used to divide the fighting forces and to prepare for a projected civil war in

Zimbabwe which is being organised by the front-line states."¹⁵⁶ And, there is no doubt that, if the factionalism that is now driving deep divisions within the ranks of the Black masses is reinforced further by the actions of the "frontline" states, the factional struggle could degenerate into civil war as happened in Angola in 1975-76. In such an apolitical carnage, only the masses would stand to lose. The imperialists and the settlers would welcome the ensuing demoralization and attempt to play off the factions against one another through divide-and-rule tactics.

It need only be added that the neocolonial regimes' stance violates the Zimbabwean right to self-determination. The "frontline" states have no right to pick and choose leaders for the Zimbabwean national liberation movement. This is a sovereign right of the Zimbabweans themselves. A key task of solidarity with the Zimbabwean liberation struggle on the part of the masses in the neocolonial states is to fight to force their governments to grant full organizational and political rights to all tendencies in the Zimbabwean national liberation movement.

[Next: The Character of the Nationalist Movements]

155. *The Guardian* (London), November 11, 1976.

156. "Resolution to ANC(S) Inaugural Congress," Salisbury, June 5, 1977.

American News Media Played Ball With CIA for 25 Years

More than 400 American journalists cooperated with the Central Intelligence Agency over the past twenty-five years, according to noted investigative reporter Carl Bernstein.

Writing in the October 20 *Rolling Stone* magazine, Bernstein exposes the cozy relationship between the CIA and some of the nation's most prestigious broadcasters and news organizations.

Beginning in the early 1950s, the CIA lined up journalists to carry out a variety of overseas secret assignments. Their missions ranged from simple intelligence gathering and "spotting" of potential CIA informants to serving as go-betweens with spies.

The CIA also got the agreement of major news organizations to provide press credentials to CIA agents masquerading as foreign correspondents.

Among the news and broadcast industry heads who lent their cooperation to the agency, Bernstein reports, were William Paley of the Columbia Broadcasting System, Henry Luce of *Time* magazine, Arthur Hays Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, Barry Bingham of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and James Copley of the Copley News Service.

Other companies that offered their services to the CIA include the American Broadcasting Company, National Broadcasting Company, the Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, Hearst Newspapers, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, *Newsweek* magazine, and several others.

Widely read columnists who worked for Washington's cloak-and-dagger establishment included, according to Bernstein, C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*;

Joseph Alsop; and Stewart Alsop, whose column appeared in *Newsweek*.

David Attlee Phillips, former Western Hemisphere CIA chief, told Bernstein that about 200 of the journalists had formalized their relationship with the agency by signing employment contracts or secrecy pledges.

Other reporters, stringers, and freelance journalists had more casual relationships, trading information to local CIA agents in return for occasional "scoops."

Bernstein also charges that reporters on the CIA payroll wrote false "black propaganda" pieces used to discredit foreign leaders with whom Washington was at odds. During the 1960s, Bernstein says, the CIA unleashed its journalists to block the election of Salvador Allende in Chile.

Only a smattering of information about the CIA's incestuous relationship with the American media was revealed during the 1976 Senate Intelligence Committee's hearings on CIA abuses. While the hearings produced dramatic testimony about CIA assassination plots and drug warfare, Bernstein asserts that CIA officials and committee members conspired to keep real knowledge of the journalist operation from reaching the public.

Why was the CIA so concerned lest its liaison with the media be found out? One Senate source told Bernstein: "From the CIA point of view this was the highest, most sensitive covert program of all. . . . It was a much larger part of the operational system than has been indicated."

Exposure of the CIA's relationship with journalists and academics, the agency feared, would close down two of the few avenues of agent recruitment left open to them.

Arguing with the committee that these

were the only areas of public life with any credibility left, former CIA Director George Bush reportedly pleaded "Don't fuck these guys in the press and on the campuses," a Senate source told Bernstein. The intelligence committee's final report duly downplayed the CIA's media connection.

Beginning in 1973 after reports leaked out that the CIA was using American journalists, the agency made a few cosmetic shifts. Early in 1976 George Bush announced that the CIA would no longer enter into any paid contractual relationships with American correspondents. However, the agency would continue to "welcome" the voluntary unpaid cooperation of reporters.

By all indications, the CIA's decades-long relationship with the American media emerged from the public spotlight virtually unscathed. □

