

Intercontinental Press

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Vol. 16, No. 20

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May 22, 1978

USA 75¢

UK 30p



Tanks patrol streets of Tehran May 12, following massive demonstrations in more than 34 cities denouncing shah's ferocious rule. According to official

figures, more than 100 persons were killed or wounded in Tehran alone as shah took personal command of troops to prevent "unnecessary bloodshed." See p. 596.

Protests in Cities Across Iran

The CIA's Secret War in Angola

NEWS ANALYSIS

The Killing of Aldo Moro

By Harry Farrar

The narrow cobblestoned side street in Rome where Aldo Moro's body was found on the morning of May 9, not far from the offices of both the Communist and Christian Democratic parties, has already been made into a sort of shrine.

During the fifty-four days after the kidnapping of the Christian Democratic leader and the killing of his five guards, both the capitalist politicians and media and his captors prepared the way for Moro's becoming a sacrificial victim.

Representatives and supporters of the capitalist government that Moro's kidnappers claimed to be fighting all expressed their satisfaction that his death had served a high political purpose. For example, in a May 11 editorial, the *Christian Science Monitor* said:

"To its credit, the Italian Government withstood the terrorists' demands to release Red Brigades members already serving sentences or jailed awaiting trial, painfully difficult though it was to make such a decision. For all its past failings and inability to provide effective leadership, Italy's Christian Democratic government nevertheless refused to be brought to its knees throughout the 54-day ordeal. Its leaders wisely recognized that there can be no compromising of democratic ideals with criminals who seek to shroud their heinous attacks on society in the cloak of political respectability."

The *Monitor* editors expected some concrete political benefits from Moro's death:

"Out of the tragedy, however, a new sense of unity has emerged among Italians. . . . The challenge for Premier Andreotti and the people of Italy now is to seize this momentary spirit of togetherness and forge it into a national campaign to attack the festering social and economic problems which help spawn the type of fanatic terrorism that has so disrupted their country."

The *Daily World*, which reflects the views of the American Communist Party, also thought that sacrificing Moro had been worthwhile.

"It is significant that the Italian Government, with the support of the Italian Communist Party and masses of people stood firm against this conspiracy to 'destabilize' the country.

"The issue was not pay of ransom for the life of an individual, but of thwarting a neo-fascist political plot. Moro was kidnapped only days after he helped overcome a governmental crisis which had paralyzed Italy. He was slated to become Presi-

dent of Parliament and was known as a supporter of detente and cooperation with the Italian Communist Party in the national interest."

The CP paper evidently thought that the Italian party had played a praiseworthy and essential role in reinforcing the will of the Christian Democratic government to sacrifice Moro on the altar of law and order and the inviolability of the state authority. Such commendations from the American CP have been rare recently. As a superloyal follower of Moscow, the U.S. party has been concentrating on chastising the Italian CP, arguing that its criticisms of aspects of bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR and East Europe represent capitulation to bourgeois pressure.

The line of the founding party of "Eurocommunism" and the American CP coincided fully on the question of negotiating with the terrorists for Moro's release. In an April 21 editorial, quoted in the *New York Times*, the Italian CP paper *l'Unità* said:

"Those who consider negotiations do not understand the kidnapping of Aldo Moro. The kidnappers are not common criminals, who would accept a price and disappear, letting life continue as before. What they want is not an exchange of prisoners but recognition of the political status of the Red Brigades, which would no longer be a terrorist organization but a declared adversary. Political recognition is the terrible, unacceptable price."

The argument that negotiating for Moro's release would legitimize the Red Brigade terrorists is a strange one. It is all the more strange that no one in the big press saw fit to challenge it. In fact, the release of a judge kidnapped by the Red Brigades in April 1974 was negotiated, and that obviously conferred no legitimacy on the small band of terrorists.

The only thing that could give the Red Brigades a shred of legitimacy would be demonstrated popular support and a conviction among the masses that the government was dictatorial and left no opening for legal opposition. Negotiating the release of hostages obviously will not affect this. To believe that it would means accepting the terrorists' own mistaken notions that the masses will flock to the banner of anyone who strikes a daring blow at the state.

The fact is that the Communist Party as well as the Christian Democrats had an important political interest in sacrificing Moro. This kidnapping allowed the leaders

of both parties to present those in the ranks of the CP and unions who are opposed to class-collaborationist deals as provocateurs and terrorist conspirators.

The extensive campaign the CP has launched in the factories against "terrorism" seems clearly to be directed against a much larger target than small gangs of desperados.

There have also been reports in the capitalist press that CP leaders think their party has been infiltrated by Red Brigade members and that a campaign is needed to root them out. Such an operation could certainly be useful at a time when opposition to the CP leaders' sellout is growing in the ranks and the leadership finds its control weakened by the democratic concessions it has been forced to make to improve its image.

The capitalist representatives, for their part, argued that meeting the Red Brigades' demands to release thirteen jailed terrorists would simply lead to the resumption of their activities.

The truth is that such small isolated groups are incapable of damaging the gigantic apparatus of the capitalist state.

Even in countries where terrorist groups have had the support of numerically large minorities—in Argentina, for example—the sum total of their "success" was to give the state a cover for organizing systematic extermination of working-class activists.

If any individual was important to the state in Italy, it was Moro. He was the cleverest of the Christian Democratic politicians, and one of the few that managed to stay clear of corruption scandals. But he himself soon came to realize how expendable he was. In his letter of April 24, he wrote:

"... I request that neither the authorities of the state nor the men of the party attend my funeral. I demand that I be followed only by the few who really loved me and therefore are worthy of accompanying me with their prayers and their love."

Clearly Moro's family believed that this letter represented his feelings, because they excluded state and party officials from his funeral. Apparently their own experience with the state led them to conclusions similar to those expressed in his letters. In the April 11 *New York Times*, correspondent Henry Tanner reported:

"Mr. Moro's wife and children are known to feel that the authorities have placed them under such strict surveillance as to make it impossible for them to try to establish contact with the terrorists in an attempt to free Mr. Moro. . . ."

"The family now is said to feel that the Christian Democratic leaders not only refuse to help its efforts but actively obstruct it."

In murdering Moro, the Red Brigades represented absolutely no political force. Even the most ultraleft and proguerilla

organizations denounced them.

The Brigade obviously never understood the mass, democratic nature of socialist revolution. In their actions, they have served only as the unwitting instruments of the Italian bourgeoisie, providing it with a needed pretext for restricting democratic rights in the country as a whole under the guise of fighting "terrorism."

Whatever their fate, the main price for their adventure will be paid by the Italian workers and oppressed masses. □

South Africa Threatens New Attacks on Angola

Just a few days after South African troops attacked and bombed Namibian refugee camps in Southern Angola, a representative of the South African Defence Ministry warned May 6 that Pretoria might carry out yet more assaults. Employing the justification that the raid was in retaliation for Namibian guerrilla activities, he claimed that if the Namibian freedom fighters "continue with this kind of thing, we shall have to act again."

According to Angolan Defense Minister Iko Carreira, the South African attack, which extended 155 miles into Angola to the town of Cassinga, took more than 600 lives, most of them Namibian refugees. Foreign journalists who visited the town counted 580 bodies, including 460 in a mass grave.

The massacre has been condemned by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for the independence of Namibia. The United Nations Security Council also condemned the attack in a unanimous resolution.

Speaking in the United Nations, Cuban representative Raul Roa Kouri declared that "any aggression against our Angolan brothers and sisters will be considered an aggression against our own people." He called for strong economic, military, and political sanctions against the racist South African regime.

'Defense Campaign' for Bhutto

The shah's torturers and murderers are very busy these days. Not only do they have their usual job of torturing 100,000 political prisoners; arresting scores more each day; censoring hundreds of books and periodicals; tapping the phones, bugging the homes, and opening the mail of thousands who are suspected of being opponents of his majesty's rule; and attacking demonstrations of the opposition.

On top of all this, which one has to admit is a lot of work, they now have to organize a defense campaign to save the life of a prisoner. They have been sending protest letters, organizing petition drives, and encouraging prominent figures to write appeals to save the life of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the former dictator of Pakistan. It seems that dictators also feel that an injury to one is an injury to all.

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Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

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flects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$24 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

In Europe: For air-speeded subscriptions, write to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

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Protests Against Shah's Rule Spread Across Iran

By Parvin Najafi

Antigovernment demonstrations continue to rock Iran. On May 9 a new series of protests broke out, quickly spreading to more than thirty-four cities, including the capital, Tehran.

The latest demonstrations began on the traditional day of mourning for those killed in previous protests that began on March 31. The fortieth day after a death is the Muslim day of mourning.

As of May 12, the largest demonstration had taken place in Qum, the stronghold of the Muslim opposition. Qum is the site of a holy shrine and is one of the most sacred cities of the Shi'ite Muslim sect.

Reports indicate that the new demonstrations began after a funeral service for those killed March 31. In an effort to stop the demonstrations, the government cut off Qum's electricity May 10, plunging the city into darkness. But the demonstration continued until 10 p.m. that evening.

On May 11, the government moved thousands of troops into Qum. The semi-official press reported that nine persons were killed in clashes there, but unofficial sources put the death toll much higher. The government has consistently given much lower figures than eyewitness observers.

In Tehran May 11, a massive demonstration erupted after thousands of persons gathered in Jome Mosque in the bazaar area to hear a speech by one of the Muslim leaders.

The demonstrators then left the bazaar area and marched along Tehran's main street chanting "Down With the Shah." The army was ordered out against them, and tanks were deployed.

The shah postponed his scheduled trip to Hungary and Bulgaria and canceled all his engagements for the day. According to a report in the May 12 *New York Times*, he took personal command of the troops, claiming that his aim was to prevent "unnecessary bloodshed."

The protests in Tehran were crushed brutally. Initial unofficial reports place the number of casualties at as many as 100 persons killed or wounded.

Additional demonstrations against the shah's government were reported in three other major cities—Shiraz, Kazerun, and Tabriz. According to official count, two persons were killed in Tabriz and one in Kazerun.

This latest upheaval in Iran is a continuation of the protests that have erupted throughout the country every forty days since the beginning of the year.



SHAH: Takes personal command over suppression of demonstration in Tehran.

On January 9, protests occurred in Qum, following the publication of an article in the government-controlled press insulting Ayatullah Khomeini. Khomeini is the highest religious authority in the Shi'ite sect, equivalent to the pope in the Catholic church. He currently lives in exile in Iraq.

Students in Qum went out on strike January 8 to protest the article. On the following day a group of demonstrators began a peaceful march toward one of the mosques. The police opened fire with machine guns and rifles, killing and wounding more than 100 persons. Following this massacre, bazaars closed down in several cities, including Tehran, in protest.

To commemorate the Qum martyrs, religious leaders called for a day of mourning and a business shutdown on the fortieth day after their deaths. In response to this call, protests occurred on February 18 and 19 in several large cities, including Tabriz, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Ahwaz.

The biggest of these demonstrations took place in Tabriz. There the police tried to prevent the crowd from gathering in a

mosque, sparking further protest. The police opened fire, killing a young boy.

After this people poured into the streets. It is estimated that hundreds of thousands took part in this demonstration against the shah. The army moved in with tanks and machine guns to break up the demonstration. According to official sources, 9 persons were killed, 125 injured, and 700 arrested. But the actual number is undoubtedly much higher.

On March 30, forty days after the Tabriz events, the religious leaders again called for a day of mourning and a business shutdown, this time to protest the Tabriz massacre. In response, protest actions took place in more than fifty-five cities, towns, and villages, lasting over a week.

Since that time the government has been trying a "hard cop, soft cop" routine.

One wing of the Rastakhiz Party—the only legal political party in Iran—which calls itself the "Leading Wing," announced April 3 that it had organized a "Committee for National Action." The spokesman for the "Leading Wing" said that the aim of the committee is to "confront the demonstrators in the streets," "answer club with club" and "fight the rioters and demonstrators relentlessly."

Later the "Leading Wing" organized another group called the "Resistance Corps." These vigilante groups, which have no legal authority and are most likely filled with SAVAK agents and army commandos, have been roaming the streets, beating, arresting, and in some cases killing those distributing antigovernment leaflets, newspapers, or tapes.

An "Underground Committee for Revenge" has also been organized. This committee has taken credit for a series of bombings, kidnappings, and beatings of opposition leaders. The controlled press in Iran has reported these violent actions, but the government has publicly disclaimed any responsibility for them.

The other wing of the Rastakhiz Party, which calls itself the "Constructive Wing," has been trying very hard to portray itself as the party's liberal faction. It has issued a number of manifestos and statements, insisting that it believes in freedom of speech, assembly, press, and the free exchange of ideas.

Hushang Ansari, the leader of the "Constructive Wing," announced April 11 that it had a different view of the "Committee for National Action." "Keeping order is the responsibility of the government," he said. "Other groups should not take such re-

sponsibility upon themselves."

The "Constructive Wing" has recently organized a national tour for Ansari. He has been traveling throughout Iran, holding "free dialogue" meetings in different cities so as to find out what the "problems," "needs," and "desires" of the Iranian people are.

But neither the "hard cops" nor the "soft cops" of the shah's regime have been able to contain the mass unrest, which in reality stems from twenty-five years of ferocious military rule.

As usual, the shah blamed the latest upheaval on an "unholy alliance of red and black reaction." A report by Liz Thurgood in the May 12 *Washington Post* was much closer to the mark. The "social tensions, unfulfilled economic expectations and the stifling political atmosphere created by Rastakhiz," she said, ". . . have almost certainly played a more important role than the 'black' mosque and the 'red' Marxist combined."

Reports in the European and American press have tended to portray the Shi'ite hierarchy as the driving force behind the social explosion in Iran. Many correspondents have "discovered" special qualities in this hierarchy. For example, Thurgood writes:

"The almost accidental entry of the powerful Moslem clergy into the opposition movement against the shah has introduced a dangerous element of volatility into the situation.

"Iran is now facing its most critical time since the political upheavals of the early 1960s. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi is still very much shah of Iran, but he is no longer dealing with 10,000 or 20,000 intellectual dissidents—who can all theoretically be thrown into jail if they prove too serious a threat—but with the Moslem clergy itself, an institution with a direct hold on the emotions of middle and lower class Iranians. Every minor incident is now a potential national crisis."

The truth is however that the explosion of mass unrest has pushed the Muslim clergy to the forefront. This is the case first of all because there is no other opposition organization on a national scale in Iran.

Years of fierce repression shattered all the old political organizations. The Tudeh Party (the Iranian CP) and the National Front (the bourgeois opposition), which both had mass support before the 1953 CIA-engineered coup, were destroyed. No new opposition party has been able to develop a national apparatus under the conditions of savage repression.

Second, the mosques remain the safest place to hold a mass meeting in Iran. As of yet, the government has not dared to attack protesters gathered inside a mosque.

It is these two factors, combined with the fact that in conditions of sharp radicalization the masses tend to flood the ranks of their familiar and traditional organiza-

tions, that have helped give the appearance that the Shi'ite clergy is the main organizer and leader of the mass demonstrations.

This is not the first time that has happened in Iran. At the beginning of the radicalization that preceded the 1906 revolution, the Muslim clergy was also initially pushed to the forefront. But as the mass mobilization unfolded and began to

threaten the interests of the clergy itself, the hierarchy turned its back on the movement, struck a deal with the monarchy, and began actively opposing the protests.

Their fundamental interests today are no different than they were seventy years ago, and it can safely be predicted that as the current mass upsurge develops it will more and more come into conflict with these "stand-in" leaders. □

French Troops Out of Africa and Lebanon!

By Michel Rovere

[The following article appeared in the May 8 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist daily. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

French imperialism is today directly involved in three "dirty wars"—in Chad, in the Sahara, and in Lebanon.

The French invading force in Chad consists of 1,200 paratroopers and Foreign Legionnaires, accompanied by the inevitable squadron of Jaguar jets, not to mention the "advisers" and "professional soldiers" who have donned Chadian uniforms for the occasion. It is these forces that represent the last bastion against the fall of General Malloum's regime and collapse of the Chadian "national state" itself.

In the Western Sahara, French Jaguars twice this week dropped napalm bombs on Polisario Front forces.

It seems that French intervention in the Sahara reached a new stage with the establishment of a joint Moroccan-Mauritanian headquarters, complete with French "advisers" at El Ayoun.

And then there is Lebanon. The French government is determined to impose a "just peace" on that part of the Mediterranean, and no one should think otherwise simply because the troops are hiding under the blue helmets of the United Nations.

Following last week's encounters between Palestinian fighters and French troops, Lt. Col. Viard (who replaced the wounded Col. Salvan) did not mince any words in explaining that, yes, the main job of the blue helmets in general and the French troops in particular was to prevent the Palestinians from moving through the security zone under UN jurisdiction.

The fact that the leadership of the PLO is now backing the use of UN troops does not change the basic function of the blue helmets—to reestablish imperialist order in the region and put down the armed forces of the Palestinian resistance, so as to help rebuild a national Lebanese army that can bring to heel both the resistance and the Lebanese progressive movement.

The current imperialist intervention in the Mediterranean basin and in neocolonial Africa is not just an exercise in royal prerogative or some Giscardian impulse to

carry out on foreign shores the type of heroic acts that the balance of forces prevents the government from even dreaming about within France itself.

It is not just some passing post-election spree either. The defeat of American imperialism in Indochina will for a considerable period of time prevent the U.S. government from intervening directly, particularly with its own troops, in the Middle Eastern or African hot spots.

The old colonial powers, Spain and Portugal, tiptoed out of Africa just when direct Soviet and Cuban intervention, from Angola to Ethiopia to Mozambique to the aid given to the South African liberation fighters, was becoming increasingly significant.

A whole series of historical, economic, and political factors prevent Britain and West Germany from intervening actively and directly in this part of the world. So it is up to France—and to a Giscard more than willing to play the role of colonial cop—to defend imperialist interests within the so-called French spheres of influence.

The current interventions are no accident; they flow inevitably from the new international relationship of forces. This means that we have to be prepared for a long struggle against military interventions by our own bourgeoisie. Because after Chad, the next place might be Djibouti, or Niger.

We have a big obstacle to overcome, however. Preoccupied with the elections of March 1978, the left—and all tendencies of the far left must be included here—did not respond to the first military interventions a year and a half ago.

We now have a difficult task ahead of us to rebuild a powerful anti-imperialist movement around the demand that can unify the whole workers movement: "French troops out of Africa." We must remember that it took two years after the May 1968 events before we were able to build a significant action in solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle.

Today we have perhaps an even more burning responsibility. Because of the apathy we must overcome.

And because it is our own bourgeoisie that is involved. □

The CIA's Secret War in Angola

By Ernest Harsch

In the latest of a series of revelations about the worldwide operations of the Central Intelligence Agency, John Stockwell, a former CIA official, has provided a detailed firsthand account of the agency's substantial role in the Angolan civil war of 1975-76.*

The American government's "secret" war against the Angolan freedom struggle reached extensive proportions, threatening to escalate into yet another long and bloody American intervention similar to the one that had just ended in Vietnam.

Though many of the details of the U.S. involvement could not be confirmed at the time, it included large infusions of arms and money to Washington's local allies, the provision of a number of American military advisers who actually served in Angola, and close collaboration with the racist South African regime, which had sent several thousand of its own troops into the war-torn country.

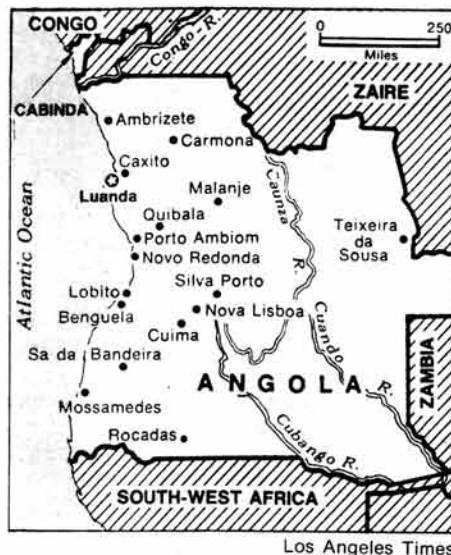
Stockwell, whose book *In Search of Enemies* first appeared in bookstores May 8, was in a position to know the full story. He was not some low-grade field officer, but the chief of the CIA's Angola task force, which was entrusted with carrying out the day-to-day operations of the covert war.

Stockwell had been with the CIA for more than a decade, serving three previous tours in Africa and one in Vietnam. He says that he became disillusioned with the agency as a result of his Angola experiences, and subsequently resigned in April 1977. Using some classified material and his own voluminous notes, Stockwell secretly wrote his account of the Angolan war. The book's publication was not announced until the day before it was released, to prevent the CIA from trying to block or censor it.

Noting that he had signed an oath of secrecy when he first joined the CIA in 1964, Stockwell declares that he no longer feels bound by that oath as a result of the agency's patently illegal operations.

Caught by Surprise

Although the CIA had maintained sporadic contact with Angolan nationalist forces before the April 1974 coup in Portugal, Washington's overall policy was to



back continued Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, as well as in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. This included extensive military loans and financial assistance to the Lisbon regime. Washington generally looked the other way when the Portuguese forces used NATO-supplied arms in Africa. Stockwell notes that during the colonial wars, "American bombs and napalm fell on the Angolan nationalists. . . ."

At the same time, at least during the 1960s, the CIA hedged its bets by establishing a few contacts with the Angolan nationalists, especially with the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front), headed by Holden Roberto. While based in Zaïre, Stockwell himself visited an FNLA training camp in 1969.

The same year Nixon and Kissinger adopted the "Tar Baby" policy, which involved even more direct support for the white colonial regimes of southern Africa. Stockwell received a note from the CIA chief in Kinshasa, the capital of Zaïre, "advising that the agency wasn't interested in Angolan revolutionary movements. . . ." The CIA's contacts with the FNLA lapsed.

Thus the April 1974 coup in Portugal, which eventually led to the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa, "caught the United States by surprise, without graceful policy alternatives and out of contact with the African revolutionaries."

With little direct knowledge about the three main Angolan nationalist groups,

the FNLA, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), the CIA scrambled to get back into the picture, to gain some leverage to influence the course of events.

Because of its earlier contacts with the FNLA, and because the FNLA was backed by Washington's ally in Zaïre, President Mobutu Sese Seko, the CIA started by renewing its relations with Holden Roberto.

"In July 1974," Stockwell writes, "the CIA began funding Roberto without 40 Committee approval, small amounts at first, but enough for word to get around that the CIA was dealing itself into the race." The 40 Committee was a high-level intelligence coordinating body with the responsibility of overseeing all covert operations abroad. At the time, it was chaired by Kissinger.

One factor in this CIA funding may have been concern over the growing Chinese influence with the FNLA, which began in 1973. By May 1974 the first contingent of 112 Chinese advisers arrived in Kinshasa to assist the FNLA and by September the FNLA acknowledged that it had received 450 tons of Chinese supplies.

It was only *after* this infusion of American and Chinese aid to the FNLA began that Moscow renewed its backing to the FNLA's traditional rival, the MPLA (Stockwell says that the previous Soviet support for the MPLA had been ended in 1973).

In January 1975, just before serious fighting between the FNLA and MPLA began in Luanda and northern Angola, the 40 Committee authorized the CIA to pass \$300,000 to Roberto, Stockwell says.

Preventing a 'Cheap' MPLA Victory

In July 1975, the Africa Division of the CIA drafted an options paper on behalf of the 40 Committee calling for increased covert assistance to Roberto, as well as to the UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi.

Stockwell notes that the options paper did not postulate a victory for the FNLA and UNITA, but rather laid out a holding operation that would achieve a military balance between the three groups and prevent a "cheap" victory by the MPLA, headed by Agostinho Neto. Stockwell adds, "Such covert financial assistance, it continued, would prevent the *quick and cheap installation* in Angola of what Mobutu and [Zambian President Kenneth] Kaunda would regard as a pawn of Moscow on their borders" (emphasis in original).

Thus the main factor in Washington's initial involvement in the factional conflict among the three groups appears to have been Kissinger's concern over a pos-

*John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978). 285 pages. \$12.95.

sible increase in Soviet influence should the MPLA win.

Although Stockwell admits that this had the effect of actually fueling the civil war, he presents it as a result of a mistaken American policy. In fact, it is quite likely that another of Washington's aims was precisely to exacerbate the factional warfare, so as to weaken the Angolan struggle for national liberation as a whole and gain greater concessions from all three groups, including the MPLA.

One of Stockwell's superiors admitted as much, stating that if the three groups "go into independence on an equal footing we should have various options still open. Perhaps a negotiated settlement could be reached. Perhaps the Soviets and the MPLA will compromise when they see our determination."

Stockwell does not think that the CIA's backing for the FNLA was the result of any greater hostility on the CIA's part to the MPLA's policies, aside from its ties to Moscow: "Apart from ideological trappings, he [Roberto] and Neto preached the same things for Angola: national independence, democratic government, agrarian reform, economic development, pan-African unity, and the total destruction of colonial culture."

In fact, there were important figures who favored the MPLA over its two rivals. According to Stockwell, Tom Killoran, the American consul general in Luanda, "believed the MPLA was best qualified to run Angola and that its leaders sincerely wanted a peaceful relationship with the United States." Similarly, as the civil war progressed, the CIA station chief in Luanda also concluded that the MPLA was "the best qualified to run the country" and that Washington should halt its actions against the MPLA as quickly as possible.

Kissinger and the CIA tops faced opposition to their Angolan policy from other directions as well. Nathaniel Davis, the assistant secretary of state for African affairs, opposed any covert military involvement in Angola on the grounds that such an operation could not be kept secret. When Kissinger rejected his recommendations that Washington press for a negotiated accord among the three groups, Davis resigned.

From a more hawkish standpoint, the deputy chief of the CIA's Africa Division pushed for a policy that would have allowed the FNLA and UNITA to quickly win the civil war. He suggested introducing a flying gun platform, called "Puff the Magic Dragon," that had been employed by the American forces in Vietnam.

The planes, rigged with several machine guns programmed to aim and fire simultaneously, were capable of peppering an area the size of a football field with 8,000 rounds a minute. "There was no doubt whatever," Stockwell writes, "that in August, September, and October 1975 a pair

CIA Role in Overthrow of Nkrumah

The CIA played an important part in the 1966 coup in Ghana that toppled the regime of Kwame Nkrumah, according to Stockwell. His charges were bolstered by correspondent Seymour M. Hersh, who reported in the May 9 *New York Times* that, according to "first-hand intelligence sources," the CIA advised and supported the group of army officers who ousted Nkrumah.

Nkrumah, a well-known nationalist figure and advocate of pan-Africanism, became Ghana's first president when the country gained its independence from Britain in 1957. He subsequently established close ties with both Moscow and Peking.

According to Stockwell's account, the CIA's involvement in the coup was unofficial, without the formal approval of the high-level interagency group in Washington that oversees the CIA's clandestine activities.

The CIA station in Accra, the capital of Ghana, "was nevertheless encouraged by headquarters to maintain contact with dissidents of the Ghanaian army for the purpose of gathering intelligence on their activities. It was given

a generous budget, and maintained intimate contact with the plotters as the coup was hatched."

Hersh reported that at the height of the coup preparations, the CIA station in Accra grew to as many as ten officers.

Although no evidence has yet surfaced proving direct CIA participation in the actual coup itself, Stockwell wrote that "inside CIA headquarters the Accra station was given full, if unofficial credit for the eventual coup, in which eight Soviet advisors were killed."

Hersh reported that according to his sources, the CIA purchased some Soviet intelligence materials that had been seized by the Ghanaian military during the coup.

CIA headquarters was apparently pleased with the operation, Hersh reported, since Howard T. Banes, the station chief in Accra, was soon promoted to a senior position. He was eventually transferred to Washington, where he was appointed chief of operations for the CIA's Africa desk. □

of these gunships would have completely broken the MPLA."

Overruling this suggestion, as well as the criticisms from those who favored a "hands-off" policy or support for the MPLA, Kissinger, CIA Director William Colby, and other top government officials pushed ahead with their policy of stoking the fires of the civil war.

Guns and Advisers

On July 16, 1975, President Ford approved the CIA's covert action plan for Angola, which was later code named IA-FEATURE.

One factor that determined the CIA's attempts to keep its intervention in Angola as secret as possible was the widespread antiwar sentiment in the United States. As Stockwell points out, "Our secrecy was designed to keep the American public and press from knowing what we were doing—we fully expected an outcry should they find us out."

Out of the initial allocation of \$14 million for the operation, the first planeload of arms for the FNLA and UNITA left South Carolina for Kinshasa on July 29. To hide the direct American involvement, the CIA tried to make it appear that the FNLA and UNITA were getting their arms from Mobutu alone. It also provided stocks of non-American weapons, as well as old U.S. arms from the World War II period that are available in many parts of the world.

The arms included mortars, rockets, machine guns, antitank rockets, and rifles.

Stockwell reveals, "From the first airplane loads in July, throughout the war, CIA officers supervised the transshipment of CIA arms directly into Angola."

Some eighty-three CIA officers were sent into the field to beef up the existing CIA stations in Kinshasa, Luanda, Lusaka, and Pretoria. Stockwell himself visited FNLA positions in northern Angola and met with Savimbi in Silva Pôrto, an UNITA base in central Angola.

Despite public claims to the contrary, the CIA sent advisers into Angola itself to assist the FNLA and UNITA forces. "From the outset," Stockwell reports, "we were deeply involved in managing the war from Washington, from Kinshasa, and from advance bases inside Angola, and this was reported daily in the flow of cables to and from the field. For cover purposes vis-à-vis the working group [an interdepartmental coordinating body] we called the advisers we placed inside Angola 'intelligence gatherers,' although their intelligence effort was always subordinate to their advisory activities."

Stockwell cites some examples. Together with other officials, he discussed requirements for the battle of Lobito and for sabotage operations in Congo (Brazzaville), a nearby country that served as a transshipment point for the Soviet arms aid to the MPLA. CIA experts in Angola

prepared the tactical communications plan for the battle of Lobito and helped set up the FNLA and UNITA communications networks. CIA paramilitary officers trained FNLA troops in Ambriz and UNITA forces in Silva Pôrto in the use of infantry weapons.

Stockwell catches Colby lying on this question, when Colby claims that "no CIA officers were permitted to engage in combat or train" in Angola.

Stockwell stresses that this use of CIA advisers in Angola "was strictly prohibited by the 40 Committee. . . ." Like some other critics of the CIA, he seems to think that many of the CIA's operations are carried out without proper authorization and that a greater degree of control would help end its "abuses."

It is often the case, however, that top government officials do not want to know the details of sensitive CIA operations, so as to avoid any responsibility for them should they some day become exposed. (In White House jargon, this is called maintaining "deniability.")

The CIA functions within the broad outlines of American foreign policy, under the tacit understanding that it takes the initiative in working out the specific mechanics of a particular venture, be it a "destabilization operation," a coup, or an assassination plot.

Stockwell provides many examples of how this procedure works within the CIA itself. Sensitive orders are simply not written down, or are kept in "soft files," which are not indexed or kept in the regular files, to avoid any documentary evidence ever surfacing that could prove direct CIA involvement. As an example he cites the informal role of the CIA in the 1966 coup in Ghana (see accompanying box). CIA officers in the field are encouraged to work out many of the details of their activities without waiting for explicit instructions from CIA headquarters.

In relation to the Angola war itself, the chief of the Africa Division allowed only summaries of the working group meetings in "blind" memorandum that were kept out of the regular files. "Thus the innermost records of the war," Stockwell writes, "would forever be immune to any Freedom of Information Act disclosures, or congressional investigation. Technically they did not exist: legally they could be destroyed at any time."

The use of CIA advisers in Angola was not the only sensitive aspect of the agency's war plans. The CIA unsuccessfully tried to recruit several hundred Portuguese mercenaries for the FNLA. In direct collaboration with the French intelligence services, it later hired some twenty French mercenaries who flew into central Angola to help train the UNITA forces. These mercenaries were called "foreign military advisers."

Despite the large arms shipments, the CIA advisers, and the foreign mercenaries,

the FNLA and UNITA forces had considerable difficulty in holding their ground against the MPLA. The FNLA in particular was considered to be poorly organized. The MPLA on the other hand had been greatly strengthened by substantial Soviet arms shipments.

To help the FNLA regain the initiative in northern Angola, the Mobutu regime in Zaïre committed its Seventh and Fourth Commando Battalions to the war effort in September 1975. The combined forces retook Caxito and began a cautious advance toward Luanda, the MPLA's stronghold.

Beginning in September, according to Stockwell, South Africans began to provide arms and training to FNLA and UNITA forces at Runtu, near the Angola-Namibia border. By October, the apartheid regime had sent 3,000 troops and support personnel into Angola, some of whom linked up with an UNITA force and swept up the coast of Angola, capturing a series of ports and cities by early November.

Some of the reasons for the South African intervention, Stockwell notes, included their desire to protect the massive Cunene hydroelectric dam project along the Angola-Namibia border and to strike out at the guerrilla bases in southern Angola of the South West Africa People's Organisation, which is fighting for the independence of Namibia from South African rule. Moreover, the South Africans considered Savimbi the most favorable to establishing a regime that would be willing to collaborate with Pretoria.

Stockwell declares, "I saw no evidence that the United States formally encouraged them [the South Africans] to join the conflict." Some top South Africa officials, however, have asserted that Washington did just that. Perhaps the CIA itself was not involved in conveying the encouragement.

In any case, the CIA greeted the South African intervention. CIA personnel and officials from Pretoria's Bureau of State Security (BOSS) jointly supervised the transshipment of arms to the UNITA forces. BOSS was fully briefed about the CIA's own activities and on at least two occasions the director of BOSS visited Washington for secret talks with the head of the CIA's Africa Division.

The shipment of American arms directly to the South Africans in Namibia was considered, but then rejected at that point as too risky (the White House maintained a formal arms embargo against Pretoria).

Noting that the "CIA has traditionally sympathized with South Africa and enjoyed its close liaison with BOSS," Stockwell sums up the relationship between Washington and Pretoria during the Angola civil war: "Thus, without any memos being written at CIA headquarters saying, 'Let's coordinate with the South Africans,' coordination was effected at all CIA levels and the South Africans escalated their involvement in step with our own."

Following the South African intervention in Angola in September, the Cuban government stepped up its assistance to the beleaguered MPLA, dispatching thousands of Cuban technicians and combat troops to help stave off the South African onslaught. Washington portrayed Havana as a pawn in Moscow's game and repeatedly asserted that the Cuban troops were sent to Angola at Moscow's instigation, as some force of international "mercenaries."

Stockwell notes, however, "After the war we learned that Cuba had not been ordered into action by the Soviet Union. To the contrary, the Cuban leaders felt compelled to intervene for their own ideological reasons."

White House Weighs Attack on Cuba

The increasing Soviet arms shipments—and especially the arrival of thousands of Cuban troops to aid the MPLA—infuriated Kissinger, Ford, Colby and other American warmongers. It completely disrupted the White House's plans to "balance" the three groups off against each other and it threatened to seriously set back Washington's overall interests in the region.

Their immediate reflex was to try to escalate the war.

The official CIA expenditures for the Angolan operation had already reached nearly \$25 million. On November 14 the National Security Council ordered the CIA to draw up a new option paper outlining a choice of \$30-, \$60-, or \$100-million military programs. The old policy of seeking to just bolster the FNLA and UNITA and prevent an "easy" MPLA victory was dropped. The CIA was now told to find a way to win the war.

Opponents of the American intervention in Angola warned at the time that the conflict could quickly escalate into a Vietnam-type affair. Stockwell confirms this, pointing out the extent to which the White House, Pentagon, and CIA were prepared to go.

Stockwell writes, "Sophisticated weapons were now discussed freely: Redeye ground-to-air missiles, antitank missiles, heavy artillery, tactical air support, C-47 gun platforms. The working group considered major escalations: the formal introduction of American advisors, the use of American army units, a show of the fleet off Luanda. . . ."

Also confirming the dangers of a new military attack against the Cuban revolution, as indicated by the many threatening statements from the White House, Stockwell notes that the working group likewise weighed "the feasibility of making an overt military feint at Cuba itself to force Castro to recall his troops and defend the home island."

The only thing that stopped these war plans was the deep antiwar sentiment among the American population.

With all but \$7 million of its covert

operations fund depleted, the CIA was compelled to go to Congress for additional money. But many congressional representatives would soon have to face new elections and they did not want to take public responsibility for an escalation of the Angola war. Amendments were adopted in both the House and Senate barring the use of any funds from the 1976 defense budget for the Angola operation.

With only \$7 million officially left, the CIA tried to continue its intervention as best it could, while looking for additional money elsewhere.

To stall for time, the White House sought to cut off one of the MPLA's major sources of revenue. The Gulf Oil Company, the largest foreign investor in Angola, wanted to protect its investments by striking a deal with the MPLA. It planned to pay the MPLA \$200 million in royalty and tax payments in December and January (it had already provided \$116 million in September). This would have been several times larger than the CIA's official assistance to both the FNLA and UNITA. The CIA and State Department pressured Gulf into temporarily halting these payments.

In a similar fashion, the Boeing aircraft corporation was forced to delay the delivery of two commercial 737 airliners.

Stockwell draws attention to the different attitudes of the government and the corporations toward the situation in Angola, stating, "American technicians and businessmen were still welcome despite the war, the Cubans, and the antagonism between the United States and the MPLA."

Meanwhile, the CIA turned its attention increasingly toward the use of foreign mercenary troops in Angola, hoping somehow to turn the tide back against the MPLA. \$500,000 was allocated for a group of French mercenaries and the CIA tried to hire several hundred Portuguese mercenaries. Roberto of the FNLA, apparently using money he got from the CIA, managed to recruit about 100 British "soldiers of fortune," as well as a few Americans. They turned out to have had little interest in actual combat and had no real impact on the course of the war.

According to Stockwell, "The French contributed more ammunition and four Allouette missile-firing helicopters, which U.S. Air Force C-141 airplanes hauled to Kinshasa in early January. Without pilots or ground crews they were useless, and the CIA desperately sought mercenaries who might fly them." He notes that the CIA actually intended to deliver these helicopters, along with a U.S. air force C-130, to the South Africans. But the war ended before pilots and crews could be found.

With Washington unable to escalate its involvement in Angola, or even to continue it at the same level, the South Africans chose to pull back themselves. They withdrew from the front lines in January 1976 and by the end of March the last of them

A Body in the Trunk

In January 1961, Patrice Lumumba, the first president of the former Belgian-ruled Congo (now called Zaïre), was beaten to death by henchmen of the imperialist-backed secessionist regime in the province of Katanga.

A Senate committee investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency revealed in November 1975 that President Eisenhower may have authorized Lumumba's assassination as early as August 1960. It also revealed that a deadly poison was shipped to the Congo for this very purpose, but was never used. The assassination plot was discussed with the CIA's local allies.

According to Stockwell, Lumumba was apparently beaten to death by persons who were loyal to local CIA agents.

Stockwell also cites an anecdote that, if accurate, makes a high CIA official at least a direct accessory to the killing. The official, who later became a station chief in Asia, addressed one of Stockwell's training classes in 1965. "Afterwards," Stockwell writes, "he had opened up a surprisingly long way, referring to an adventure in Lubumbashi [the capital of Katanga], driving about town after curfew with Patrice Lumumba's body in the trunk of his car, trying to decide what to do with it."

had left Angola altogether.

The FNLA forces were routed in the north and fled across the border into Zaïre, along with a significant number of Bakongo refugees from the FNLA's traditional region of support. The UNITA forces in central and southern Angola abandoned the cities to the MPLA and Cuban troops, withdrawing to the countryside to continue sporadic guerrilla actions against the regime.

With the MPLA now the clear victor in the civil war, most African governments quickly recognized its regime. Washington allowed Boeing to deliver its planes to the MPLA and Gulf to resume its oil payments.

Stockwell's major criticisms of the CIA's involvement in Angola do not dwell on the violation of Angola's sovereignty or on the widespread suffering it inflicted on its peoples. He is, after all, a hardened CIA veteran to whom covert wars, subversion, and assassinations were a common occurrence.

Two central complaints run through his account of the war. First, that it was a mistake to launch a covert war in the first place, since no fundamental interests of American imperialism were seriously endangered. Second, that once Washington was involved, it was even more of a mistake to go in in a limited way, giving the MPLA time to call on Cuban assistance.

As Stockwell views it, "Most serious of all, the United States was exposed, dishonored, and discredited in the eyes of the world. We had lost and fifteen thousand Cubans were installed in Angola with all the adulation accruing to a young David who has slain the American Goliath."

Stockwell still supports the existence of the CIA, but thinks it would be a more effective instrument of American imperialist interests if it were "house cleaned" and brought under greater supervision from Congress and the White House, in the

process eliminating some of its clandestine operations. "We only need the CIA if it contributes positively to our national interests," he proclaims.

However, subversive covert activities are an integral—and indispensable—part of Washington's role as top world cop. Without assassination plots, without manipulation of the news media, without infiltration of political parties and liberation movements, without clandestine wars like the one in Angola, the American imperialists would have a difficult time safeguarding and advancing their far-flung economic and political interests.

Thus despite the setback in Angola and despite Stockwell's "constructive criticisms," the CIA is pressing ahead as before and is preparing for the next covert intervention.

Stockwell himself gives some examples of this. At the end of the Angolan civil war, Ford expanded the CIA's charter, giving it an even freer rein. In January 1978, President Carter announced a reorganization of the intelligence services that "elevated the position of the director of central intelligence and increased its powers." The new CIA chief, Adm. Stansfield Turner, has been lobbying for greater controls over CIA employees, threatening to jail anyone who leaks classified information.

Stockwell notes that the CIA still maintains some forty stations and bases in Africa alone.

Shortly before his resignation, Stockwell was appointed to head a branch of the CIA responsible for seven central African countries. In September 1976 he attended a meeting at which the developments in Ethiopia and the rest of the Horn of Africa came up. He writes that the new deputy director of operations "commented that we should stay on top of the situation. The CIA might well be asked to launch a covert program in the Horn of Africa." □

Selections From the Left

An Phoblacht

"The Republic," weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Provisional republican movement. Published in Dublin.

The April 29 issue carries the following statement by Sinn Féin, the Provisional political organization.

"Sinn Féin strongly condemns the extradition of Joseph Oliver Maginn, a well known Republican, on political charges, to the Six Counties [of Northern Ireland].

"Mr. Maginn was arrested at his home in An Uaimh on Monday evening [April 17] and handed over to the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] and the British army on Tuesday evening by the Gardai [Irish police].

"This action was taken despite the fact that proceedings against Mr. Maginn's extradition were pending in the courts.

"It appears now that the Gardai have been given instructions to hand over Republicans to the RUC and British army irrespective of any pending court proceedings.

"It has long been established that a person cannot be extradited on a political charge from the south to the north.

"Mr. Maginn is now in the hands of the British, charged with IRA membership and alleged involvement in the theft of money.

"The action of the Dublin government of handing over any Irish to British and RUC torturers is to be deplored in the strongest possible terms and raises the question if a new deal on extradition was agreed between [Irish premier] Mr. Lynch and [British Prime Minister] Callaghan."

ARRITTI

Weekly paper supporting autonomy for Corsica. Published in Bastia.

The May 1 issue reports:

"Our readers will remember that at the end of September 1978 leaders of the Union of the Corsican People attended a meeting of the Bureau of Stateless Nations in Wales, and, together with Basques, Catalans, and representatives of other nationalities attended the conference of the Welsh Nationalist Party. Our comrades thus had the opportunity to learn about the just struggle of the Welsh people for freedom and against English colonialism. They appreciated the warm fraternal welcome they received.

"Recently, Dr. Phil Williams, vice-president of Plaid Cymru [the Welsh Nationalist Party], came to Corsica for a scientific conference. . . . He and his fam-

ily were greeted by the militants of the Union of the Corsican People in Ajaccio and Bastia. The Corsican activists helped them to understand the Corsican national struggle and organized many meetings for them with various figures, especially in the journalistic world. . . .

"Further meetings and various types of exchanges are planned in order to develop the ties of solidarity that are essential for us. The struggle for freedom is indivisible and knows no frontiers."

ekphrase

"Socialistike Ekphrase" (Socialist Expression), central organ of the youth affiliate of the Cypriot Social Democrat Party. Published fortnightly in Nicosia, Cyprus.

The first page of the April 14 issue is filled by a statement of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth on Carter's decision to ask Congress to lift the embargo on arms shipments to Turkey.

"This decision by Carter . . . reveals to the entire world the true face of American imperialism and of its political representatives.

"When Carter was elected president of the U.S., the Socialist Youth pointed out that the change in the personnel at the top of the American hierarchy would mean nothing for the peoples fighting for freedom from imperialist domination, for liberty, and for social liberation.

"Only fundamental social change in the United States would give the peoples reason to expect anything different from the American government.

"Since there has been no such fundamental change, the imperialist interests, the giant multinational corporations, and the mechanisms of control continue to exist and to condemn the working people and all nations to exploitation, oppression, and deprivation of their democratic rights.

"Carter's decision represents no change in Washington's policy toward the Cyprus question. It is a confirmation of the fact that the policy of the American imperialists is designed to reinforce and expand their economic interests, and that the result is always to force the American working people and the other peoples of the world to pay a heavy price.

"The main question Carter's decision raises has to do with the policy of the Cypriot government. In recent years, the government has focused its foreign policy to a large extent on maintaining the embargo. And this has had grave consequences for our liberation struggle.

"Now it has been shown beyond any

doubt that nothing can be gained by continuing this wild goose chase. There must be a reorientation in our policy both at home and abroad.

"On the home front, the steps that are needed are to organize the masses in a people's militia under democratic control, nationalize the main monopolies on the island, give the land and water to those who actually do the farming, and involve the people themselves in carrying out these measures.

"Our foreign policy must be oriented toward the real friends and allies of the Cypriot people, the workers in the developed countries.

"This is the correct line and the line the Socialist Youth is fighting for.

"The Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth believes that, no matter what, the U.S. imperialists are going to carry out their policy. Therefore, it condemns the attempts of the Cypriot government to prevent or limit militant mobilizations by the people and students against U.S. imperialism. It also condemns the use of the National Guard to string barbed wire around the American embassy and to guard it.

"Only those governments that oppose the will of the people use the army to suppress the people's demonstrations.

"Down with American imperialism!

"Let the army be run by the ranks!

"A People's Militia!

"All resources into the struggle!"

Socialist Voice

Fortnightly newspaper published in Toronto, Canada.

"Chilean exile Galindo Madrid has won a brief reprieve," Robert Simms reports in the May 8 issue. "Massive public protests have slowed the pace of federal government deportation proceedings that would have handed him over to the butchers of the Chilean junta.

"A federal court has now granted Madrid until at least July 15 to prepare evidence to defend his right to political asylum in Canada.

"The Canadian Labor Congress, Premier Allen Blakeney of Saskatchewan, and the Toronto-based Interchurch Committee on Human Rights are the latest supporters to rally to the side of Madrid.

"Madrid was an activist student leader in Chile and an eyewitness to mass graves filled with mutilated corpses at one of the Chilean junta's death camps at Pisagua.

"If the Canadian government forces Madrid to return to Chile, he faces torture and probably death."

Demand Release of Imprisoned Czechoslovak Dissidents

[The following is an open letter to the West German workers movement, issued in Prague April 6 by Petr Uhl, on the eve of Czechoslovak CP boss Gustav Husak's visit to West Germany.]

[Uhl is one of the most prominent advocates of the Charter 77 human-rights manifesto in Czechoslovakia, for which he has lost his job and been subjected to continual persecution.*]

[We have taken the text of the letter from the April 20 issue of *Was Tun*, the weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International. The translation is by Dean Denno.]

* * *

Dear Comrades and Friends,

A few days before Gustav Husak's official visit to the Federal Republic [West Germany], a group of West German writers, including Heinrich Böll and Günter Grass, together with cultural figures representing other countries, called on Husak to free ten of the best-known political prisoners. They demanded the release of Jiri Lederer, Otto Ornest, Ivan Jirous, Ales Brezina, Vladimir Lastuvka, Ales Machacek, Frantisek Pitor, Alena Klimova, Miloslav Lojek, and Miroslav Cerny. In recent months, Charter 77 has also demanded that these persons be released.

Thanks to this solidarity, which is an expression of a powerful movement for human rights, to which Charter 77 belongs as an informal group, Vaclav Havel, Jaroslav Kukal, and Pavel Landovsky have recently been set free.

The right of peoples to live together peacefully, in this case, the right of the German and Czechoslovakian peoples to do so, is included in the fundamental law of nations. Failure to respect this right creates an atmosphere of anxiety in which it is possible to manipulate individuals, social groups, and entire peoples, and eventually to terrorize them. The manipulated and terrorized people can be forced to act against their own interests, and in particular against international security and the peaceful coexistence of peoples.

Therefore, the question of respect for human rights is not a "domestic affair" of a country, but is equally the affair of neighboring peoples and of all humanity.

In accordance with this interest of the Czechoslovakian people, progressive individuals in our country are disturbed and angered by the practice of political black-listing (*Berufsverbote*) in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Likewise, they are disturbed by the atmosphere of hysteria and witch-hunt that is being whipped up under the pretext of combating terrorism. This atmosphere is being fostered by representatives of a totalitarian outlook and it is leading to a progressive narrowing of democratic freedoms in your country.

In a few days we will see whether Gustav Husak speaks out publicly and officially against these negative tendencies which endanger not only the people of the Federal Republic but also the security of the Czechoslovakian people.

Progressive people are delighted by every report of international solidarity actions on behalf of human rights. They are heartened by the efforts of those who speak out against the denial of democratic rights in Czechoslovakia. This is what has been done by the cultural figures in the International Committee (based in Paris) who have proclaimed their solidarity with Charter 77 and who call on Gustav Husak to release the ten persons listed above.

I am convinced that these international efforts would be more successful, at least in a symbolic case such as this, if they were backed also by workers organizations—and in the Federal Republic that means mainly the unions—as well as by left- and socialist-oriented political and religious organizations, and by the big associations of Social Democratic Party members and supporters. In that case, the government of the Federal Republic would also be compelled to respond more to pressure on behalf of human rights in its bilateral relations with the representatives of Czechoslovakia.

I feel that these ideas should be publicly discussed, in the mass media if possible. I would be grateful if you could do everything possible to assure this.

The reason for my appeal is that I fear that if Gustav Husak's visit passes without any attention being given to the fate of people who are imprisoned in Czechoslovakia for their beliefs, it will be followed by a wave of repression against the holders of critical views and the fighters for democratic rights.

I would like to draw your attention, that of the German left and the workers especially, to the fate of Miroslav Cerny, a forty-eight-year-old worker from Liberec who was recently sentenced to three years

imprisonment. The charge was simply that he—according to the court—put up twelve posters on the streets of Liberec supporting Charter 77 and bearing the statement that "the government fears to publish the Charter because they know that millions would declare their support for it and the people would see how the government degrades citizens to the level of slaves."

Miroslav Cerny has suffered from epilepsy since he was the victim of a serious traffic accident. And it is feared that the conditions under which he is currently being held in Plzen-Borech not only seriously endanger his health but directly threaten his life.

According to information I have received, medication is denied him and he is frequently punished with solitary confinement because he is unable to fulfill the work norms. On humanitarian grounds, I appeal to you to give his case special attention. □

Mengistu Visits Havana

Mengistu Haile Mariam, the head of the Ethiopian military junta, visited Havana from April 21 to April 27. He had a series of meetings with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, and at a public ceremony was awarded the Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs) National Order, one of Cuba's highest awards.

During the award ceremonies, Mengistu referred to the junta's inability thus far to crush the Eritrean independence struggle, stating that "the Ethiopian Revolution has not yet defeated the plotting of the secessionist groups in the north, that are now being guided, organized and supported fully by imperialism and Arab reaction."

In an apparent plea for Cuban assistance in this war, he added, "I have absolute confidence that the people of revolutionary Cuba and the progressive forces of the whole world are on our side in this struggle."

During a mass rally April 26, Castro said he supported a political solution to the conflict in Eritrea that would maintain Ethiopia's present borders, but he made no mention of any Cuban aid to the war against the Eritreans.

Previously, Cuban Vice-President Carlos Rafael Rodríguez said that Cuban troops were in Ethiopia only to fight the Somali army in the Ogaden and that they would not help the junta against the Eritreans.

*See, for example, "My Interrogation by the Czech Security Police," by Petr Uhl, in the January 9, 1978, *Intercontinental Press*, p. 18.

AROUND THE WORLD



'A Seething Volcano'

Black unemployment was the focus of discussion at a Summit Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that opened in Chicago May 5.

Official figures show an unemployment rate of 39 percent for Black teen-agers. (This is generally considered an underestimate. A federal survey showed 86 percent of Black youth unemployed in New York City in mid-1977.)

"We are sitting on a seething volcano," Dr. Leon Sullivan, president of the Opportunities Industrial Commission, told the NAACP leadership conference. "Our youth are like a tinderbox in our cities."

Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, said "the young are losing faith and hope in America" because of high unemployment. "Blacks would prefer to work," Hooks said, "but if robbed of a chance to do so because of the lack of a national full-employment policy they will be forced onto the welfare rolls. There will not be enough jails, police, National Guardsmen or Army to handle the people if they become convinced there is no chance for them."

The remedies proposed by the NAACP leaders will not solve the problem of Black unemployment. They advocated a voter registration drive and increased political action within the current two-party system, and they put some hope in Carter's reorganization of the government department that handles discrimination cases.

South Korean Students Demonstrate

Protests against the Park dictatorship broke out at two of South Korea's largest campuses on May 8 and 9.

Six hundred students at Seoul National University clashed with riot police on May 8. About twenty students were said to have been arrested, and at least one was reported seriously injured.

At Ewha Women's University, about 1,000 students rallied on the morning of May 9 to demand the release of nine students who had been seized the day before while handing out leaflets. The rally was disrupted by scores of club-swinging riot police, who began beating the students. About twenty students were arrested.

The *New York Times* reported May 11 that eighteen students had been released, but that thirty were still in police custody.

The protests came in response to a government decision to hold elections to the National Unification Council on May 18. President Park, who is seeking a new six-year term, is expected to be elected unanimously by this body.

New Murder in Nicaragua

Pedro José Chamorro was shot to death at his home near Managua on May 12. Four masked gunmen broke into the bedroom of Chamorro and his wife at 4 a.m., dragged Mrs. Chamorro out of the room, and fired six shots into her husband as he lay in bed.

Chamorro was a second cousin of the publisher Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a central leader of the opposition to the Somoza dictatorship who was gunned down in Managua in January. Pedro José Chamorro had become active in the opposition only after the murder of his cousin. Two of Pedro José's sons sought refuge in the Mexican embassy in Managua after anti-Somoza protests in February.

Spokesmen for the opposition accused a right-wing terrorist organization, known as the White Hand, of the murder of Pedro José Chamorro. The group has threatened the lives of opposition leaders.

Police Attack Houston Chicanos

On May 7, the first anniversary of the night Houston cops killed twenty-three-year-old Joe Campos Torres, there was a police riot in the Chicano barrio of Houston's North Side.

It started when police tried to break up a Cinco de Mayo (Mexican national holiday) celebration. The police assault eventually involved at least 350 cops, 200 squad cars, and helicopters. Police—complete with helmets, face masks, shields, clubs, and firearms—swept through the Chicano community. Many arrests were made. (The cops admit arresting eighteen.) At least ten Chicanos and two reporters were injured seriously enough to require hospitalization.

Chicano youths continued their protests into the night, some of them spray-painting "Justice for Joe Torres" on walls. Some stores in the area were burned.

Houston cops are infamous for their racist brutality. The killing of Joe Campos Torres was only the best-known incident in a long history of police killings of Chicanos and Blacks in Houston.

The police and the media have tried to give the impression that the rebellion that followed the police attack was caused by something other than the hatred Houston Chicanos feel toward racist cops. Police Chief Harry Caldwell claimed it was an "isolated" incident touched off by "some drunks who got into a fight with each other who may have spoken Spanish as a second language."

But Caldwell also says that he is investigating whether "professional agitators" were involved. Houston Mayor Jim McConn has also pointed the finger at "outside agitators."

Reporters were told by police the night of the rebellion that the Socialist Workers Party was responsible for starting it. And Houston School Superintendent Billy Reagan has publicly accused the SWP of trying to "stir up" high-school students about the Torres killing. Others have found their "outside agitators" in the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and the group People United to Fight Against Police Brutality.

Miguel Pendás, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas, answered the "outside agitator" charge in a statement released to the news media May 10.

"There was only one group of 'outsiders' present in the Moody Park area Sunday night," Pendás said, "350 members of the Houston police department. Through their invasion of the Chicano community, they bear full responsibility for whatever violence occurred."

"Cops out of the barrios!" the SWP statement demanded. "If the police occupation continues, it is only a matter of time before the notoriously trigger-happy cops have the blood of yet another innocent victim on their hands."

Some Chinese Traders Flee After Vietnam Abolishes Private Commerce

A report in the May 5 *Le Monde* indicates some of the repercussions of Vietnam's elimination of large-scale capitalist trading operations at the end of March. *Le Monde* reporter R.P. Paringaux quotes a foreign journalist in Bangkok as saying that Cholon, the Chinese district of Ho Chi Minh City, "is a deserted area."

Paringaux quotes official Vietnamese statements that the abolition of private trade (except for small-scale retail opera-

tions) was not directed at any particular ethnic group. Nevertheless, he says, "it has primarily affected several hundred thousand Sino-Vietnamese who continued to do business and to deal in the black market after April 1975."

These traders, continues Paringaux, "are now required to transfer to the productive sectors of the socialized economy, especially to agricultural sectors. According to the authorities, 'in the fifth district (Cholon) 100 percent of the private businessmen have been enlisted to go work in the provinces, either in the villages or in the new economic zones. They will set up farms, small industries, and other productive units.'"

Paringaux goes on: "We learned that the businessmen were paid in checks that they cannot cash except for purposes of investment in the productive areas to which they have been assigned."

"Along with carrying out these measures, the authorities have set up 200 additional nationalized stores in the neighborhoods; although they have not yet succeeded in doing so, they are attempting to restore the level of distribution previously handled privately."

Some ethnic Chinese have reportedly fled to China after their businesses were nationalized. According to the May 3 *Le Monde*, Peking has announced the arrival of "a large number of Chinese who were resident in Vietnam."

FBI Caught Lying Again

One of the most detested practices of the FBI is the use of underground informers—spies who join dissident political organizations to report on the personal lives of members, relay documents and information, and sometimes provoke violence. The FBI has come under sharp attack for this practice, especially after it was forced to reveal that 1,300 informers were used against the Socialist Workers Party.

FBI Director William H. Webster, in a May 3 speech to the American Newspaper Publishers Association, assured his audience that the FBI currently employs only forty-two informers on domestic intelligence and terrorism matters.

"We are out of the business of investigating organizations simply because they say things that are unpopular in this country," Webster claimed. He insisted that the bureau no longer spied on what he called "First Amendment organizations."

Webster strongly defended the general use of informers: "I have to say to you that the informant is the, with a capital T, the most effective tool in law-enforcement today, state, local or Federal. We must accept the fact and deal with it in a straightforward way."

But indications are that Webster did not arrive at his figure of forty-two informers in a straightforward way at all. The *New*

York Times of May 7 reports that one of the reasons the figure is so low is that the longstanding investigation of the Communist Party U.S.A. has simply been shifted from the "domestic security" category to the "foreign counterintelligence" category.

The *Times* quotes one FBI agent, who did not want to be identified, as saying: "They're the same people and they're doing the same sort of work against the same group, but now they're being called by a different name."

This sleight-of-hand may involve more than just the Communist Party informers. A recent deposition by Webster's second-in-command, James B. Adams, acknowledges that as many as one-quarter of the 535 "domestic security" informers employed by the Chicago FBI in 1976 were switched to the "foreign counterintelligence" category.

The *Times* speculates that Webster's count leaves out entirely what it calls "potential informants"—spies paid on a piece-work basis and let go after a few months without ever being put on the FBI payroll.

In his May 3 speech, Webster reported the number of informers investigating organized crime (1,060) and crime in general (1,789). He gave no hint as to the number currently involved in "foreign counterintelligence" snooping.

Carter Stages Vietnamese Show Trial

Ronald Humphrey, a forty-two-year-old U.S. Information Agency employee, and David Truong, thirty-two, a Vietnamese graduate student, were arrested in Washington, D.C., January 31 and charged with

spying for the government of Vietnam.

They went on trial May 1 on charges of espionage, conspiracy, and failure to register as foreign agents. An espionage conviction carries a maximum sentence of life in prison.

The prosecution's evidence is weak on its face and was illegally obtained. Roger Rudenstein, who covered the opening of the trial for the *Militant* newspaper, describes in the May 19 issue some of the material that Truong and Humphrey allegedly passed to the Vietnamese.

It consists of State Department cables, which the government insists on calling "classified national defense information" that "include 'secret' economic data on a Hanoi brewery. They reveal that a Hanoi hotel has a super stereo system that plays Frank Sinatra, and that General Giap passes funny notes to people at meetings to make them crack up."

Truong has said that all the material he provided to the Vietnamese government was public information, such as items from the *Congressional Record*, a Senator's speech, and technical books dealing with the reconstruction of Vietnam. He has explained that his motive in providing this information was to "help bring Vietnam and America together again."

The Carter administration has two purposes in staging this show trial at the present time. One is to establish its right to carry out electronic surveillance without court warrants in "national security" cases. The other is to paint a false and fundamentally unbelievable picture of Vietnam as the aggressor in its relationship with the United States. The govern-



I CAN'T TAKE IT ANYMORE... THE BURGLARIES.. THE BREAK-INS..
RUNNING FROM THE COPS... HIDING OUT IN FLEA-RIDDEN
MOTELS... CHARLIE, YOU'VE GOT TO QUIT THE FBI.

ment hopes to use this espionage case as one of its excuses for refusing to pay reparations to Vietnam. Many Americans believe that the U.S. owes Vietnam compensation for the terrible damage done by American bombs and troops.

Carter and his Justice Department have made a great show of ending the practice of unauthorized wiretaps and mail covers and illegal break-ins to gather information. Carter—like his predecessors—insists, however, on the right to authorize surveillance without the formality of a court order whenever “national security” is involved. Most of the evidence in the Vietnamese spy trial was obtained through television surveillance of Humphrey’s office and by bugging Truong’s home, wiretapping his telephone and opening his mail—all of it done without a court warrant.

If use of this “evidence” is permitted and upheld, it will be the first time any court has given legal sanction to the president’s authorization of electronic surveillance without prior approval by a judge.

In an attempt to portray Vietnam as a whole as the enemy, the U.S. named Vietnamese ambassador to the U.N. Dinh Ba Thi as an unindicted co-conspirator, charging that he received classified documents from Truong. In what has been called an unprecedented action, Thi was expelled from the United States.

Truong was active in the antiwar movement, first in Saigon and then in the United States. His father, Truong Dinh Dzu, ran as a “peace” candidate in the 1967 presidential elections in Vietnam, came close to winning, and was subsequently thrown in jail.

The Vietnam Trial Support Committee, which includes a number of former activists in the antiwar movement, has been formed to demand justice for Truong and Humphrey.

French CP Leader Admits 'Errors' in May-June '68

A former leader of the Union of Communist Students in France (UEC), Dominique Vidal, published his recollections of May 1968 in the May 2 issue of the CP weekly *France-Nouvelle*.

According to excerpts published in the May 5 *Le Monde*, Vidal wrote:

“At the beginning of 1968, the CP and UEC did not fully perceive what was happening in some universities. . . .

“But at the time, Communists were engaged in a rugged political and ideological battle with leftism. . . .

“The fact remains that this negative attitude at the outset played into the hands of those who were trying to pit students engaged in struggle against the Communists. . . .

“This initial error was compounded by another—the Communists’ difficulty, and

even inability, in debating with a fraction of the movement that, of course, did not exactly wish them the best. . . .

“Were these errors inevitable? I don’t know. . . .

“Then why dwell on them? The fact is that these errors in May were sometimes repeated in the post-May period, including after and in spite of the Twenty-second Congress. Which would seem to indicate that they were not just an accident.”



DAYAN: Walks out of news conference.

Dayan Irked at Being Called Terrorist

Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan stormed out of a news conference in Stockholm May 12 after a reporter implied that he had been a “terrorist.”

“I am no terrorist,” Dayan declared. “No one ever told me I’m a terrorist.”

After trying, in response to the next question, to explain why Israel had seized the West Bank in 1967, Dayan abruptly ended the news conference and walked out.

2,500 in Chicago Demand 'ERA Now!'

Illinois is one of the states that has not yet ratified the Equal Rights Amendment to put women’s equality into the U.S. Constitution. The Chicago Committee for the ERA is determined to change that and has organized three ERA demonstrations over the course of the last year.

The largest took place April 29, when 2,500 people marched through downtown Chicago to a rally at the Civic Center.

There was broad labor support for the action, in addition to a sizable turnout of campus women and members of various women’s groups. Fifty auto workers, most

of them Black women, marched in a contingent. About sixty persons marched behind the United Steelworkers of America banners. Local 65 of the USWA, the largest steel local in Illinois, had endorsed the action, chartered a bus, printed and distributed leaflets, and placed an ad for the demonstration in the union newsletter.

The Illinois state legislature is scheduled to vote on the ERA in May. The amendment will lapse if it is not passed by three more states (for a total of thirty-eight) by March 1979. A bill has been introduced into Congress to extend the deadline for ratification.

Several speakers at the Chicago rally urged a massive turnout for the July 9 ERA demonstration in Washington, D.C. That action has been called by the National Organization for Women, the largest feminist organization in the United States.

Joan Little Loses Appeal

The New York Court of Appeals on May 9 ordered Joan Little sent back to North Carolina, despite her fear that her life would be in danger if she were forced to return to a North Carolina prison.

Little won national and international support when she was tried for murder in 1975 for having defended herself against a white jailer who tried to rape her. Although acquitted on the murder charge, she remained in jail serving out her original burglary sentence. She fled to New York in October 1977 after she was denied parole. Having exposed the racist and sexist brutality of the North Carolina prison system, she said she feared for her life if she remained in prison.

Little’s attorney, William Kunstler, asked the Court of Appeals to order a judicial hearing at which he could present evidence of a conspiracy to murder Little if she were extradited. The Court refused even to order such a hearing, saying there was no reason to think that “effective access” to courts in North Carolina “would not be available.”

Kunstler charged after the ruling that the court had “shirked its human and legal responsibilities toward Joan Little in not ordering a hearing to determine whether there is reason to believe that she will be murdered, injured or otherwise mistreated upon her return to North Carolina.”

National Council of Churches Hits Israeli Use of Fragmentation Bombs

The governing board of the National Council of Churches has condemned Israel’s use of cluster bombs in the invasion of Lebanon and has asked the U.S. Congress to stop supplying such weapons to Israel.

The resolution, passed by the board at a meeting in Minneapolis May 12, pointed out that “in the recent massive invasion of

Lebanon by Israel several thousand civilian men, women and children were wantonly killed, mutilated and maimed largely by U.S. supplied arms."

The council represents thirty-one religious denominations with a combined membership of some forty million persons.

Supporters of the Israeli blitzkrieg were incensed at the passage of such a motion by so prestigious an organization.

Following an unsuccessful attempt to water down the wording of the resolution, Rabbi A. James Rudin of the American Jewish Committee denounced it as "unfair, unbalanced and anti-Israel."

Stop Arms Shipments to Israel!

An Arab-American organization filed suit in Federal District Court in Washington May 11 to halt all further American military sales to Israel until the Zionist regime withdraws from Lebanon.

The suit, filed by the National Association of Arab Americans, argues that Israel violated the Arms Export Control Act by using American military equipment during the invasion of Lebanon.

Secretary of State Vance admitted on April 5 that Israel "may have" violated American law limiting use of U.S.-supplied weapons to "legitimate self-defense."

Just a Minor Slip-Up

"Israel has signed a secret agreement with the United States renewing a pledge—violated during its March incursion into Lebanon—not to use American-supplied cluster bombs except under special wartime conditions," the *New York Times* reported May 13.

Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman in an interview last April dismissed the use of the cluster bombs as simply "an error." He said he was "unaware" of the Israeli commitment not to use them.

Moscow Apologizes to Peking Over Siberian Border Incident

The Soviet government conveyed an apology to Peking May 12 over what it said was an accidental crossing by a Soviet patrol into Chinese territory May 8. The Kremlin denied, however, Peking's charges that Soviet border guards had shot, beaten, and kicked Chinese citizens.

According to a statement released by the Soviet news agency Tass, the incident occurred when a group of seamen on border patrol in the Ussuri River were chasing "a dangerous armed criminal" and landed by mistake on the Chinese side of the river, near Hulin. Upon discovering their error, they immediately left Chinese territory, Tass said.

Peking's account is quite different. In a protest note handed to the Soviet ambassador to China May 11, the Chinese government charged that a Soviet helicopter,



New York Times
Soviet patrol crossed border near Hulin.

eighteen naval boats, and about thirty soldiers had crossed into Chinese territory.

The note called the attack an "organized military provocation" and a "calculated step to create tension on the border and vitiate relations between the two countries." It said that the Soviet soldiers "chased and tried to round up Chinese inhabitants, shooting continually and wounding a number of them."

"Penetrating four kilometers into Chinese territory," the protest said, "they seized 14 Chinese inhabitants and dragged them all the way to the riverside, giving them kicks and blows."

The exact demarcation of the border in the area is in dispute. Moscow fixes the boundary on the Chinese banks of the Ussuri and Amur rivers. Peking argues that treaties signed in the nineteenth century placed the border in the middle of the river.

Lisbon Devalues Escudo

The Bank of Portugal announced May 5 that the escudo would be devalued immediately by 6.1%, and further devalued by 1.25% a month until the end of the year. This measure was taken to comply with terms laid down by the International Monetary Fund. Lisbon recently negotiated a \$750 million loan from the IMF.

Singlaub Gets the Sack

Major General John K. Singlaub has "agreed to retire" as chief of staff of the army's Forces Command in Georgia, an army spokesman said April 28.

Singlaub was ordered to report to the Pentagon for a meeting with top military officials immediately following a speech to Georgia Tech cadets in which he called

Carter's decision to defer production of the neutron bomb "ridiculous" and "militarily unsound."

Last May, Singlaub was relieved as chief of staff of the U.S. Command in Korea for challenging Carter's announced plans for troop withdrawal. Singlaub subsequently made statements criticizing the administration's proposals for a new Panama Canal treaty.

Singlaub's forced retirement won him the sympathy of former President Gerald Ford, who called it "unfortunate."

"I feel it's extremely important for senior military officials to speak their own mind," Ford added.

Sanjay Gandhi Jailed

Sanjay Gandhi, who not long ago was one of the most powerful political figures in India, was ordered jailed for one month on May 5 by the Delhi Supreme Court and taken to prison.

The government charged that Gandhi had attempted to corrupt witnesses in a case against him.

As the son of India's former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Sanjay was closely associated with the repressive measures carried out during her emergency rule in 1975-76.

Since his mother lost the elections last year, Sanjay has been hit with a number of lawsuits and investigations. The current case involves his reported participation in a conspiracy to destroy a film about corrupt politicians.

Afghan Ruler Denies Marxist Leanings

The new ruler of Afghanistan said May 6 that the country would not be moving closer to Moscow as a result of the coup that brought him to power on April 28.

"We are not a satellite of anyone, as some say," Premier Noor Mohammad Taraki said. "We are nonaligned and independent and no country will have justification to interfere in our internal affairs."

"We will not take part in any military pact" with the Soviet Union or with any other country, he added.

"Our relationship with all the countries will be based on the amount of their support to our government in political and economic terms." Afghanistan has received aid from both Washington and Moscow. Taraki appealed specifically for U.S. aid to continue.

He also denied that his party, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, is Marxist.

"Ours is the party of all the people," Taraki said.

Meanwhile, an Iranian government communiqué issued May 6 informed the new government of Afghanistan that Tehran "would continue the existing relations."

On May 5, the Pakistani government recognized the Kabul regime.

The Murder of Orlando Letelier

By Fred Murphy

Orlando Letelier, a former official in the Allende government and a well-known opponent of the Chilean military dictatorship, was killed in Washington, D.C., in September 1976 when a bomb attached to his automobile exploded. Ronni Moffitt, an American associate of Letelier's at the Transnational Institute, was also killed.

At the time of the murders, FBI and CIA spokesmen discounted any involvement on the part of the DINA—the Chilean secret police. But recent moves by U.S. authorities have resulted in revelations tying the crime to the Pinochet government. One former DINA employee and several counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles have been charged with conspiracy in the Letelier-Moffitt murders, and others are being sought.

The U.S. Justice Department announced in February that it was filing a "request for international judicial assistance" that asked Chilean authorities to question two members of the military who might "have knowledge and information concerning these murders."

Juan Williams Rose and Alejandro Romeral Jara were said to have applied in Paraguay for U.S. visas in July 1976, while holding Chilean passports. The visas were first granted and then withdrawn. The Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs then made an official request to Washington's Santiago embassy and obtained A-2 visas (reserved for diplomatic or government business) for Williams and Romeral in August 1976. Subsequent details have indicated that the two were responsible for contacts between the Chilean regime and Cuban exiles who actually carried out the bombing of Letelier's car.

The Chilean request for visas was signed by Chief of Protocol and Consular Affairs Guillermo Osorio. Osorio died under mysterious circumstances last October, and his death is the subject of an inquiry in the Chilean courts.

Osorio reportedly returned home from a diplomatic reception on October 24 in an unusually nervous state, accompanied by then-DINA chief Gen. Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda. Late that night he was found dead in a corridor outside his bedroom. The authorities first claimed that Osorio had suffered a heart attack, but the cause of death was changed to "suicide" after an autopsy showed that a bullet had passed through his skull. The third and most recent version has it that Osorio was the victim of a "crime of passion."

The initial response of the Chilean government to the U.S. request for information from Williams and Romeral was to declare that neither the armed forces, the DINA, nor the National Identification Service had any record of the two. "Civily, they do not exist," a spokesman for the regime said February 24.

Photos of the two men were then leaked to the *Washington Star*, which published them in its March 3 edition. On March 5, the progovernment Santiago daily *El Mercurio* reprinted the photos and said it had identified "Williams" as Michael Vernon Townley.

"A Chilean who said he knows the man pictured in *El Mercurio* corroborated the newspaper's account," John Dinges reported from Santiago to the March 6 *Washington Post*. Dinges continued:

This source said he had known the man in the picture for several years as Michael Vernon Townley, an American living in Chile since at least 1972 who boasted in conversations of his involvement in terrorist activities against Allende and of his membership in the extreme rightist group Fatherland and Liberty [*Patria y Libertad*].

The source said Townley's strange behavior and activities made him suspect that Townley was an agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

During the week before *El Mercurio* identified "Williams" as Townley, the paper had abruptly altered its coverage of the case, printing reports from the American press and calling on the government to explain publicly why official papers were issued to two men using false names. Up until then the daily had attributed charges of Chilean government involvement in Letelier's death to an international left-wing campaign against the junta.

After the *El Mercurio* revelations, the regime conceded that the false passports might have been issued and announced that a special judge was being appointed to investigate. Meanwhile, "Romeral" had been identified as Armando Fernández Larios, an army captain assigned to the DINA.

On March 19 U.S. Prosecutor Eugene Propper arrived in Santiago bearing the evidence unearthed by his investigators. Two days later former DINA chief Contreras Sepúlveda abruptly resigned from the army. "Contreras used to have breakfast with President Pinochet every day when he was head of DINA," a retired general told Juan de Onís of the *New York Times*,

"and now he was thrown out of the army by his sponsor. Every officer is asking why."

Around the same time Contreras resigned, Air Force chief Gen. Gustavo Leigh began making public calls for governmental changes. Leigh's rivalry with Pinochet may have been at the root of *El Mercurio*'s revelations. Press reports also noted rumors that Washington was threatening to withdraw its ambassador from Santiago if Fernández and Townley were not produced. Pinochet was thus faced with little choice but to put some distance between himself and Contreras and to order cooperation with the U.S. investigators.

Townley and Fernández were questioned in secret by a Chilean judge on April 1. Townley reportedly invoked the U.S. Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination and refused to answer any of fifty-five questions provided by U.S. attorney Propper.

A week later Townley was expelled from the country and immediately arrested by FBI agents as a "material witness" in the Letelier-Moffitt murders. On April 26 he was formally charged with conspiring "with other persons to murder a former ambassador to the United States from Chile"—a federal crime that carries a maximum sentence of life imprisonment.

Townley is being held without bail. According to an "informed source" quoted by Timothy Robinson in the May 6 *Washington Post*, the former DINA agent is cooperating with the U.S. prosecutors "at the specific request" of Pinochet. "He is a soldier. His orders are to cooperate and that is consistent with the personal wishes of Gen. Pinochet." It would thus appear that Pinochet is confident that Townley knows little about the origins of the orders to kill Letelier.

Cuban exile Ignacio Novo Sampol was arrested by the FBI on May 5 and charged with the same crime as Townley. Two other Cubans are being sought on similar charges. Novo Sampol's brother Guillermo and another Cuban, Alvin Ross Diaz, are now in custody on other charges but are also reportedly suspects in the Letelier case.

It has also been rumored that Capt. Armando Fernández and possibly some of his Chilean superiors will be indicted *in absentia*; their extradition from Chile would then be sought.

The outlines of the plot against Letelier as they have emerged in the press up until now are as follows:

Townley and Fernández, traveling on their false passports and visas, went to Miami in August 1976. There they made contact with members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement, an exile group led by the Novo Sampol brothers.

Contacts with the Cubans may have been arranged through the Chilean consul in Miami, Héctor Durán, although Townley had reportedly been in touch with exile

groups during a 1973 stay in the city. In addition, Guillermo Novo had been to Chile earlier in 1976, along with Cuban exile leaders Orlando Bosch and Rolando Ortero.

Townley is an expert on automobile electrical systems, and may have contributed his technical skill during meetings in Miami.

According to a May 8 United Press International report, Townley has told investigators that he went to Washington on September 18, 1976, three days before Letelier and Moffitt died. After the bombing he returned to Chile. Whether Fernández accompanied him to Washington has not been reported.

The FBI has also reportedly linked Townley to Cuban terrorist groups through telephone records indicating calls to a New Jersey bar frequented by Cuban exiles and to the New Jersey home of another suspect in the case.

A Townley connection with the CIA has been rumored by other sources in addition to the individual who spoke with John Dinges of the *Washington Post*. After Townley was indicted by the Allende regime in mid-1973 for his role in a *Patria y Libertad* raid in Concepción, a Communist Party publication published his picture and accused him of being with the CIA. His name also reportedly came up several times during U.S. Senate hearings on the CIA in 1975, although no link with the police agency was established.

If the U.S. prosecutors have evidence that Townley was a CIA operative assigned to the DINA, they are no doubt trying to keep the fact a closely guarded secret. The last thing Washington wants is to have the finger of guilt in Letelier's death pointed back in its own direction.

The prosecutors' task is to give an object lesson to Washington's dictatorial allies on the impropriety of extending terrorist attacks on their opponents to American soil. They also want to tighten Washington's slipping grip on its erstwhile henchmen—the Cuban exiles who were armed and trained by the CIA in the 1960s for operations against the Cuban revolution.

The main problem posed for Carter and the Justice Department is how far to pursue this effort. The abrupt resignation of Contreras and the murder of Osorio indicate that responsibility for the Letelier-Moffitt killings rests near the top of the Chilean regime. The probe has already had repercussions inside Pinochet's government, and Washington cannot be certain where these may lead.

On the other hand, human-rights supporters and the families and associates of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt, and of other victims of the junta's terrorism such as Gen. Carlos Prats and Christian Democratic leader Bernardo Leighton, are hardly likely to be satisfied if the case should be closed with the prosecution of Townley and the Cuban exiles. □

As British Murder Squads Step Up Terror Campaign

'Republican News' Shut Down by Belfast Police

By Gerry Foley

For the second time in five months, Northern Ireland police, backed up by British troops, carried out extensive raids April 27 to shut down the republican press and public-relations apparatus in Belfast.

The latest raids were an escalation of the British army's attempt to impose a veil of silence on its operations in Northern Ireland. This time the repressive net was flung wide enough to include the printer of the weekly *Republican News*, the main Belfast paper reflecting the views of the republican movement, and a French correspondent and freelance photographer.

More than twenty houses in Belfast were raided, and in all fourteen persons were arrested, including the entire officer board of Sinn Féin, the republican political organization, as well as members of the *Republican News* staff.

The police occupied the Sinn Féin press center and stopped production of the paper, seizing 30,000 special supplements on the conditions facing republican prisoners denied political status.

The British authorities have decreed that persons sentenced for "terrorist" acts or associations after March 1, 1976, are to be treated as common criminals. Since that time, about 300 republican prisoners have been "criminalized."

However, nearly all these prisoners refuse to accept convict status, wear prison garb, or conform to the rules that hold for convicts. The British authorities are trying to force them to accept "criminalization" by keeping them in perpetual solitary confinement, naked in cells with no furniture, not even a bed, and with almost no contacts with the outside world.

The condition of these prisoners, held in H-Block of Long Kesh prison camp, has become desperate. Deaths or mental breakdowns could come at any time. This situation has prompted growing protests.

At the same time, the British have to cover up more and more murders of republicans carried out by both uniformed British forces and secret "counterinsurgency commandos."

On May 10, Brian Maguire, accused of shooting a policeman in a Provisional IRA attack, was found dead in his cell in an "interrogation" center. The police claimed that he hanged himself.

Two members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party in Portadown, Thomas Trainor and Denis Kelly, were machine-gunned on March 8 by a man who leaped from the back seat of a motorcycle.

Two weeks before the shooting, British

troops and police raided the Trainor home. According to the March issue of the IRSP paper *Starry Plough*, they told Thomas that the Special Air Services, the British equivalent of the U.S. Green Berets, would "get" him. Similar threats had been made to Colm McNutt, a prominent IRSP member in Derry shot down by an assassination squad in December.

The April 27 raids in Belfast were clearly intended to cast a wide shadow of intimidation. The printer of *Republican News*, Gary Kennedy, is a prominent member of the moderate Social Democratic and Labour Party, the main Catholic electoral party.

The British also made very broad accusations against the twelve out of those arrested who were finally charged on May 4. Most were accused of "conspiracy" and IRA membership.

Alain Frilet, a correspondent for the Paris left daily *Libération*, was charged with "failing to cooperate with the police" and possession of documents "likely to be of use to terrorists," as well as membership in the IRA.

The so-called terrorist documents were pictures of British patrols, street demonstrations, and Provisional marches. The failure to "cooperate with the police" was that when he photographed the Provisionals displaying arms in a public demonstration he did not go to the police and offer to help them make arrests.

Commenting on the charges against Frilet, an article in the May 9 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* said that the accusation of IRA membership was probably a maneuver to make it possible to try him under special powers legislation that deprives defendants of their rights. It pointed out that on the other charges, the British could try all the reporters and photographers in Northern Ireland.

Rouge warned that Frilet faces a long prison sentence if the British are not forced to release him.

The French journalist's arrest points up the ruthlessness of the British repression. Even in South Africa, foreign correspondents are not charged for failing to inform on open antiapartheid activities. □

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The Plans for Publishing a French Edition of Trotsky's Works

[We are publishing below an interview with Pierre Broué, research director of the Leon Trotsky Institute in Paris. The interview was published in two parts in the April 5-12 and April 12-19 issues of *Informations Ouvrières*, a weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Organization). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The Leon Trotsky Institute was recently founded in order to carry through the first systematic publication in French of Trotsky's works. The research for this enormous undertaking is being directed by Comrade Pierre Broué. He was kind enough to reply to our questions just prior to the publication of the first volume of what promises to be one of the most valuable tools for those involved in the struggle to reconstruct the Fourth International.

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Question. Comrade Broué, you are the research director for the Leon Trotsky Institute, and in that capacity, you are preparing the complete works of Trotsky for publication. Can you explain the scope of this undertaking?

Answer. Publishing Trotsky's works is complicated. Natalia, his widow, entrusted the rights to two personal friends, first Rosmer and then Marguerite Bonnet. Natalia refused on principle to turn them over to a member of an organization claiming adherence to the Fourth International. This meant that, over the years, Trotsky's works were brought out by various publishers—including ourselves, by the way—but in piecemeal fashion.

This was entirely inadequate, obviously, since what it usually amounted to were collections of articles centered around a single topic, a single country, with a one-sided or national view of problems that inevitably misrepresented Trotsky's political thinking.

The example set by the *Writings*¹ was a determining factor for us. The work done by Pathfinder Press in the United States proved the value of this new method of publication. After that, a few of the activists interested in the matter set out to find

1. *Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1929-1940*. 12 vols. New York: Pathfinder Press.

a way to bring out a similar edition of the works in French.

I say "works," not "collected works," because I do not think that at this stage we can make any claim to be publishing what could be called Trotsky's collected works. For several reasons. Mainly because the "closed" portion now kept at Harvard University—as its name indicates—is not yet open and will not be until 1980.

Furthermore, the volume of documents is such that it will be necessary to have accumulated a certain amount of funds before we can go ahead with the most complete edition of Trotsky's works that is possible. In any case, what we are starting is an important first step.

We are beginning with a series covering the period from 1933 to 1949, because this is the period closest to us and richest in terms of the problems it poses: the Spanish civil war, the popular front, and so on. It is the most contemporary period, and it's also the period when the Communist parties and Third International definitively went over to the side of bourgeois order; therefore, in my mind, it's the period that is closest to our own. In terms of distribution, it is also the period that seems like it should be the most profitable, and will thus help the Institute to finance the rest. The first volume begins with Trotsky's first article stating that there must be a new Communist party in Germany, after the failure of Stalinism there in 1933.

Q. What resources were utilized by the Institute? How was the work organized? How did you collaborate with the SWP members who brought out the American edition of the *Writings*?

A. We should first of all mention the importance of the trail-blazing work done by Pathfinder and by the team of SWP members, especially George Breitman, who produced the American edition. They gave assistance without the slightest reservation, even providing us with documents that will appear in our edition but do not appear in theirs.

Next, I would like to give some details on the role of the Leon Trotsky Institute. To begin with, Marguerite Bonnet understood that it was now time to follow the example set by the Americans, and to put together as comprehensive and complete an edition of the works as possible. Of course, she could not take this on by herself; a staff was necessary. Marguerite felt it was very important that the staff include representatives of several political groups claiming

allegiance to Trotsky and to the Transitional Program, and this is the type of staff that was assembled. There are five of us in the office of the Institute, which is headed by Marguerite, and where, because of my skills, I am research director.

Obviously, this is a costly project—not in terms of remuneration of the collaborators, because, apart from a few translators, no one is paid; but it is costly all the same because of travel expenses, documents, research, and so on. We owe our existence and ability to begin this work to Sieva, Trotsky's grandson, who gave us a large sum at the outset out of his grandfather's royalties. I should note that in donating the royalties for this purpose, Sieva pays the fullest possible respect to his grandfather's ideas.

Concerning the resources that we used, we naturally went over the world Trotskyist press with a fine-toothed comb; and not only the Trotskyist press, because Trotsky published a great deal in American, German, Austrian, English, and other newspapers, weeklies and magazines.

In addition, it is necessary to go over internal bulletins with a fine-toothed comb, which requires knowing the pseudonyms or discovering them. We were much aided in this by Jean Van Heijenoort,² who was Trotsky's secretary for a long time, and who was able to identify many articles that had been dictated to him, and locate others through their style. For example, he found for us an internal bulletin of the French Bolshevik-Leninist group that had been entirely written by Trotsky under a pseudonym.

The second area of our activity consists of searching out correspondence, of which there is no assurance, by the way, of finding all the copies in the closed section of the archives. This is also a massive undertaking that sometimes leads us to cast our nets very far.

Recently, we had access to new sources of Trotsky archives and correspondence. I am referring mainly to the stockpiles that were opened to researchers from the International Institute in Amsterdam. I was the first to be given authorized access to the Sneevliet archives,³ and to remove the

2. Jean Van Heijenoort, secretary to Leon Trotsky in Turkey, 1932-33; Norway, 1935-36; Mexico, 1937-39. Member of the International Secretariat from 1939 to 1940.

3. Founder of the Dutch Communist Party, founder of the Communist movement in Indonesia, a representative of the Communist International in China and consequently one of the

letters from Trotsky in order to publish them. Comrade Prager of the Institute went to Brussels and gained access to the Erwin Wolf file in the Vereecken archives. We are trying to greatly expand our sources of documentation, and I may say that we have succeeded.

Q. So the archival material on which this edition is based will be more extensive than in the American edition?

A. Yes. For example, for this edition we had the benefit of the Cannon⁴ archives, which frequently received copies of letters from Trotsky, while our American comrades themselves did not know of the existence of these documents until the *Writings* series was well under way. So they used them for the later volumes, but not for the initial ones. In our first volume, for instance, the one that will come out in a few weeks, we have ten or so letters from Trotsky to Jan Frankel, his Czechoslovak secretary, for the period from April to July 1933, and these unpublished letters are of immense interest.

Q. This major collection of Trotsky's works will surely be presented in such a way as to be accessible to today's readers, particularly young activists. Can you tell us of the efforts that were made to see to this?

A. We at the Institute all thought that one of the main criticisms that could be leveled at some of the previous editions of Trotsky, for instance some of the pocket editions, is their extreme paucity of scholarly material, footnotes, references, historical background, chronologies, and biographical information. Now, we know that Trotsky often followed contemporary events closely, mentioning names or events that mean nothing to today's readers, and that must therefore be explained.

With regard to Trotsky's correspondence, this is perhaps even more necessary, because through it he carried on political discussions with comrades who are not named, or who are referred to by a pseudonym or initial. So this means an enormous job of research to identify people, trace their political careers, and the responsibilities they carried out. This work has entailed making inquiries of numerous comrades, and investigating private archives,

founders of the Chinese Communist Party. Founder of the Dutch Revolutionary Socialist Party in 1929. Joined the Internationalist Communist League in 1933. Broke with the Fourth International in 1938. Shot by the Nazis in 1942.

4. James P. Cannon, one of the founders of the American Communist Party, later a founder and central leader of the American Trotskyist organization, the Socialist Workers Party. Died August 21, 1974.

as I mentioned earlier, as well as public ones.

I'd like to add something. To broaden our international network of information and data, to insure communication with our readers, we are going to start a magazine which Michel Dreyfus will head, which will probably come out three or four times a year, and will be called "Cahiers Léon Trotsky" [Leon Trotsky Notebooks]. In it we will print several unpublished articles and documents, which will be an excellent link with our readers.

For example, for the first issue, which will be out a month and a half from now, I've prepared an article on Trotsky's secretaries. It contains a number of biographical details on Frankel, Wolf, and a few others, with an appeal to political activists to round out the information.

Q. What is the publication schedule?

A. There is one date that will be a turning point—that's 1980, when the Trotsky archives stored at Harvard University in the United States will be opened. We will then have an even larger source available, because we will have access to the section that is now closed. We will then have to add to the already published volumes, and begin publication of the second series (1929-1933) on the basis of the newly opened archives.

We then hope to be able to finish this big job by republishing the complete works printed in the Soviet Union, whose publication was interrupted by the Stalinist degeneration of the party. We will seek out all the writings of that period to connect them up with 1929. So we have worked backward, more or less, for both technical and economic reasons.

It is very hard to predict accurately the number of volumes. Two years ago, the first volume I planned was to cover 1933, and now that same period is covered by three volumes. All the same, here's an estimate. In my opinion, there will be between twenty and twenty-five volumes from 1933 to 1940. Four books a year. There's enough for six years.

In fact, we're a bit behind schedule. We should have gotten started two years ago.

Q. Can you tell us what today's activists can look forward to with the publishing of these volumes?

A. A great deal, in my opinion. First because the principle of putting things in chronological order makes it possible to grasp a thought in action. We have both the articles and letters, as well as references to major works that we are not republishing. This means that we have the idea as it is being forged, and I think that that in itself is a very important lesson for activists. This method really makes it possible to understand how Trotsky worked.

The first volume of 250 pages will enable us to see how from what was the first established fact for Trotsky in March [1933]—that is, that Stalinism had failed in Germany—he came to the conclusion, after three months of experiences on a world scale, that the Communist International had gone over completely to the side of bourgeois order. And it makes enriching reading because of the method he employs, the scrupulousness with which he takes the pulse of the international—for, to him, it cannot be abandoned if it is not yet a corpse. The job is to find out if it is really a corpse and at what moment it became one. This the reader will be able to grasp.

Moreover, there is, particularly in the correspondence, a whole series of questions that are taken up and that are contemporary questions. For example, the discussions with comrades about the pressures of the popular front on the ranks of the Trotskyist movement, on the way in which they filter in and show up even among comrades who deny feeling this pressure. Also, his concern for democracy in the organization, for employing democratic centralism, for the way in which a discussion should be conducted, for the way in which sectarianism is manifested, for the social composition of the organization, for recruitment.

I chose these examples because they deal with problems of the party. There are the problems of a youth organization, of its independence, of the right to make mistakes. There is the way in which he himself explains things to comrades who have made serious mistakes. There is the way in which he diagnoses the evolution of the centrists, to see if this one is moving right or left, to see which ones are hardened and which ones are not, to see which ones are rotten and which are honestly hesitating, and can be won over.

Q. What can you tell us about the international collaboration that made this publishing venture possible?

A. In terms of international collaboration, we already have a number of comrades who have agreed to work with us, and who are mentioned in the introduction to the first volume. I should say that we have not had a single refusal from any longtime activists, whatever their present political views, and whatever their political course after their break with the movement, if they did break with it. Every day we find new collaborators.

We hope eventually to publish similar editions—and I think it is entirely possible in the not-too-distant future—in Germany, Austria, Italy, and Spain.

Q. All under the auspices of the Institute?

A. That's hard to say. It is impossible for the Institute to insist on a translation

of its introduction or footnotes. What it can do is put its work at the disposal of others. It is quite evident, for example, that the footnotes we added to the articles on Canada might perhaps be considered inadequate for a Canadian edition, and that then the Canadian comrades should be able to supplement them, round them out, and correct them.

From this standpoint, I do not think we can say that the Institute is trying to lay down a doctrine in terms of the presentation. It wants to make itself available to researchers and activists in all countries.

I think that Trotsky's works are the key political writings of this century. And I think, by the way, that even though this century is drawing to a close, and though Trotsky stopped producing in 1940, the chances are really very good that they will remain the key political writings.

And I would like to say further that this sizable endeavor of ours—the launching of which was made possible by Trotsky himself, since, after all, he is the one who has given us the money for the initial expenses by way of his grandson—must be supported and replenished, and that this will only be possible if the books are sold. The publication of the later volumes depends on the sale of the initial ones.

Therefore, comrades should not be stingy. They must understand the immense value of these books. They should have them in their libraries, get them sold to others. And that is how they will insure the publication of this seminal work right up to the end. □

Teachers Strike in Peru

Teachers in public schools throughout Peru went on strike May 8 to demand a 100 percent wage increase, reinstatement of teachers fired or transferred for political reasons, and the abrogation of government decrees that threaten the job security of teachers.

The strike is also demanding recognition of the Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Educación del Perú (SUTEP—United Federation of Educational Workers of Peru), the national teachers union formed after a massive strike in 1971. SUTEP organizes more than 80 percent of Peru's 120,000 teachers.

The Morales Bermúdez government declared the strike illegal the day before it began, and has threatened wage cuts if the work stoppage persists. But as of May 10 press reports indicated the strike was being widely supported in Lima and other major cities such as Arequipa, Cerro de Pasco, Huancayo, Cuzco, and Puno.

A march by teachers in Arequipa was attacked by police firing tear gas. Student protests in support of the strike were also reported at the Colegio Nacional Independencia Americana in Arequipa.

DOCUMENTS

LCR Greetings to Spanish CP Congress

[The Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), Spanish section of the Fourth International, as well as *Rouge*, the paper of the French Trotskyists, were invited to send delegations to attend the Ninth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party held in Madrid in late April. The following greetings, given at the congress April 21 on behalf of the Spanish LCR, were warmly applauded by the delegates. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Comrades, delegates to the Ninth Congress of the PCE:¹

We send you our fraternal greetings in the name of the Political Bureau of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria and of our entire party.

It is cause for pride for all workers, and for us, as part of the workers movement, that this congress can be held legally today. The legalization of your party was a decisive victory in the long struggle by the workers to win legal rights for all workers and people's organizations. As you know we fought wholeheartedly for this. So, while you express your natural feelings of joy at being able to hold this congress legally, let us hail this event as a political victory for the entire workers movement.

However, we would like to note that among its continual restrictions of democratic rights, the government of the UCD [Unión de Centro Democrático—Democratic Center Union, the party of Premier Suárez], persists in denying legal rights to some organizations and parties. It persists in denying full trade-union rights, since the rights of workers are not recognized in the section of the draft constitution that deals with "Rights and Liberties."

The government refuses to grant the unrestricted right to strike without any interference by the state. It refuses to include a "Bill of Rights for Working People" in the constitution. It refuses to return to the unions the property that was confiscated from them [during and after the civil war].

In view of these continued restrictions of our rights, we must all commit ourselves to build a united demonstration on May Day to demand them.

There are profound political differences between the PCE and the LCR. To be frank, these differences go deeper than those we have with other currents in the workers movement. But they can and must be discussed openly. We have done this in the debates held recently in Barcelona and Madrid, in which your comrades, Jordi Borja and Juan Francisco Pla, debated our comrade, Ernest Mandel.

We would like to express our support for the proposal you yourselves made on these occasions, that the same debates be held now in the factories, in the universities, in the neighborhoods and towns where your comrades and ours are working together in a common struggle against exploitation and oppression.

The opening of a public discussion preparatory to our coming congress and publication of the resolutions of your Ninth Congress will provide a basis for continuing the debates that have already begun.

We stand completely opposed to any form of sectarianism. We are for restoring in the workers movement the old working-class tradition of open and fraternal debate, no matter how sharp the differences.

Let us make a final proposal. Some months ago now, our party and the entire Fourth International began a campaign calling for the rehabilitation in the USSR and all the East European countries of the Bolshevik old guard murdered by Stalin—Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, and the others. In our own country, we think this should include figures such as Andrés Nin.² We are not raising this demand out of sentiment. It is the duty of the workers movement as a whole to demand this. It is a duty to restore our history, the history of the entire working class as it really happened.

We have no doubt that the international workers movement will soon rehabilitate all these figures. But from the platform of your congress, we ask for your fraternal collaboration in this task, over and above any political differences that exist.

Comrades, once again we send our fraternal greetings.

Long live workers unity!

Long live socialism!

1. Partido Comunista de España—Spanish Communist Party.—IP/I

2. A former Trotskyist leader of the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—Workers Party for Marxist Unity) murdered by Soviet secret police working with the Spanish CP.—IP/I

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



10,000 in London Say 'No' to Nuclear Power

Ten thousand persons marched in London on April 29 to protest the British government's approval of a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant at Windscale on the Irish Sea. It was the largest antinuclear demonstration in Britain since the protests organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the early 1960s.

The march and rally were organized by the environmental organization Friends of the Earth (FOE). Speakers included two members of Parliament; John Carrol, vice-president of the Irish Transport & General Workers Union; and Yorkshire miners union leader Arthur Scargill.

After a lengthy inquiry headed by Justice Michael Parker, the British Parliament voted March 22 to approve plans by British Nuclear Fuels Ltd. (BNFL) to construct a thermal oxide reprocessing plant at Windscale. The plant will extract plutonium fuel from nuclear waste produced in reactors both in Britain and other countries.

Friends of the Earth has filed criticisms of the Parker Report with the government, objecting that Parker "accepts hazards, however speculative, which tend to support the BNFL case; but he simultaneously discounts hazards much more clearly discernible if they tend to support the objectors' call for delay."

Japanese Electrical Workers Warn of Nuclear Dangers

Workers employed by the Chugoku Electric Company in Yamaguchi prefecture, Japan, have distributed leaflets warning of the dangers posed to people living in the area of the Hohoku nuclear power plant projected for construction by the company.

Chugoku company officials ordered a two-month suspension for seven union members, including union chairman Hiroshi Yamamoto, because they "interfered with company business."

The union responded that "distribution

of flyers is just part of union functions and the treatment is unfair." (New Asia News, April 21.)

Welders Balk at Nuclear Plant Job

Two welders employed by the Consolidated Edison Company have refused to work at the electric utility's Indian Point, New York, nuclear plant for fear of radiation.

The welders have been fired by Con Ed, but the Utility Workers union is seeking to get them reinstated. One had been employed by the company for thirty-two years and the other for sixteen.

According to the April 22 New York *Daily News*, "The firings point up what is said to be a growing reluctance among Con Ed employes to work at the nuclear plant. . . ."

"At least part of the workers' reluctance, according to them, is based on recent findings that even low-level radiation, long considered safe, may be harmful."



G. M. Cookson/Socialist Challenge

Part of rally of 10,000 against nuclear power, held in Trafalgar Square April 29.

Which Way Forward for the Chilean Revolution?

By Anibal Vargas

[The following article appeared in the May 8 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist news magazine published fortnightly in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The military coup that brought down the Unidad Popular (UP—Popular Unity) government on September 11, 1973, was a terrible blow to working people in Chile and throughout the world. This experience underlined once again the fact that popular frontism and the effort to find a peaceful road to socialism through an alliance with a sector of the nationalist, patriotic, or progressive bourgeoisie always results in bloody defeats for working people.

A number of comrades in the Chilean left from the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), MAPU (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United People's Action) and sectors of the Socialist Party have begun the process of drawing out the lessons of this defeat.

For example, Pedro Vuskovic analyzed some of the problems of the Chilean revolution in an interview that appeared in the January 1978 issue of the newspaper *Combate*.¹ Vuskovic was the minister of the economy in the UP government and is now living in exile in Mexico. A leader of the Socialist Party, he was bureaucratically expelled by the SP leadership in exile. However, the ranks of the SP, both within Chile and abroad, refused to recognize this expulsion.

The Popular Unity

"I think that the UP's problem, as a bloc of organizations," Vuskovic says, "lies in its whole strategy for the struggle against fascist² dictatorship. . . . This has led,

1. Spanish-language newspaper of *Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet* (Communist Workers League), Swedish section of the Fourth International).

2. Comrade Vuskovic's use of the term "fascist" here and in other parts of the interview is incorrect. For an analysis that goes to the heart of what fascism really is, see the articles by Leon Trotsky in the pamphlet *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It*, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014 for \$60.



Solidaridad

PEDRO VUSKOVIC

particularly within the Socialist Party, to a growing divergence between two different lines for the struggle against dictatorship."

These two lines consist on the one hand of the reformist perspective of the Popular Unity and on the other of the revolutionary perspective that is now taking shape.

According to Vuskovic, the perspective of the UP "starts from the premise that the repressive strength of fascism is so great that it is extremely difficult to begin rebuilding revolutionary organizations within Chile itself. The result is a perspective of increasingly looking to external forces, rather than to the Chilean people themselves, to bring pressure on the dictatorship to make changes."

This preoccupation, Vuskovic says, "leads to defining the antifascist front very broadly, and trying to build it that way; it leads to trying to draw in and incorporate the Christian Democrats . . . which would be the one thing that would really strengthen their bargaining position with the external forces. Then the UP could say, 'look, we have a real coalition here, we have a broad political pact. If you just help us out we will represent a viable alternative, but you must bring real pressure on the dictatorship.'"

A second result is that the UP puts forward "a very limited political perspective, with very minimum goals, basically

for regaining bourgeois democracy. And any plans to win socialism . . . are put off to another stage and another day."

"There is a third conclusion the UP draws from this," Vuskovic added. "If there is going to be a whole period when the struggle depends on alien forces rather than on the Chileans themselves, then the extent to which we are able to build a revolutionary party is not the decisive question."

Vuskovic correctly judges the UP to be at fault for not attempting to link the Chilean struggle up with other struggles in Latin America—something that must be done to counter the aggressive international stance of U.S. imperialism. He also attacks the UP for its sectarian attitude toward "very advanced elements . . . that call for revolutionary violence" in the struggle to overthrow the Chilean dictatorship.

Vuskovic notes that military dictatorships in colonial and semicolonial countries are a characteristic of the period in which we live:

"The capitalism of the dependent countries has reached the point of exhaustion. It tries to increase its ability to accumulate wealth through superexploitation of the workers. It must try to overcome the destabilizing impact of moves made abroad by surrendering completely before the interests of American imperialism. All this naturally requires a strong regime, a brutally repressive regime."

This crisis of capitalism in the dependent countries makes nonsense of the UP's perspective because, according to Vuskovic, the UP is searching for support from precisely "the external forces that are responsible for this domination. . . ."

Vuskovic points out: "It seems necessary to repeat a very basic truth—that only the Chilean people, the development of the forces of the Chilean people, can provide a way out of this situation."

Criticizing "any political program that is limited to rebuilding bourgeois democracy," Vuskovic comes to a clear conclusion:

" . . . Only an openly and explicitly socialist program and the goal of a socialist future can inspire a struggle as difficult as that the Chilean people must undertake. And for this reason there can be no programmatic concessions for the sake of alliances with the Christian Democracy. . . ."

Comrade Vuskovic's positions undoubt-

edly represent a step forward in clarifying the issues facing the Chilean revolution. His views arise from a crisis in the Chilean SP and from the development of the Coordinadora Nacional de Regionales del Partido Socialista (CNR—National Coordinating Body of SP Regional Committees). In the same interview, Vuskovic explains what the Coordinadora is:

"The CNR arose inside Chile, basically in response to organizational problems—the absence of a party leadership; the exile, disappearance, or death of many of the comrades who had made up the Central Committee of the party. All this created a situation where there was really no leadership within the country."

To deal with this problem, some SP members "began to carry out activity designed to rebuild the party . . . primarily among the ranks of the party. . . . And this led to the creation of the CNR."

The experiences of these militants were different from those of other sectors of the party, with the result, according to Vuskovic, that "the organizational differentiation eventually came to coincide with a political differentiation. This is what caused the crisis inside the party."

A Clarification of "Historical Positions"

Along with raising a series of sharp fundamental criticisms of the UP and of the traditional leadership of the SP, Vuskovic says that the Coordinadora "draws on all the thinking of the SP throughout its history."

It is important to remember that part of the historical heritage of the SP is that it supported the Popular Unity program and participated in the UP government. This program and this government were founded on collaboration between hostile classes, and therefore they did not challenge the continuation of capitalism in Chile.

Suffice it to note, for example, that the UP program called for "strengthening the national character of all branches of the Armed Forces." This position led the UP government to place blind faith in the "patriotic" military forces that ended up carrying out the coup in Chile with imperialism's backing.

Two years after the coup, an editorial in *Resistencia*, an SP organ published clandestinely in Chile, still maintained that in the struggle against the dictatorship "it is important to seek alliances with the lower-level bourgeoisie and with the petty bourgeoisie. . . ." In other words, there was still an insistence that it was possible to make alliances with some sectors of the ruling class: "In the struggle against fascism, we have to build a broad front on the basis of a minimum program, without giving up our socialist strategy."

And how would this broad front be built?

Two years after the coup, the SP was saying that "agitation around a democratic people's program will be the basis for strengthening the proletarian forces in relationship to the rest of the population, and will also be the basis for a tactical alliance with sectors that express themselves through the Christian Democracy [a bourgeois party]."

In the interest of clarity, we must ask Vuskovic and the militants of the CNR to explain some of these questions.

Given their current positions, how do they now evaluate the role played by the SP in forming the UP government?

Despite Threat of Deportation

Undocumented Workers in U.S. Fight for Rights

A *New York Times* article of April 16 describes the new militancy of a section of the working class that has more to gain than most, but also more to lose. It describes a strike by several hundred fruit pickers in Arizona—all of them undocumented Mexican nationals.

The strike was partially successful in correcting some of the inhuman and unsafe conditions in the fields, and the workers were not deported. Mike Hawkins, United States attorney in Phoenix, claimed that it would have been physically impossible to round up and expel all of the strikers, in addition to which, the growers simply "had to have the bodies."

Times reporter John Crewdson says this is only one example of the way undocumented workers "are becoming bolder about demanding some of the benefits and privileges that until now only legal citizenship has conferred."

Another example he cites is the struggle of undocumented workers for their children's right to an education. Eight families without immigration papers have filed suit in Houston against a Texas law that says "illegal" children must pay \$90 a month to attend public school. The parents did this even though they were afraid the Immigration and Naturalization Service would move against them as soon as they identified themselves in public court records.

Other Houston parents have been sending their children to a special school for immigrants without papers, even though, according to the minister who runs the school, "everybody was afraid that the spectacle of 300 children attending the same school each day would prove an irresistible prospect for deportation proceedings."

What is their present-day understanding of the building of a broad front for fighting against the dictatorship?

What is their attitude toward those sections of the Christian Democracy and the Radical Party that are calling for democratization of the capitalist system in Chile?

How far do they think an alliance with these sectors could go, and how would such an alliance work?

The answers to these questions will be key to their ability to take further steps forward in clarifying the tasks facing Chilean revolutionists. □

First Strike—the Pentagon's Secret Strategy

By Robert C. Aldridge

[The following article appeared in the May 1978 issue of the *Progressive*, a monthly magazine published in Madison, Wisconsin.* The author is an aerospace engineer, who worked for sixteen years designing ballistic missiles for Poseidon submarines. He resigned when he became convinced that Trident missiles were intended for first-strike use.]

* * *

Americans have assumed, ever since the holocausts visited on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, that the United States would never again resort to nuclear weapons unless another power—presumably the Soviet Union—were to use them first. In the event of a Soviet first strike, it is further assumed, the United States would unleash a massive retaliatory blow against Soviet cities and industrial areas—vulnerable targets which could be devastated by relatively unsophisticated bombs. This strategy of "deterrence" has been credited with preventing nuclear hostilities for more than three decades.

The Pentagon and its allies, however, have harbored more sinister plans for some time. Early in 1974, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger admitted that nuclear weapons have not merely been aimed at Soviet cities and industrial targets. In fact, Schlesinger conceded, only a small fraction of the more than 25,000 objectives in the U.S. strategic targeting plan are of the type against which one would retaliate; the majority are military sites, such as bomber bases and missile silos. The strategy of targeting such military installations is called *counterforce*, and it has nothing to do with deterrence. Its purpose is not to achieve a nuclear stalemate of "balance of terror," but to prepare for launching a surprise attack by the United States. Whichever superpower prepares for counterforce *must* strike first, or its bombs will fall on empty missile silos.

Concealment of this first-strike strategy may be the greatest hoax ever perpetrated against the American people. A program of deliberate deception was articulated as long ago as the mid-1950s by Paul Nitze, then deputy secretary of defense and now a prominent figure in the ultramilitarist Committee on the Present Danger. Nitze said there are two ways to understand the term "policy"—first as the actual "guidelines which will in fact govern our actions," and second as the "policy statements" offered to the public for "political and psychological effects." In accord with that program, the American people have been told that the United States merely seeks "stable deterrence," but the Pentagon's actual strategy is to find a means of mounting a first strike that will win a strategic nuclear war. The deterrence aspect is constantly emphasized in official rhetoric. The first-strike concept is only hinted at from time to time, but it pervades the Pentagon's strategic planning.

In June 1962, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara offered the first public confirmation of the existence of a counterforce policy. The "principal military objective" of the United States in the event of nuclear war, he declared, "should be the destruction of the enemy's military forces, not his civilian population." That statement introduced the concept of *damage limitation*, a

tranquilizing term for counterforce. McNamara's formulation sounded humane—our initial targets, after all, would not be people and cities but silos and bases, and the damage to American cities would, in turn, be limited—but in reality it was terrifying because it brought the prospect of a nuclear war much closer.

Counterforce was given new momentum in 1974, when Secretary Schlesinger proclaimed the doctrine of "restrained" counterforce. The scenario he projected ran this way: The United States would respond to a small Soviet attack of one or two missiles by a restrained—limited—attack against Soviet silos and bases, and they, too, would be expected to target silos and bases rather than cities. Under this peculiar doctrine of self-imposed restraint, Schlesinger and President Nixon were able to persuade Congress to authorize funds to improve the accuracy of strategic weapons—funds the administration had unsuccessfully sought for five years. Extremely accurate weapons are not needed to "kill" a city, but they are essential if the aim is to "kill" a heavily encased concrete-and-steel silo. Therefore, the drive to attain accuracy in U.S. weapons systems is, in essence, a drive to prepare for a knockout first strike.

In 1977, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld disclosed the full potential of damage limitation: "The most ambitious strategy," he said, "dictates a first-strike capability against the enemy's offensive forces which seeks to destroy as much of his megatonnage as possible before it can be brought into play. An enemy's residual retaliation, assumed to be directed against urban-industrial targets, would be blunted still further by a combination of active and passive defenses, including ASW [anti-submarine warfare], ABMs [antiballistic missiles], anti-bomber defense, civil defense, stockpiles of food and other essentials, and even the dispersal and hardening of essential industry." In those two sentences, Rumsfeld summed up the scenario for a preemptive first strike.

The first requirement, as Rumsfeld indicated, is a U.S. missile force precise enough to destroy all of Russia's land-based military targets. It is the most important aspect because about three-quarters of the Soviet Union's nuclear warheads are deployed on intercontinental ballistic missiles in silos. (The United States keeps more than half of its deliverable strategic warheads on nuclear submarines.) Pentagon efforts since the late 1960s have, therefore, focused on more sophisticated and more accurate weapons capable of quick destruction of the Soviet land-based forces.

Beginning about a decade ago, intensive efforts were mounted to enhance the accuracy of U.S. strategic weapons and equip them with first-strike capability. In 1968, development began on the Underwater Long-Range Missile System, later known as Trident. The B-1 bomber soon followed, and the mobile Missile-X was officially begun in 1972. Also started in 1972 was the sea-launched cruise missile, and the air-launched version followed in 1973.

Trident is the Navy's new ballistic missile, to be launched by a fleet of Trident nuclear submarines, each carrying twenty-four missiles. At a weight of 18,700 tons, the Trident submarine is heavier than the fleet's new strike cruiser, and its 560-foot length is almost two football fields placed end to end. Two generations of Trident missiles are planned, and they embody the system's first-strike potential. Trident-1, an interim weapon, will travel 4,000 nautical miles with a full load of eight 100-kiloton bombs, each equal to seven of the bombs that devastated Hiroshima. Trident-2, scheduled to be operational by the mid-1980s, will be almost twice

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AVTH



'Great news! We've inflicted unacceptable damage on the other side.'

Auth in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

as big and will fly 6,000 nautical miles with a full load of bombs. And the Pentagon is developing a warhead that can sense its target and correct course as it reenters the Earth's atmosphere. These maneuvering reentry vehicles, or MARVs, would explode within thirty yards of a target—a degree of accuracy required for a first strike against military objectives, *not* for retaliation against cities. Seventeen MARVs will fit on a Trident-2 missile, and each can be sent to a different destination.

The planned successor to silo-based ICBMs is Missile-X, sometimes called MX, a large, mobile intercontinental weapon that will be shuttled from one shelter to another, or from one end of a tunnel to another, to make it difficult to trace or target. The first-strike potential of Missile-X lies in its mobility, which opens the door to missiles larger than can be accommodated in a silo. MX will be more than twice the size of present Minuteman ICBMs, and will be able to carry twenty MARVs with the zero-miss accuracy needed to destroy hard targets over intercontinental range.

Although the B-1 bomber has been canceled, small long-range cruise missiles will more than fill the gap. They can be launched from airplanes, trucks, surface ships, and the torpedo tubes of submerged submarines. They can avoid obstacles while flying at treetop height, making them virtually undetectable by radar. All long-range cruise missiles will carry a 200-kiloton hydrogen bomb.

If the B-1 is indeed dead, it will not die easily, and the Air Force still cherishes the concept of a penetrating bomber. One possibility under study involves stretching the FB-111A medium bombers and equipping them with B-1 engines. There are also programs to modify B-52 heavy bombers so they can penetrate enemy defenses at low altitudes, and the idea of an advanced

penetrating bomber called B-X has lately been discussed in Washington. The Air Force is also interested in the supposedly *civilian* hydrogen-powered hypersonic transport that Lockheed is studying for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. This 4,000-mile-per-hour aircraft could turn out to be the next generation of strategic bombers. Together with Trident, Missile-X, and cruise missiles, it could give the Pentagon the power to destroy all Soviet land-based military targets with a preemptive first strike.

If a nuclear strike on the Soviet Union is to go unanswered, it must be accompanied by simultaneous destruction of all Soviet missile-launching submarines. That is the function of anti-submarine warfare. Today's ASW weapons, with their computerized automation, are increasingly efficient. They consist of various types of homing torpedoes that can be launched from submarines, surface ships, or aircraft, as well as nuclear depth bombs that can be dropped from aircraft or delivered by rockets launched from submarines and surface ships. This family of weapons also includes "smart" mines that will only attack hostile submarines and can be put in place by aircraft, surface ships, or submarines. All of these weapons are undergoing constant improvement.

To be able to destroy all hostile submarines simultaneously, the United States must have the capacity to locate and track them anywhere in the ocean. Sound, which travels for thousands of miles through water, has always been the most effective method of underwater detection, but it bounces off the ocean bottom and the warmer layers of water near the surface, and it bends as it travels. This causes the sound to scatter into multiple paths and zig-zag patterns. Furthermore, storms, volcanoes, sea creatures, and increasing ocean traffic all add to the clamor of the deep. The

backbone of the Navy's ocean-wide sensing system is SOSUS (Sound Surveillance System), a network of underwater sound receivers placed on the continental shelves around the world.

SOSUS can now track every submarine in the ocean when conditions are favorable, but often they are not. Therefore, the Defense Department is developing a computer simulation that predicts natural background sounds and allows them to be canceled out. What remains is then compared to known sonic signatures of ships and submarines, which are stored in the computer's memory. In this manner, hostile submarines can be isolated and tracked.

Ocean floor contours and coastlines are relatively easy to plug into the computer program because they are known and remain constant. Sea conditions and water temperatures are another matter, and keeping track of these constantly changing data is the present challenge. But the United States is now developing a new ocean dynamics satellite called Seasat that will do the job. The first Seasat is scheduled for launch in May of this year, and it will be followed by other devices which will make it possible to pinpoint hostile submarines within ten miles. Anti-submarine aircraft then could be put on the enemy submarine's tail to wait for the kill at the appropriate signal.

Once ASW is perfected and deployed, a disarming first strike will be on the agenda.

Another essential for a first-strike arsenal is defense against incoming bombers. Secretary Schlesinger deemphasized this aspect of strategy, but in 1976 the Air Force announced a new \$2.5-billion program to modernize its antibomber system. The fiscal 1978 budget requested a \$30 million down payment on a six-year plan to purchase 170 new fighter planes to replace the twenty-year-old antibomber interceptors. Air Force officials acknowledged that this represented a subtle shift in Defense Department thinking.

Bomber warning systems are also undergoing modernization. Distant-early-warning radars in the North are being updated for greater precision and automation. Over-the-horizon radars are being installed to detect bombers when they are still 1,000 miles at sea. And the airborne radar planes operating in the gaps between Greenland, Iceland, and Great Britain will soon be replaced with the latest airborne warning aircraft.

Radar is the key to bomber warning, but it is susceptible to jamming and destruction by antiradiation missiles. To overcome this weakness, a passive infrared sensor, code-named Teal Ruby, is being developed. It will be installed in a satellite synchronized with the earth's rotation, so that it will seem to hover over one point on the equator. This is the forerunner of a new system to detect bombers from space.

Defense against "residual retaliation" from surviving Soviet ballistic missiles is also important in planning a first strike. Improvements in bomber defense make no sense unless they are accompanied by defense against missiles. The Ballistic Missile Early Warning System in the North and the submarine-launched ballistic missile detection radars on each coast are being made more sensitive and more automatic. The powerful anti-ballistic-missile radar at the now defunct North Dakota ABM site has been turned over to the Air Force for early warning. And to supplement the three existing early warning satellites, the Pentagon is putting infrared sensors on navigation spacecraft.

These improvements are only interim measures until a new satellite-borne infrared sensor can be developed. It will be similar to Teal Ruby, but larger and tuned to the infrared frequency to track ballistic missiles.

But this intricate warning network will be useless unless a way is found to shoot down the missiles once they are discovered. The Army's Ballistic Missile Defense Program has two projects that seem relevant. One is called Homing Interceptor Technology (HIT), a non-nuclear, non-explosive warhead carried into space by rocket and then guided by an infrared sensor to the approaching missile. The HIT warhead disables the missile by scattering a cloud of metal pellets in its path.

The other project is the high-energy killer laser, expected to be ready for testing from a satellite by 1982. The unique qualities of a killer laser can be most effectively used in space to concentrate extreme amounts of energy over vast distances with the speed of light. Killer lasers and HIT warheads could effectively cripple any Russian missiles that might survive a U.S. preemptive first strike.

Satellites have emerged as the main link in the communications network that is the nerve system of modern war. They also provide surveillance, navigation, early warning, weather information, and a host of other functions to support military operations. Space warfare, aimed at destroying Soviet early warning and communications satellites, also holds an important place in first-strike strategy.

Tracking hostile satellites is the first step in satellite warfare. The United States now has a space tracking system composed of powerful phased-array radars and smaller radars spread around the globe. It also has many special telescopic cameras for precise determination of a satellite's orbital characteristics. But massive improvements are planned. In the near term, the ground-based electro-optical deep-space surveillance system will use infrared detectors in a telescope. Ultimately, however, this system will be moved into space, where distortion from the atmosphere will be eliminated and foreign basing will not be required.

Tracking hostile satellites presupposes a capability to shoot them down. Contrary to media reports, it is the United States, not the Soviet Union, that is leading the way in antisatellite weapons. However, in 1962 the Pentagon lowered a news blackout on military spacecraft, so the U.S. programs have received little public attention.

In 1961 and 1962, Project Blackeye investigated the methods of blinding satellites and destroying them by spreading a cloud of metal pellets in their path. In 1963, Director of Defense Research and Engineering Harold Brown (now secretary of defense) alluded to satellite intercept programs—probably a reference to direct-ascent interceptors fired at spacecraft from the Earth. In May 1963, the army prepared antisatellite tests with its Nike Zeus anti-ballistic-missile interceptors. In 1964 the navy was developing a modified submarine-launched Polaris missile, called Early Spring, which would place a screen of metal pellets in a satellite's path, and in the same year the air force tested special Thor missiles against satellites. This led to an operational system, armed with nuclear warheads, on Johnston Island in the Pacific. It was active until 1975, when the Air Force again introduced a small HIT interceptor that would seek its target and deploy a large metallic net to collide with a satellite. Last November, the air force awarded a \$58.7 million contract to Vaught Corporation to develop a ground-launched antisatellite system that would destroy spacecraft with collision energy. Flight tests are scheduled for 1980, with an operational system to be introduced in 1982.

Killer lasers, of course, are also important to antisatellite warfare. Space-borne high-energy lasers in high orbit would be just as effective in purging the sky of hostile satellites as they are in eliminating enemy missiles. President Carter confirmed last November that the United States is developing a laser beam to destroy satellites.

All of these weapons systems required to launch a "disarming" first strike should be in place by the mid-1980s. It is utter folly to rest our future on the hope that once the Pentagon has these weapons ready for use, it will resist the temptation to use them in a first strike. Furthermore, all of our past experience indicates that when the United States achieves a new military capability, the Soviet Union seeks to match it. With both superpowers at a standoff in first-strike weaponry, the slightest spark could trigger nuclear cremation.

We may already be beyond the point of no return, or there may still be hope. But any hope depends on an informed public motivated to put the brakes to this deadly momentum. At present we are moving rapidly toward the outbreak of World War III, and it could very well be the war to end all wars, all peace, and all human life on this planet. □



Demonstration of 600 at Columbia University in New York May 1.

Rich Robohm/Militant

Students Protest American Investment in South Africa

Newsweek magazine calls it "the hottest issue on U.S. campuses since the Vietnam war." In April and early May, thousands of American students demonstrated against their own colleges and universities' complicity with South African apartheid.

The recent wave of protests began March 18 when more than 4,000 persons rallied in Nashville, Tennessee, against Vanderbilt University's sponsorship of the Davis Cup tennis matches between the United States and South Africa. Vanderbilt, like many other U.S. colleges, has millions of dollars invested in companies doing business in South Africa. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton—all of which have seen student protests on the issue—have more than \$100 million each invested in companies with South African subsidiaries.

The most common demand of the protesting students has been for full divestment—that is, the immediate sale of all stock in banks that loan money to the apartheid government and in companies that profit from the superexploitation of Blacks in South Africa. The universities have offered various excuses for not getting rid of their profitable stock. They argue that U.S. corporations can represent a "force for change" in racist South Africa, or that pulling out will only make things worse for Blacks. As William Coblenz, chairman of the University of California regents has said, "In South Africa, multinational companies are essential to blacks and the black economy."

U.S. corporations have \$1.7 billion invested in South Africa, and U.S. banks

have loaned South African companies and the Vorster government \$2.2 billion. It is clear that what these billions are propping up is the racist regime itself and not Black rights or Coblenz's mythical "Black economy."

The largest actions have taken place at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. More than 1,000 students demonstrated there April 24, as coordinated actions took place on campuses throughout the Northeastern United States. The administration's response was typical: to propose a case-by-case analysis of the various companies partially owned by Harvard, to see if any of them should be requested to leave South Africa. The answer to this do-nothing approach was a rally of 3,500 Harvard students April 27.

At Columbia University in New York City, 350 antiapartheid students rallied April 20 and 600 demonstrated May 1.

When Vice-president Walter Mondale gave the commencement speech at the University of Michigan April 29, students raised signs demanding that the U.S. get out of South Africa. Mondale got into a shouting match with the antiapartheid students, rejecting what he called "reckless interventionism" but demagogically insisting that the U.S. "can make it clear that we are on the side of human freedom and majority rule, even when that challenges powerful economic and political interests."

The Young Socialist Alliance issued a statement April 26 hailing the growing campus movement against complicity with apartheid. "Divestment is not simply a symbolic gesture," the YSA said. "Ameri-

can universities have sunk hundreds of millions of dollars into companies that profit from the brutal exploitation of South Africa's Black majority.

"In doing so, these universities are complicit in upholding the apartheid system. They are complicit with Washington and U.S. corporations in providing vital financial backing to a system that denies all human rights to 22 million Blacks." □

Israel to Stop Selling Arms to South Africa?

The Israeli Foreign Ministry, in a letter to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, claimed that it would no longer sell arms to South Africa, in compliance with a UN resolution adopted last November placing an arms embargo on the apartheid regime. The letter was announced April 15.

Although Israel had refused to disclose the extent of its military deals with the white racist regime, it was reported to have sold a wide range of weapons from missile boats to antiguerrilla electronic fences.

Even if the Zionist state sticks to its pledge, the move will not affect the expanding trade and investment ties between the two colonial-settler states.

The April 1 Johannesburg *Star* reported, for instance, that "industrial ties between Israel and South Africa have perked up considerably recently." Among the recent deals are South Africa investments in a textile plant to be set up in Israel and in the Iskoor steel plant in Kiryat Gat, south of Tel Aviv, which will process 50,000 tons of steel a year.

Stormy Debate at Indian CP Congresses

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—The leaderships of the two main Stalinist parties of India—the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI(M))—have been put on the defensive by their rank-and-file members. This was reflected at both parties' recent congresses, where delegates raised criticisms of aspects of their policies of class collaboration with the Indian bourgeoisie.

The CPI(M), which is now the strongest Stalinist party in India, held its Tenth Congress April 2-7 in Jullundur, in the state of Punjab. The CPI held its Eleventh Congress March 31 to April 7 in Bhatinda, also in the Punjab.

While the CPI(M) leadership sought approval for its support to Prime Minister Moraji Desai's Janata Party, the CPI leadership engaged in an "agonising" reappraisal of its "mistake" in backing former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's state of emergency.

Rumbling in CPI(M)

The CPI(M) leadership has found itself in an uncomfortable position. They are trying to sell a policy of class collaboration with the Janata Party to a reluctant rank and file at the very time when the Janata Party's authoritarian aims are becoming clearer and when popular disenchantment with it is growing.

In its political thesis presented to the party congress, the CPI(M) tops still adhere to the idea of supporting the Janata Party, though they try to camouflage this class collaboration and opportunism under the label of "critical" support.

But the CPI(M) leadership's non-Marxist characterization of the Janata Party as a "saviour of democracy" and a "bastion of anti-authoritarianism" did not go unchallenged. They came under heavy pressure from the delegates to adopt a harder line towards the Janata Party.

Ironically, the criticisms on this issue were spearheaded by former CPI(M) General Secretary P. Sundarayya, who had been the main architect of this very same policy but who had been unceremoniously "removed" from his post. He submitted a note of dissent.

Some of the delegates at the congress argued that even though the party's support to the Janata Party was limited, the CPI(M) might repeat the mistake made by the CPI, which had aligned itself with Gandhi's Congress Party. Delegates from the states where the CPI(M) is the weakest

were the most vociferous in their denunciations of the Janata Party. Those from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar wanted the party to have no dealings with the Janata Party regime whatsoever.

The Stalinist misleaders were hard put to justify their position in face of such vigorous opposition.

B.T. Ranadive, a leading ideologue of the CPI(M) and well-known for his advocacy of an "armed struggle" line during the 1948 Telangana peasant struggles, introduced the leadership's draft political resolution to the congress. He took great pains to explain that the CPI(M)'s support to the Janata Party was not uncritical. He stressed several passages in the draft that were critical. Of course, he did not point out that these criticisms were circumscribed by overall backing to the Janata Party.

General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad, another leading "theoretician," argued that no bourgeois party stood for democracy all the time, and that while contending for power they kept changing their positions. He even went so far as to visualize a day when Gandhi herself might defend democracy in face of a repressive onslaught by the Janata Party.

In fact, in an interview in the March 27 *Times of India*, Namboodiripad declared that the CPI(M) would be prepared to make common cause with the Congress Party to rid the Janata Party of its RSS influence.¹

According to Namboodiripad, commitment to democracy is the only factor that distinguishes the Janata Party from the Congress, even though most of the Janata leaders formerly belonged to the Congress.

This line of defensive formulations for its class-collaborationist policies marks a shift in the CPI(M)'s earlier stand on the Janata Party. But once again the leadership offers no real alternative, conceding instead the possibility of backing Gandhi's Congress. It does not put forward an independent proletarian perspective of defending democratic and trade-union rights through such methods of struggle as strikes, pickets, occupations, and mass demonstrations.

The delegates reportedly also had no

1. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (National Protection Union), a Hindu chauvinist paramilitary organization affiliated to the Jan Sangh. The Jan Sangh is now a component of the Janata Party.—IP/I

such alternative Marxist perspective to offer. They simply wanted the leadership to adopt a tougher stance toward the Janata Party.

Demonstrations in West Bengal

There have been other signs of the rank-and-file discontent with the CPI(M) leadership as well. Correspondent Ajay Singh commented in the April 1-16 issue of the New Delhi *India Today* that there was a contradiction between the "mellowing militancy" of the CPI(M) leaders and "the militant aspirations of its rank and file."

He reported that in the middle of March, about 5,000 CPI(M) supporters demonstrated outside the Narayanganj police station in Midnapore District of West Bengal to demand that warrants of arrest against party members not be executed. West Bengal is now ruled by a popular-front regime in which the CPI(M) is the dominant component. Singh reported that ever since the popular-front ministry took power, there have been sporadic demonstrations.

Singh quoted a twenty-nine-year-old former student activist of the CPI(M), Shudipto Sanyal, as representative of the party cadres' disillusionment with the leadership. Sanyal said, "They [the party leaders] have turned into another bourgeois political gang, fooling the people. They say they cannot do much because all powers lie with the centre [the federal government in New Delhi]. They claim to be negotiating with it for greater autonomy. When they get to power in Delhi they will tell the people to wait till they negotiate for more autonomy from Washington and Moscow."

New Foreign Allies?

Since 1964, when the CPI(M) split from the CPI over the Sino-Soviet dispute and the India-China border conflict, it has maintained its distance from the main bastions of world Stalinism, Moscow and Peking (except for an initial period when it leaned toward Peking). The pro-Moscow CPI enjoyed an unbroken monopoly of patronage from the Soviet bureaucracy, while the Chinese Stalinists intermittently favored the Naxalite movement.²

But there are now some signs of rethinking in the CPI(M) leadership.

In his interview in the *Times of India*, Namboodiripad denied receiving any feelers from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, repeating earlier criticisms. "While the Soviet Union was a great socialist country," he said, "the CPM was opposed to its attitude to the ruling classes in countries friendly to it. The government

2. Naxalites is a common term for members of the Maoist Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), many of whom split from the CPI(M) in the late 1960s.—IP/I

of the Soviet Union should be friendly with the government of India but it has no business to denounce the opposition as it did during Gandhi's regime."

Namboodiripad also chided Peking for conducting its diplomatic relations from the narrow standpoint of its own national interests: "Till the break with India came over the issue of Tibet, it had adopted the same attitude towards the ruling class of India as that of the Soviet Union. It has also supported Yahya Khan in Pakistan."

During an April 3 news conference, however, Namboodiripad noted that some foreign CPs that had previously denounced the CPI(M) were now having second thoughts and recognize it as the major Communist party in India. "But," he commented, "they should be prepared to take us as we are. We are an independent party and we are not prepared to mortgage our minds."

Despite these criticisms, there are a number of pertinent questions that the CPI(M) leaders avoid asking: Why do foreign CPs slavishly follow the diplomatic directives of Moscow or Peking? Is it internationalism? If so, is it revolutionary proletarian internationalism? The CPI(M) makes no comment on such practices, nor does it bother to recall the situation during Lenin's time.

The reason for this is the CPI(M)'s own Stalinist lineage and heritage. It thinks that the Soviet Union is already a socialist society, despite some inexplicable revisionist deviations. Obviously the CPI(M) is not prepared to undertake an objective inquiry into the root causes of Soviet and Chinese revisionism. That would lead to questioning all its present ideological and political postulates about India itself and its own existence as a Stalinist party.

CPI Hair-Splitting

As the CPI prepared to assemble for the congress at Bhatinda on March 31, the party faced a crisis of confidence. The National Council Review Report, which was to be presented to the congress, cited a number of "mistakes" that had been committed since 1974, including the party's uncritical support to Gandhi's state of emergency. This "self-criticism" had generated an intense intraparty conflict and a hair-splitting debate.

The state conference of the CPI in Maharashtra (Chairman S.A. Dange's home state) March 23-24 gave a prelude of things to come at the congress itself.

There was a sharp division among the delegates. Those from the sugar belt (a rich farming area) backed Dange's "thoughts," that is, his line of support to Gandhi's emergency. The rest of the delegates criticized the CPI's alignment with Gandhi's Congress Party.

In a dispatch from Bombay, the *Times of India* reported that as the tensions

mounted, Dange hurriedly convened a state Executive Committee meeting to review the situation. As a result, both Dange's "thoughts" and the National Council draft were withdrawn and a compromise resolution was adopted.

The general thrust of this resolution was that the National Council draft had dwelt too much on the emergency. Dange, who moved the resolution, was quoted as saying, "We may have made mistakes in the past, let us forget it at that."

The *Times of India* reported March 16, before the state conference, that Dange had disputed all the major formulations in the National Council draft report. He stated, however, that the CPI's mistake began when it failed to end its support to the Congress regime when "anti-people" moves were made by the finance, commerce, and home ministers. But even Dange's ardent supporters were reported to have been taken aback by this oversimplification, that all the "anti-people" measures under the Gandhi regime were carried out by three ministers.

In any case, five state units of the CPI put their disagreement with the National Council report on record. This made the position of Rajeshwar Rao and Bhupesh Gupta, the chief representatives of the new "self-critical" line, precarious.

It was in this context that the "soul-searching" Eleventh Congress of the CPI began.

The delegates took the leadership to task for not demanding the lifting of the state of emergency earlier than it did and for hesitating to confront the regime over the "excesses" of the emergency period.

Three streams of thought crystallised during the debate. One contended that the state of emergency should not have been supported at all. Another said that the declaration of the emergency was justified in the specific circumstances of time, but that support should not have been continued once the "misdeeds" had become obvious. The third claimed that the developments have been too recent to warrant a full judgement.

Amendments by the Bushel

There was a spate of proposed amendments to the National Council Review Report. According to the April 9 issue of *New Age*, the CPI organ, the report itself was adopted with none opposing, but with 111 of the 1,122 delegates abstaining.

The voting patterns on the various amendments provide an interesting insight into the current debate within the CPI.

The first amendment declared that the party's initial support to the state of emergency was unavoidable. It was rejected by 712 votes to 403, with 7 abstentions. This meant that Dange's line was voted down.

Another amendment sought to reject the

contention in the National Council report that the party had followed a correct policy until the end of 1974. The amendment aimed to change this to state that the line followed since 1969 (when the CPI hailed Gandhi's splitting of the old Congress Party) contained the seeds of the subsequent errors. This was voted down by 774 to 232, signifying that the bulk of the delegates approved of the policy of class collaboration with Gandhi from 1969 to the time of the emergency.

One amendment that was passed by an overwhelming majority said that the party should have demanded the resignation of Gandhi after the verdict of the Allahabad High Court against her.³ This completely undermines the CPI's justification for backing Gandhi on the grounds that she was fighting "right reaction." It also leads the CPI into a mire of self-contradictory positions on this period.

An even more important amendment, moved by Achutha Menon, the former chief minister of Kerala in a popular-front ministry, said that "right reaction" could best be fought by political methods, especially by a united mobilization of the "democratic" forces, and not by administrative means through the state of emergency, which in reality helped reaction. This was accepted by 697 votes to 183.

This is significant, since it marks a belated admission by the CPI that Gandhi's emergency actually strengthened reaction and a recognition that reaction can best be fought politically. However, the methods for doing so are still not proletarian ones, since the main stress is on mobilization of multiclass "democratic" forces.

Finally, another amendment passed by an overwhelming majority said that the CPI members in Parliament should have voted against the repressive 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act, which sought to legitimize Gandhi's dictatorial rule. The original formulation in the National Council draft had stated that the CPI members should have abstained from voting.

The draft, as amended, was then given to an editing commission to finalize before it was submitted to the new National Council for approval.

This whole "self-critical" exercise revealed the total bankruptcy of the CPI's former strategy of class collaboration with Gandhi's Congress Party. The party has not given up its class-collaborationist approach, of course. But for the moment it has been left in the lurch, unsure of which wing of the Indian bourgeoisie to tie its cart to. □

3. On June 11, 1975, the High Court in Allahabad found Gandhi guilty of corrupt practices in the 1971 elections and declared her election to Parliament invalid. The verdict was a factor in her decision two weeks later to declare the state of emergency.--IP/I

The Offensive Against Workers Rights in Sri Lanka

The reactionary government of Sri Lanka, which won an overwhelming parliamentary majority in the last legislative elections, has unleashed a broad offensive against the most basic trade-union rights. Just two weeks after the July 1977 elections, it published a declaration outlining its intention to "restructure" the existing union movement and place all unions under state control.¹

This offensive is part of a broader plan to open up the Ceylonese economy to imperialists interests, especially through the medium of "free-trade zones" on the island, on the model of those in South Korea, Singapore, and other Asian countries. It also involves efforts to establish a repressive and authoritarian regime (a new constitution providing for a presidential system has already been imposed on the country). "Reviving the Ceylonese economy" by cracking down on the workers and reducing them to bare subsistence is the overall orientation of the UNP government.²

Four ministers were assigned to draft legislation for this purpose. The results of their efforts, in which they were assisted by various advisers, were spelled out in a "white paper" published by the Labour Ministry in January 1978.

Included in the "white paper" are provisions that, in effect, abolish the right to strike and give employers the right to lay off workers as they see fit. These provisions are backed up by coercive measures against individuals, groups of workers, and unions that resist them. The measures include automatic dismissals, fines, and even prison sentences.

The union movement in Sri Lanka, which encompasses more than 1.5 million workers, responded to this offensive by forming a united front of sixteen organizations, bringing together all the important unions with the exception of those controlled by the UNP. Revolutionary Marxists played a role in the establishment of this united front, through the leading positions they occupy in the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU, a union of commercial employees).

It must be added that the antiunion offensive has been extended recently by a drive against students and by the closing

down of one of the main universities in the country.

On March 10, 1978, thirteen of the sixteen unions represented within the united front published a joint declaration rejecting and denouncing the "white paper" for its antiunion character. For about two weeks, massive trade-union picket lines have been held in numerous places to demonstrate in favor of the declaration.

These actions mark the first united and militant workers demonstrations since the disastrous participation of the LSSP³ and the Communist Party in a coalition government with the bourgeois SLFP⁴ crushed the powerful spirit of unity of the Ceylonese working class of the 1960s.

It is vital that international solidarity be organized with the struggle of the Sri Lankan union movement to defend their basic rights and freedoms. Already, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) has issued a statement in the name of its 4.7 million members against the government's "white paper." And in October 1977 the International Union of

3. Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Equal Society Party), an ex-Trotskyist party.

4. Sri Lanka Freedom Party, removed from office by the July 1977 elections.

Food and Allied Workers Associations, representing 2.2 million unionists in sixty-one countries, published a similar protest and called on its affiliated unions to do likewise.

In Britain, the Institute for Workers Control has expressed its opposition to the antiunion policy of the Sri Lankan government and is organizing solidarity activities with the Ceylonese unionists.

We are publishing below two of the key documents of this struggle in Sri Lanka: the joint trade-union declaration on the "white paper" and the text of a resolution adopted by a general assembly of the CMU that drew more than 3,000 persons to an open-air meeting in Colombo March 12, despite a pouring rain.

The joint trade-union statement explains in detail the pernicious character of the UNP's proposals. The resolution of the CMU authorizes the union leadership to take all necessary measures to organize resistance to these policies "by all possible means, including a general strike."

We appeal to our readers to distribute these two documents within the international workers movement and to organize a massive movement of international solidarity with our working-class brothers and sisters in Sri Lanka who are fighting to defend their elementary union rights.

Joint Trade-Union Statement

The undermentioned trade union organizations have considered the draft law prepared by a Cabinet sub-committee and published as the White Paper on Employment Relations by the Ministry of Labour on 31 January 1978, and we completely reject it.

We are unanimously of the view that apart from its other objectionable features, the draft law is designed:

1. To suppress the fundamental right to strike of employees in Sri Lanka

a. by making any strike illegal in any service that the President may declare to be an "essential service," at any time before or after the commencement of a strike in that service, merely by an order published in the Gazette, and;

b. by laying down a compulsory procedure for the disposal of industrial disputes in all undertakings in which so-called Employees Councils may be established under orders of the Minister of Labour, and by making it illegal for employees to

strike at any of the various stages of that procedure or after their final disposal, irrespective of whatever opposition the employees may have with regard to the manner of such disposal or to any delays in that regard or as to the final disposal of such disputes, whether by settlement between so-called Employees Councils and the employers or by the so-called Conciliation Committees that are to be set up, and;

c. by making it illegal for employees to strike in any undertaking after an industrial dispute in that undertaking may be referred by the Minister of Labour to an Arbitrator Industrial Court, or Labour Tribunal even without the consent of the employees, or with a view to procuring the alteration of any of the terms and conditions of any collective agreement or settlement, or of any Order of a Labour Tribunal or Award of an Arbitrator or Industrial Court, under the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act, and;

1. See *Inprecor*, September 15, September 29, and November 24, 1977, and *Intercontinental Press*, October 17, and November 7, 1977.

2. United National Party, the conservative party that won the July 21, 1977, elections.

d. by making it illegal for employees to strike for any reason unless written notice of the intention to commence the strike has been given by them or their trade unions to the employers not less than 21 days before the date of commencement of the strike and not more than 30 days from that date, and;

e. by making every employee who participates in or aids or abets any strike that may be made illegal by any of these devices abovementioned liable to automatic dismissal on the basis of being deemed to have vacated employment thereby, and by also making every such employee and officer of a trade union that conducts or abets such a strike liable to prosecution and punishment by imprisonment and/or a fine, on that account, and;

2. To deprive employees in Sri Lanka of the right to deal or bargain collectively with employers through their trade unions, in all undertakings that may be specified by the Ministry of Labour for the establishment of the fake Employees Councils mentioned above, over which the employees will have no control, and;

3. To empower an employer to get rid of any employee, irrespective of length of service, by termination of employment, without giving any reason for so doing and without any right of redress for the employee whatsoever, in order to victimise the employee or for any other reason, merely by payment of the limited compensation prescribed for such termination, and;

4. To deprive employees of their existing legal rights to receive relief or redress, including reinstatement, in respect of an unjust termination of employment, by making the decision of an employer to terminate the employment of an employee on the findings of a so-called domestic inquiry instituted by the employer unchallengeable before a Labour Tribunal or Arbitrator appointed under the Industrial Disputes Act, on the ground that the employer's decision is unjust, and;

5. To empower employers to punish by termination of employment or otherwise all or only certain selected employees for participation in a partial cessation or reduction in the "normal performance" of work in any undertaking, in combination with or on a common understanding with each other, by making any such concerted action by the employees unlawful in any circumstances.

In the circumstances, we declare that the real purpose of the draft law is to prevent the workers of Sri Lanka from exercising their fundamental rights as workers, and to deprive them of any security of employment, in order to enable their more ruthless exploitation in the interests of foreign and local capital.

We further declare that we shall unitedly oppose any suppression or restriction of the existing rights of workers in Sri Lanka, including the right:

1. To bargain collectively or to enter into collective agreements with individual employers or groups of employers.

2. To strike or to take any other form of collective action in pursuance of their interests, as they may deem fit.

3. To engage in trade union activity, including picketing and participation in meetings involving stoppages of work.

4. To have recourse to Labour Tribunals and Arbitrators for redress, including reinstatement, against unjust termination of employment.

A. T. Navaratne, president, Ceylon Bank Employees' Union; Batty Weerakoon, general secretary, Ceylon Federation of Labour; L. W. Panditha, general secretary, Ceylon Federation of

Trade Unions; P. B. Tampoe, general secretary, Ceylon Mercantile Union; N. Sanmugathan, general secretary, Ceylon Trade Union Federation; H. N. Fernando, president, Ceylon Teachers' Union; G. E. H. Perera, president, Government Workers' Trade Union Federation; J. A. K. Perera, president, Public Service Trade Union Federation; H. M. Wilbert, president, Samastha Lanka Rajaya Lipikara Sangamaya; T. U. de Silva, assistant secretary, Sri Lanka Government Workers' Trade Union Federation; Alavi Mowlana, joint secretary, Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation; Gunaratne Banda, general secretary, Sri Lanka Jathika Guru Sangamaya; H. Ratnapala, assistant secretary, Technical Services Trade Union Federation.

Colombo, March 10, 1978

Statement of the CMU

[The following resolution was adopted unanimously March 1, 1978, at a general membership meeting of the Ceylon Mercantile Union.]

* * *

This General Membership Meeting of the Ceylon Mercantile Union held at Hyde Park, Colombo, on 1 March 1978:

Endorses the decision of the General Council of the Union of 15 February 1978, denouncing the draft law prepared by a Cabinet Sub-Committee and published as a White Paper on Employment Relations by the Ministry of Labour on 31 January 1978, as it is designed to put an end to the right of workers to negotiate and to enter into collective agreements with employers or to strike or to take other forms of collective action through trade unions or

otherwise, and to place the workers completely under the dictatorship of employers, in the interests of local and foreign capital;

Confirms the decision of the General Council:

- to oppose the implementation of the anti-working-class proposals contained in the White Paper by all possible means, including a general strike, and

- to combine with other sections of the working class who may be ready to struggle likewise, as well as

- to call upon international organisations of the working class and organisations of workers in other countries for their support; and

Resolves that the General Council and the Executive Committee of the Union take all necessary action accordingly. □

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G. M. Cookson/Socialist Challenge

Part of turnout of 80,000 at antiracist rally held in Trafalgar Square April 30.

London Antiracist Carnival a Big Success

Tens of thousands turned out for an antiracist, antifascist "carnival" in London April 30. The colorful and high-spirited event consisted of a march and rally, followed by a rock concert.

Marchers carried banners from NUPE, the public employees union; NALGO, a union representing local government workers; the Anti Nazi League (ANL), which sponsored the event; and many other groups.

There were contingents organized by various far-left groups, the Communist Party, and Labour Party branches. Actively building the event beforehand was the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the Fourth International, and a wide spectrum of other organizations.

Socialist Challenge, the weekly paper sponsored by the IMG, estimated the total turnout to be 80,000.

The action occurred in the context of a series of provocative activities by the virulently racist National Front, several bombings directed at antiracist groups and individuals, and a mounting wave of fear-mongering by members of Parliament and government officials concerning immigration policy.

The racism of the establishment politicians "was put to shame on Sunday," an article in the May 4 *Socialist Challenge* reported. "It was put to shame best of all by those who perhaps could be excused

most for looking for black or brown scapegoats. The young white underprivileged who made up the bulk of the carnival."

If many came only to hear the music, the article continued, "how many went away wearing ANL or 'Fight Fascism' badges? *Socialist Challenge* supporters sold 7,000 of the latter before the carnival was half over, and that says something about the effect the carnival had."

An editorial in the same issue attributed much of the success of the day's events to the policy of nonexclusion followed by the ANL, a coalition led by the Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists).

The action was one of the first marking the end of a ban on demonstrations in London imposed under the Public Order Act in February. □

Anti-Nazi Victory in Detroit

About 150 persons attended a victory rally in Detroit, Michigan, April 30, called by the Labor-Community-Interfaith Council Against the Nazis. The rally celebrated the closing of a Nazi storefront headquarters that had opened recently in southwest Detroit. It was held in Clark Park near the storefront, which rally organizers have now rented as an anti-Nazi information center.

Larry Gittleston of the Concerned Jewish Citizens of Skokie, Illinois, spoke at the rally about plans by Nazis to march through that town next month. Skokie is the home of many survivors of Hitler's concentration camps.

If the Nazis go ahead with their march, Gittleston said, there will be a counterdem-

onstration in Skokie that same day. He invited supporters of the anti-Nazi movement in Detroit to attend that protest.

Paul Boatin, a retired United Auto Workers (UAW) local official and chairman of the Detroit anti-Nazi council, said that the group would continue, despite the closing of the Nazi headquarters. Mobilizing support for Skokie's Jewish community will be the group's next focus, he said.

The Labor-Community-Interfaith Council was initiated earlier this year by UAW Local 600. It has sponsored protest meetings of up to 600 against the Nazis, as well as a large car caravan that circled the block of the headquarters, displaying anti-Nazi slogans.