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LEBANON: Israelis Install Rightist Regime, Threaten Syria



Palestinian liberation fighters withdrawing from Beirut. PLO troops were hailed as heroes throughout the Arab world because of their tenacious resistance to Israeli forces.

MEXICO

**U.S. Tightens Screws
as Peso Collapses**

CHINA

**Growing Strains in Relations
Between Washington and Peking**

Reagan rolls out welcome mat for Philippine dictator Marcos

By Fred Murphy

President Ferdinand Marcos, dictator of the Philippines, is preparing for a long-awaited state visit to Washington. The trip has reportedly been set for mid-September.

Marcos's principal aim in going to the United States at this time is to seek the aid of the Philippines' former colonial rulers in dealing with the massive unrest and opposition that confronts his regime. Strikes and street demonstrations have become a constant feature in the cities. More and more peasants rejoining a widespread guerrilla struggle in the countryside. In the south, the oppressed Moro people persist in a decade-long rebellion. Students, intellectuals, and sectors of the Catholic church are taking an active part in the opposition to the dictatorship.

Crackdown on unions

To dramatize the situation for Washington and to try to head off protests at home during his absence from the Philippines, Marcos announced August 8 the discovery of a supposed plot against his regime. "Intelligence reports," he claimed, had revealed "a plan for a nationwide strike, which will be accompanied by nationwide bombings and assassinations."

A few days later, 14 leaders of the May 1 Movement (KMU) and other trade unionists were thrown in jail. Marcos then announced that the whole plot had been "aborted" through this "pre-emptive action." KMU leader Felixberto Olalia, 79 years old, and an aide, Crispin Beltran, were confined to a military stockade and charged with "inciting sedition and rebellion."

The KMU, with its half-million-strong membership, is the most militant of the Philippines' trade-union federations. It has been in the forefront of a massive wave of strikes that has swept the country since Marcos lifted martial law in January 1981.

Martial law had been in effect since September 1972. It was extensively applied to repress working-class struggles and crush opposition to the regime. But this failed to stem the radicalization. In lifting martial law, Marcos sought to relieve some of the pressure on his regime and blunt growing criticism from abroad of human-rights violations. The move was largely cosmetic, however — virtually all the repressive legislation decreed under martial law remained in force.

The years of martial law brought sharp reductions in workers' living standards. Real wages have fallen by 40 percent since 1972. It was the effort to recover some of these losses that brought on the big strikes of the past year and a half. In 1981, there were 260 strikes involving losses to employers of 1.8 million

worker-hours. In just the first four months of this year, the 1981 strike figure was surpassed, and the number of lost worker-hours topped 3.4 million.

Economic crisis

Now, in addition to the erosion of wage levels, Philippine workers are facing massive layoffs as the worldwide crisis of capitalism bears down on the country's industries.

In the first half of 1981 alone, slumping businesses laid off nearly 200,000 workers. Labor Ministry figures put the 1981 unemployment rate at 14.6 percent, up from 6.5 percent in 1979. Other government data put metropolitan Manila joblessness at nearly 26 percent. All these figures have since risen further, and were undoubtedly too optimistic to begin with.

The industrial crisis is but one component of the major difficulties now besetting the Philippine economy. World-market prices for all the country's major exports — coconut products, copper, timber, and sugar — have dropped precipitously in recent years. At the same time, the prices of vital imports — especially oil and parts and raw materials for industry — have shot upward. The result is the same as that facing many other semicolonial countries: a balance-of-payments crisis, mounting foreign debt, and austerity measures by the regime that strike the workers and peasants the hardest.

Most dramatically affected have been the 14 million Filipinos who are dependent to one or another degree on the cultivation and processing of coconuts. This amounts to nearly one-third the country's population.

Between 1979 and 1981, the world price of coconut oil dropped by more than 50 percent. In September 1981, the government-run United Coconut Oil Mills — which controls about 85 percent of milling capacity — suspended the purchase of coconuts from the farmers and prices plunged further. As if that were not enough, Marcos reimposed on farmers a 17 percent tax originally levied when coconut prices were considerably higher.

Small farmers ruined by the coconut crisis, along with others hit by rising production costs and declining prices, form an important part of the large and growing base of support for the rural guerrilla war being waged against Marcos by the New People's Army (NPA).*

* The NPA is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which was reorganized as a Peking current in 1968. While the CPP retains a Maoist outlook, it has taken its distance from the current Chinese regime on such international questions as the Nicaraguan and Iranian revolutions. The CPP hailed those victories, which were viewed by Peking as gains for "Soviet social-imperialism."

According to the April 1982 *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, the NPA has 27 guerrilla fronts covering more than 400 municipalities in 47 provinces. These fronts "cover a full quarter of the Philippine rural population. An estimated half of those under the front's influence, an eighth of the total rural population, give active support."

In areas where the NPA is strong, the rebels have been able to implement their own land-reform programs — distributing idle holdings, forcing landowners to reduce rents, establishing cooperatives of both producers and consumers, conducting literacy campaigns, and setting up armed peasant militias.

One area where the NPA has made particularly important gains in the past year is the southern island of Mindanao, the second largest of the archipelago. The August 13 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported on a secret cable sent to Washington by the U.S. consul in Cebu who visited Mindanao several times over a three-month period. "Whatever is good there may only be temporary," Consul G.H. Sheinbaum warned. "And whatever is bad may only get worse."

All observers with whom we spoke" Sheinbaum reported, "said that the poor economic conditions of the past two years in eastern Mindanao (perhaps the worst part of the country in that regard because of the heavy dependence on coconuts) have been the root cause of dissatisfaction and therefore the most helpful argument for NPA propagandists."

The NPA's strongholds are mainly in the eastern part of Mindanao. To the west, and on the smaller islands that stretch south toward Borneo, Marcos's armed forces are still engaged in suppressing a longstanding rebellion by the Moro people. The Moros, an oppressed Muslim population, make up some 5 to 10 percent of Filipinos. Since 1972 the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLFF) has been fighting to achieve self-rule for this people.

Despite the large-scale civilian massacres perpetrated by government forces, and the displacement of more than one-third of the Moro population when the war was at its height in 1974-75, Manila has still not "pacified" the region.

Massive radicalization

Added to the strikes and struggles of urban workers and the rural insurgencies in many parts of the Philippines is the overall radicalization under way throughout the country. High-school and college students, teachers, health-care employees, journalists, lawyers, Catholic priests and nuns, and Protestant ministers have all become increasingly involved in actions against the dictatorship.

Discontent is fueled not simply by the continuing limitations on democratic rights or by declining living standards, but especially by the glaring contrast between the ostentatious, jet-set lifestyles of the Marcoses and their cronies and the grinding poverty that is the

daily lot of the vast majority of Filipinos.

"People say I am pessimistic," a conservative Spanish bishop who has lived in the Philippines since being expelled from China after the revolution told the *Washington Post* last November. "But I see now in the Philippines the same signs of frustration and despair that I saw among the masses in China 32 years ago when the communists took over."

More and more, the radicalization is being channeled and organized by the National Democratic Front (NDF), a broad opposition bloc with close ties to the NPA and the Communist Party of the Philippines. It was the NDF that initiated and led the successful boycott of Marcos's phony presidential election in June 1981.

At the same time, the traditional bourgeois opposition, organized in the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO), is losing ground and facing a crisis of perspectives.

Marcos's capitalist opponents have always looked to Washington to back them up, presenting themselves as the "democratic" alternative to the dictator. With the Reagan administration standing foursquare behind Marcos, the ex-senators, congressmen, and other bourgeois figures who make up UNIDO see little hope.

"People like me are irrelevant," ex-Senator Jose Diokno lamented to a *Miami Herald* reporter last April. "No one has faith in the ballot. Now, it's the bullet."

High stakes for Washington

The U.S. imperialists cannot help but be alarmed at the rising ferment among the Philippine masses. A social upheaval in the Philippines, one of the largest countries of Southeast Asia, would have immediate repercussions throughout the region, especially in neighboring Indonesia and Malaysia. A major challenge to the Marcos dictatorship would contribute greatly to the defense and deepening of the revolutions in Indochina, now under attack by Washington.

U.S. corporations have some \$3 billion invested in the Philippines, and U.S. banks hold much of the Marcos regime's \$15.8 billion foreign debt. Also high in Washington's calculations is the strategic value of the Philippines to the Pentagon. Subic Bay naval base and Clark air base (housing some 17,000 U.S. troops) are among the largest U.S. military installations in the world.

As a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a U.S.-sponsored military pact, the Philippines is today a linchpin of Washington's plans to counter the advancing revolutionary struggles in Asia, from Indochina to Iran.

It is these considerations that underlie the Reagan administration's support for Marcos's dictatorship. "We stand with the Philippines," Vice-president George Bush cynically told Marcos in Manila in June 1981. "We love your adherence to democratic principles and democratic processes. We will not leave you in isolation."

When Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger visited the Philippines last April, he carried a letter from Reagan reiterating that his administration would be a "steady and reliable partner" of the Marcos regime. Now, with Marcos's visit to Washington, these commitments will be affirmed once again.

Oppose the Marcos visit!

In the United States, a broad formation called the National Committee to Oppose the Marcos State Visit has been preparing for almost a year to protest the dictator's presence. It includes both progressive Filipino organizations and a wide array of U.S. human-rights and solidarity groups.

In an August statement, the committee noted the mounting harassment that anti-Marcos Filipinos have been facing from the U.S. government and its police agencies — including the threat of extradition to stand trial in Marcos's kangaroo courts. The statement appealed to U.S. working people in the following terms:

"The burden of fortifying repressive regimes like the Marcos dictatorship . . . and the mur-

derous Salvadoran oligarchy is placed on the working class of this country, and especially its Black and Third World minorities, who are currently being stripped of basic social and economic services by the transfer of billions of dollars from the social budget to the ever-escalating defense budget. Indeed the brutal assault on basic human and political rights being carried out in the Third World by U.S.-backed dictatorships is but the other side of the coin of the massive attack on the fundamental economic and social rights of the people by this administration.

"Ferdinand Marcos' visit is a brazen challenge flung at all of us. It is a tangible symbol of the intersection of U.S. support to repressive regimes abroad and increasing repression at home. We repudiate this cynical attempt to paint this bloody dictator as a committed democrat. We repudiate the political attack on persons whose only crime is to exercise their right to oppose repression in their homeland. We urge you to join the growing nationwide opposition to the state visit of Philippine dictator Marcos." □

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Zionist war criminal promises 'peace'

Imperialists back Phalangist government

By Ernest Harsch

Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon — one of the Zionist leaders directly responsible for the massive bombings of civilian neighborhoods in West Beirut — claimed August 26 that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon had provided a new opening for "peace" in the Middle East.

In his hourlong speech to Zionist leaders in New York City, Sharon added that the withdrawal of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from Beirut raised the prospect of "peaceful coexistence" with the Palestinians.

But there is no peace for the Palestinian or Lebanese people.

'Common goals'

Much of Lebanon remains occupied by tens of thousands of Israeli troops. The aims of the Zionist invaders are to consolidate the new rightist regime of Bashir Gemayel and help extend its control throughout the country, push the 30,000 Syrian troops in the Bekaa Valley out of Lebanon, and expel the PLO forces from the area around Tripoli in the north and in the Bekaa Valley.

In his New York speech, Sharon noted that the U.S. government shared these objectives. Washington and the Israeli regime, he said, had "common goals" in Lebanon, specifically mentioning the expulsion of the PLO and Syrians, the strengthening of the new regime in Lebanon, and the "need for security arrangements" along the Israeli-Lebanese border, a reference to the Zionists' plans to expel all Palestinians from southern Lebanon and maintain their occupation of the area.

To help advance these joint aims, the first of 800 U.S. Marines landed in Beirut August 25, as part of a 2,130-member multinational force that also includes French and Italian troops.

The Reagan administration claims that the purpose of this force is a "pacific" one: to supervise the PLO withdrawal and to prevent further fighting in Beirut.

Washington certainly wants to ensure that the PLO gets out. But that has nothing to do with preventing further fighting in Lebanon.

None of the "common goals" of Washington and the Israeli regime can be achieved without new military operations.

The U.S., French, and Italian troops in Lebanon may yet wind up participating in such military moves. As Reagan noted in an August 20 televised speech, "The presence of such an American force will . . . facilitate the restoration of Lebanese Government sovereignty and authority."

The government whose authority Reagan would like to extend is that of Bashir Gemayel,

who was selected as Lebanon's new president on August 23, with direct Israeli support.

A broadcast by the Voice of Arab Lebanon radio station in West Beirut summed up the nature of this so-called election: "A military governor has just been appointed for Lebanon on Israel's orders."

Gemayel is the central leader of the Phalange, the strongest of the political-military forces among Lebanon's Maronite Christian minority. The Phalange was first formed in 1936 by Gemayel's father. It takes its name from the Spanish fascist movement, General Franco's Falange. And it takes its ideology from the Falange and the German Nazis.

As a defender of the Lebanese ruling class, which is predominantly Christian, the Phalange has always been hostile to the Palestinian liberation struggle, as well as to the struggles of Lebanon's predominantly Muslim working people.

During the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, Gemayel's Phalangists became particularly notorious for their massacres of Lebanese Muslims and Palestinian refugees. In mid-1976, for instance, they massacred thousands of Palestinians at the Tel Zaatar refugee camp in East Beirut. Bashir Gemayel became the Phalangists' military chief during the siege of Tel Zaatar and supervised the final massacre.

Alliance with Israel

Following the civil war, the Phalangists established an alliance with the Israeli regime, and received some \$100 million in military aid from the Zionists. With this backing, Gemayel was able to build the Phalange into a 25,000-member force — larger than even the official Lebanese army (which is also Christian-dominated).

Gemayel supported the Israeli invasion of Lebanon from the beginning, and his militia forces have helped staff Israeli roadblocks and checkpoints.

Since former President Elias Sarkis's six-year term of office expires in late September, Gemayel declared his candidacy for president. He was the only one to do so.

Under the discriminatory political system in Lebanon that was imposed by the French colonial rulers before they pulled out in the 1940s, the president must be a Maronite Christian, chosen by parliament. This provision was designed to get around the fact that the majority of the population is Muslim, and someone like Gemayel could never become president through a genuine election.

But considerable coercion was needed to get him chosen even with this rigged system.

Because of the widespread fears among the Muslim population that Gemayel would unleash new massacres, most Muslim legislators called for a boycott of the parliament session held to vote on the new president.

Phalangist gunmen visited a number of legislators to force them to go to the session and to vote for Gemayel. One, Hassan Rifai, was shot and critically wounded when he refused.

The session was held on August 23, not in the parliament building in the center of Beirut, but at a military barracks in Fayadayah in the Phalangist- and Israeli-controlled area east of Beirut. The outcome was a foregone conclusion.

The imperialists' glee over the selection was obvious. Both President Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin quickly sent off congratulatory messages to Gemayel. The one from Begin was signed, "Your friend Menachem Begin."

Muslims protest

The reaction of Lebanon's Muslims was quite different.

The day after the election, Muslim and Druse leaders issued a statement accusing the Phalangists of seeking "to impose a regime whose factional, dictatorial and fascist features are already obvious."

The same day, fighting broke out in the northern port city of Tripoli, and Sunni Muslim forces took over parts of the city in protest against Gemayel's selection. Former Prime Minister Rashid Karami, a Sunni Muslim leader from Tripoli, said that "no power in the world will be able to force us to accept these results."

Walid Jumblatt, the Druse leader who heads the Lebanese National Movement — a coalition of leftist, Muslim, and Druse groups — warned that Gemayel would try to take over West Beirut. "Lebanon has now entered a big prison," he said.

In West Beirut, angry residents stormed the homes and offices of the few Muslim members of parliament who participated in the session that selected Gemayel.

Fearing renewed attacks against West Beirut, the various leftist and Muslim militia forces there are steeling themselves for new battles.

According to an August 26 dispatch from Beirut by *Washington Post* correspondent Loren Jenkins, "The PLO today turned over tanks, heavy artillery, antiaircraft batteries, mobile rocket launchers, mortars, jeep-mounted recoilless rifles and huge stocks of

shells and small-arms ammunition to the collection of leftist and Moslem militias who had fought at their side during the 10-week Israeli siege of West Beirut."

Jenkins charged that this was a violation of the agreement for the PLO's withdrawal from Beirut, under which such heavy weapons were supposed to be turned over to the Lebanese army. But Jenkins himself had to admit that the Muslims "consider the Lebanese Army as an instrument of the right-wing Christian Phalangist Party."

One fighter of the Nasserist Mourabitoun militia told Jenkins, "This fascism, the Phalangists who are supported by the Israeli occupiers, will not enter West Beirut. We will never forget how many of our women and children were felled in this war because of them — the Israelis and the fascists."

Reprisals in south

The fears in West Beirut are not unfounded. Already, Phalangist and other rightist gangs have begun terrorizing Palestinians and Lebanese in the southern regions occupied by the Israeli troops.

In two reports from the Sidon area in the August 18 and 27 issues of the *New York Times*, Marvin Howe reported that rightist militia forces have moved into the region with Israeli backing. Those under the command of

Maj. Saad Haddad — who have been based for several years along the southern border with Israel — are now moving northward, while the Phalangists are coming southward from Beirut.

Both groups have seized property in the Sidon area for troop quarters. Haddad's forces took over a kindergarten in Sidon that was being used by Palestinian and Lebanese children. To build up his own militia, Haddad has been forcibly conscripting youths from the villages in the region.

According to Howe, "Phalangists are said to have set up their own checkpoints and to have lists of 'P.L.O. sympathizers' dating from the civil war of 1975-76.

"One 58-year-old Lebanese said he had been detained for five days by Phalangists because it was known that he had links with the Lebanese National Movement, which was allied with the P.L.O."

On August 15, women demonstrated in the Druse village of Ain Anoub in southern Lebanon to protest the Israeli invasion and the actions of the Phalangist gangs.

Mistreatment of prisoners

On top of the moves by the rightist militias, the Israeli forces are continuing their own efforts to terrorize the population. More than 7,000 persons are being held at the Israeli-run Al Ansar detention camp near Sidon. About 70

percent are Palestinians, and the rest Lebanese. And there are other detention centers in southern Lebanon and just across the border in Israel itself.

Howe reported, "The detainees, who insisted on not being identified, said there had been mistreatment, particularly at the interrogation sites. Some asserted that they had been beaten with clubs and held for 24 hours or more blindfolded and with their hands tied behind their backs."

The Israeli authorities, who systematically destroyed all the Palestinian refugee camps in the south, have refused to let the Palestinians rebuild them.

According to a report in the August 27 *Washington Post*, Israeli Economics Minister Yaakov Meridor "said Israel remains determined to see the camps dismantled and the refugees dispersed to other Arab countries or relocated in smaller enclaves elsewhere in Lebanon within the next year."

The Lebanese government has so far refused to allow the refugees to set up new camps elsewhere.

Threats against Syria

The Israelis and Phalangists are also maintaining their pressure against the Syrian and Palestinian forces in the Bekaa Valley.

Following the beginning of the PLO withdrawal from West Beirut, hundreds of Israeli tanks were redeployed to the valley, which is of strategic importance to the defense of Syria itself.

The Begin regime has made no secret of its eagerness to strike at Syria. During the first days of the invasion, large-scale air battles were fought and Israeli jets bombed Syrian anti-aircraft emplacements in the Bekaa Valley and in Syria.

Sharon on August 21 explicitly threatened to strike directly at the Syrian capital, which is only about 25 miles from the Lebanese border. "Damascus, all of Damascus, is in range of our artillery," he warned.

Sporadic artillery exchanges have taken place with Syrian units in the valley, reportedly involving both Israeli and Phalangist forces.

The other war

While the Israeli invaders continue to press their military and political objectives in Lebanon, they are faced with a war on another front as well: the fight of the Palestinians within Israel and in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip for their rights.

The Israeli regime hoped that the severe blows it struck against the PLO in Lebanon would demoralize the Palestinians already under its direct rule. That has not happened.

Demonstrations, sit-ins, and other protest actions are a daily occurrence in the Palestinian cities and towns under Israeli rule. In the two-week period from August 6 to August 20 alone, there were: sit-ins by hundreds of Palestinian women in Jerusalem, Nablus, and Bethlehem against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon; large antiwar demonstrations in the towns of Um el-

Israelis fired for opposing Lebanon war

Four members of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL), the Israeli section of the Fourth International, have been fired from their jobs for speaking out against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. All four are also active in the Committee in Solidarity With Bir Zeit University, a Palestinian college in the Israeli-occupied West Bank that has repeatedly been harassed and closed by occupation authorities.

Runi Ben-Afrat, Irma Bremovitz, and Hanna Zuhar were all fired from their jobs at an electronics factory, while Assaf Adiv was removed from his post in a steel plant. Adiv's brother, Udi Adiv, is a well-known political prisoner in Israel, serving a 20-year prison sentence on charges of membership in an outlawed Palestinian organization.

The political firings have been reported on in Hebrew-language newspapers and magazines as well as in the Palestinian newspaper *Al Fajr*, published in Jerusalem. *Al Fajr*'s English-language weekly devoted the entire back page of its August 13 issue to articles on the firing of the four RCL members.

The three women fired from the electronics plant were charged with demoralizing and inciting their fellow workers. But Runi Ben-Afrat argues that they were fired because they had been getting a better hear-

ing for their antiwar views among fellow workers since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was launched. Through the firings, she noted, management hoped to produce "an atmosphere which dismisses antiwar views as illegitimate."

Assaf Adiv told an *Al Fajr* reporter that as long as most workers in his plant opposed his views, management did not bother him on the job. But he was fired, he states, because other workers are beginning to change their attitude on the invasion. Workers became more receptive to his views after hearing reports of the war from returning soldiers.

In an interview with the women's magazine *Ha'isha*, Runi Ben-Afrat answered the charge that criticism of government policies amounts to subversion when a person works in a factory engaged in war-related production.

"Almost everything in our country," said Ben-Afrat, "is related to security. Even butter and margarine is used by the army. So because of this, should they dismiss dairy workers if they oppose the policies of the government?"

Assaf Adiv pointed out in *Al Fajr* that political firings are not new in Israel, but that these measures are now being taken against Jewish workers as well as Palestinians. □

Fahm and Bak'a el-Gharbiya; and a conference of the General Union of Laborers in the West Bank city of Nablus at which the invasion was condemned.

In Nablus, the entire male population of the Kasbah neighborhood was summoned to a central square and beaten August 18 after a grenade was thrown at an Israeli military vehicle earlier in the day. Similarly, in the village of Sair in the Hebron District of the West Bank, some 150 people were detained following clashes between workers and officials of the Israeli-installed Village Leagues.

In Nazareth, some 10,000 people turned out for the opening ceremony for a voluntary work campaign August 18. The ceremony developed into an antiwar rally. Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq

Zayyad told the crowd:

"Despite the forest of blood and fire that they are burning in Lebanon, the war has not come to an end and will never be halted as long as there is a Palestinian child alive."

Two days earlier, *Al Shaab*, an Arabic-language paper in Jerusalem, made a similar point:

"The most important issue, that of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, is not solved nor eliminated by the departure of the Palestinian fighters. Israel and America will find themselves daily confronted with the basic truth: a war machine cannot wipe out the hopes or rights of any people. The road to peace in the area begins with the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." □

Middle East

PLO troops cheered as heroes

Mass rallies salute courage of Palestinians

By Ernest Harsch

Having held off the powerful Israeli army in West Beirut for more than two and a half months, the fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are being hailed as heroes throughout the Arab world.

In West Beirut itself — despite the massive devastation of the Israeli bombings — tens of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese turned out to pay tribute to the departing PLO fighters. The route the fighters took to the West Beirut harbor was lined with supporters, hundreds of whom fired automatic weapons into the air in a salute to their courage.

In retreating from West Beirut, the PLO liberation fighters left with dignity and with the conviction that their struggle for national self-determination will ultimately triumph.

An Associated Press dispatch from Beirut on August 21, the first day of the PLO's withdrawal, reported:

"The guerrillas arrived in the port in a 13-truck convoy, flashing 'V' for victory signs and brandishing portraits of PLO chief Yasser Arafat on the muzzles of their guns. They waved red, white, green and black Palestinian flags and chanted 'Revolution, Revolution Until Victory' and 'I Love Palestine' on their two-mile truck trip from West Beirut's municipal stadium to the harbor. Many women along the route wept and waved handkerchiefs from their balconies."

'Palestine or Bust'

The scene the next day was similar. *Washington Post* correspondent Loren Jenkins reported:

Well-wishers carried the message of a PLO victory on hand-scrawled posters that said, "All Roads Lead to Jerusalem" and "Palestine or Bust," while groups of teary-eyed Palestinian women dressed in their

traditional long gowns, chanted Palestinian slogans.

With Palestinian flags streaming from the cabs of their military trucks, the departing guerrillas were showered with rice and flower blossoms as they held aloft pictures of Arafat. . . .

These outpourings of tribute to the PLO in West Beirut fly in the face of the repeated charges by the Israeli and U.S. governments that the PLO is a band of "terrorists" that has held Lebanon "hostage" for years.

The PLO is certainly hated by Lebanon's ruling class. But its support among the Palestinian refugees and the Lebanese working people is deep and widespread.

Without that support, the PLO would never have been able to hold off the Israeli troops and tanks for so long. Even the massive Israeli bombing raids and the repeated use of cluster and phosphorous bombs was not able to break that mass base of support.



PLO fighters arriving in Syria.

In deciding to withdraw from West Beirut, the PLO explained that the only alternative would have been an even bloodier Israeli massacre of West Beirut's Lebanese and Palestinian inhabitants.

But the retreat from Beirut has not been accompanied by any political retreat. The PLO has expressed its determination to continue fighting for the Palestinians' right to regain their homeland.

"We shall pursue our struggle from any Arab land on which we are present," Saleh Khalef, one of the top PLO leaders, said in a statement published in several newspapers in Beirut on the day the withdrawal began.

Brig. Abdul Razzaq Yahia, the head of the PLO's political department for Syria and Jordan, stated in an interview in Amman that the withdrawal from Beirut would open a new "more complicated and difficult" phase for the organization. But he also expressed the confidence that the PLO would be able to "adapt to the new conditions."

Massive welcome rallies

One factor that will help the Palestinian struggle in these new conditions is the massive support for the PLO among working people throughout the region. That support has been expressed in enthusiastic welcomes to greet the Palestinians arriving from Beirut.

The first ship carrying the PLO fighters arrived in the port of Larnaca, in Cyprus. On the route from the port to the airport, where they boarded planes for Jordan and Iraq, the PLO members were cheered by crowds of Cypriots.

Upon the arrival of the first Palestinian fighters in Syria, at the port of Tartus, they were greeted by tens of thousands of Syrians and Palestinians. Many had come from Damascus in hundreds of buses and cars.

According to an August 26 dispatch from Damascus by the Palestinian news agency, Wafa:

A rapturous scene ensued, with the fighters, their weapons raised over their heads, descending from the ship led by a commando holding a portrait of Yasser Arafat and followed by several others carrying Palestinian flags.

The crowds soon burst through the gates of the port and embraced the returning heroes, who were swept away in a huge burst of emotion from the Syrian and Palestinian well-wishers.

The first ship carrying some of the PLO units to Yemen crossed the Suez Canal in Egypt August 24. They were greeted with demonstrations all along the route, in the Egyptian ports of Port Said, Al Qantara, Ismailiya, and Port Tawfiq.

In Port Said, the ship was met by an official delegation and by large crowds that lined up along one and a half kilometers of the port's entrance. They waved Palestinian flags and sang the Palestinian national anthem along with the PLO fighters.

At the next stop, Al Qantara, thousands more were waiting for the ship. "Popular revolution in all the Arab nation!" they chanted.

Two days later, a second ship of Palestinian

fighters passed through the Suez Canal. According to a Wafa dispatch, "The convoy of cars going to meet the ship from Cairo flew Palestinian flags and was repeatedly stopped on the way by crowds of people, while bystanders flashed V-signs and Egyptian soldiers raised their weapons in salute."

King Hussein worried

This deep popular support for the PLO has made a number of the PLO's new "host" governments more than a little anxious.

In an August 17 dispatch from Amman, Jordan, *New York Times* correspondent Colin Campbell noted that "sympathy for the Palestine Liberation Organization is widespread, even among many non-Palestinians, and it has grown since the Israeli bombardment of Beirut." More than 60 percent of Jordan's population is Palestinian.

The PLO fighters, *Times* correspondent Marvine Howe reported August 24, "are considered national heroes."

Because of this sentiment, King Hussein himself was compelled to greet the arriving PLO fighters and to praise their courage — 12 years after he drove the PLO out of Jordan at the conclusion of the 1970 civil war there.

But Hussein was very careful to limit any

active expressions of popular support for the PLO. The general public was not allowed to attend the arrival ceremony, which was held at the Jordanian Air Force base at Mafraq, in the desert 40 miles northeast of Amman. Nevertheless, Howe reported private celebrations for the PLO fighters were held throughout Amman.

While the Syrian regime did allow mass demonstrations to greet the Palestinians, it has disclosed that the PLO fighters will not be allowed to settle near the capital. The entire contingent of PLO fighters that arrived from Beirut is to be housed in a desert area far to the southeast of Damascus.

The PLO has noted the different responses of the Arab governments and masses. It has frequently criticized the Arab regimes for not coming to the aid of the Palestinians during the Israeli invasion, attacking their "inactivity" and "somnia." "

An August 25 Wafa dispatch from Beirut concluded, "As they [the PLO fighters] go to these Arab states, with a warm farewell behind them, and an enthusiastic popular welcome awaiting them, they will remain a standing reproach to the Arab governments, pointing out by their example to the Arab peoples the path they must follow." □

among the combatants of the various organizations that make it up. This unity will be a decisive factor in eliminating any manifestation of demoralization and in preparing for the new battles that lie ahead.

Only through this struggle, which we know will be long and filled with difficulties, can the fraternal Palestinian people achieve their national aspirations and establish an independent Palestinian state, which is the only way to finally resolve the central problem of the Middle East crisis.

The Palestinian combatants are fighting in the same trench as the Central American peoples, who are today threatened by the direct intervention of U.S. troops, and in the same trench as the African peoples, who are under attack by the racists from South Africa.

It is also the same trench as the one occupied by our people, who are bravely confronting U.S. imperialism's threats of direct aggression.

By defending their national rights, the Palestinians have defended the rights of all the world's revolutionaries, and the blood spilled by their sons is like the blood of our own peoples.

The pain over the loss of brave fighters and over the losses among the civilian population is our own pain. The pride in their heroism in battle is also our own pride.

Therefore, knowing that there are thousands of orphaned Palestinian children for whom the doors of the future have been gradually closed, we have made the decision to receive 500 of them to do their studies in Cuba, in a school that will be named "Battle of Beirut," in a humble show of solidarity with our Palestinian brothers.

We feel that this is a modest effort by our people to help alleviate to some degree the aftermath of the Israeli aggression.

Our people, party, and government, while extending their hand in solidarity to the Palestinian people, wish to reiterate to them our readiness to resist any imperialist aggression to the end, inspired by the examples provided yesterday by the Vietnamese people and now by the heroic resistance of the Palestinians and their allies in the Lebanese National Movement.

We know that our resistance will make it more difficult to implement imperialist policy and that through it we will contribute to the struggle and resistance of other peoples.

I wish to express to you our readiness to receive you in Cuba, at the time you feel is most convenient, in order to pursue the exchange of opinions on this situation and international events, and to express to you the highest appreciation of the Cuban people.

Esteemed comrade, please receive the profession of my deepest and most sincere friendship.

Fidel Castro

First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and President of the Council of State and of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba

Fidel Castro hails PLO fighters

Letter to Yassir Arafat

[The following letter from Fidel Castro to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yassir Arafat was published on the front page of the August 24 Cuban Communist Party daily *Granma*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Dear Comrade Arafat:

Once more the Palestinian people have demonstrated their integrity and valor. The Palestinian combatants supported by the Lebanese patriots were besieged by a technologically and numerically superior enemy endowed with the most sophisticated war-matériel, an enemy armed and advised by the United States of America and accustomed to explosively unleashing the blitzkrieg. But the Palestinian people were able to resist with unequalled dignity, and to hold back the machinery of destruction and death marshaled by the Zionists. From the ruins of West Beirut, under cross-fire from Israeli naval bombardment, artillery, and warplanes, the military response of the Palestinian fighters, supported by the Lebanese patriots, never let up for an instant.

With astonishment and admiration, the whole world watched the courageous example provided by the Palestinian people in defense of their inalienable rights, under the sure guidance of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, and with the invaluable inspiration of your presence in the front line of battle.

In taking the road of exile, the Palestinian troops did so singing their anthems and with their flags flying, their weapons and heads held high.

Such an army has not been defeated.

Such an army has added new glory to the glory it already has.

The blood that has been spilled in Lebanon must now be added to the record of the present U.S. administration. That administration, which supported the Zionists while making huge political efforts to achieve negotiated solutions favorable to its interests and those of the Tel Aviv regime, can undoubtedly be viewed as the inspirer of this genocide, which it knew about well in advance and to which it gave its full support and consent.

A new stage has opened before the Palestinian people and their leaders, and it will be no less complex and difficult than those stages already completed in your long struggle to realize your trampled-upon rights.

Now it will be more necessary than ever to call upon the reserves of energy and capacity for mobilization, organization, and discipline of the leading cadres, of the fighters, and of the Palestinian people as a whole. This will be necessary in order to reorganize the struggle in whatever forms it may take, and to carry out the battle with the same heroism shown in Beirut and elsewhere in Lebanon.

It will be more necessary than ever that there be the closest unity in the ranks of the PLO and

Church hierarchy provokes confrontation

Two killed in Masaya as rightists open fire on demonstration

By Michael Baumann

MASAYA, Nicaragua — Two people were killed and at least seven wounded here August 16 when armed counterrevolutionaries fired on a peaceful demonstration demanding action against a right-wing Catholic priest.

The first incident of its kind in a major city in the three years since the triumph of the revolution, the attack constituted a major probe by the counterrevolutionary forces inside the country.

It also underscored how combustible relations between the church hierarchy and the revolutionary government have become in this country, where an overwhelming majority of the population are members of the Catholic faith.

The attack in Masaya

Unarmed demonstrators were fired on from the grounds of the Salesian School, a privately run Catholic institution with some 5,000 students. The school is located at the entrance to Masaya's Monimbó barrio, a large community of Indians that was one of the first areas to rise

up in insurrection against the Somoza dictatorship in 1978. Most of its students are from middle-class families in Masaya, although there are also some from wealthy families, and a few from working-class families that make great sacrifices to send their children to the Salesian School.

The fact that the shootings occurred on the edge of Monimbó, the confusion that immediately followed, and the fact that barricades went up almost instantly in self-defense was enough for several international news agencies to broadcast immediately that Monimbó had risen up again — this time against the Sandinistas.

"That's what they'd like to believe," Donald Telica, a 35-year-old Monimbó artisan told *Intercontinental Press*.

Telica, an eyewitness to the shootings, described briefly what happened.

A demonstration of several hundred supporters of the revolution marched through the streets of Masaya August 16, demanding excommunication of a certain Father Bismarck Carballo (of whom more later).

Without warning, the protesters were fired upon as they neared the Salesian School, which had been taken over earlier in the day by right-wingers. Most of the student body was not present. Two of the demonstrators were killed instantly; seven more were wounded. In the confusion, a bystander was accidentally run over by a police vehicle.

Barricades went up. Militia members from Masaya and Monimbó surrounded the school, armed with the revolvers and shotguns they had used against Somoza's National Guard four years ago. Shots were exchanged.

Finally, sufficient government forces arrived to enter the school and take into custody all who were inside. Eighty-one in all were detained, according to the government. Of these, only nine were residents of Masaya.

To avoid an international incident, the Sandinista authorities did not arrest the two foreign priests from Spain and Costa Rica who were inside. Instead they were taken to their respective embassies, until their specific role in the shootings could be determined.

The next day, thousands of people attended



Thousands rallied in Masaya August 17 to protest counterrevolutionary attack.

Barricade

the funeral in Masaya of one of the victims of the rightist attack. Commander Tomás Borge addressed the gathering. He pointed out that the provocation at the Salesian School was part of an attempt to "turn the poorest and most backward sectors of the population against the revolution."

Bishops seek confrontation

The shootings capped months of growing conflicts with high officials of the Catholic church here, in particular Msgr. Miguel Obando y Bravo, archbishop of Managua, and his right-hand man, Fr. Bismarck Carballo.

The Church hierarchy has made no bones about its opposition to the deepening of the revolution, and has worked hand in glove with counterrevolutionary forces inside the country and with imperialist propaganda mills abroad.

In February, Nicaragua's bishops issued a statement echoing imperialist slanders about the Sandinistas' treatment of the Miskitu Indians. The fact that none of the bishops had even visited the Miskitu resettlement area proved no obstacle to their joining in the campaign of lies.

In April, Obando y Bravo was named by counterrevolutionaries as a prospective member of the "government in exile" they were then considering setting up in Costa Rica. The archbishop did not dissociate himself from the project until publicly challenged by Commander Tomás Borge on May Day.

In July, Obando y Bravo ordered the transfer of a highly popular priest from Managua's Santa Rosa barrio — a working-class stronghold of the Sandinista revolution. To add insult to injury, the replacement priest was a reactionary who had been widely publicized in the right-wing daily *La Prensa*.

Transfers are common practice for dealing with priests and nuns who support the revolution, but this time the tactic backfired.

The outgoing priest, Msgr. Arias Caldera, had been an early supporter of the revolution, working with the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) as far back as the early 1960s.

The residents of Santa Rosa bitterly protested the transfer, even occupying the local church. In response, Obando y Bravo's public spokesman, Carballo, declared that all who had protested the transfer were "excommunicated" — expelled from the church. A grave step in a Catholic country, the excommunication order and the uproar over it deepened the conflict between the church hierarchy and the hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans who are both church members and supporters of the revolution.

Case of Father Carballo

In mid-August Father Carballo hit the front pages again, but in quite different circumstances.

Surprised by an outraged husband and driven from the bed of a young woman to whom he claimed to be providing "spiritual guidance," Carballo ended up in the street — stark naked

— in the midst of an unrelated demonstration.

The padre's escapade was at first withheld from the press at the government's orders. The FSLN issued a statement saying that this was done "out of respect for the religious sentiments of our people."

But when the right-wing rumor mills began to spread charges that Carballo had been "set up," and that "censorship" had denied him the right to "defend himself," the government responded by authorizing the press to publish the full account of how Carballo had ended up naked as a jaybird — with abundant photographs to boot, snapped by reporters who had been accompanying the demonstration the priest inadvertently ran into as he fled.

This turned out to have unforeseen consequences.

Attention was suddenly shifted from the hierarchy's attacks on the revolution to the case of the naked priest. It was the hottest topic of discussion since the departure of Somoza, and the way the matter had been handled satisfied virtually no one.

Opinion was divided, but largely among those who either believed the claims that Carballo had been set up and others who felt that, even if he had been caught in the act, it had been an invasion of privacy to publish such photos.

Seven people *Intercontinental Press* questioned at random here in Masaya were unanimous about one thing. Whether or not Carballo had been involved with the woman in question, "the press shouldn't print such things," as one woman high-school student put it.

Pope backs right-wingers

In the meantime, relations between the revolutionary government and the church have been further complicated by the arrival of a

letter from Pope John Paul. The pope's missive came down heavily on the side of the hierarchy (Obando y Bravo) in any dispute with the membership of the church (the Catholics of Santa Rosa).

A government decision to delay publication of the letter in light of the tense situation was further seized upon by right-wingers, who claimed that the Sandinistas had "declared war on religion."

This, then, was the situation in which opponents of the revolution began to encourage "protective" takeovers of Catholic institutions, setting the scene for the shootings here in Masaya.

Occupations of several other Catholic schools, in other parts of the country, were cleared without incident.

The conflict with the church hierarchy is the most visible reflection of the growing polarization in the country.

Encouraged by Washington's increasing economic and military pressure on Nicaragua, opponents of the revolution are becoming more brazen in their probes for internal support. History and tradition make the Catholic church the logical place to start.

Through the events in Masaya and the occupations of Catholic schools in other parts of the country, the reactionary church hierarchy demonstrated that it still has great ability to spread confusion and doubt, despite the massive popular support that exists for the revolution and the FSLN.

It is this mass support for the revolution that is the achilles' heel of the rightist forces. The church hierarchy can play a significant role in obstructing the progress of the revolution only insofar as it is able to obscure the real political issues involved in its dispute with the Sandinista government. □

Appeal for Saudi political prisoners

An appeal for solidarity with political prisoners in Saudi Arabia has been issued by supporters of some 20 political organizations of the Middle East, among them the Lebanese National Movement, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The appeal is dated July 1982. It notes that since 1979, when the Saudi regime suppressed protesters occupying the Grand Mosque in Mecca and brutally put down other demonstrations that broke out among oil workers in towns along the Persian Gulf, "the government has continued to arrest the people of the [Arabian] peninsula. Recently the regime has arrested men and women workers, students, clerks, engineers and teachers."

Accompanying the appeal is a list of 107 persons from 14 different towns and cities held in Saudi jails; the appeal states that this is "a partial list." Occupations are given for many of these prisoners. Among them are six workers, six clerks, and one engineer who were employed by the Arab-American Oil Company

(Aramco). Others listed are journalists, students, and teachers.

"All of the arrested people of the Arabian peninsula are undoubtedly experiencing the worst physical and mental tortures," the appeal concludes. "Many of their lives are endangered according to the latest reports from the peninsula. None have been allowed an open trial, none have seen a lawyer to begin a defense nor have they been allowed contact with their families.

"We are asking all groups, national organizations, political parties, unions, professional groups, all people concerned with human life to stand in solidarity with the people of the Arab peninsula. To demand the release of political prisoners and expose the regime of the kingdom of the Saudi family, which has consistently denied basic human rights to the people of the peninsula."

The appeal urges that letters or telegrams calling for the release of the prisoners be sent to the Saudi Royal Court, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. □

Economy plunges into crisis

United States uses collapse of peso to force concessions

By Will Reissner

The Mexican economy has plunged into its worst crisis since the depression of the 1930s. This economic crisis is reflected in an inflation rate that is expected to rise above 100 percent this year, a standstill in the vital construction industry, spiraling bankruptcies, mushrooming unemployment, projections of zero economic growth for several years, sharply declining living standards for workers and poor farmers, a collapsing currency, and an inability to maintain payments on the country's \$80 billion foreign debt, which is the highest in the world.

On August 5, Mexican President José López Portillo announced a drastic devaluation of the peso, the second since the beginning of the year. Whereas in February, 26 pesos were needed to buy one U.S. dollar, by late August you needed at least 95 pesos to purchase one dollar, and there were reports of some people offering up to 150 pesos for a dollar.

The devaluation of the peso is a heavy blow to the living standards of Mexico's workers, peasants, and urban poor. Their purchasing power will be drastically reduced since they will continue to earn the same number of pesos, while the prices of all imported goods will rise sharply. This is particularly serious because in addition to importing manufactured goods from the imperialist countries, Mexico imports huge amounts of basic foodstuffs.

Drastic measures

On August 1, before the most recent devaluation, López Portillo announced a series of austerity moves, which he asked the nation to accept "with discipline." The price of gasoline, electricity, tortillas, powdered milk, bread, and other staples went up sharply as the government cut its price subsidies.

These moves, however, were not sufficient to halt the financial crisis hitting the Mexican economy. On August 12, a week after the devaluation went into effect, the Mexican government froze \$12 billion contained in foreign-currency bank accounts in Mexican banks. The government decreed that the holders of those accounts could no longer make withdrawals in foreign currency. All withdrawals must now be made in pesos, and at a rate of 69.5 pesos to the dollar, which is one-half to two-thirds the current free exchange rate. In other words, holders of dollar bank accounts have seen their assets drop by 40 percent in one week.

The Mexican government has also officially acknowledged that it cannot keep up payments on its foreign debt. On August 19, Mexican Finance Minister Jesús Silva Herzog traveled to the United States for several days of meetings with representatives of more than 100

banks from around the world to plead for a rescheduling of Mexico's debt repayments and for an emergency loan package from the Federal Reserve Board and the International Monetary Fund.

The prospect of a default on the huge Mexican foreign debt is sending shock waves through the international capitalist banking system. While Mexico is the most heavily indebted of the semicolonial countries, the reasons for its inability to repay its foreign debts are shared by a host of other countries in similar straits.

Oil bubble bursts

For several years, the big-business media and bankers around the world had pointed to Mexico as a positive example of the possibilities for development under capitalism.

Back in 1979, when Mexico officially doubled the estimate of its "proven" oil reserves, President José López Portillo vowed that Mexico would not make the same mistakes as other oil exporters. Oil revenues, López Portillo said, would be used to promote broad-based and lasting economic development.

Writing in the January 6, 1979, *New York Times*, Alan Riding noted that López Portillo's pledge "reflects Mexico's deep awareness of the financial, economic and even political problems suffered by some major oil producers such as Iran, whose current turmoil stems in part from an inflation built by a rapid expansion of revenue."

But only three and a half years after that was written, Mexico, the world's largest debtor, is unable to continue payments on its foreign debt and must beg for emergency financial aid. And today the same Alan Riding is writing *New York Times* articles analyzing the collapse of the Mexican peso.

What happened?

For several years the Mexican government used its growing oil-export revenues to finance an ambitious development program, which required the purchase of huge amounts of equipment and technology, much of it for the oil industry itself, from North America, Western Europe, and Japan.

But the international capitalist recession sharply cut world demand for natural resources such as oil. Declining demand has resulted in a drop in Mexican oil sales abroad, and a drop in the price Mexico gets for whatever oil it does sell. In fact, Mexico's oil export earnings have dropped by \$6 billion a year.

While oil prices were dropping, so too were the prices and markets for other Mexican exports such as silver, copper, and coffee. But all

the while, the prices of manufactured goods from the imperialist countries have continued their steady rise.

Explosive growth in debt

Despite the sharp drop in oil revenues, the Mexican government tried to maintain high growth rates by increasing its borrowing abroad. It hoped that by the time the loans fell due, the international capitalist economic crisis would have eased and oil sales and prices would have again risen.

But the international economic crisis deepened, and it became clear that no relief was in sight. The Mexican government had to cover its maturing loans by taking on new, short-term loans at high interest. By July, the Mexican government was having to pay 18.5 percent interest on new foreign loans.

The growth in Mexico's foreign debt has been explosive. In 1971, its foreign debt stood at \$4.5 billion. By 1980 this had risen almost nine times, to \$40 billion. And in the past two years alone, the country's foreign debt doubled, from \$40 billion to more than \$80 billion! Of that total, some \$60 billion is owed by the Mexican government, and \$20 billion is owed by private corporations.

In fact, this year alone Mexico was supposed to repay \$12 billion in interest payments and another \$20 billion in principal.

But how can Mexico pay out this \$32 billion to foreign bankers in 1982, when its total export earnings from oil will only amount to \$14 billion?

The answer, of course, is that it cannot pay! And this is what Finance Minister Jesús Silva Herzog admitted at his August 20 meeting with 115 bankers from the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and Japan. The bankers reluctantly agreed to reschedule the repayment of loan principal, and to lend Mexico more money to help it make its interest payments and purchase vital imported goods.

Banks in danger

The imperialist bankers had little choice but to agree to a rescheduling of loan repayments. The alternative, to declare Mexico bankrupt, could bring down the whole international banking system. But floating new loans puts a severe strain on U.S. banks, which are already thought to hold as much as \$48 billion in loans to Mexico.

Of Mexico's total \$80 billion debt, about \$20 billion is owed to foreign governments and agencies such as the World Bank. The other \$60 billion comes from more than 1,000 commercial banks around the world. One banker

cited in the August 20 *New York Times* pointed out that some major U.S. banks have the equivalent of up to 90 percent of their equity — the total investment in a bank by its stockholders — on loan to Mexico, and many others have 30 percent or more of their equity committed to Mexican loans.

On Wall Street, the price of major bank stocks dropped and big investors moved out of bank certificates of deposit and into lower-yielding but safer U.S. government treasury bonds as worries surfaced about the stability of banks involved in large loans to Mexico.

The price of gold also jumped \$15.40 per ounce. One trader on the gold market explained: "The strength of gold has come on mounting concern about the stability of the world banking system."

While the Mexican government has already admitted it cannot repay its portion of the country's foreign debt, the stunning devaluations of the peso in the past year have made it impossible for most Mexican corporations to repay their foreign loans as well. Most of these loans are denominated in dollars. But whereas a Mexican company needed 26 pesos to repay \$1 of its loans at the beginning of the year, it must now put up more than 100 pesos to repay each dollar of its debt.

One U.S. banker, cited by Alan Riding in the August 17 *New York Times*, summarized the situation in these terms: "Businessmen aren't jumping out of windows, because they're flat on their backs with their eyes closed."

Outlook dim for Mexican companies

Lawrence Rout, writing in the August 16 *Wall Street Journal* noted that "banking experts already estimate that foreign-exchange losses have left many of Mexico's businesses technically insolvent — that is, with liabilities exceeding assets. Many of these firms could go under later this year if they don't have the capital to cover probable operating losses." Rout adds that "frightened bankers may increasingly decide that they aren't willing to keep lending more money to these firms."

A number of the largest Mexican corporations are already in default on their foreign debts. The country's largest private corporation, the Grupo Industrial Alfa S.A., had already suspended all principal and most interest payments on the \$2.3 billion it owed to 134 foreign banks prior to the most recent devaluation of the peso.

Mexico's largest privately owned airline, Mexicana de Aviación, which owed \$350 million to foreign bankers for airplane purchases, was sold to the Mexican government in mid-July when it became apparent that the company could no longer maintain its foreign debt payments.

One result of the crisis in Mexico is that the imperialists will increase their degree of control over the Mexican economy. Companies that can no longer pay their foreign debts because of the devaluation are encouraged to offer their creditors a major share in their oper-

ation in lieu of repayment. In addition, because of the severe devaluation of the peso, Mexican companies can be bought up at bargain prices by U.S. corporations, which can now buy many more pesos for their dollars.

A generalized crisis

Mexico's foreign debt problems are in no way unique. Many other countries are either in default on their debts or stand at the threshold of default.

Argentina's foreign debt now stands at about \$37 billion, compared with \$8 billion in 1975. This year Argentina must pay \$7 billion in interest and principal payments, which represents three-quarters of the country's total export earnings.

Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, and Peru have also been forced to rely increasingly on short-term, high-interest foreign loans. They are having severe problems repaying these. And in the wake of Mexico's inability to repay any principal on its loans, any additional loans these countries receive will be at sharply higher interest rates.

Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic are already unable to repay interest or principal on their foreign debt.

But the problem is not confined to Latin America. Declining prices and markets for the exports of the semicolonial countries, coupled with the constantly increasing prices they must pay for the goods they import from the imperialist countries — have a bearing throughout the world.

In fact, major imperialist banks are faced with the prospect that *hundreds of billions of dollars* of their loans to governments around the world are uncollectable.

U.S. pressure on Mexico

Earlier in the century, Washington would have reacted to the default of a debtor country in Latin America by sending in the marines to occupy that country. They would take over the customs houses, and taxes on imports and exports would be used to pay off the imperialist banks. This was done as recently as the 1930s in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Washington last sent troops to Mexico in 1914, when President Woodrow Wilson ordered the occupation of the port of Veracruz.

Today, if Washington tried to send the marines to Mexico as loan collectors for the imperialist banks, there would be a political explosion throughout Latin America, and among working people in the United States as well.

But the bankers and the Reagan administration are determined to use Mexico's financial crisis to dictate what course Mexico should follow in its economic and foreign policies.

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* called for the application of a combination of short-term aid and long-term pressure on Mexico. In an August 20 editorial, the *Journal's* editors maintained that "Mexico's foreign exchange crisis, coming as it does when international bankers are quaking about the credit-worthi-

ness of a dozen or so countries, will require a judicious balancing act by the U.S. Treasury and the other managers of the world's official bailout institutions.

"Clearly, everyone has an interest in keeping Mexico afloat, whatever its fiscal sins," the *Journal* editorial stated. But it added that these agencies "must insist that Mexico agree to conditions that offer a reasonable hope of putting it back on a sound financial footing."

Specifically the editorial calls for pressing the Mexican government to end subsidies on food, housing, and transportation, and to end what the *Journal* calls Mexico's "economic nationalism." Among the newspaper's suggestions is the sale of the Mexican state-owned oil company, to "multinational oil companies."

The *Journal* concludes that "Mexico has embarked on a pattern of welfare state and public enterprise expenditures it cannot sustain. Any bailout should be connected to the removal of these distortions."

Reagan administration tightens screws

What the *Wall Street Journal* proposes, the U.S. government has already been trying to carry out. Recently, the Mexican government released a confidential State Department briefing paper that argued that Washington should use the economic crisis to force Mexico to make major economic and political concessions.

The document, prepared by State Department officials Frank Crigler and Robert Pastorino, was written June 26, before the most recent devaluation of the peso.

The briefing paper argued that U.S. financial assistance to Mexico, although "minuscule" in relation to the country's needs, "could be helpful in pointing Mexico toward the right internal policies." Specifically, the document argued that the crisis may force Mexico "to sell more oil and gas to us at better prices" and ease its restrictions on foreign investment.

"Similarly, with the wind out of its sails," the report continued, "Mexico is likely to be less adventuresome in its foreign policy and less critical of ours." The U.S. rulers have been particularly incensed at the Mexican government's attempts to negotiate a halt to Washington's aggression against Cuba and Nicaragua, and at Mexican objections to Washington's growing military involvement in El Salvador.

Already this policy of applying pressure on Mexico has borne fruit. As part of the package to reschedule Mexico's debt, Washington succeeded in its long-term goal of forcing Mexico to sell the United States more oil and gas, at bargain-basement prices.

Under one provision of the deal, the U.S. government agreed to prepay \$1 billion for future purchases of Mexican high-quality light crude oil at a per-barrel price described in the August 23 *New York Times* as "too low to be announced."

In addition, Mexico had to agree to boost its deliveries to the U.S. strategic oil reserve from 50,000 barrels per day to 190,000 next year, at

a price between \$25 and \$35 per barrel, regardless of what the world price is at the time.

Furthermore, in order to get \$4.8 billion in loans from the International Monetary Fund, the Mexican government will have to apply policies that open the economy to greater foreign investment and drive down the living standards of Mexican workers and farmers.

Even during the oil-fired "boom" years of 1978-1981, the real income of Mexico's poor workers and farmers *steadily dropped* as infla-

tion outran any growth in income.

Alan Riding pointed out in the August 23 *New York Times* that "one result of the boom was even greater concentration of income in a country where 10 percent of the population has traditionally controlled 50 percent of the wealth."

But these same workers and peasants who got none of the benefits of the boom, will now be told to shoulder most of the costs of the bust.

The result could be explosive. □

Guatemala

Reign of terror against Indians

As Reagan presses to resume military aid

By Fred Murphy

The United States should play "essentially the same role" in Guatemala as it does in El Salvador, says Lt. Gen. Wallace Nutting, head of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama.

In Guatemala, the Pentagon's chief military officer in Latin America told the *New York Times*, "the population is larger, the economy is stronger, the geographical position is more critically located in a strategic sense."

"The implications of a Marxist takeover in Guatemala are a lot more serious than in El Salvador," Nutting declared (*New York Times*, August 22).

Nutting's remarks were part of a campaign by the Reagan administration to justify restoring U.S. military aid to the Guatemalan dictatorship. No such aid has been publicly given since 1977, when the Guatemalan regime rejected it owing to some State Department criticisms of human-rights violations.

What the U.S. imperialists fear in Guatemala is an armed revolutionary movement involving thousands of seasoned fighters, based on and supported by much of the country's Indian peasant population. Especially in the highland provinces of the northwest, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) has proven capable over the past year of dealing serious blows to the regime's armed forces.

Since taking over in a coup last March, the current dictator, Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt, has escalated army terror against the Indians.

Under the state of siege Ríos Montt declared on July 1, some 10,000 troops have been sent into the provinces of El Quiché, San Marcos, Huehuetenango, Sololá, Alta Verapaz, and Baja Verapaz. The army has been expanded through the forced reenlistment of all ex-soldiers aged 19 to 36. Rigorous press censorship has been imposed to prevent reporting on the army's scorched-earth campaigns.

Even before the state of siege, horrible deeds were being committed by the regime's forces. According to a chart compiled by the Guatemalan Human Rights Commission from information printed in the Guatemalan press, some 90

villages suffered massacres between March 23 (the date of Ríos Montt's coup) and the end of June. The victims totaled some 3,550. Among the commission's terse descriptions of the army's actions were the following:

- "Burned houses and 1,000 hundredweight of corn";
- "Machine-gunned women and children, ten burned bodies";
- "Children thrown onto rocks in river";
- "Burned alive, tied to their houses";
- "Majority women and children; bodies left hanging from trees";
- "Shut in their houses and burned alive";
- "Women raped."

One refugee interviewed in Ixcán, Mexico, by syndicated U.S. correspondent Gordon Mott gave the following account of a government operation in the village of Piedras Blancas, two miles away from his own:

"God gave us time to get away," said the Guatemalan farmer. "We saw the smoke and heard the screams. We had time to grab our children and go.

"The townspeople who escaped told us the army had come in and told everyone to gather in the square the next day," she said. "They even gave out sweets to the kids so they'd go get their fathers working the fields.

"When everyone had gathered, the army said it had come because they knew the townspeople were against the government, but not to worry, they were only going to tie up their hands to interrogate them. They led the women into one hut, the children into another and the men into a third hut.

"Then, they burned all three huts, shooting everyone that tried to get out. That's how Piedras Blancas died." [*Miami Herald*, August 23]

In addition to the wholesale slaughter of entire villages, the army systematically destroys food supplies, cornfields, and livestock.

Huge sections of forest have been burned to the ground to prevent the Indians from finding shelter after fleeing their villages. Abandoned houses are destroyed, mined, or booby-trapped to prevent their occupants from returning. Survivors are rounded up and placed in what Ríos Montt calls "model villages" — surrounded by barbed wire.

Various sources give figures ranging from 250,000 to 1 million for the number of Guatemalans displaced by the army's campaigns. Growing numbers of these refugees are fleeing across the border into southern Mexico.

"Guatemalan refugees first began crossing into Mexico 14 months ago, although some chose only to sleep in Mexico and others would occasionally return home to work their fields," a dispatch from Mexico City to the August 18 *New York Times* reported. "Recently, however, the pattern has apparently changed. 'At the beginning of the year, more refugees would go back and forth,' said a local representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 'but since June, the fear is greater and people are not returning.'"

The *Times* cited an aid worker, Angela Berryman of the American Friends Service Committee, who told a U.S. congressional hearing August 5: "It was a unanimous conviction, based on experience among all the refugees I spoke to, that it is the Guatemalan Army which is directly responsible for the violence which the Indian people are suffering."

Berryman quoted one refugee as saying: "We left Guatemala suddenly because in our community there was a massacre of 14 people. In the same area, there was another massacre of eight people. The military is doing these massacres. The army says it is burning our houses and massacring our people because it is we who are the guerrillas."

Ríos Montt terms his policy toward the Indians *fusiles y frijoles* — guns and beans. Some food is being distributed to the villagers who escape the massacres, and new housing, schools, and clinics are supposedly going to be built in the areas now being devastated. The essence of this approach was summed up by an army officer in Quiché Province. The army's message to the Indians and peasants was simple, he told *New York Times* reporter Raymond Bonner. "If you are with us, we'll feed you, if not, we'll kill you."

The Guatemalan people have demonstrated time and again their ability to survive the rulers' terror and persist in their struggles for democratic rights and social justice. The Reagan administration's impatience to resume military aid to the regime indicates its own lack of confidence that the current strategy can succeed. □

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Unionists defy government

Prepare to mark Solidarity's second anniversary

By Ernest Harsch

As August 31 — the second anniversary of the birth of the Solidarity union movement — drew near, the Polish government stepped up its attacks against union supporters and threatened to put down the nationwide demonstrations that have been called for that day.

In a televised speech August 25, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, the interior minister, warned, "The authorities and law enforcement bodies have effective forces and the means to guarantee calm and security. Public order shall be maintained."

Kiszczak's threats, together with those made by other government officials, have served to heighten social tensions in Poland. These threats are intended to dissuade people from participating in the August 31 actions. Both the authorities and union activists see those protests as an important test of Solidarity's continued strength.

August is a symbolic month for the Polish workers movement. Two years ago, on August 14, 1980, workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk began an occupation strike. It ended in victory on August 31, when the government signed an agreement that acknowledged the workers' right to form their own independent and democratically run union, Solidarity.

Solidarity fought for the workers' rights and against the material privileges and repressive actions of Poland's governing bureaucratic caste. Although it enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of the population — especially the working class — its activities were declared illegal with the imposition of martial law last December 13. Almost its entire national leadership was arrested, and remains in detention today.

Solidarity, however, soon began to reorganize itself. To demonstrate the continued support for Solidarity among working people, five underground leaders of the union called for the August 31 demonstrations to mark the second anniversary of the victory at the Lenin Shipyard.

The five leaders — Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Hardek, Bogdan Lis, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, and Eugeniusz Szumiejko — demanded the lifting of martial law, the release of Solidarity's imprisoned leaders, the restoration of the union's right to function, and the eventual establishment of a "self-governed republic."

They were calling the protests, they said, because of the government's refusal to heed the workers' demands. "The further widening of the chasm between those governing and those governed will dramatically lower chances for emerging from the crisis," they said.

In the weeks preceding August 31, they said, "the presence of our union will be exceptionally visible."

On August 1, shortly after the call for the demonstrations was made, thousands of Poles gathered at Warsaw's main cemetery to mark the anniversary of the 1944 Warsaw uprising, in which some 200,000 Poles were killed fighting the Nazi occupation forces.

The crowd of between 10,000 and 15,000 chanted "Solidarity!" and "Free Lech!" a reference to the union's imprisoned national chairperson, Lech Walesa.

A cassette tape recorder was placed on a monument and the voice of Zbigniew Bujak told the crowd, "We shall fight for the rights of Solidarity. We shall fight for the revival of independent unions. We shall fight for the release of our colleagues."

On August 10, thousands of union supporters marched through the streets of the northwestern port city of Szczecin, following a funeral for the son and daughter-in-law of Marian Jurczyk, one of Solidarity's jailed leaders. They chanted pro-Solidarity slogans. The police attacked and broke up the demonstration.

The next day, some 2,000 workers at the Lenin Shipyard laid a wreath at a monument to murdered workers just outside the shipyard. As the crowd grew, the police again attacked. The workers were joined by bystanders, and thousands marched through Gdansk. The police attacks led to running street battles.

Urge release of Iranian socialists

Another member of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran has been jailed by the regime there. Morid Mirghaed, a young writer and poet, was arrested during the last week of July in the city of Masjed-e Suleiman. He has been held there without charges.

Mirghaed played an active role in the Writers' Association in Iran during the struggle to bring down the shah's regime. Since then he has been a participant in the anti-imperialist battles of the Iranian people. He has been a member of the HKE for about one year.

In Tehran, two leaders of the HKE jailed at Evin Prison last March are still being held without charges. Bahram Ali Atai, a member of the HKE's Political Bureau, and Mohammed Bagher Falsafi, publisher of the HKE's weekly newspaper *Kargar*, were both arrested as part of a wave of harassment against *Kargar*. The paper had published an extensive interview with Atai detailing abuses he witnessed during a previous term of incarceration at Evin Prison.

Also on August 11, in Krakow, a thousand workers at the Lenin Steelworks staged a brief march and were joined by several thousand onlookers. The police broke up the march with water cannon.

A similar demonstration was broken up in Wroclaw that day, and in Warsaw several hundred people at Victory Square were dispersed by police firing water cannon.

Despite these police attacks, the demonstrations at Victory Square continued every night, until the government finally fenced off the square on August 20.

On August 18, workers in Szczecin demonstrated for the second time in a little more than a week. According to local government officials, several hundred workers at the large Warski Shipyard stopped work for 15 minutes, marched to a monument to the workers killed there during the December 1970 strikes, held a brief ceremony, and returned to their jobs. According to a government television account, the demonstration was organized by "Solidarity extremists."

A day earlier, in Warsaw, thousands of Solidarity leaflets rained down from several buildings on Marszalkowska Avenue, one of the capital's busiest streets. The leaflets were signed by the Solidarity Interfactory Workers Committee and called on the government to reach an agreement with the workers.

While passersby were scrambling to pick up the leaflets, a large banner was strung between two buildings on nearby Hoza Street. It declared: "Solidarity, amnesty for those sentenced, freedom for the detainees, we demand an agreement."

Simultaneously, a huge white balloon was released into the sky. Behind it trailed a red and white flag with the "Solidarity" logo emblazoned across it. □

Kargar was banned by the Tehran Revolutionary Prosecutor's Office on March 26 and has still not been allowed to resume publication.

Efforts are needed to secure the release of Falsafi and Atai by those who support the Iranian revolution and oppose imperialism's attacks against it. Telegrams such as the following should be sent to Hojatolislam Mousavi Tabrizi, Prosecutor General, Islamic Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran. Send copies to *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, Tehran, Iran:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and opponent of the imperialist threats against it, I urge you to release the antishah, anti-imperialist fighters Bahram Ali Atai and Mohammed Bagher Falsafi, who are being held without charges at Evin Prison in Tehran."

Similar messages calling for the release of Morid Mirghaed should be sent to the Islamic Revolutionary Courts, Masjed-e Suleiman, Iran. □

Growing strains with Washington

Behind the dispute over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan

By Ernest Harsch

After months of recriminations between Peking and Washington over the Reagan administration's continued arming of the dictatorship in Taiwan, a joint U.S.-China communiqué was issued August 17 in an effort to paper over the differences.

In it, the Reagan administration reiterated Washington's formal position that it "recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China, and it acknowledged the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is a part of China."

For the first time, however, the U.S. government also stated that "it does not seek to carry out a long-term policy of arms sales to Taiwan," would not exceed the level of arms sales of recent years, and "intends to reduce gradually its sales of arms to Taiwan, leading over a period of time to a final resolution."

There were howls of outrage from some ultraright members of Congress in the United States. And the Nationalist government in Taiwan expressed its "profound regret" over the document.

But the communiqué did little to lessen Washington's concrete support for the Taiwanese dictatorship, or to resolve the fundamental conflict between Peking and Washington on this question.

Within days of the communiqué, the White House officially notified Congress of its plans to extend the production of F-5E fighter planes in Taiwan. These are being jointly manufactured by the Northrop Corp. and the Nationalist government. The Pentagon also announced that Washington was planning to sell Taiwan \$240 million worth of jet engines and other equipment.

Earlier in the year, the Reagan administration approved the sale of \$97 million worth of spare parts for Taiwan's aircraft.

'Creative language'

The U.S. pledge to reduce arms sales to Taiwan was kept intentionally vague in the communiqué. No specific timetable was given.

One source at the U.S. embassy in Peking, cited in the August 20 *Wall Street Journal* described this as "creative language." The embassy sources pointed out, for example, that what the "final resolution" on arms sales to Taiwan would be was not specified. "We're dodging a definition of exactly what that means," they said.

Officials in Taiwan knew for some time that the communiqué would be issued, and what it would say. One unnamed Nationalist official

told *New York Times* correspondent Steve Lohr several days before it was officially released, "Diplomatic niceties are one thing and substance is another. We won't like the communiqué. But if Peking gets the face and Taipei gets the substance . . . that will not be so bad."

Even some right-wing congressmen were not too flustered by the communiqué. Senator S.I. Hayakawa, a Republican from California who has been a particularly vocal supporter of Taiwan, stated, "There are enough ambiguities in the agreement so that no one should be seriously offended, no one should feel sold out."

And while the Chinese government welcomed the communiqué, it was not overly enthusiastic about it. The Foreign Ministry in Peking stressed that the communiqué "only marks a beginning of the settlement of this issue" and that Washington's continued relations with Taiwan could lead to "another grave crisis."

An editorial in the August 18 *People's Daily*, the official organ of the Chinese Communist Party, was even sharper. It warned that if U.S. arms continued to be sold to Taiwan, "it will not only be impossible for Sino-U.S. relations to be maintained and consolidated, but highly probable that they will regress."

In an obvious reference to the section of the joint communiqué in which Peking promised to strive for a "peaceful reunification" of Taiwan with China, the editorial declared:

"Taiwan is China's territory and it is purely China's internal affair as to what way the Taiwan problem should be resolved. The U.S. hasn't any right to ask China to make any commitment on the way in which the Taiwan problem should be settled, still less to demand settlement of the Taiwan problem by peaceful means as a precondition to the cessation of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, because it would constitute an interference in China's internal affairs to do so."

The sharp criticisms in Peking of Reagan's support for the Taiwanese dictatorship are a reflection of the Chinese bureaucracy's moves over the past year or so to put a little more political distance between itself and Washington.

U.S. carrot and stick

For years now, Peking has cravenly lined up with the U.S. imperialists on numerous foreign policy questions, sometimes adopting positions that were even more provocative than those emanating from Washington. By siding with the U.S. imperialists, Peking has driven a knife in the back of revolutionary struggles around the world. It has been one of the most horrendous political crimes committed by the

privileged bureaucrats who govern China.

But the relations between Peking and Washington were not always so. In fact, for the first two decades after the triumph of the Chinese revolution in 1949, Washington did everything it could to try to strangle the new workers state.

During the Korean War in 1950, U.S. troops drove all the way to China's borders before being stopped and pushed back by Chinese troops. The option of a nuclear attack against China was seriously weighed.

Until the 1970s, the U.S. imperialists imposed an economic blockade against China, imposing severe hardships on a poor people struggling to rebuild their country after a century of imperialist plunder and the Japanese invasion of World War II.

Washington strengthened the Kuomintang clique holed up on Taiwan, to use as a staging area for attacks against China.

In 1958, the Chiang Kai-shek regime on Taiwan was encouraged to reinforce its troops on the tiny islands of Quemoy and Matsu — just a few miles off the coast of China. Chiang's troops blockaded important mainland ports, and the U.S. 7th Fleet was poised for an attack on China. Again, Washington threatened to drop nuclear weapons.

Under this unrelenting pressure from Washington, China's bureaucratic rulers began to seek a way out by turning to imperialism.

They were propelled further along this course by Moscow's attempts to make its own deal with Washington at China's expense. The Soviet government strictly limited its military aid to Peking, and in 1960 it treacherously broke off hundreds of economic contracts with China and reduced its trade to a minimum.

Peking's attempts to make a deal with Washington bore fruit during the Vietnam War when the U.S. imperialists, unable to defeat the Vietnamese revolution by purely military means, sought to hold it back by enlisting the help of Moscow and Peking. This culminated with President Nixon's visit to Peking in 1972, when he and Mao Tse-tung toasted each other while U.S. bombers were pulverizing Vietnam. Together with Nixon's meeting with Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow the same year, this was part of Washington's efforts to tie the Chinese and Soviet bureaucrats into a political deal aimed at isolating the Vietnamese revolution.

Despite the betrayals by Mao and Brezhnev, however, the Vietnamese fighters won.

In the wake of the Vietnam War, the ties between Peking and Washington grew even closer. On Dec. 15, 1978, Washington agreed to officially recognize the government in Peking

and two weeks later broke off formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

The U.S. government's recognition of the People's Republic of China was a victory for the Chinese workers and farmers, a victory that was a direct result of the success of the Vietnamese revolution. It marked a partial retreat from the U.S. imperialists' earlier efforts to directly overturn the Chinese revolution.

A shameful record

However, the Chinese bureaucrats undermined this victory by making a series of political betrayals in exchange for technological assistance, stepped-up trade, and diplomatic deals with the imperialists.

The United States has become China's third-largest trading partner, after Japan and Hong Kong. Trade between the two countries reached \$5.5 billion in 1981. About 80 U.S. companies have set up offices in Peking. Peking now relies on U.S. technology in the exploration of its offshore oil fields. More U.S. wheat is sold to China than to any other country.

Such economic deals are useful to the Chinese workers state, and Peking has every right to conclude them. But not at the expense of the world revolution.

The Chinese bureaucracy has gone out of its way for more than a decade to assure capitalist governments that it is willing to sell out the struggles and interests of working people. It supported the shah of Iran up through his last days in power. It has called on Washington to use its military might against revolutionary Cuba. It has been a staunch supporter of the various dictatorships in Pakistan, and maintained conspicuously close ties with the Chilean junta after the 1973 U.S.-backed coup in that country.

The Chinese government has been especially vocal in its attacks on the Soviet Union. In some cases it has parroted Washington's propaganda line, saying that the role of Cuban internationalist fighters in Angola and Ethiopia, and the advances of the Vietnamese revolution, are just an expression of Soviet "expansionism."

The Chinese bureaucracy's collaboration with Washington has not been limited to formal political pronouncements. It has also actively intervened on the U.S. imperialists' behalf. In 1979, Chinese troops mounted a large-scale invasion of Vietnam, and Peking has provided considerable backing to the remnants of the ousted Khmer Rouge butchers in Kampuchea. It has also given arms and financial assistance to the proimperialist Afghan guerrillas fighting against the Soviet army and Afghan government.

The counterrevolutionary bureaucracy in power in Peking sees such actions as a way to elicit more economic aid and other favors from Washington. But it also acts out of a genuine fear of the world revolution. As a conservative clique concerned solely with consolidating its authoritarian rule and bountiful material privileges — against the interests of China's work-

ing people — it sees any extension of the revolution as a threat to its political position within China.

'Calculated self-interest'

For the imperialists, the willingness of Mao and his successors to make a deal has certainly been useful. At a time when world imperialism has been suffering some serious blows, its success in pitting the governments of the world's two largest workers states against each other provided the imperialists with new opportunities to maneuver and to buy time.

In a column in the February 28 *New York Times* — the 10th anniversary of the 1972 Shanghai communiqué that concluded Nixon's visit to China — Nixon explained:

We entered into this new relationship with open eyes, and for calculated reasons of national self-interest. . . .

The Sino-Soviet split had been a seismic event. The Chinese both hated and feared the Russians. If we could capitalize on this to build a new relationship with China, we might forge a new balance of forces. . . .

We need all the friends and allies we can get in order to check Soviet imperialism.

By "Soviet imperialism," Nixon means the advance of the world revolution.

In another review of the 10 years since Nixon's visit, correspondent Michael Weisskopf commented from Peking in an article in the March 2 *Washington Post*:

"China's foreign policy shifts have made it possible for Washington to maintain its influence in Asia without the heavy burden of a large military presence. Much of the region's tension has been eased by Peking's advocacy of U.S.-Japanese defense ties, its courtship of the noncommunist governments of Southeast Asia and its quiet endorsement of U.S. troops in South Korea."

On top of this, the prospect of expanding trade with China has set many corporate mouths in the United States to watering. "Any nation of over 950 million people growing at the rate of 18 million individuals a year is a tremendous market," Donald Regan, the current U.S. treasury secretary, said several years ago, when he was chairman of the top Wall Street brokerage house, Merrill Lynch and Co.

Despite all these obvious advantages to Washington, the imperialists have no illusions that their relations with Peking are based on anything more than the immediate self-interest of a rather shaky bureaucratic caste.

Unlike some proimperialist military dictatorship in Latin America, for instance, the Chinese government — despite its counterrevolutionary policies — rests on the economic and social foundations of the Chinese workers state. And the imperialists have not abandoned their hostility to China's socialized property relations.

Washington also realizes that the very fact that China is a workers state puts certain limits on the Chinese bureaucracy's efforts to collaborate with imperialism. The pressures that the regime in Peking is under from the Chinese



Chinese Premier Chou En-lai toasting Nixon during latter's 1972 trip to Peking.

working people became apparent during the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979, a war that was quite unpopular within China.

Nixon, in his *New York Times* column, pointed to the underlying fragility of Washington's ties with Peking. "China, like Russia, is still Communist," he noted. "If it lost confidence in us, China could move back toward accommodation with Russia."

It is precisely because of the imperialists' hostility to the Chinese workers state that they continue to arm and support the Nationalist regime on Taiwan.

Although Washington reluctantly agreed to end its formal diplomatic relations with Taipei following the recognition of the Peking government, it has done everything it could to continue shoring up the Nationalist regime. Shortly after that diplomatic shift, the Carter administration approved Congress's adoption of the Taiwan Relations Act, which commits Washington to maintain its arms sales to the Taipei regime.

Before the release of the August 17 U.S.-Chinese communiqué, Reagan took care to stress, "We are not going to abandon our long-time allies and friends on Taiwan." He pledged to continue fulfilling the terms of the Taiwan Relations Act.

On July 14, Washington reassured the Nationalist regime that there were six points it would not accede to in any agreement with Peking. According to the August 18 *New York Times*, these were:

- The United States would not agree to setting a date for ending arms sales to Taiwan.
- American officials would not agree to prior consultation with Peking on arms sales to Taiwan.
- The United States would not play a mediation role between Taipei and Peking.
- America would not revise the Taiwan Relations Act.
- The United States has not changed its position regarding the sovereignty of Taiwan.
- Washington would not exert pressure on Taiwan to enter negotiations with Peking.

Whatever declarations the U.S. rulers make about favoring a reunification of Taiwan with

China, they are sharply opposed to any such move under conditions in which China's socialized property forms could be extended to Taiwan.

Taiwan is of considerable strategic value to the imperialists. Located between the East China and South China seas, between Japan and the Philippines, it is a major shipping and trade center in the region. Its population of 18 million is larger than those of a majority of Asian countries.

But most importantly for Washington, Taiwan is very close to the world's largest workers state. It remains a dagger aimed at the heart of the Chinese revolution.

Second thoughts in Peking

Washington's continued arming of the Nationalist regime is extremely unpopular within China. Chinese newspapers often receive letters protesting the U.S. arms sales — letters which are frequently suppressed.

According to one dispatch from Peking in the January 20 *Wall Street Journal*, "The editor of a major Peking newspaper said he was attempting to keep anti-U.S. sentiment down by not publishing letters written to protest the U.S. arms decision."

Besides the pressures it is under from working people within China, the Chinese bureaucracy has also experienced a number of disappointments in its relations with Washington.

Peking's parroting of imperialist propaganda and its support for such reactionary regimes as those of the shah of Iran has left it politically isolated in the world. Its foreign policy stance has been condemned not only by the governments of other workers states, but also by many in the colonial and semicolonial world that it used to have close ties with. In Africa, for instance, Chinese influence has plummeted drastically since the 1960s.

At the same time, these political setbacks have not been offset by as much imperialist economic and technological assistance as the Chinese bureaucrats had originally hoped for. The world capitalist economic crisis has been an important element in that.

Deng steps back

This situation has given some of the factional opponents of Chinese Communist Party leader Deng Xiaoping an opportunity to renew their opposition to his policies. Criticisms of Deng's advocacy of closer ties with Washington have become a convenient weapon in this interbureaucratic conflict.

As a result of these various factors, Deng and the other bureaucrats in Peking decided last year to begin distancing themselves somewhat from Washington.

In February, the 10th anniversary of Nixon's visit to China was virtually ignored in Peking, while that same month Deputy Prime Minister Li Xiannian declared in an interview that "the United States is not a friendly country."

Although the U.S. government's position on Taiwan has remained rather consistent, the

Chinese authorities pressed their own views on Taiwan more vociferously than before. Sharp public protests were made in January, when the Reagan administration first announced its plans to approve continuation of the coproduction of the F-5E jets in Taiwan.

In April, the *People's Daily* denounced the White House decision to sell military spare parts to Taiwan: "The United States must end its arms sales to Taiwan. That is a matter of principle." Chinese-U.S. relations, it said, were "now at a crossroads."

Deng stressed a month earlier that on the question of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, "we have little room for maneuver." If they continued, he warned, Peking was "well-prepared" to downgrade its relations with Washington.

Even before this flurry over the Taiwan issue, Peking began trying to mend its old ties with governments in the semicolonial world. It once again started to speak out against U.S. policies in certain countries and regions.

Peking came out in support of Argentina during its war with Britain over the Malvinas Islands.

During an August 4 debate in the United Nations Security Council, the Chinese representative strongly criticized the Reagan administration for supporting the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, accusing it of "shielding the aggressors," a policy that was "severely condemned by all peoples of the world."

Overtures to Moscow

At the same time, Peking has taken a few limited steps in the direction of improved ties with Moscow.

One of the first signs of this came in December, when Peking refused to line up with Reagan's anti-Soviet propaganda campaign and his imposition of economic sanctions against the Soviet Union following the declaration of martial law in Poland. Although the Chinese bureaucrats were also motivated by their own fear of the example of Poland's Solidarity union movement, the fact that they refrained from condemning Moscow — despite repeated U.S. suggestions that they do so — was significant.

In March, Peking sent three economic experts on an unofficial visit to the Soviet Union, the first such move in nearly two decades. This followed a call a month earlier by Soviet Premier Nikolai Tikhonov for the resumption of a Sino-Soviet dialogue.

After the economic experts arrived in the Soviet Union, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, in a March 24 speech in Tashkent, declared that Moscow was prepared to take concrete steps to improve relations. Although the Chinese authorities spurned that particular appeal, new contacts and overtures continued.

At their annual trade talks in April, Peking and Moscow agreed to increase their trade by 100 percent over that of the previous year.

In May, the head of the Far Eastern Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry visited Peking and a delegation from the China Coun-

cil for the Promotion of International Trade visited Moscow.

The same month, an article in the Soviet Communist Party daily *Pravda* declared, "It is our profound belief that there exists a real possibility for improving Soviet-Chinese relations. To miss this possibility or to deliberately pass it would mean to act contrary to the interests of the peoples of the two countries."

Pravda criticized Peking's "collusion" with Washington, but emphasized that it was the imperialists who were benefiting from the Sino-Soviet rift.

The next month, a Soviet track and field team went to Peking for a competition, the first such sports exchange since 1967. The athletes received favorable coverage in the Chinese press. One newspaper hoped that the visit would "help to re-establish friendship between our peoples and between our countries."

Alarm bells in Washington

Despite the tentative and limited nature of these contacts — and the occasional denunciations of "Soviet imperialism" that continue to emanate from Peking — officials in Washington have begun to get nervous about the possible direction of Chinese foreign policy.

This concern accounts for the Reagan administration's willingness to make a few superficial concessions to Peking in the August 17 communiqué, in the hopes of easing the way for the Chinese bureaucrats' continued collaboration.

How successful that will be remains to be seen, but Peking's initial reaction to the communiqué will not be too encouraging to those in the White House.

In a study released on July 5, the Brookings Institution, a high-level think-tank in Washington, warned that a "major shift in China's overall international posture" could have "far-reaching and unpredictable effects" on other countries in the region.

An article in the August 18 *Wall Street Journal* expressed concern that even a less sweeping shift in Peking could seriously expose U.S. interests in Asia. "While a Sino-Soviet reconciliation isn't regarded as a strong possibility," it said, "the prospect of an acquiescent China rather than an anti-Soviet one is seen here [Washington] as a grave development that would sharply tilt the balance of power in East Asia."

Nixon, in his *Times* column, noted that the repercussions of such a shift would not be limited to Asia. He said, "If China slipped back into the Soviet orbit, the balance of power in the world would be overwhelmingly shifted against us."

That prospect may not yet be around the corner. But no quantity of joint communiqués can hide the very real conflicts that exist between the U.S. government and the Chinese workers state.

And how those conflicts are dealt with is not up to the Chinese bureaucrats alone. The working people of China will certainly have something to say about them. □

Socialists answer U.S. government

Final SWP brief in lawsuit against secret police

[In July 1973 the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance filed a landmark lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and other U.S. government agencies.

[During the eight years leading up to the 1981 trial of the suit, the government was forced to turn over more than 200,000 pages of documents showing a 40-year government campaign to disrupt and silence the socialists. This included poison-pen letters, burglaries of the socialists' offices, wiretapping, use of informers, and deportation threats. Many of the revelations made nationwide headlines.

[Police agencies were implicated in attacks on the SWP and YSA carried out by ultrarightist groups. Documents on the collaboration between the CIA and FBI and foreign intelligence services in order to suppress dissent were uncovered. The files also revealed secret police attacks on Black organizations, unionists, women's rights groups, and others.

[At the 1981 trial in the case, the government told presiding Judge Thomas Griesa all this was justified because of "national security" interests. The political ideas of the plaintiffs were sufficient grounds for government spying and harassment, whether or not they had committed any illegal acts.

[The socialists' lawsuit asks for a permanent injunction that would bar the FBI, CIA, and INS from continuing to "investigate" the SWP and YSA because of their revolutionary socialist views.

[The suit also seeks to have the Voorhis Act, which is intended to prevent U.S. socialists from collaborating with cothinkers abroad, ruled unconstitutional as applied to the SWP and YSA.

[It asks the judge to prohibit the government from invoking sections of the Immigration and Nationality Act to deny political asylum, citizenship, resident status, or visas to foreign-born persons who are members or supporters of the SWP.

[The suit also seeks \$70 million in damages from the government.

[Since the end of the trial, on June 25, 1981, the SWP and YSA have submitted to Judge Griesa an extensive posttrial brief detailing the evidence that came out in the case. This has been published in book form under the title *Secret Police on Trial*. (Available from Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10013, for \$10.)

[After a long delay, the U.S. government submitted its posttrial brief, which justified the 40-year "investigation" of the socialists.

[We are reprinting below the final brief sub-



Former FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. Secret police carried on 40-year campaign against SWP.

mitted by the socialists on July 27 in response to this government brief.

[A decision in the case is now awaited from Judge Griesa].

* * *

One of the central issues to be resolved in this case is whether plaintiffs' conduct, as revealed by the massive trial record, "is a legitimate area for investigation." *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* (1974).

For the first eight years of this litigation, the government repeatedly assured this Court and the Second Circuit that it would prove that the FBI's investigation of the SWP and YSA was justified by evidence of planned or actual criminal activity by the plaintiffs. These promises were not fulfilled at trial, and in their posttrial memorandum the defendants have virtually conceded that, at least since the Second World War, there has been no criminal basis for the investigation. Given the history of this litigation, that retreat is a significant one.

'National security' rationale

The defendants attempt to compensate for their retreat from a "criminal" justification by shifting to a near-total reliance on a purported "national security" rationale. They assert that, even if they did not have reasonable grounds for suspecting that the SWP and YSA were engaging in or planning criminal or violent actions, now or in the foreseeable future, nevertheless, plaintiffs' "political ideology" posed a

threat to the national security, sufficient to justify 40 years of FBI spying and disruption. According to the government:

"The ultimate purpose of a national security investigation is not to investigate the commission of a crime, but to detect and thereby prevent activities which may lead to the subversion or overthrow of the Government. There can be no doubt that such investigations were authorized, and were conducted for a lawful purpose, namely, the detection of threats to national security.

"The FBI was amply justified in pursuing the national security investigation of the SWP and YSA despite the fact that the investigation never resulted in criminal prosecutions subsequent to the convictions in 1941 of eighteen of the SWP's leaders for Smith Act violations. Criminal prosecution was not the principal goal of the investigation, and there is no legal requirement to the contrary."

Plaintiffs contend that the defendants do not have the authority they lay claim to — that of permanently investigating (and seeking to "prevent") lawful political activity in support of the ideas the Executive views as "subversive." Plaintiffs submit that the national security rationale for the "investigation" is as meritless as the criminal rationale.

For on the facts presented by this trial record, it is plain that no constitutionally permissible ground for believing that plaintiffs pose a threat to the "national security" has ever existed.

In 1974, during proceedings on plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction, the Court directed the government to come forward with any evidence whatsoever in its possession of violent or illegal activity by the SWP and YSA. In response to this direction, "the Government [came] forward with absolutely nothing."

The government nevertheless represented to the Second Circuit, on appeal of the preliminary injunction, that a minority in the SWP "endorses and supports the current use of violence," and that this minority was seeking to gain control of the YSA in order "to convert YSA into a violent movement."

This representation was decisive to the outcome of the appeal. The Second Circuit stressed that the "FBI has a right, indeed a duty, to keep itself informed with respect to the possible commission of crimes" (emphasis added). It recognized that the issue posed by the government's allegation of criminal plans by the SWP and YSA was "whether the conduct sought to be protected is a legitimate area for investigation."

The preliminary injunction was vacated be-

cause "[s]uch an issue deserves treatment on a full record."

In 1978, on appeal of this Court's contempt citation against the Attorney General, the government once more assured the Second Circuit that the investigation had a legitimate basis as a criminal investigation. It represented that "[t]he District Court's reliance on the fact that the 18 informants supposedly reported no criminal activity" was erroneous, for "the District Court never asked the Government to summarize whether these or other informants reported on crime, which many unquestionably did."

It stated that, "Contrary to the Court's observations, the 18 informant files alone indicate that there were reports suggesting that the SWP had engaged in a systematic violation of the Voorhis Act, as well as other federal statutes." It also suggested that the SWP had "links to international terrorism" and that as a "constituent section" of the Fourth International "it was responsible for assassinations, kidnappings and other acts of political violence including the bombing of American facilities abroad."

'Loads of illegal activities'?

In the months leading up to the trial of the case, this Court once more asked the government "to come forward with any facts or information possessed by the United States Government" of actual or threatened violations of law by the SWP. The Court instructed the government that:

"... unless the government comes up with . . . evidence from the informant files or whatever, [contradicting the claim] that there was no unlawful activity, no activity of planning or advocating violence, no acts of violence . . . it will be conclusively found that that is the case unless the government comes forward with proof to the contrary by a certain date."

The government responded, "this sounds sensible. . . ."

The Court, responding to the suggestion at this conference that the government might not choose to produce certain evidence, observed, "I have a feeling that if they knew of any illegal or violent acts or plans by these people they would figure out a way to produce it."

The government assured the Court that the files would "absolutely" show evidence of illegal activity. It informed the Court that it was reviewing not only the massive files, spanning four decades, on six central leaders of the SWP, but also the "SWP files." The government stressed that it was reviewing the files page by page for trial, "in order to bring forward this material. This is going to be part of the evidence at trial. That's why, of course, the materials will have to come out anyway. We want it to come out."

The government insisted that the files contained evidence of "loads of illegal activities" by plaintiffs. The Court repeated its direction to the government to produce a statement of "what illegal activity or threatened illegal ac-

tivity" it contended the FBI files contained.

The list of purported criminal acts was submitted by the defendants shortly before the trial in the form of the affidavit of Charles Mandigo. It transpired that the "loads of illegal activities" consisted of the 1941 Smith Act convictions of SWP leaders in Minneapolis.

After reviewing the affidavit, the Court stated:

"We waited weeks and weeks and weeks, and we get an affidavit with a lot of rhetoric, a lot of quotations from public sources, and a lot of history which anybody could go to the library and find out, and the real questions we were waiting with bated breath to know was if the FBI had any evidence of illegal activity by these people or threatened illegal activity or attempted illegal activity or planned illegal activity, and if it was just going to be a matter of quoting that rhetoric, we have had that rhetoric around for a long time and we didn't need to get some typists to type all that stuff up again. What we have is nothing, no additional information."

What little remained of the Mandigo affidavit vanished at trial, when it was demonstrated that virtually every paragraph in it contained erroneous or unsubstantiated assertions. Virtually nothing in that affidavit is even mentioned in the defendants' posttrial memorandum.

Subsequently, the defendants continued to insist that their files *did* contain evidence of criminal activity by plaintiffs. However, their assurance that "this is going to be part of the evidence at trial" was retracted. The defendants instead shifted to the position that the "evidence" of illegal conduct could *not* come out at trial, because none of that evidence could be made public without revealing highly secret sources and methods. They proposed submitting this "evidence" to the Court in [a secret] affidavit.

The Court initially rejected this proposal. Plaintiffs, however, urged the Court to accept the offer and to examine the affidavit. Plaintiffs' concern was that the defendants' strategy was to lay the basis for a claim on appeal that they had been prejudiced by the Court's refusal to review evidence that provided legal justification for the investigation. The Court, on reconsideration, agreed to examine the secret affidavit and additional *ex parte* materials submitted by the defendants.

'Secret affidavit' dumped

Plaintiffs then made numerous proposals to the Court and the government to enable the plaintiffs to respond to the secret affidavit without the disclosure of secret "methods and sources." None of these proposals was acceptable to the government. The Court stated that it had also made proposals to the government "as to some modest disclosures" to plaintiffs on the import of the secret materials, but that the government had rejected them, taking "a very expansive position of the secrecy" of the materials.

The Court ultimately ruled that:

"As a result of recent discussions between Government counsel and the Court, it has been resolved that the Court will give no evidentiary consideration whatsoever, whether on matters of credibility or otherwise, to the [secret] declaration of Charles F. Mandigo, dated January 19, 1981, and to other items submitted on April 8, 1981.

"The Government has agreed that it will not rely on these matters as evidence in this court or in any Appellate Court.

"The Government reserves the right, however, to move, after this Court's decision on the merits of the case, to dismiss all or parts of the case on the ground that the Government was unable to fully defend the case by virtue of the necessary secrecy of certain evidence."

In short, the "secret affidavit" forms no part of the trial record of this case. The Court noted during the trial that "[o]ne fortunate thing" is that "as the case goes on and more evidence comes in, that material presented in the secret affidavit looms less large. There is a lot to the case and there is no one thing that is going to make or break an issue." The Court informed the parties that the materials were "not of . . . overwhelming psychological impact. . . . If [the defendants] don't want anything done with them that is their problem."

FBI informers

Despite the total collapse of the public Mandigo affidavit, and the withdrawal of its [secret] counterpart, the defendants expended considerable energy at trial in trying to make a case that the plaintiffs are or have been involved in illegal acts or plans linked to violence.

A parade of government witnesses took the stand to offer testimony to this effect. These ranged from FBI informer Ralph Desimone (one of the original 18 whose identities the government asserted were shielded by informer privilege) to Russell Harding (an informer for the Arizona State Police who testified that plaintiff Morris Starsky had once asked him if he knew how to make a bomb, and that the YSA at Arizona State University had been involved in a planned takeover of a campus building in the early 1970s).

The testimony of these and other witnesses called for similar purposes has already been refuted. The decisive measure of how thoroughly unsubstantial and/or discredited their testimony was is the fact that most of these witnesses fail even to make an appearance in the defendants' posttrial memorandum. Following in the trail of the public Mandigo affidavit and the secret affidavit, they have simply vanished.

Thus, we have come full circle. The government labored mightily, on the eve of the trial and during the trial itself, to produce evidence of criminal activities by the SWP and YSA. It has brought forth less than a mouse. We are back to where we were when this Court warned the government that if it could not produce evidence that the plaintiffs were engaged in "illegal activity or threatened illegal activity" it

would be found that no such activity took place.

It is for the Court to resolve the factual issue of whether there was a justification — on any ground — for the FBI's 40-year investigation of the SWP and YSA. Any possible claim that this Court does not have the authority and the obligation to review the purported factual basis for an "investigation" which severely entrenched upon fundamental First and Fourth Amendment rights must be decisively rejected. That obligation is in no way diminished by the fact that the government in this case has advanced a "national security" rationale for its actions.

'National defense'

The courts "may not simply accept bland assurances by the Executive that a situation did, in fact, represent a national security problem." *Smith v. Nixon* (1979). For, ". . . this concept of 'national defense' cannot be deemed an end in itself, justifying any exercise of legislative power designed to promote such a goal. Implicit in the term 'national defense' is the notion of defending those values and ideals which set this Nation apart.

"For almost two centuries, our country has taken singular pride in the democratic ideals enshrined in its Constitution, and the most cherished of those ideals have found expression in the First Amendment.

"It would indeed be ironic if, in the name of national defense, we would sanction the subversion of one of those liberties — the freedom of association — which makes the defense of the Nation worthwhile." *United States v. Robel* (1967).

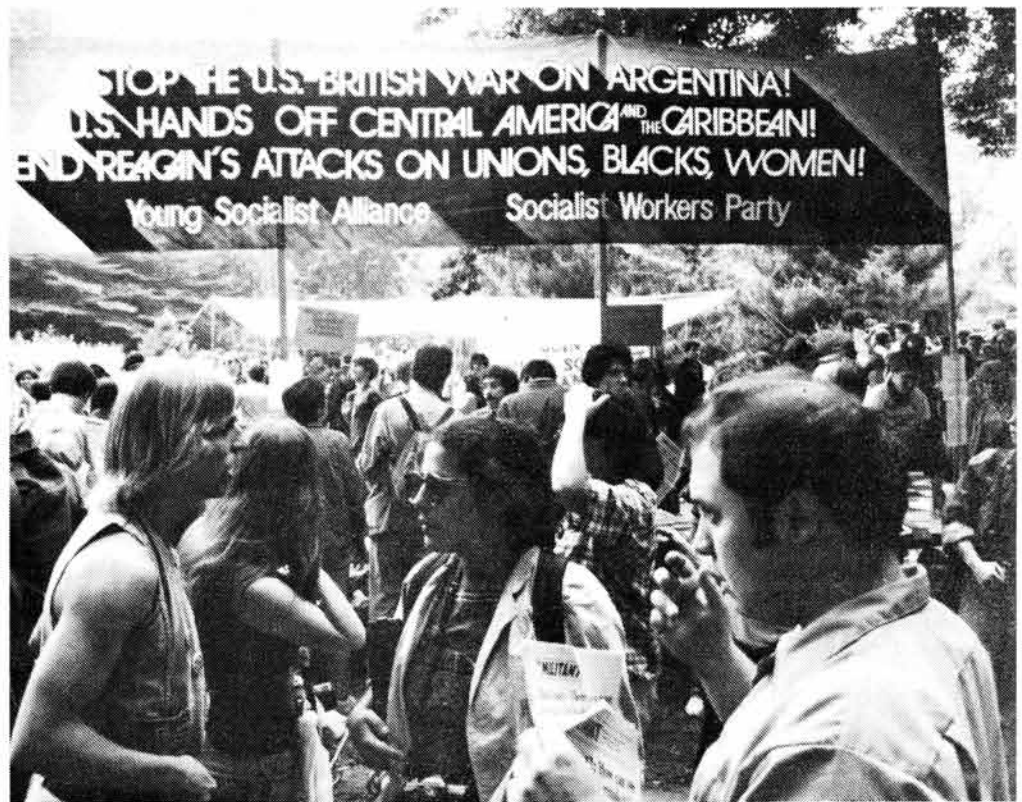
Thus, the talismanic repetition of the phrase "national security" simply does not immunize from judicial review Executive actions interfering with fundamental rights of association. The more directly such actions "affect domestic activities protected by the Bill of Rights, the more urgent is the need for judicial oversight . . . particularly when the actions have not been authorized by Congress and are not so public as to permit informed scrutiny and review through the political process." *Zweibon v. Mitchell* (1975).

What now remains of the purported factual basis for the "investigation" relates almost exclusively to plaintiffs' advocacy of their revolutionary socialist views, which the defendants claim poses a "threat to the national security."

The government's answer

The government's long-awaited answer to plaintiffs' September 1981 posttrial memorandum avoids concrete analysis of the central issues of fact and law posed by this case. It relies, instead, on naked assertions of unfettered Executive discretion to combat "subversion" and undefined "threats" to the "national security."

In their memorandum, plaintiffs thoroughly demonstrated that the FBI's "investigation" of the SWP and YSA was without legal authorization. Some nine months later, in their an-



Holbrook Mahr/Militant

Socialist literature table at June 12 peace demonstration in New York. U.S. government seeks to prevent American people from hearing revolutionary ideas.

swer, the defendants have offered sweeping generalities as support for their claim that the investigation was authorized — *without, however, even attempting to rebut a single aspect of plaintiffs' detailed analysis of the facts and law.* That analysis was correct, now stands essentially unchallenged, and provides a solid basis for the relief that plaintiffs request.

Plaintiffs also showed in their posttrial memorandum that the means employed by the FBI in the defendants' "investigation" of the SWP and YSA — the burglaries, warrantless wiretaps and bugs, informer and disruption operations — unquestionably violated federal law and the Constitution, and involved massive violations of plaintiffs' First and Fourth Amendment rights.

In response to this detailed analysis, the defendants have done little more than assert that the Fourth Amendment does not apply to the SWP and YSA, and that, even if First Amendment rights were impaired, the judiciary is powerless to vindicate those rights in the context of a "national security investigation."

According to the defendants, the use of informers to disrupt and spy upon a political party is "unquestionably legal"; the FBI's Cointelpro operations simply do not give rise to a claim; and as to the massive warrantless burglaries, wiretaps, and bugs, even the "proposition" that these raise "constitutional questions" is a "dubious" one. These bald assertions do not begin to meet the detailed legal and factual analysis supplied by the plaintiffs.

At the very heart of the claims in this litigation is plaintiffs' charge that the SWP and YSA were singled out for "investigation" on political grounds. Plaintiffs contend that they were subjected for 40 years to massive violations of their fundamental rights of association, not because the defendants ever had reason to believe that they were engaging or about to engage in illegal activity, but because the defendants wanted to "prevent" and silence plaintiffs' political activity and advocacy.

Here, the defendants have made virtually no effort to refute plaintiffs' charge. In fact, they readily concede that it is largely, perhaps wholly, true. They merely deny that this charge poses any constitutional issue whatsoever. According to the defendants, they have unfettered discretion to "investigate" those whose "political ideology" is, "as a policy matter, deemed inimical to the good order of the country." The defendants "prove" that plaintiffs are Marxists, and then rest their case.

Quoting plaintiffs' memorandum, defendants inform the Court that the SWP and YSA "are self-professedly in favor of a 'new government . . . to organize the transition from capitalism to socialism,'" and that "plaintiffs' views are based on the fundamental doctrines of Marxism."

The remainder of their factual "justification" is little more than an elaboration of the same theme. The gist of the argument is that the plaintiffs must be watched by the federal police because even if they are engaged solely in

lawful activity today, their *ideology* will lead them to commit lawless acts sometime in the future. As the government puts it, "The SWP's belief in the necessity for a Marxist revolution naturally led to a concern that the SWP would employ force or violence to bring about the revolution."

'A class of future criminals'

In short, the Executive claims here to have determined that the members and supporters of the SWP and YSA — and, of course, countless others in this country who share to one degree or another plaintiffs' Marxist views — comprise a class of *future* criminals. These people, though innocent of wrongdoing today, will supposedly be led inexorably to commit bad acts sometime in the years to come because of their beliefs. The defendants' conclusion is that such people must be "investigated" today (and, apparently, forever) in anticipation of the crimes they *may* commit in the indefinite future (when the revolution comes).

Were such action taken by Congress, it would be a classic case of a bill of attainder. Such a determination by the Executive, and the actions flowing from that judgment shown in this case, are no less forbidden by the Constitution.

According to the defendants:

"The ultimate purpose of a national security investigation is not to investigate the commission of a crime, but to detect and thereby prevent activities which may lead to the subversion or overthrow of the Government. There can be no doubt that such investigations were authorized, and were conducted for a lawful purpose, namely, the detection of threats to national security."

But the defendants still leave the central question unanswered: What was the "national security" interest that they were seeking to protect in their 40-year long "investigation" of the SWP and YSA? Nowhere, in the thousand-plus pages of their posttrial memoranda, have the defendants even attempted to articulate the "national security" interest advanced as their key defense.

Whatever authority there may be for "national security investigations" when no suspected criminal activity of any kind is involved — and *no* court has *ever* recognized the existence of any such authority — surely it cannot be based on nebulous assertions regarding "inimical" ideologies, especially in the area of political advocacy and associations:

"The danger to political dissent is acute where the Government attempts to act under so vague a concept as the power to protect 'domestic security.' Given the difficulty of defining the domestic security interest, the danger of abuse in acting to protect that interest becomes apparent. . . . The price of lawful public dissent must not be a dread of subjection to an unchecked surveillance power." *United States v. United States District Court ("Keith")* (1972).

The vague concept of "national security" is combined in the government's posttrial argu-

ments with an equally vague characterization of the "threat" posed by the SWP and YSA to this asserted interest. Nowhere in their posttrial papers have the defendants attempted to define this threat.

But behind in the haze of the defendants' argument is the clearly visible contour of the real — and ominous — claim of executive power being advanced by the government. The "threat" to the "national security" on which the government bases its defense is, at bottom, the "threat" that the plaintiffs' views, if not "prevented," will gain wider support and acceptance among the American people.

It is not surprising that the defendants shrink from articulating this "threat" in plain and unambiguous language. Yet this is the real basis for their claim that *everything* the FBI has done to the SWP and YSA — from burglarizing their offices, to taking clandestine measures to get SWP and YSA members fired from their jobs — was justified.

Defendants' claims of authority to "prevent" the activities of the SWP and YSA have no place in a democratic society. "Those who won our independence by revolution were not cowards. They did not fear political change. They did not exalt order at the cost of liberty." *Whitney v. California* (1927).

The government states:

"Clearly this investigation must have been intended [sic] to range beyond the usually narrow focus of a criminal investigation to encompass information gathering about potential threats to the national security; its starting point was the identification of certain political movements deemed inimical to, and subversive of, our constitutional form of government."

Yet the meaning of the term "subversive," so central to the government's defense, is never explained. Nowhere in their memorandum do the defendants offer a definition, or even the elements of one.

The term "subversive" (like its more contemporary counterpart "national security threat") is a highly ambiguous one. It can be used, as Congress has employed it, to describe certain activities made criminal by statutes, such as treason, enlistment to serve against the United States, and the like. In some contexts, however, the government has used the term to denote activity that is not criminal but is nevertheless disfavored by those in high office.

In 1940 — the year the FBI officially commenced its "investigation" of plaintiffs — the Justice Department responded to public concern, generated by testimony of J. Edgar Hoover to a congressional appropriations committee, that the FBI was relying on the more expansive definition of the term "subversive" in order to "investigate" critics of government policies. The Justice Department assured Congress and the public that any concern was groundless. A special assistant to the attorney general stated that:

". . . the phrase 'subversive activities, or any activities that are possibly detrimental to the internal security of the United States' was

used by Mr. Hoover in his testimony in that narrow sense as being limited to activities that constitute violations of statutes that are now on the books. It was not used in the tenuous, nebulous sense in which it is sometimes employed."

'Subversive activity'

The government is now basing its defense in this lawsuit on precisely the "nebulous" definition of "subversive activity" and "national security threat" that demarcates a set of beliefs and/or activities that are *not* criminal, yet are disfavored by the authorities. The government now asserts that the SWP has engaged in activities that, "while [they] may not violate a specific law" are nonetheless "subversive."

It is these "subversive" acts that the government claims the Executive has the power to deter, and if possible, "prevent" — not by criminal prosecution before judge and jury, but by open-ended "investigation." The Executive thus arrogates to itself the power, constitutionally reserved to Congress, to decide what acts are to be forbidden or penalized.

The Executive's list of "subversive acts" is nowhere made public, so that even one seeking to avoid such penalties can never know what is allowed and what proscribed. (The sole example given by the defendants of "an activity which while it may not violate a specific law, is a subversive act" is the attendance at "secret meetings" of the Fourth International.

The government commits the very abuses warned about by Attorney General (later Supreme Court Justice) Robert Jackson in 1940:

"Activities which seem helpful or benevolent to wage earners, persons on relief, or those who are disadvantaged in the struggle for existence, may be regarded as 'subversive' by those whose property interests might be affected thereby; those who are in office are apt to regard 'subversive' the activities of any of those who would bring about a change of administration. Some of our soundest constitutional doctrines were once punished as 'subversive.'"

The true expanse of the "national security" powers claimed by the Executive can be measured by the fact that the government explicitly defends Cointelpro as a proper exercise of this authority.

As plaintiffs have demonstrated, the disruption programs that in the 1960s were captioned "Cointelpro" were not a departure from the goals of the overall "investigation." Rather, Cointelpro was simply a more bureaucratized (and therefore more fully documented) version of existing policy and practice to prevent, disrupt, and punish lawful political activity.

The former assistant director of the Intelligence Division of the FBI testified at trial that an essential component of a "counterintelligence" investigation of the kind aimed at the SWP and YSA was "to take measures necessary to assure they won't attain their objectives [. . .] to prevent their being successful by instituting disruptive practices or any other legal means permissible."



Osborne Hart/Milant

September 19, 1981, "Solidarity Day" demonstration called by U.S. labor unions. Activities of secret police are aimed against rights of labor movement as a whole.

Cointelpro, the defendants claim, was a valid "response to the perceived national security threat of the SWP and YSA." The government blandly states:

"In furtherance of its national security functions, the FBI adopted the technique of disrupting groups perceived to be a threat to the national security. . . . The authority to engage in these techniques was implied in the Presidential directives to the FBI to conduct national security intelligence investigations beginning with those of President [Franklin] Roosevelt. . . . Presidents and Attorneys General were aware of the use of disruptive activities, and they did not question its legality or propriety."

Executive powers

The fact that presidents and attorneys general acquiesced in the disruption operations does not make these acts lawful. If anything, the evidence of complicity at the highest levels in the FBI's wrongdoing increases the need for this Court to issue the injunctive relief plaintiffs are seeking. To do less would be to grant the Executive the very powers against which the First Amendment was enacted as a barrier.

Whatever the president's "national security" powers might be, they cannot include the power to authorize the disruption of lawful activities of opposition parties. The Supreme Court has "not been slow to recognize that the protection of the First Amendment bars subtle as well as obvious devices by which political association might be stifled." *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware Co.* (1982).

The defendants are now asking this Court to go beyond all existing judicial precedent and legitimize, in the name of the "national security," open-ended disruptive "investigations" against political organizations that are suspected of no criminal plans or activity.

To be sure, the courts have recognized that a "national security" investigation may have as its purpose prevention, rather than prosecution, of acts which Congress has made punish-

able as crimes, such as espionage, sabotage, and treason.

No court, however, has ever held or suggested that wholly lawful First Amendment activity — favored activity, which is entitled to special constitutional protection from even subtle attacks and incidental impairment, let alone from outright disruption and "prevention" — may provide the basis for such an investigation.

There is *no* authority today for the proposition that lawful advocacy of a political ideology poses a "threat to the national security" which the government may seek to "prevent."

Defendants seek to strengthen their "national security" claim by alleging that the plaintiffs pose some kind of "foreign" threat, thus bringing the FBI's actions into the area where the Executive's powers are greatest. Defendants assert that the SWP and YSA "have a significant connection with a foreign power," presumably the Fourth International.

Yet defendants fail even to attempt to show that the SWP's relations with the Fourth International, or with any foreign government, bring them within the reach of *any* possibly applicable standard for "foreign intelligence" or "foreign counterintelligence" targets.

This Court must reject the "national security" rationale for the decades-long FBI operation against the plaintiffs.

If the advocacy and actions of the SWP and YSA created a reasonable basis for belief that a crime had been or was about to be committed, an investigation by the FBI (though not a punitive and disruptive one lasting 40 years) might have been justified as a law enforcement action. But if the FBI actions against the SWP and YSA cannot be justified on the grounds of enforcement of criminal statutes, they cannot be justified at all.

Fourth Amendment

With regard to the fundamental Fourth Amendment issues posed by this case, defen-

dants, ironically, seek an advantage from the fact that the FBI's spying on the SWP and YSA had no basis in criminal law enforcement. They attempt to parlay the "national security" rationale into a sweeping exemption to the strictures of the Fourth Amendment. While conceding that the bugs, wiretaps, and burglaries admittedly carried out against the plaintiffs would be forbidden by the Fourth Amendment if the SWP and YSA had been reasonably suspected of criminal wrongdoing, the defendants assert that because no such predicate for the FBI intrusions existed, they were allowable under the Fourth Amendment.

This rationale is contrary to law and to logic. Whatever the Court's conclusions may be on the justification for the FBI investigation as a whole, it must independently find that the Fourth Amendment has been massively and repeatedly violated by the FBI's actions in this case.

As plaintiffs pointed out in their opening statement at trial, "For the past forty years, the defendants have made a decision to pursue their efforts to weaken the SWP and YSA, not through indictment, but through what is in many ways the far more damaging course to the plaintiffs of permanent investigation, and public stigmatization."

For 40 years, the SWP and YSA were denied the right to present evidence on their own behalf, to examine their accusers, and to seek judicial review of the constitutionality of the government's position that their Marxist views and organizing activities are not protected by the First Amendment.

Not enough to be 'not guilty'

On the basis of the trial record amassed in this case, plaintiffs believe that this Court can now resolve that fundamental First Amendment question. In addition to their request for monetary and injunctive relief, they seek a declaration from this Court that their activities, as demonstrated by the record in this case, are fully protected by the First Amendment.

In responding to this request, the government complains that "[i]n effect plaintiffs seek a verdict from the court of 'not guilty'" In this brief remark, defendants revealed more than was prudent about their true position.

It would be foolish indeed for the SWP and YSA to ask this Court for a verdict of not guilty: For, although the government seems to have forgotten it, the fact is that *plaintiffs stand accused of no crime*. Not since 1941 has there been a single prosecution, let alone conviction. *Plaintiffs are indeed not guilty, and need no declaration to establish that fact.*

However, as this case has made abundantly clear, it is not enough to be "not guilty" to be free from government spying and harassment. That is why, nine years ago, plaintiffs initiated this action, to seek judicial relief from the oppressive acts of the government.

Granting plaintiffs the relief they seek will be a vindication not only of their rights, but of the basic rights and liberties of the American people as a whole. □

Junta wages war against working class

Interview with refugees from repression

[When Turkish generals seized power in Ankara on September 12, 1980, they claimed they were acting to put Turkey's nearly bankrupt economy in order and to bring an end to political violence. Today the ruling junta claims that order has been restored in Turkey.

[But the junta's "order" has been marked by widespread use of torture and terror, and by a general assault on the working class. Tens of thousands of people have been jailed, working-class political organizations and unions have been outlawed, and a campaign of terror has been unleashed in Turkish Kurdistan. Turkey has the largest concentration of Kurds of any country — estimates range as high as 10 million. On March 21, at least 10 Kurdish prisoners were murdered in the military prison at Diyarbakir.

[When the junta seized power, the Turkish economy was virtually bankrupt. The country was unable to keep up payments on its \$20 billion foreign debt, and inflation was running at an annual rate of over 100 percent. Since then, the inflation rate has been lowered and Turkey is again making payments on its debts to foreign banks. But this was achieved only at the price of a sharp drop in the living standards of the working class and by plunging the economy into the worst recession in Turkish history.

[The Turkish working class is the largest in the Middle East and was, until the coup, the best organized, with half the working class belonging to trade unions.

[After the coup, strikes were banned. The Revolutionary Workers Trade Union Confederation (DISK) was outlawed. A new labor law has been introduced that aims to reduce the role of the remaining unions and bring them under the direction of the state.

[To escape the fierce repression, many socialists and communists, trade unionists, and other opponents of the junta have been forced to flee. Some have escaped by swimming to Greek islands off the western coast of Turkey. Once in Greece, they have been granted political asylum by the Papandreu government.

[The following interview was conducted in Athens with three of these refugees, two Turks and a Kurd. It was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* in mid-July by Alexandra Topping.]

* * *

Question. The capitalist media claims that the new military government in Turkey has put an end to political violence in the country and has returned the situation there to normal. Can you describe the present situation in Turkey?



Turkish dictator Gen. Kenen Evren.

Answer. The violence is worse than before the coup. But it is the violence of the generals. As soon as the coup took place, the army launched a countrywide roundup of leftists and union activists. On the first day, 52 leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Trade Union Confederation (DISK), were arrested and their trial is going on right now. If convicted, the DISK leaders could be sentenced to death.

About 500 other union leaders have also been arrested and are awaiting trial. In addition 15 members of left groups have been executed since the coup, and thousands have been picked up.

The worst repression has taken place in eastern Turkey, in the Kurdish regions, and in areas where the left was particularly strong.

Since the coup, almost 150,000 people have been arrested, and many have been "disappeared." All civil liberties and trade union activities have been curtailed. The military has also intervened in the universities.

Q. What are the conditions in Turkish jails?

A. Conditions are very bad. A doctor who worked in some of the prisons told us that the jails are filled to four or five times their capacity. As a result nearly all the prisoners are sick because of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions.

There are also a number of secret prisons in Turkey, many of them in Kurdistan.

Q. How did the population react to the coup?

A. Right after the coup, some layers of the population — the industrialists, the shopkeepers, the middle class, and many peasants — went along with the coup in hopes that conditions in the country would improve. From the

beginning, however, the working class was against the coup, because they saw that it was directly aimed against working people.

But the support of the middle layers of the population has eroded because the junta's economic policies have been a failure. Just a few days ago, Turgut Ozal, the deputy prime minister in charge of the economy, had to resign. He is being made the scapegoat for the economic problems, which include a threatened collapse of the entire banking system.

Q. Why did you decide to leave the country?

A. The generals have scheduled a referendum in November on their new constitution. In order to ensure that their constitution wins, they have unleashed a new wave of repression. Another sweep of leftists and other opponents of the junta is now taking place.

Many people are fleeing the country to avoid being picked up in these new sweeps. Lebanon used to be the main road of escape, but with the Israeli invasion, this has become much more difficult. Some Turks have been captured by the Israeli army in Lebanon and are to be sent back to Turkey. Hundreds have escaped to Greece and many have received political asylum here.

In addition, many Kurds have fled to the Kurdish areas of Iran and Iraq.

Q. Can you describe the national oppression suffered by the Kurds in Turkey?

A. First you must understand that the Kurds are a distinct people whose homeland is divided among five different states — Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and the Soviet Union. Turkish officials refuse to acknowledge that the Kurds are a separate people. The government refers to Kurds as "mountain Turks."

Any manifestation of Kurdish culture is severely attacked as "separatism." Although the Kurds speak their own language at home, all schooling is in Turkish. The Kurdish written language is never taught to Kurdish students. It is illegal in Turkey to print any books or publications in the Kurdish language.

Q. What are living conditions like in Kurdistan?

A. The topography of Kurdistan is not well-suited for agriculture, so Kurdish agriculture is rather primitive. In southern Kurdistan there is a perennial water shortage. Disease is rampant. There is little health care. In fact, while infant mortality and child mortality in Turkey as a whole are very high, in Kurdistan the rate is

twice as high as in the rest of Turkey.

Kurds have problems getting identification cards and getting jobs in areas outside Kurdistan. In Turkey most Kurds can only work at menial jobs. Most of the porters and street cleaners, for example, are Kurds.

Q. Could you describe the junta's repression in Kurdistan?

A. Even before the coup, Kurdistan was under the direct control of the Turkish national police, the gendarmes. Their presence, with gendarme stations in every village, was like an occupation force. Searches, beatings, and torture were daily occurrences even under the civilian governments.

Since the coup, the situation has gotten even worse. Unofficially, all Kurds are considered enemies of the state by the junta. The generals make no distinction between rightist and leftist Kurds. Perhaps 50,000 Kurds have been arrested since the coup, and more than 30,000 are still in jail.

In Kurdistan there are both official and "unofficial" prisons. A number of old schools and hospitals have been converted into detention centers.

Q. Why were you arrested and what was your experience in jail?

A. I spent 72 days in prison, including 30 days in a special torture center where confessions are extracted from Kurds. The main reason for my arrest was that my hometown is a center of Kurdish nationalism. They tortured me to get me to say that I was a leader of a Kurdish group.

For the torture I was taken to a special part of the prison, where about 50 people were being held. We were all constantly blindfolded and no talking was allowed. If anyone spoke, everyone was beaten.

The jailers told me to confess, that they knew everything about my political career. I responded that I had been away from politics for a long time. They tied my hands behind my back and hung me from iron bars on the wall. First I was placed on a chair, and then the chair was pulled out from under me so that I was left hanging from the bars.

A few days later I was tied to an iron chair and subjected to electric shocks. Whenever the electric device fell off, I would be forced to place it back on my body. I spent about 22 days there, and felt close to death. Every day I was given electric shocks, beaten, and hung from the wall. The worst thing was the electric shocks to my ears. It felt like my head was exploding.

My torturers told me that if I did not speak I would be killed, and that since no one knew about this prison, no one would know what had happened to me. They boasted that they were paid to torture and kill, so I had better confess.

Under the pressure of the torture, I admitted anything they wanted me to say. In my first confession, I made up a story about killing several people. My torturers would disagree among themselves about how much to beat me. Some felt I had told everything I knew. Others argued that I should be killed so I couldn't talk about the torture.

When I was given a pen and paper to write my second confession, I was in such bad shape that I couldn't even hold the pen in my hand. So I was moved to a better cell to recover. There I wrote many pages. But when this second confession was compared to the first, they said that I was not telling the same story.

They were furious that my "confessions" did not show that I had actually done anything. So I was beaten again. They made me connect the electrical apparatus to my penis and testicles. I

was given shocks until I passed out. Then water was thrown on me to revive me, and I was given shocks again while wet.

Other prisoners were made to confess by forcing them to witness the torture of their family members. Sisters would be raped in full view of the assembled prisoners to make them talk.

In addition to the torture, the other conditions were also bad. There was almost no food. But I did not want to eat anyway, because I hoped to die. Also, there was no place to go to the bathroom, and the guards made the prisoners eat their own excrement.

Finally, when they had finished with me after two months, I was taken to a regular jail with others who had been tortured in the secret prisons. We were brought there to recuperate until the physical signs of torture had healed. Many of the prisoners had gone a little crazy from their ordeal.

They kept me in this prison for 12 days, until the marks from my torture had disappeared. A doctor treated me, and I was given medicine, massages, and good food. This was a "show" prison. Visitors were brought to it to see how well the prisoners were treated.

Finally I was taken to a judge and was released after 72 days.

Q. What do you see for the future of the junta?

A. The junta's economic policies are in shambles. It can only continue in power by crushing the workers. But the large and militant working class in Turkey cannot be kept down forever by repressive laws, oppression, and violence.

We want the world to see what is really going on in Turkey. We are asking the workers movement around the world to pay closer attention to developments in our country. □

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New South African invasion

Pretoria aims blows at Namibian liberation fighters

By Fred Murphy

The racist rulers of South Africa have again launched major military raids into southern Angola from Namibia.

The raids began on June 11, according to South African military officials. As of mid-August, the operations were continuing.

The August 16 issue of the London weekly *West Africa* reported that Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge had said in Tripoli earlier in the month "that the following armies and equipment were massed on the southern border [of Angola]: four brigades, one independent regiment, 34 battalions, 40 armoured cars, 200 artillery pieces and mortars, 60 fighter planes and 30 helicopters."

South African air raids on the towns of Cahama and Chibemba on July 21 killed 22 and injured 42 civilians and military personnel, Jorge said.

The current raids are the biggest since South Africa's August 1981 invasion of southern Angola with 10,000 troops. At that time, the racist forces laid waste to much of the area, burning and bombing towns and villages, destroying bridges, and slaughtering villagers. Some 700 Angolans were killed and at least 160,000 were forced to flee their homes.

The South African rulers claim these raids are aimed at the guerrilla fighters of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). SWAPO is fighting to free Namibia from illegal South African occupation.

The current raids come at a time when talks are again taking place at the United Nations to implement a solution to the Namibian conflict. Under a plan that both South Africa and SWAPO are on record as accepting, a UN-supervised cease-fire is to take effect, followed in seven months by elections in which the Namibian people are to choose a new independent government.

The South African rulers know, however, that SWAPO enjoys overwhelming support among the more than 1 million Black Africans who make up the vast bulk of Namibia's population. Thus the apartheid regime has continually scuttled attempts to resolve the conflict. It is now doing so again by invading Angola.

Besides wanting to maintain their control of Namibia's rich mineral deposits, the South African rulers fear the impact that a successful freedom struggle in Namibia could have on the Black majority inside South Africa itself. Also, they want to continue using Namibia as a base against the Angolan government.

Ever since Angola won its independence from Portugal in 1975, both Washington and Pretoria have tried to impose a subservient, proimperialist regime there. These aims were thwarted soon after independence when the

new Angolan government requested the aid of Cuban military forces to turn back a South African invasion. Cuban troops still remain in Angola to help protect the country from South Africa's attacks.

The South African regime and Washington are now trying to use the presence of Cuban forces in Angola as a pretext for blocking the settlement in Namibia. According to the July 15 *New York Times*, South African officials who met with Reagan's National Security Adviser William Clark and the State Department's top Africa aide, Chester Crocker, in June 1981 agreed to maintain their acceptance of the UN's Namibia plan only after the U.S. officials "undertook to guarantee that it would be accom-

ANC leader Ruth First murdered

By Ernest Harsch

Ruth First, one of the most prominent opponents of the apartheid regime in South Africa, was killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo, Mozambique, August 17.

A Mozambican security official noted that the bombing was similar to others in Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Zambia, "which were proved to be the work of the South African secret services."

The African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, of which First was a leading member, declared that she was "brutally killed by the South African racists and their agents when she opened a parcel bomb at the Eduardo Mondlane University" in Maputo. Aquino de Bragança, the director of the Center for African Studies at the university, was injured in the explosion.

First, born in South Africa in 1925, was an active opponent of the white supremacist regime all her adult life. In the 1940s she began collaborating with the ANC and also joined the Communist Party. She served as an editor of *Fighting Talk*, an early anti-apartheid publication, as well as of the *Guardian* and *New Age*, two weeklies that were later banned by the regime.

In 1956, Ruth First was arrested and charged with "high treason," along with 155 other ANC members and leaders. Although the charges were dropped two years later, she was restricted to the Johannesburg area under the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act.

In 1963, she was again detained, and held for nearly four months. The following year she left South Africa.

Although First had been forced to choose exile, she did not halt her anti-apartheid activities. Over the next decade, she wrote many articles exposing the practices of the white

panied by a Cuban withdrawal" from Angola.

"This was something the Americans initiated, wanted and pursued," a South African official told the *Times*.

The Angolan government recently reaffirmed a joint Cuban-Angolan statement of last February to the effect that the Cuban forces would be withdrawn only when it was clear there were no further military threats to Angola and when South African forces had been withdrawn from Namibia.

Speaking in Bayamo, Cuba, on July 26, Cuban leader Fidel Castro also reaffirmed this position. He warned the South Africans, "If they attack the republic of Angola on a large scale and arrive at our defense lines, we are going to fight very seriously with all our means and energy against the racist, fascist South African mercenaries. We already fought those racists and fascists once, and they well know the tenacity, courage, and dedication of our fighters. It would be better for the imperialists to abandon their threats, because they are not going to intimidate us in that way." □

minority regime, as well as a number of books, including *The South African Connection: Western Investment in Apartheid*, a major study of the role of foreign investments in propping up the apartheid system.

A statement released by the ANC Observer Mission to the United Nations pointed out that the South African regime "has now embarked on a strategy of physical elimination of the leaders, members and supporters of the ANC, both inside and outside South African borders. The aim is to deprive our movement of tested and tried leadership, and to intimidate and demoralise the rest of the oppressed and struggling masses of our people."

The rise in South African attacks against ANC offices and leaders outside of South Africa has been particularly evident over the past two years:

- In January 1981, South African commandos struck into Mozambique, attacking three residences in Maputo used by the ANC to house refugees. Twelve ANC members were killed.

- On July 31, 1981, the ANC representative in Zimbabwe, Joe Nzingo Gqabi, was shot and killed in the Zimbabwean capital.

- On March 14, 1982, a bomb wrecked the offices of the ANC in London, just hours before the start of a mass rally in that city organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

- On June 4, 1982, the ANC deputy representative in Swaziland, Petrus Nyaoase, was killed by a car bomb, along with his wife, Jabu Nyaoase. Both had previously been active in building trade unions within South Africa.

Such terrorist actions by the apartheid regime are a reflection of its fear of the growing strength of the national liberation movement. □