

West Props Up Zaire Despot



UPI

Colonialists: Live like Pigs—Die like Pigs!

As *colon* refugees from the contested Shaba (ex-Katanga) Province of the central African state of Zaire (the former Belgian Congo) stream into Paris and Brussels, the imperialist press has been filled with lurid tales of indiscriminate slaughter of whites by anti-European rebels. The scenario is a neo-colonialist classic. As allegedly Soviet (in this case, Cuban) backed insurgents threaten a "friendly"—albeit corrupt and despotic—government, European paratroopers are dispatched to the "battle" scene to rescue missionaries and nuns. In the course of carrying out their "humanitarian mission," these intrepid defenders of the "Free World" manage to rout the infidel at the gates of Khartoum (Kolwezi) and stay on to guarantee the reestablishment of order.

In this case, while most of the Belgian paras flown into the copper-mining region on May 18 have since been pulled back, some 600 commandos of the French Foreign Legion are tracking down scattered bands of the National Liberation Front of the Congo (FLNC) in the bush outside Kolwezi. The French, who in recent months have rescued pro-Western regimes in Mauri-

tania and Chad, declare they will remain for several months. The whole production brings to mind the 1964 "rescue" of whites in Stanleyville. On the pretext of "saving" hostages being held by leftist nationalist rebels Belgian paratroopers, ferried in American planes with CIA pilots, spearheaded an assault by government troops.

From the moment the official Zaire press agency reported on the night of May 11 that FLNC forces had infiltrated across the Zambian border and seized the copper town, the fate of the European *colons* has dominated Western newspaper coverage. At present it is claimed that 70 or more whites have been killed, although no tally has been made of the number of black Africans dead in the shooting. It may well be that a number of those whites slaughtered were the victims of popular hatred of the Belgian colonialists, the product of nearly a century of enslavement and exploitation by the colonial masters. Nevertheless, a number of reports also blame troops of Zairean strongman Mobutu, whose rule the imperialist intervention was designed to prop up. Furthermore it was reported that

drunken legionnaires had shot and killed five Rhodesian whites and one Belgian.

Certainly there has been no love lost between the Belgians and the French. The Belgians complained that France had denied the right to cross its airspace in order to transport paratroopers to Shaba and that the French also denied their planes permission to land at runways at Kolwezi after the recapture of the town. The squabbling between the European imperialists exposes the real motives behind this "paratrooper diplomacy." The indignant Belgians announced that the French effort was "entirely different" from the Belgian "effort to save lives," hinting that the French were only interested in Shaba's copper and cobalt. Last year's warning by Belgian prime minister Leo Tindemans to the French not to infringe on Belgium's "privileged links" with its former colony indicates, however, the true nature of the Belgian "humanitarian effort."

Meanwhile the U.S. has intervened by providing C-141 troop transports and speeding the delivery of weapons and ammunition to the Mobutu regime. To

complete the scene an American destroyer was stationed off the Zairean coast—a mainly theatrical gesture since the coastline of this largely landlocked country is only a few miles wide! And on May 17 U.S. president Carter complained to Congressional leaders that he was constrained by legislation left over from the squabble in the American ruling class over proposals for large-scale intervention in Angola in 1975-76. At present Washington is barred from supplying military aid to Zaire unless Carter formally declares it is in the interests of U.S. security, and any clandestine operations must be communicated to Congress. The administration wants to use the present incident to reverse this "constricting" legislation.

1960, 1964 and 1977

The London *Economist* has called the latest fighting "the déjà vu invasion." But it is not merely the return of the FLNC, once again trying to capitalize on the regionalist and tribal sentiments of the Shaba population that gives it its re-run quality. Last year's "war" was virtually non-existent. Although France

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"Free" Trade Unions in USSR?

Last November a group of dissident Soviet workers held a press conference before foreign journalists in Moscow. The following month the group, claiming some 200 members, announced the formation of the Free Trade Union Association of Workers in the Soviet Union and has since managed to smuggle several documents out of the country to Amnesty International. Subsequently, according to Western press reports, a Committee for the Free Trade Union of Workers of the USSR was formed in mid-April (*Los Angeles Times*, 29 April).

The first appearance in years of an organized grouping of Soviet dissident workers has created an international stir far out of proportion to the group's limited impact in the USSR. Widely disparate elements, ranging from the conservative bourgeois press and the reactionary Meany bureaucracy of U.S. unions to left-wing Labour MP's in Britain and the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," have all rushed forward to uncritically embrace the cause of the rebellious workers. But what is this "free trade union" movement and what does it stand for?

The materials made public so far, prepared from the group's documents by Amnesty International's research department, shed little light on their ideological predisposition. Almost all the material made public is of a descriptive character, detailing the persecutions and abuses suffered by individual members of the group at the hands of the Soviet bureaucracy. According to Amnesty International, the "group began its existence through the accidental meetings of unemployed workers who had come to Moscow to press their complaints in person at the offices of the highest party government and legal authorities."

The first written public appeal to arrive outside the Soviet Union was issued 20 May 1977, signed by eight workers. The May "open letter" cited 35 workers in different cities who had been thrown into prisons and psychiatric hospitals for "exercising their right to complain." Since then the group has issued an appeal to the Belgrade conference concerning application of the 1975 Helsinki accords; a "collective complaint," issued on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution; and an appeal to the International Labor Organization (ILO). The appeal charges that between the time of its first press conference in late November and the end of February ten workers who signed various of the documents were detained by police. Seven of the arrested members were either missing or known to be in psychiatric hospitals as of 27 February 1978.

Vladimir Klebanov, the principal spokesman of the group, worked for 16 years as a foreman at a coal mine in the Donetsk region of the Ukraine. The documents assert that Klebanov unsuccessfully attempted to organize an independent trade union at the mine in



Founders of "Free Trade Union" in Moscow. Left, Vladimir Klebanov.

1960; in 1968 he was dismissed from his job for refusing to assign overtime to his workers or send them onto jobs where he believed safety standards were not being observed. When he protested his dismissal, Klebanov was ruled mentally ill and confined to a maximum security special psychiatric hospital from 1968 to 1973. Since his release he has been prevented from working, as well as being detained in hospitals several more times. Klebanov was reportedly being held in a psychiatric hospital in Donetsk as of February 28 where, according to the group, he had been diagnosed during an earlier incarceration as suffering from "paranoid development of the personality" with a mania for "struggling for justice."

Other accounts provided by the group outline roughly similar stories of individuals making complaints against bureaucratic abuse and corruption, followed by retaliation against the workers involved. Maria Dvoretzkaya, a worker in Alma Ata, appealed on behalf of her husband, who had been ruled "mentally non-accountable" and "socially dangerous" and put into an institution as a result of incidents regarding his signing of statements complaining of thefts and fraudulent wage payments to non-existent workers at a creamery and, later, a shoe factory. Varvara Kucherenko, who worked at a curing plant in Dagestan, was demoted and then fired for exposing the administration and trade-union committee in her plant for stealing goods. She was later detained by the police and also incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital.

In its appeal, "To World Public Opinion, On the Real Situation of the Workers and Employees on the Eve of the 60th Anniversary of the USSR" (18 September 1977), the Soviet "Free Trade Union" group writes:

"We, Soviet people from different strata of society, people of various nationalities from various corners of the country, are forced to turn to the so-called 'bourgeois press.' Our leaders, our press, party and Soviet organs do not want to listen to us, honest toilers of Soviet society, the producers of material wealth, even though they, according to their tasks and responsibilities, are obliged to listen to us and to respond to our questions."

And in its "Collective Complaint" (7 November 1977), the Association writes: "It is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR to protect socialist property and to protest gross violations of human rights." It charges that



George Meany hosts Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn at AFL-CIO meet.

functionaries of the Communist Party (CPSU) "watch-dog" commission for official abuses, the Central Committee Department of Administrative Organs, "are guided by personal motives and not by the instructions of the party and the government."

However, by far the most vociferous "champions" of the cause of these Soviet workers have been the most die-hard opponents of both socialism and trade unionism alike. For years the CIA and other counterrevolutionary forces have complained that the overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois composition of the Soviet dissident movement makes it difficult to tout as representative of the Soviet people. Thus, the bourgeois press eagerly seized upon the formation of the Soviet "free trade union association," particularly since its appeals were directed to imperialist agencies such as the ILO. Weeping crocodile tears over "the extraordinary extent to which the USSR has been harassing and imprisoning ordinary working folk" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 2 March), the same capitalist mouthpieces which denounce "greedy unions" in the West are protesting the victimization of Klebanov and his comrades.

The George Meany gang was quick to echo the *Guardian* and its counterparts in the American bourgeoisie. The latest issue of the *AFL-CIO Free Trade-Union News* (May 1978) has a front-page article, commenting on the Soviet workers, entitled "We Want to Tell of Our Unimaginable, Inhuman Suffering..." The virulently anti-communist

AFL-CIO draws the conclusion: "...it is now also increasingly clear that whereas the proletarians of most 'bourgeois' countries have fought for—and won—their workers' rights and material well-being, the workers in that bastion of Marxism—the USSR—are still fettered by the most inhuman chains of social injustice and poverty."

On the left, the response has been more muted. But Eric Heffer, a leader of left Labour Party MP's, urged both the British trade unions and the International Labor Organization to press for an investigation of the Soviet unions. In a letter to the *Guardian* (19 March) Heffer attempted to distinguish himself from the right wing, whose ostensible support for the Soviet workers he termed the "height of hypocrisy." Heffer asserted that the Soviet worker dissidents "do not in any way want to restore capitalism or involve themselves in ideological conflict with the Soviet authorities, but simply demand to freely organize..." Meanwhile, the United Secretariat (USec), which indiscriminately lauds any expression of "dissent" in the deformed workers states, simply published information from the Amnesty International documents with no criticisms whatsoever. And the ostensibly Trotskyist French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) gave blanket political support to these dissident Soviet workers:

"It is an imperative duty of the international workers movement to give its support, without reservations, to these courageous fighters for basic working-class freedom."

—*Informations Ouvrières*, 12-19 April

Information about the Soviet workers' group is sparse, and it is doubtful that its membership is homogeneous. There have been reported conflicts between it and other dissidents. Klebanov says he was rebuffed by physicist Andrei Sakharov. "They consider themselves above us," he said, referring to the petty-bourgeois dissidents (*Washington Post*, 22 January). However, the spokesman of the "Committee for the Free Trade Union," Vsevolod Kuvakin, now says that "the cautious attitude shown by workers toward the intelligentsia has been overcome." In any case, at least tacitly the victimized workers have accepted the strategy of supporters of Western imperialism like Sakharov by addressing their appeals to the Belgrade conference, the ILO and anti-communist unions like the AFL-CIO. Thus they play into the hands of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" ideological offensive against the USSR.

Trotskyists defend victimized workers such as Klebanov and the others of his group against the bureaucratic arbitrariness and suppression by the Kremlin. And an integral part of our program for proletarian political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states is the struggle for unions free from state control—as opposed to the present Soviet "unions" which are simply one more arm of the bureaucracy (as is the "party" as well). Trade unions are necessary even in a healthy workers state to guard against possible encroachments and abuses by the government, as well as to help plan production, work methods, etc. But genuine trade unions and soviets governed by the norms of workers democracy will not be built through the intervention of the ILO (which includes the representatives of employers organizations and capitalist governments) and the Western imperialist powers (co-signatories of the Helsinki accords).

In the face of the fundamental hostility of the capitalist states to the very existence of the workers states, it is indispensable to distinguish between

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Koch Whipsaws City Workers

MAY 23—The schemes of New York City mayor Democrat Ed Koch to wrap up municipal contract talks with a settlement satisfactory to his masters in Citibank, Chase Manhattan and Washington, D.C. were temporarily forestalled last night. Koch's latest "offer" was so insulting that even veteran social-democratic doorman Victor Gotbaum, head of the Municipal Labor Coalition, felt compelled to walk out of the negotiations. Moreover, Koch's hopes for speedy labor peace continue to be threatened as well by the volatile situation in Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 as hundreds of NYC transit workers rallied earlier this week to once again demand that the sellout contract, negotiated April 1, be voted down.

On the same day that the Koch administration unveiled its "sweetened" contract proposal to city employees, hundreds of angry black and white transit workers attended a May 17 rally, called by the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers (CCTW), at an uptown Manhattan American Legion Hall. At the meeting a drive was launched to recall the TWU Local 100 leadership. The following day a crowd of several hundred, including both transit workers and numerous supporters, showed up for a noontime demonstration at City Hall. Signs of the TWU militants read: "Six Percent Won't Pay My Rent," "Lay Off the Mayor, Not Us—Vote No!" and "Go Back to the Table, Koch—Stop the Bull."

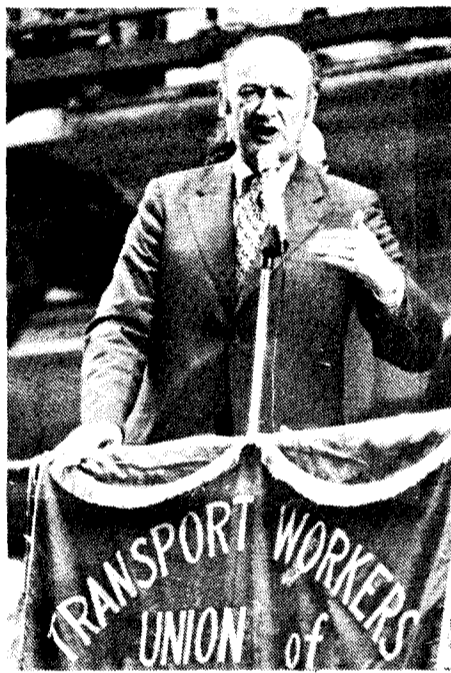
The renewed turmoil in the TWU was kicked off by the city union contract negotiations and the announcement that the city was stepping up its original 6 percent wage offer to "8 or 9" percent. The mayor was treading on a minefield by upping the offer to city unions while the transit pact remained unsettled, but he was apparently desperate for a breakthrough in municipal labor talks to take with him to Washington. The new offer was made as the Koch administration, the state legislature and city labor bureaucrats scrambled to put together a last-minute package to satisfy the banks, who hold the pawn tickets on the Big Apple, and the Congressional overseers, who control the federal loan guarantees presently keeping the city afloat.

With the NYC treasury quickly running out of cash, Koch was supposed to be on his way to the capital this week to plead for \$2 billion in loan guarantees from the Senate Banking Committee, in return for which Committee chairman William Proxmire was demanding state and city assurances on a new union-busting austerity package. This was to include prior settlement of the city-union contracts, holding the line on cutbacks extracted during the 1975-76 "default crisis"; long-term extension of the state-appointed Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), including its veto power over all city budgets and labor contracts; and an OK by Albany to issue \$3 billion in new Big MAC (Municipal Assistance Corporation) bonds backed by the city's tax revenues.

To this end the ever cooperative Gotbaum/Shanker labor bureaucracy initially agreed on a new "self-imposed" May 20 negotiating deadline, five weeks in advance of official contract expiration dates. But Koch's hard line in the negotiations forced even these shameless capitulators to stomp out of the sessions to save face. Following the walkout Proxmire postponed the Banking Committee hearings until after Memorial Day, throwing the city's immediate financial picture into turmoil. And thereupon Koch announced that the city was postponing its May

contribution to the union pension funds in order to meet this Thursday's payroll!

Coming into last week's talks, Koch had proposed a token increase in the wage package—a 4 percent increase in October 1978 and a final sum 18 months later—which does not even begin to compensate for the ravages of the past three years of wage freezes and layoffs. In fact, the current annual inflation rate is more than *double* the proposed rate. Moreover, this "sweetener" was offered only in exchange for \$80 million in "givebacks" demanded by the city. The administration at various times has mentioned such possible takeaways as premium pay on weekends and holidays; uniform allowances; paid lunch hours, coffee breaks and wash-up time; holidays for giving blood, election day and Lincoln's birthday; night-shift differential, vacations and other benefits for part-time employees. But when Koch's "8-to-9" offer hardened into the "Eight Percent Solution," the union leadership demanded a concomitant

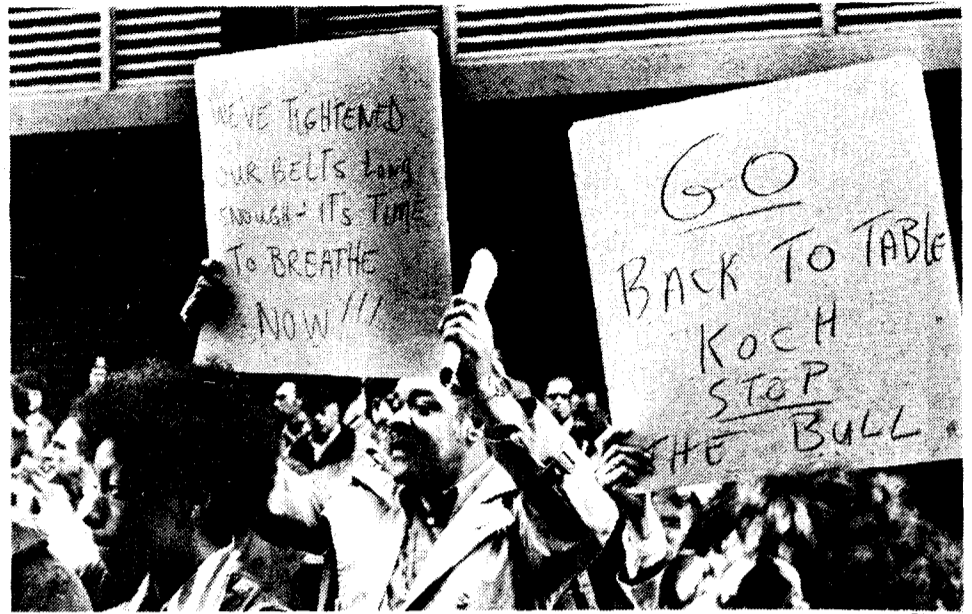


Ed Koch, posing as friend of labor, speaks at demonstration against transit fare hikes in 1975.

reduction in the "givebacks," and the talks broke down.

At the same time, Koch's attempt to play the "crisis" card by threatening renewed city bankruptcy backfired when union pension fund officials began to balk at a prior agreement to purchase some \$683 million in unguaranteed city bonds. At press time the bankers and politicians were squabbling over the bond issue with Democratic assemblymen, who are hoping to conciliate the unions by offering to put the state's "moral commitment" behind the bonds while the bankers balked at doing even that. But the hottest issue has been Koch's move—negotiated in total secrecy—to extend the EFCB with its veto on labor contracts for the life of the new bond issue—some 17 to 30 years! The mayor's proposal was so inflammatory that many Albany legislators feared to pass it while the city labor contracts were still wide open.

Yet while even Democratic Party politicians were hesitating to endorse this outrageously anti-union package, city labor bureaucrats were seriously prepared to consider such a proposal or a modified version of the same. At first Municipal Labor Coalition spokesman Barry Feinstein, of Teamsters Local 237, asked only that a labor representative be included in the seven-man board and that the EFCB be empowered to throw out *only* those union contracts which violated the city's financial plans. If the labor fakers had even an ounce of backbone they would demand instead that Big MAC chief Felix Rohatyn, who is holding a gun to the unions' heads, be



Transit workers at May 18 rally near City Hall.

hauled into court on charges of armed robbery and extortion!

Koch's decision to up the city's wage offer threw a monkey wrench into the second attempt by the Transport Workers Union bureaucrats to slide their sellout contract through. The knowledge that all-time loser Victor Gotbaum had managed to hold out for an increase while the far more powerful TWU had settled for the city's first offer of a 6 percent wage hike (plus a 3 percent cost-of-living escalator tied to productivity) was enough to send the militant transit ranks up the wall. Thus TWU leaders Guinan and Lawe indefinitely called off the second mail ballot (the first "no" vote had been thrown out by the courts) on the grounds that the new city workers' contract offer might "confuse" the TWU membership.

At all costs the TWU hacks seek to avoid a subway and bus strike that would topple the whole shaky house of cards which makes up the EFCB/MAC/Koch "solution" to the fiscal "crisis." Fortunately for them they have the help of the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers, which has been just as dead set against a strike. CCTW supporters carried signs at the May 18 City Hall rally stating "A Vote to Reject is *Not* a Vote to Strike," and Committee leader Henry A. Lewis, Jr. delivered a long-winded anti-Guinan diatribe in which he not once criticized the TWU leadership for failing to call a strike or even to enforce the union's long-standing policy of "no contract, no work." Thus these demagogues proved once again that they share with the Local 100 bureaucracy above all the fear of the mobilization of the union ranks.

Moreover, while an earlier redbaiting attack launched by Guinan and Lawe failed to intimidate TWU militants into accepting the contract sellout, CCTW leaders capitulated to this anti-communism: "We are not communists, malcontents, radicals or spineless spoilers," proclaims a Committee leaflet circulated by supporters, who wear red, white and blue flags on their shirt pockets to prove it. Concerned Transit has also supplemented its anti-communism with a gross willingness to put the fate of the TWU in the hands of the capitalist courts, beginning with its suit against the union bureaucracy over the conduct of the contract balloting. A prominent speaker at Concerned Transit rallies and a member of the umbrella group, Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, is Joe Carnegie, who six years ago initiated a suit to decertify the TWU. This suit is now before the state supreme court. The outrageous court action demands that the TWU be dumped as bargaining agent because of the leadership's refusal to sign a no-strike pledge, violating the union-busting Taylor Law!

The willingness of the reformist left to back the worst betrayals of bureaucratic union oppositions is epitomized by the uncritical support given to Concerned Transit by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). While the SWP's *Militant* (5 May) praised the CCTW, which "has grown in prestige and authority among transit workers," SWP supporter and presidential candidate for AFSCME Local 1930 Ray Markey chimed in uncritically with the Concerned Transit leaders at the City Hall rally.

Despite the hosannas of fake-socialists, the would-be union busters of Concerned Transit offer no road for militant city workers to follow. A genuine class-struggle leadership in the New York labor movement would openly declare that a program to roll back the anti-labor offensive must begin by mobilizing the powerful TWU and city workers unions to strike against the Koch/Carey/Congress/bankers cabal. Militant trade unionists should demand an end to the cutbacks, cancellation of the city debt and expropriation of the blood-sucking financial barons. The way forward on this path can be taken only by smashing the traitorous labor bureaucrats—Guinan, Gotbaum, Shanker and the rest—who have "led" NYC workers from defeat to defeat. ■

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CIA Insider Spills the Beans

How U.S. Engineered Invasion of Angola

This appears to be the year for insider exposés of the CIA. In the wake of Frank Snepp's *Decent Interval*, an acid account of the American evacuation from Vietnam in 1975, Frank Stockwell, head of the CIA task force for covert operations in Angola in 1975-76, has delivered yet another scathing attack on the spy agency's incompetence and corruption. Stockwell's book, *In Search of Enemies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978) recounts with obvious panache a host of bureaucratic atrocities and stupidities, from the agency's worthless toys like ballpoint pens with invisible ink and edible, water-soluble note paper, to the dropping of firecrackers by agency planes on the outskirts of Luanda (a substitute for the guerrilla forays which nearby mercenary-led troops were unwilling to make).

Trying to clear his own culpability in the CIA's crimes, Stockwell writes that "It was not until the disclosures of the

BOOK REVIEW

In Search of Enemies
by Frank Stockwell

Church and Pike Committees in 1975 that I learned the full, shocking truth about my employers." But these protestations by a 12-year "Company" veteran ring somewhat hollow, leading an irate William Colby, CIA director at that time, to correctly observe: "He knew roughly what kind of organization he was joining. And if he says that suddenly it doesn't turn out to be the Boy Scouts, I think he was asking a little much" (*Washington Post*, 15 May 1978).

What has drawn the interest of the bourgeois press, however, is Stockwell's charge that IAFETURE (the code name for the Angolan task force) and Colby continually lied to Congress and even to the top-level Forty Committee (the State Department/Pentagon/White House body which monitors U.S. intelligence operations) concerning the actual scope of the CIA's intervention into Angola. At a time when the agency's illegal domestic spying and numerous assassination plots were the subject of Congressional scrutiny, CIA officials in Zaire conspired to conceal many of their activities from visiting Democratic senator Dick Clark, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa.



Angolan demonstrators call for "Death to Mercenaries" outside trial of captured mercenaries in 1976.

Typical of the post-Vietnam "reassessment" of U.S. foreign policy is the fact that only this CIA "freelancing" and the need for more control of intelligence agencies by the traditional branches of the bourgeois state are up for debate. The bourgeois press is a good deal less interested in the agency's claim it brought off the military coup which overthrew Ghana's pan-Africanist president Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, or in Stockwell's evidence that the CIA was directly involved in the 1961 murder of Patrice Lumumba, one-time prime minister of the newly-independent Congo (now Zaire). The U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence reported in 1975 that the CIA attempted to poison Lumumba. However, the Pike Committee report exonerated the agency from blame for his death, ascribed solely to Katangan secessionist leader Tshombé. Stockwell provides the missing link. A fellow CIA official admitted to him that he had driven around the capital of Katanga with Lumumba's corpse in the trunk of his car, trying to decide where to dispose of it.

While Stockwell's political views on the CIA amount to insipid (and suspect) liberalism—nothing beyond appeals to the Constitution—*In Search of Enemies* is valuable for the light it sheds on the nature of the fighting in Angola, a subject which sparked vehement debate on the American left. In particular, the information in Stockwell's book vindicates the unique position taken by the international Spartacist tendency. When the civil war between the Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) erupted in mid-1975, the *ist* pointed out that prior to the departure of the Portuguese army in October 1975 there was no qualitative difference between the three rival nationalist groups:

"But despite heavy foreign involvement the struggle remained essentially a three-cornered power struggle between rival petty-bourgeois nationalist formations. Within this framework, there was no way that Marxists could take sides politically among the contenders..."
BT No. 85, 14 November 1975

The same article argued against the



Agent Stockwell (left) standing next to Holden Roberto and Brazilian Army observer (center) in August 1975.

claims by the "critical Maoist" *Guardian* and other Third Worldists, as well as the Brezhnevite Communist Party that the "anti-imperialist" MPLA was committed to a struggle against the U.S.: "If Kissinger moves away from the FNLA, Neto is quite capable of pulling an Anwar Sadat-style switch, leaving Brezhnev to sue for breach-of-contract."

In Search of Enemies contains abundant information that the MPLA option was a real one for U.S. imperialism. The American consul general in Luanda, according to Stockwell, "believed that its leaders sincerely wanted a peaceful relationship with the United States." During the height of the fighting, Gulf Oil paid the MPLA \$116 million in royalties and was blocked by the CIA and the State Department from paying an additional \$202 million in December 1975. Boeing was similarly blocked from consummating a deal with the MPLA. A delegation from the Angolan national airline flew to Washington to lobby for the release of the planes Boeing had contracted to supply. They were accompanied by the chief of the CIA station in Luanda, who argued that "the MPLA was best qualified to run the country, that it was not demonstrably hostile to the United States, and that the United States should make peace with it as quickly as possible."

Noting that "American technicians and businessmen were still welcome despite the war, the Cubans and the antagonism between the United States and the MPLA," it is Stockwell's contention that the American intervention merely drove the MPLA into the arms of the Cuban and Soviet Stalinists. Stockwell observes: "Apart from ideological trappings, he [FNLA head Holden Roberto] and [MPLA leader] Neto preached the same things for Angola"—i.e., the same "anti-imperialist" verbiage spouted by most of the aspiring black African bourgeoisie. As for Kissinger's initial game plan—simply calling for sufficient military aid to the FNLA and UNITA to prevent an easy victory by the MPLA—it was doomed to failure, concludes Stockwell. And it is hard to escape the impression

that the agent's "disillusionment" with the CIA was essentially the product of being handed this no-win assignment.

The information presented in *In Search of Enemies* is a devastating refutation not only of Kissinger's Cold War presuppositions, but of the parallel attempts by Peking-loyal Maoists to blame "Soviet social imperialist" aggression for the U.S.-backed South African/mercenary invasion. The Chinese had begun to provide arms to the FNLA in 1973, and the first group of Chinese advisers arrived in Zaire to train the FNLA in May 1974. Two months later, the first CIA funds arrived (beyond the annual retainer which Roberto had been receiving since the early 1960's). However, it was not until January 1975 that the Forty Committee authorized such payments. In contrast:

"Although allied with the MPLA through the early seventies, the Soviets had shut off their support in 1973. Only in March 1975 did the Soviet Union begin significant arms shipments to the MPLA. Then, in response to the Chinese and American programs, and the FNLA's successes, it launched a massive airlift."

After visiting the battle lines in August 1975, Stockwell concluded: "The opposing forces in northern Angola, the MPLA as well as the FNLA, were poorly armed, poorly led, and disorganized, offering us the opportunity for a quick coup." This opportunity soon materialized, and in October a South African armored column swept north, linking up with UNITA forces in a drive on Luanda. Simultaneously, a Zairean/Cabindan puppet force stiffened with French mercenaries attacked the MPLA-controlled enclave of Cabinda, while FNLA/Zairean troops mounted a renewed offensive in northern Angola. While Stockwell denies that the South African attack was instigated by the United States, he does detail the close CIA collaboration with Vorster's invading force:

"Thus without any memos being written at C.I.A. headquarters saying 'let's coordinate with the South Africans,' coordination was effected at all C.I.A. levels and the South Africans escalated their involvement in step with our own."

Furthermore, Stockwell describes how

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW—Defend Strike Militants!

Ford Fires 17 as Romeo Strike Defeated

DETROIT, May 18—A week-old wildcat at Ford's Tractor Plant in Romeo, Michigan was called off today after a stormy two-and-a-half hour emergency union meeting attended by 900 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 400. Faced with the company's hard-lining "no negotiations" stance, its firing of 17 of the strikers and threats of a court injunction, the strikers were stabbed in the back by Local and

the union leadership to do a thing about any of it.

The outgoing Local 400 leadership, headed by Local president Joe Peters, was so discredited by its pro-company policies and its complete abandoning of the wildcatters that none of the Local officers dared to speak. International UAW representative Frank Napoli sought to divert the workers' rage away from the International by scapegoating



WV Photo

Strikers outside Ford's Romeo Tractor plant May 12.

International UAW leaders who refused to sanction their strike and ordered them back to work. In the absence of an authoritative alternative to these sell-outs, the strikers succumbed to the threats and cajoling of UAW International Executive Board member and Region I-B director Ken Morris, who chaired the meeting and managed to get a four-to-one vote to return to work the following Monday.

Workers at the meeting told *WV* afterwards that Morris was barely able to get out a few initial words before he was drowned out by angry shouts from the floor: "Where were you the last four years?" and "How come we had to go out on a wildcat to get you down here?" For the next hour-and-a-half one striker after another took the floor to detail mountains of backlogged grievances, dangerous working conditions and unmitigated management harassment, encouraged by the complete failure of

Peters (who was dumped in elections two weeks ago), saying, "You can't blame anybody here because you voted them into local office."

Putting on a born-yesterday act, Morris told newsmen later that, "Some of the things we heard in there from our members this morning are horrendous." The International bigwig promised a "crash grievance program" and a strike vote meeting within two weeks—after demoralization from the defeated wildcat has had a chance to sink in. Even with a successful strike vote later, Solidarity House could still refuse to authorize a strike. The UAW tops have, in fact, used this same ploy repeatedly to end wildcats in the past. The hinted-at "official" strike seldom materializes.

As the hundreds of strikers filed out of the meeting hall, many wore expressions of bitterness and frustration. They had kept production shut down for a week at the Romeo plant, Ford's only tractor facility in North America, with only a handful of production workers entering the plant—only to confront the treachery of their own elected officials. They knew that they were returning to work with no gains and with many of the militants sacrificed to Ford's wrath. One striker yelled to newsmen, "There's been 17 men who have been sold out by the UAW!" But this defeat will affect more than just those fired. It is another signal by the UAW hierarchy to the Big Three auto barons—and to hundreds of thousands of auto workers—that no resistance to back-breaking speedup, grueling overtime and arbitrary harassment will be tolerated.

Both Ford and the UAW bureaucrats feared that a victory at Romeo would have inspired auto workers at a time when the temperature is rising in

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Deportation Threat Means Shah Torture Chambers

Chicago Cops Arrest 173 at ISA Demo

CHICAGO—In the largest mass arrest here since the 1968 Democratic Party Convention, 200 riot-equipped Chicago cops seized 173 anti-Shah protesters—nearly all of those demonstrating in front of the Iranian Consulate on May 16. The pretext for the mass cop assault was supplied by right-wing Iranian provocateurs (following a now familiar pattern), whom many of the protesters believe to be part of the Shah's secret police, the hated SAVAK.

The victims of this apparently coordinated SAVAK-Chicago cop provocation are in the main supporters of the wing of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) which publishes the *Chicago Resistance*. Eleven of the demonstrators were held on frame-up misdemeanor charges of "battery" on a cop. Conviction could result in a year in prison. But the mass arrest was so patently an official criminal provocation that the cops didn't even bother to trump up charges against the other 162. While the eleven who face trial were released on bail of \$1,000 each, the rest were turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to face deportation hearings—where they will have to prove their "right" to be in the U.S.

These arrests and INS hearings pose grave dangers for Iranian militants. If deported to Iran they will undoubtedly be thrown into the Shah's grisly torture chambers, where a quick death is often a lesser evil. Even simply to be identified as a militant opponent of the gilded torturer of Teheran endangers family and friends living under Iran's "white revolution" of state terror.

Thus the 162 demonstrators locked up in the INS offices refused *en masse* to reveal their names. Although jammed into overcrowded tanks, threatened with deportation and ten days of imprisonment in the INS lockup, the militant Iranian students held fast and refused to turn over their names. In response to this militancy, INS director John Wentling was forced to release them the following day, after their resistance had paralyzed all other operations in the office.

The detained anti-Shah protesters have good reason to keep their identities secret from any agency of the U.S. government. Extensive cooperation and information-sharing between U.S. agencies and SAVAK has been documented in the bourgeois press; everyone now knows what the ISAers have known for years—any information in the U.S. cops get on left-wing Iranian students soon finds its way into the files of the Shah's thugs and assassins.

This latest massive arrest, the deportation threats and the escalating persecution nationwide of left-wing Iranians make their defense urgent! The Gestapo tactics of the SAVAK and the criminal mass arrest of these opponents of the Shah must be met with a powerful defense movement capable of stopping these outrageous provocations. The Chicago labor movement must not stand by while an *entire demonstration* is carted away by the cops! Along with the left and other anti-Shah forces, the labor movement should mobilize demonstrations demanding: Drop the Charges! No Deportations—For political asylum for all left-wing opponents of the butcher Shah!

Cops and SAVAK

The ISA charges conspiracy between the Chicago cops and SAVAK—not

without cause. The May 16 mass arrest is the peak of a six-month campaign of provocations against leftist Iranian students. The ISA has identified the agents provocateurs in Chicago as right-wing Iranians George Youssefi and Farshid Maham, who head up an outfit known as the "International Organization of Patriotic Iranians."

Maham was the provocateur in the latest arrests, using a tactic he applied at least once before, at the Central YMCA College in Chicago last November. Walking through the anti-Shah demonstrators, he shouted pro-Shah slogans and physically threatened them, trying to precipitate a fight; when the cops arrived, he claimed he had been beaten. At the May 16 consulate demonstration, the cops arrived *one minute* after Maham had begun his act! Now it is Maham who is pressing criminal charges against the demonstrators.

Maham and Youssefi have roamed the streets of Chicago, with police protection, piling up a despicable record of threats, beatings, armed confrontations, infiltration and setups against the ISA. There is little doubt that their filthy work is aided by the Chicago cops, who often act as uniformed goons for them. ISA lawyers Jeffrey Hass and Edward Voci have documented more than 50 incidents of harassment involving Youssefi, Maham and other pro-Shah elements, and the Chicago cops. Since the beginning of this year alone they list, among others, the following:

—January 6: Youssefi and Maham threaten to destroy a restaurant which displayed ISA literature.

—January 18: Two Iranian students walking on Wells Street are beaten by Youssefi and Maham. Police tactical officers overrule the cops at the scene and arrest the beaten students.

—February 6: Youssefi and an unidentified American sit on either side of an Iranian student at a restaurant and threaten him. They leave with two uniformed cops.

—February 9: Youssefi and another thug beat and threaten to kill an Iranian student as he walks down a residential street.

The bloody Shah has found a number of good friends in Chicago to help whip up anti-ISA hysteria. The University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) campus administration (already infamous for its harassment of leftist teachers, organizations and prosecution of Spartacus Youth League spokesman Sandor John) has amply aided the SAVAK's designs. Following a recent confrontation on the UICC campus between Iranian students and suspected SAVAK agents, the administration sent a letter to every Iranian student at Circle threatening them with "police and legal action." According to an ISA "Open Letter," the administration further threatened that any "violation" of university regulations would result in informing the INS—an action which could result in deportation.

On the day after the mass arrests Maham tried to stir up the witchhunt atmosphere further with a leaflet seeking to exploit the anti-terrorist hysteria over the Red Brigades: "Americans wake up! Don't let the ISA turn America into another Italy!" Maham's leaflets aren't likely to have much effect, but the Shah has far more powerful friends. The most revolting comment on the mass arrests was offered by Bob Wiedrich, a right-wing columnist for the influential *Chicago Tribune* (21 May).

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Ten years after he was assassinated in Memphis nearly every black ghetto in the U.S. has its renamed Martin Luther King Avenue, its King school and asphalt playground. The day of his birth is now institutionalized as a national holiday. Young black schoolchildren are carefully taught the political gospel of M.L. King, Jr. as the martyred embodiment of the civil rights movement the prophet of "non-violence" and "patient moderation" which all black people who yearn for equality ought to follow.

It is no wonder then that the tenth anniversary of his murder has been the occasion for further mythology. It does not seem to matter to the mythmakers that the ghetto school named in his honor is probably less integrated today than it was ten years ago, that the parents of its black schoolchildren are more likely to be unemployed, that their housing is even less habitable and more expensive; and most of all, that the future of these ghetto youth in racist capitalist America appears even more desperate as their jobless rate climbs above 50 percent.

While the anniversary of the King assassination is the perfect occasion for mythologizing, it is indicative that this year the festivities were actually *smaller* than ever. The purpose of the celebrations has always been to dilute the memory of that original "Martin Luther King Day" which sent shivers of fear through America's ruling class: the ghetto explosions which swept the country upon the news of his death. On the night of 4 April 1968 hundreds of thousands of black people took to the streets, leaderless and without political focus, in outrage over the cold-blooded murder of the man who was seen as the leader of blacks in struggle against their oppression. A nervous bourgeoisie once pushed this holiday as a diversion and cheap concession to an enraged minority population. But as the specter of a political mobilization of the ghetto masses against their oppressors has grown dimmer, even "saints" like Martin Luther King become expendable.

The ten-years-after assessments are not able to completely cover up reality, so they have sounded this refrain: King brought us a long way—we've got a long way to go (presumably along that same "glory road"). The major chord is that King and the liberal civil rights movement won increased democratic rights, and the minor chord is the rendition of the "economic miracle" of a racially harmonious "New South." Thus the *New York Times* (3 and 4 April) published a two-part article entitled, "The Legacy of Martin Luther King," in which the "New South that King made" is presented as a bouquet of fresh liberal magnolias and black elected officials:

"A street named for Dr. King in Selma, racial harmony in Birmingham, burgeoning black power in Atlanta: These are the triumphs of political change in the South."

The important and real partial gains made for blacks during this period exist largely in the realm of *formal* democratic rights—resulting in desegregation of public facilities, voter registration as well as a degree of school integration. But even the liberals must acknowledge that these real gains have not eliminated the "handicap" of being black in white capitalist America. Down the street from the office of Atlanta's black mayor, Maynard Jackson, the unemployed still hang out in doorways. And as a veteran civil rights activist interviewed for the *New York Times* "Legacy" article bitterly remarked, "What good is a seat in the front of the bus if you don't have the money for the fare?"

The fact is that the "social miracle" of the "New South" is based on the old refrain of the "community of interest"

Ten Years After Assassination

BOURGEOISIE CELEBRATES KING'S LIBERAL PACIFISM



Leonard Freed

between oppressor and oppressed, one which harks back to the days when the plantation owners insisted that, unlike cutthroat Northern capitalists, they "took care" of their slaves. More currently the working premise is that what is good for business is good for the poor. If Jimmy Carter is the supreme being of the "New South," and Martin Luther King its messiah, the non-unionized workers remain outcasts in this land of milk and honey. "Racial harmony" is today enforced by "black power" Mayor Jackson who smashed the 1977 strike by Atlanta's largely black sanitation workers with a brutality that rivaled Bull Connor.

Self-serving King mythmaking is by no means restricted to the liberals whose purpose is rather obvious. Reformists on the left have joined this pilgrimage to the King shrine to stay in close touch with the "progressive forces" they tailed then and now. They add left "miracle stories" to the case for liberal canonization. And there is an odd intersection of the liberal and reformist myths with regard to King's assassination. For different reasons they both agree he died just in time.

Certainly the most cynical statement on the subject was made by the purest product of that movement—the King aide who made it to the top as black front man for U.S. imperialism. As Andrew Young said in a 1977 *Playboy* interview about King's assassination:

"He was very fortunate... really.... It was a blessing.... Martin had done all he could.... He was misunderstood.... God decided Martin had had enough. It was time to go on home and claim his reward."

Of course, Andy Young (whose readiness to sell out was so famous that even King jocularly called him "Tom")

claimed his reward in a more temporal realm, at the doorstep of the capitalist class. For the liberals King's murder makes it somewhat easier to blame the failure of the civil rights movement on an assassin's bullet rather than on their own political misleadership. After all, what kind of symbol would King have made had he lived on? His pacifism was utterly discredited by the ghetto explosions, his preaching of reliance on the capitalist state was exposed as the federal troops bloodily suppressed these upheavals. As a preacher of poisonous bourgeois ideology King had lost his credibility and thus outlived his usefulness to the ruling class.

For its part the reformist left has a different reason for feeling it was a blessing King died when he did. The Communist Party (CP), for instance, claims that King was shot down just as he was embarking upon a revolutionary course. His last trip to Memphis to support the sanitation workers' strike and his opposition to the Vietnam war are cited as proof positive of his growing partisanship on the side of the working class. King did come out against the war, if only for a negotiated settlement, and that opposition was to cost him his privileged relationship with LBJ. Undoubtedly King was feeling pressure from more militant black SNCC youth who saw Vietnam as a racist war. However, he anticipated the important current of bourgeois defeatism in demanding that the guns for Vietnam be replaced by government butter for the black poor. "The Great Society has been shot down on the battlefields of Vietnam," he said in New York City.

But to hear the CP tell the story, you would think King was some sort of

crypto-Marxist by the time he goes to Memphis:

"He guided the movement for liberation.... He began to see the relationship between the class struggle and the struggle for equal rights. He also saw these struggles as part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism—U.S. imperialism in the first place."
—*Daily World*, 1 April 1978

This sounds more like the M.L. King of J. Edgar Hoover's imagination than the one who actually existed. In fact, King would be no more suitable for such an honored place in the "progressive pantheon" than is Ralph Abernathy had he lived to slosh around in the mud in front of the Capitol in the "Poor People's Tent City." The fact is that the civil rights movement had died *before* King was shot. This is what makes his death so "timely" for Andrew Young, the CP and others who want to cash in on the moral capital of the "good old days" without taking responsibility for the failure of that movement.

The central theme of the bourgeoisie's hosannahs to Martin Luther King is to present him as the symbol of a civil rights movement that went from success to success by the good old American way of pressure politics. The present condition of the ghetto populace is sufficient proof of the emptiness of this fairy tale. In fact King produced defeats every time he directly confronted the economic roots of black oppression. And from early on the preacher of non-violence and reliance on the liberals was challenged by more militant forces in "the movement." The tragedy was that none of the forces in the emerging left wing of the civil rights movement had grasped a political program which could mobilize a united proletarian army to liberate all the oppressed, by

smashing the capitalist system which forges the chains of their oppression

Doculie

By far the most publicized media event was Abby Mann's *King*, broadcast last February over national TV for six hours on three successive nights. Even before it was shown, objections to the program were heard from disciples who feared the King image was not being properly worshipped. Along with Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) president emeritus Ralph Abernathy, Hosea Williams objected to his diminished role and tried unsuccessfully to organize a national boycott of the production. Supporters of Mann's version included Andrew Young, Coretta King and her lawyer, Stanley Levison, all of whom are portrayed as playing key roles in the TV "docudrama." But for all the squabbling there was no disagreement over what ought to be the purpose of the program. As Williams said, "Our preoccupation is that King be presented as the greatest peaceful warrior of the 20th Century. That's all" (*Politiks*, 14 February).

That's all? Mann's failure to take into account the left wing of the civil rights movement brought more serious objections from a number of ex-Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) members. Mann said he "understands" the criticisms made by the former SNCC members (who organized some of the projects Mann attributes solely to King). But he added in his defense: "This is the kind of film Martin Luther King wanted" (*New York Times*, 16 February). He's probably right about that.

Certainly the TV "docudrama" is the appropriate genre for slickly packaged contemporary myth-making. Its discomfiting mix of fact and fiction, data and impression, history and fantasy all serve to blur rather than clarify an already obscured reality. It captures the cynicism of post-Watergate liberalism with its syndrome of exposure and cover-up and ultimate unanswered questions. *King* focuses on the government's targeting of black leaders, particularly the FBI's criminal COINTELPRO program whose first commandment was: "Prevent the rise of a black messiah."

In Abby Mann's *King* the liberal view of the FBI is given melodramatic import with J. Edgar Hoover portrayed as the arch-paranoid villain sitting stone-stiff in a dark room clenching his teeth and planning to get King. No doubt this is true. As FBI agent Arthur Murtaugh of the Atlanta field office later told Kennedy assassination buff Mark Lane (in an interview for his book, *Code Name "Zorro"*): "The concentration of effort against King



Selma to Montgomery: Alabama state troopers attack march on Pettus Bridge. King turned the next march around with a prayer.

was greater than any single investigation that I saw take place at the Bureau and I saw a lot of them in twenty years."

But it is not the whole truth. Relying on Lane's research and theories, Mann paints a dark picture of the FBI to whitewash the role of the liberal government. In an early segment when then-president John Kennedy is asked what the government will do about attacks on civil rights activists, he says: "We'll do what we always do. Nothing." Fair enough. But by the end of the program John and his attorney general brother, Bobby, have been cast as warriors against Hoover, the FBI and the Ku Klux Klan. This post-Watergate convention of the mortal combat between Hoover and Camelot is phony in *King* and in history.

Far from being reluctant "good guys" the liberals differed with Hoover over tactical assessments on how to best contain the struggle for black equality. The government's attack on the black movement, particularly against its most militant sectors such as the Black Panther Party, was so intensive and widespread that to suggest it was done without the knowledge of Kennedy or Johnson is ludicrous. Indeed, liberal columnist Carl Rowan wrote that Hoover had leaked word to the press that Bobby Kennedy had authorized wire-taps on King's phone, a charge he repeated in a 19 June 1968 interview in the *Washington Star*. But while for Hoover the

"black messiah" had to be stopped by any means necessary, the liberals increasingly saw King as the man most capable of containing the civil rights movement within the bounds of liberal pacifism. The more the masses threatened to break out of these bonds, the more the liberals supported King against spokesmen for more militant strategies.

Yet by the late 1960's the mood of the black population had become so explosive that a fearful bourgeoisie tended to allow Hoover a freer hand. After Harlem, Watts, Newark and Detroit went up in flames, any black leadership began to seem a threat. And so they were systematically put out of action or simply "eliminated." Malcolm X had already been assassinated; SNCC leader Rap Brown was in jail; within a year Chicago Black Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton would be murdered in their beds, while Newton, Cleaver and Seale were hounded with arrests.

We may never know how much of the post-Watergate liberal speculation about FBI involvement in the King assassination is fact and how much conspiratorial paranoia. But it is certainly proper to make the sinister connection with the government's search-and-destroy missions against the black movement. We demand to know the whole truth about the King assassination, the murder of Malcolm X and the all-out secret police war

against the Black Panther Party! Instead we are dished up post-Watergate apologia for pacifist liberalism.

From Montgomery to Washington

The Mann docudrama presents its hero as the leader of a long march of stunning victories for the black masses. But the truth is that Martin Luther King did not begin the civil rights struggle in the U.S. And he certainly did not make possible the partial gains that characterize its early years. After World War II, the government found formal Jim Crow segregation increasingly embarrassing. It stood in stark contradiction to the integration of masses of black workers into the industrial proletariat of the cities; and it exposed U.S. pretensions as champion of a "Free World" both in the Cold War with Russia and in the jockeying for influence in decolonizing Africa. By 1947 the U.S. military and all departments of the federal government were desegregated, and when black soldiers came back from integrated units in Korea they swore they would no longer submit to Jim Crow. Even before the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education decision, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had won a

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If King couldn't bury civil rights militancy in liberal pacifism, the racist American bourgeoisie was more than willing to bury it with guns, clubs and hoses. Hoover's COINTELPRO memo (right) drips with the blood of martyred black leaders (Malcolm X, Fred Hampton and others) who sought to lead the movement beyond King's politics of liberal prostration. Below, Birmingham 1963.



Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a true coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.
2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. There might have been such a "messiah," he is the martyr of the movement today. He is less of a threat because of his age. He is supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. He has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.
3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.
4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community in three ways.

M.L. King...

(continued from page 7)

number of legal victories for school desegregation in the South.

It was with the arrest of Rosa Parks in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955 that the movement that became known as the civil rights movement dramatically overtook NAACP legalism and led to the year-long bus boycott. It was also the event that thrust Martin Luther King to center stage as a national spokesman of pacifist "direct action" for black equality. Contrary to popular myth it was not King, but Ralph Abernathy, a less polished Montgomery preacher at a less esteemed church, who was the driving force behind the boycott. Abernathy, E.D. Nixon (of the local NAACP and Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters) and others pushed King, the "new boy" preacher of the prestigious Dexter Avenue Church into the leadership of the boycott for reasons of security. As he himself confirmed in his book, *Stride Toward Freedom*, "I neither started the protest nor suggested it," adding in messianic terms, "I simply responded to the call of the people for a spokesman."

Rather than a spokesman for the people, in Montgomery King became the spokesman for the policy of reliance on the federal government with a new cover of Gandhian passive resistance. As religious philosophy it is claptrap, but in the mouth of a Gandhi or King it was the bleating of the Judas goat. King wrote in the mid-1950's:

"The Negro all over the South must come to the point that he can say to his white brother: 'We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we will not obey your evil laws. We will soon wear you down by pure capacity to suffer.'"

quoted in David L. Lewis,
King, A Critical Biography
(1970)

While King preached that the non-violent resister had "cosmic companionship" in his struggle for justice, it was clear that he saw as temporal political companions the liberal capitalist government and its courts. After a year of unyielding struggle by Montgomery's blacks, it must have seemed to King part of the cosmic order of justice when the Supreme Court declared the local laws requiring segregated seating on buses unconstitutional. A voice from the back of the adjournment proceedings is reported to have cried out, "God Almighty has spoken from Washington, D.C."

In Abby Mann's *King* the Montgomery bus boycott ends victoriously with the hero stepping aboard the newly integrated bus and the "New South" takes off. Coretta King's voice is heard as the bus pulls away:

"When Martin boarded that bus—the first integrated bus—he felt as though he were Columbus discovering Ameri-

ca. It seemed to him then, anything was possible."

King was riding high with his sermons on "soul force" and the "capacity to suffer," but Montgomery blacks were left to face the racist flak courageously, but tactically, politically and morally disarmed. Following the Supreme Court decision the racist terrorists crawled from their ratholes, put on their sheets and picked their black targets. The KKK staged a provocative nighttime torchlit procession into the black neighborhoods. Black churches were burned to the ground. Buses were attacked and burned in a campaign of terror. Even King's house was dynamited; but angry blacks who rose to his defense (and their own) calling for protest action were told by King to love their enemies.

It was in Birmingham in 1963 that the pacifism of King and the SCLC was exposed in blood and death. Mann's *King* recreates the indelible images of that time—Bull Connor and his storm-troopers; the police dogs set loose upon the crowd; the firehoses set at pressures sufficient to strip off tree bark, hurling children up against the walls. But these dramatic scenes are only part of the story. Mann glosses over the black population's fighting response to Connor and the racist thugs. In Birmingham King's non-violent philosophy was junked by the black masses who with sticks, rocks, knives and bottles fought back against the racists in the streets. It was at that moment—and not before—that Kennedy sent troops to bases outside the city and announced that he had taken steps to federalize the Alabama National Guard.

In Birmingham, pacifist persuasion was put away, but not before that tragic Sunday morning, 15 September 1963, when a bomb exploded in the Sixth Avenue Baptist Church that would put four little black girls into their graves. For his part, King remained loyal to his god and his saviors in the government. And the government recognized it had a loyal representative in the field. Even when his brother's home was bombed, King continued to "marvel" at how blacks could express "hope and faith" in moments of such tragedy.

Just how loyal King was to the Democratic Party was proved that summer in the fabled March on Washington. In Mann's *King* and all King mythology the March on Washington is taken as the victorious high point of "the movement." In fact it was here that King helped engineer a "mass" political defeat for the cause of black liberation, treacherously tying it to the Democratic Party. The numbers were certainly impressive, and so was the participation of every important civil rights organization along with the liberal wing of the union bureaucracy, most notably Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers. Marxists call for mobilizing the power of the organized working class as key to winning democratic rights for the oppressed. But this was not what the March on Washington was about. Rather it was an attempt to channel the

movement into pressure politics for the passing of the civil rights bill and to cement ties with the Democratic Party.

Even the most conservative civil rights leaders initially saw the march as a means to put the heat on the Kennedy administration, which was dragging its heels on the bill and other anti-discrimination legislation. But when Kennedy called in the "representative leaders" for a conference, they quickly changed their minds. They changed their destination from the White House to the Lincoln Memorial, issued a new march handbook deleting a "statement to the president" and the call to confront the Congressmen. They specifically denied participation to "subversive" groups and censored all speeches. Although John Lewis of SNCC was invited to speak, he was pressured into deleting from his prepared text the following sentence: "We cannot depend on any political party for both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence."

Although the 1964 Civil Rights Act was a supportable declaration of minimal democratic rights, the march was meant to build support for precisely that party whose purpose was to sabotage any attempt by blacks to gain those rights. Characterizing the march as the "Farce on Washington," Malcolm X wrote of the period which King came to see as the high point of his career:

"In '63 it was the march on Washington. In '64, what was it? The civil-rights bill. Right after they passed the civil-rights bill they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it; murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the civil-rights bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the bill itself was not designed to solve our problems."

George Breitman, ed.,
Malcolm X Speaks (1965)

It was the felt need for a program to "solve our problems" which led to the emergence of a left wing in the civil rights movement which challenged King.

Civil Rights Movement Divided

One of the more pernicious aspects of the King myth is the treatment of the civil rights movement as a continuous parade of victories with little or no challenge to King's leadership and philosophy of non-violence. Here Abby Mann makes a most worshipful offering to that idol of liberalism at the expense of truth. For Mann the entire political struggle against liberal pacifism is reduced to an anachronistic dialogue between King and Malcolm X in which the latter is portrayed as a charming demon of defeat while King is the inch-by-inch realist. Basically, the liberals put into the mouth of Malcolm a strategy for race war and allow King to point out that such a strategy would amount to race suicide. In fact it was not race war, but collective self-defense that was the issue for Malcolm X, for Robert Williams, the Deacons for Defense and many others.

Through "creative editing," *King* fails to show that not only was its hero opposed by more militant, courageous activists, but that he was also pushed by the left wing of the civil rights movement into many actions for which he is now given credit. Mann gives SNCC the most cursory mention, buried under a mountain of King rhetoric, as the militant wing of the civil rights movement. And the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which organized the first freedom rides, is not mentioned at all.

But history is different from "docudrama" and the developing split was to become all important to the fate of the civil rights movement. The fight was only partly generational, and at root ideological. Certainly at the beginning SNCC was a creature of the SCLC and (as its name clearly indicates) accepted its non-violent strategy. But unlike King

many of the SNCC, CORE and NAACP youth council members were not committed to non-violence as an inviolable religious principle. They tended to accept King's strategy as good coin, and while they had illusions in the federal government, their real commitment was to the struggle for democratic rights for black people. Thus from the same events they learned different lessons from the preachers! When the social expulsions of the mid-1960's occurred they identified with the aspirations of the black masses while King feared for the bourgeois order.

As early as the April 1960 Raleigh, North Carolina youth conference—out of which SNCC would emerge—King was already warning that "the tactics of non-violence without the spirit of non-violence may become a new kind of violence." And by the following year during the confrontation in Albany, Georgia ("one of the meanest little towns" in Carter country) King had even more reason to be suspicious of the students—and they of him.

It was here that the students saw that despite King's capacity to land thousands of activists in the jails, he was unable to dent the stone wall of racist reaction. In midsummer 1961, after sustained and repeated racist attacks, with 3,000 Klansmen massed outside town, the protesters began to fight back. As he did so often in the future, King called for a "moratorium" on action. And the militant black youth began to refer to him derisively as "De Lawd."

But it was at Selma, Alabama in 1965 that the tensions came to a head on the Pettus Bridge. In the face of King's betrayal the song, "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round," rang with painful irony for the returning marchers. Responding to Justice Department pressure, King stopped the Selma-to-Montgomery march, knelt in prayer and turned it around. With Selma there was open talk of King as sellout and coward. To the song, "We Shall Overcome," the young militants began to counterpose "We Shall Overrun."

King Goes North

It was in Chicago in 1966 that the premises of the liberal civil rights movement came most clearly into explosive collision with economic and social reality. Northern ghetto blacks had lived with "equality under the law" for years, and it was abundantly clear that King had no program to fight the causes of racial discrimination rooted deep in the economic and social structure of capitalist society. And despite the reformists' claim that King was moving left when death overtook him, what grew out of the Northern experience was not a turn toward the working class, but Jesse Jackson's "Operation Breadbasket," the quintessence of black capitalism.

By the time King arrived in Chicago the civil rights movement was already irreversibly divided, not the least over the ghetto upheavals which had burst upon the political scene. The emerging black nationalists were enraged by the support King and the preachers gave to the vicious police repression. As King said of Watts, "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them" (*New York Times*, 16 August 1965).

While talking in vague terms about attacking economic problems, King simultaneously launched an attack against his left flank, striking out against "violence" in the black movement. He had already directed his fire at CORE's stall-in at the 1964 New York World's Fair and a trip to Harlem that year had resulted in his car being pelted with rotten eggs while the crowd chanted, "We Want Malcolm." He knew he would not get much besides suspicion from CORE and SNCC in his Palmer House negotiations with Mayor Daley.

The most subtle apology for King's liberalism comes from those who agree that the civil rights movement was

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finished in the North, but attribute the failure to the unbreachable divide between the ethnic white neighborhood and the black ghetto. Nationalism politically tied blacks into the ghetto, despairing of a successful struggle against the segregation of minorities at the bottom of the economic ladder. Yet the North was also the integrated workplace, the integrated union, the possibility of an alliance with other exploited sectors against the common enemy. But this fighting alliance did not mean the empty "unity" of black liberals with liberal labor bureaucrats. In Chicago the struggle for racial equality meant directly confronting the Daley machine, and the Reuthers, Rustins and Randolphs were not about to mount a campaign against this Democratic Party kingpin. What was needed was a program of class struggle; what King offered was a program of class collaboration.

Chicago blacks were presented with the choice of two dead ends: the liberal pacifism of King or the no less defeatist ideology of Carmichael and the black nationalists. Both failed to see the need to mobilize the power of the unions, through challenging the racist, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy; King and the SCLC because they were committed to the Democratic Party; Carmichael and the black nationalists because with the defeats and sellouts of liberal pacifism, they had taken the road of black separatist militancy which ignored the "white working class."

The situation came to a head with the projected march into the lily-white

suburb of Cicero. King was under pressure to make a show of militancy; SNCC was anxious to show its mettle; the racists got ready. Nazi leader George Rockwell came to town amidst considerable fanfare to recruit among the Cicero residents. The white working-class communities had already made clear that they would not allow blacks to march through their streets when King was stoned to the ground earlier in Marquette Park. No one doubted the racist terror that would meet the planned King-SNCC march. But two days before it was to occur King signed the Palmer House "Summit Agreement" and backed off in exchange for a formal agreement on housing.

For the militant wing of the civil rights movement it was Selma all over again. SNCC on its own led a march of 200 people into Cicero on September 4. There were triple that number of Chicago police and thousands of National Guardsmen. The marchers were courageous and sustained many injuries and arrests, but they had lost. It was all over long before it began. The racists had out-mobilized them in the streets. Nearly a decade later busing was defeated in Boston for much the same reason: the labor movement was not brought into the struggle on the side of integration. Responsible for these defeats were the labor bureaucrats, the black liberal leadership and the pseudo-socialists who tail after them.

Class Power and Civil Rights

King and the coalition of black ministers of the SCLC had never intended to unleash a movement of the black masses. Their civil rights movement was meant as a gesture by the "talented tenth" to pressure the capitalist government for legal reform. They saw the Democratic Party as the natural political vehicle for legislative pressure and black political expression. They saw the courts as their main ally and ultimate battleground. But when the black masses moved onto the stage of U.S. history, the SCLC's role became one of fearful containment.

It was different for SNCC whose young activists identified with and encouraged the organization of black social power. An orientation toward different class forces began to show early, if only sociologically, as SNCC turned toward "grass roots" local organizing and King continued his reliance on the federal government. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)—which grew out of the SNCC voter registration campaigns—revealed all of the contradictions of a militant civil rights organization lacking revolutionary programmatic alternatives. The MFDP shared King's illusions in the party of Kennedy and Humphrey, illusions it paid for at the 1964 Atlantic City convention when the Johnson/Humphrey machine crushed its attempt to unseat the Jim Crow Mississippi delegation. Out of this experience the Lowndes County (Alabama) Freedom Organization was formed with a political thrust independent of the capitalist parties.

In the end no sector of the civil rights movement was able to decisively break out of the confines of liberal politics. Yet throughout this period literally thousands of its left-wing militants were in rapid political motion. That this motion was not intersected by communists with a program to broaden the fight for democratic rights of blacks into a struggle for black equality through united class struggle was a major setback for the U.S. proletariat.

In the early 1960's the predecessor of the Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), fought for just such an active intervention into SNCC and other components of the left wing of the civil rights movement. The RT saw the crucial opportunity for the crystallization of a black Trotskyist cadre. Its 1963 opposition document, "The Negro

Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership," read in part:

"The rising upsurge and militancy of the black revolt and the contradictory and confused, groping nature of what is now the left wing in the movement provide the revolutionary vanguard with fertile soil and many opportunities to plant the seeds of revolutionary socialism.... We must consider non-intervention in the crisis of leadership a crime of the worst sort."

In part it was for this fight that the RT was expelled from the SWP while that already degenerated party continued its criminal abstentionism. Within a few years the opportunity would be lost—with the hardening of the black nationalists mood, the terrain would be sealed off to communists for several years, with many thousands of black radicals lost to the revolutionary movement.

Far from being a transcendental leader of a united movement, King was one of the political poles against which the left wing of the civil rights movement was defined. Yet there are those on the left who still yearn for the "good old days" of a "united" civil rights movement, and toward that end they falsify the movement and the man who symbolized its liberal, religious wing.

It is ironic that the rehabilitation of King within the left was begun by the black nationalists on the basis that "no whites ought to criticize" any black. But the present reformist stance toward King is dictated by desires to once again get close to the liberals. Thus the SWP, for instance, in the most cynical fashion not only talks about a "New Civil Rights Movement" as it tails after the moribund hyper-legalist NAACP, but at the same time it continues to support the residues of the black nationalist wave. In fact, *both* movements are dead, but these shameless reformists continue to support all of their most treacherous aspects—calls for federal troops to "protect" black schoolchildren, reliance on "peaceful, legal" means to pressure the capitalist state, support for government union-busting "Affirmative Action" schemes in the name of civil rights.

Marxists must not disguise King's liberal pacifism and the dead end it represented in the struggle against racial oppression. We must break through the myths of "passive resistance," crack the mask of "King the Peaceful Warrior," and present a revolutionary analysis of the *failure* of the civil rights movement to provide a program for fighting the social and economic oppression of blacks under American capitalism. It is not through liberal "docudrama" that the new generation of youth will discover the true story of that period. While the reformists cover for King to camouflage their own treacherous tracks, the task of creating a black communist cadre requires destroying politically the exalted symbols of passive defeatism and reliance on the bourgeois state which led to the death of the civil rights movement. ■

CIA Insider Spills the Beans...

(continued from page 4)

CIA personnel were sent in to "develop the communications, maintenance, combat leadership, and discipline to organize an effective military effort."

We noted then that the imperialist power grab changed the character of the Angolan fighting:

"...under present circumstances the left-nationalist MPLA is fighting not merely against the FNLA and UNITA, but against an imperialist/colonialist-led anti-communist coalition which, if successful, would install a puppet regime in Luanda essentially subordinate to South Africa and the U.S. The correct policy for proletarian revolutionists at this time, therefore, is military support to the MPLA against the Washington-financed, South African-organized offensive.

—WV No. 85, 14 November 1975

The influx of thousands of Cuban troops equipped with Soviet tanks and rockets soon turned the tide. As Cuban/MPLA forces routed the UNITA, FNLA and Zairean units, Stockwell describes how U.S. plans to aid its Angolan puppets grew more frenzied. The use of sophisticated Redeye ground-to-air missiles, tactical air support and C-47 gun platforms was proposed. According to Stockwell, Washington even considered "the formal introduction of American advisors, the use of American army units, a show of the fleet off Luanda, and the feasibility of making an overt military feint at Cuba itself to force Castro to recall his troops and defend the home island."

These plans were stymied by an uncooperative Congress, which passed the Tunney Amendment, barring the use of funds from the fiscal year 1976 Defense Appropriations Bill for the Angolan war. The CIA, left with only \$7 million in its operations funds, thus could barely sustain, let alone escalate, its intervention. The more farsighted sections of the American bourgeoisie recognized that such intervention was no longer feasible, that no basic U.S. interests were threatened and that it might be possible to wean the bourgeois nationalists of the MPLA away from the Soviets in the future. Stockwell himself expresses such sentiments and quotes Senator Dick Clark who summarized such bourgeois defeatist views succinctly: "we are dangerously close to an open-ended confrontation with the Soviet Union in a country that is of no real strategic concern to either country."

In order to adapt to such bourgeois liberal sentiments, the Socialist Workers Party, as it had in the Vietnam War, refused to openly call for the defeat of the imperialist invasion. It ostentatiously ignored the fundamental fact that the civil war had been subordinated to an imperialist power play, countered by the intervention of troops of a deformed workers state. Only the international Spartacist tendency upheld the principled Trotskyist position of calling for the military victory of the MPLA/Cuban forces against the imperialists and their pawns, while refusing to politically endorse the bourgeois nationalism of the MPLA.

Stockwell's *post facto* bourgeois defeatism and exposures of CIA skulduggery do not outweigh his complicity in this murderous imperialist attack. When he thought it feasible, he supported the use of Cobra gunships, which could spray an area the size of a football field with eight thousand rounds a minute, killing every living thing on the ground. The contrition of U.S. imperialism's hit-men for their war crimes is in indeed shallow. John Stockwell deserves no better fate than those of the captured mercenaries—paid with CIA money—who were executed by the victorious MPLA. ■

The "Protection" of the FBI: A Prediction Come True

... the civil rights movement must realize that it cannot look to the federal government for "protection" of any sort. If the past history of Federal interaction and collaboration with the segregationist apparatus is not enough proof, the Selma case should make it clear that Johnson will mobilize Federal forces and pass voting-rights bills only when he feels that the interests of the American racist *status quo* will benefit. Once the Negro people begin to assert their *real* power and independence, and attempt to use these laws for their own political action, these same troops will be turned against them in the interests of racist oppression. The civil-rights movement will then find itself witch-hunted, its meetings raided and supporters arrested by the same F.B.I. it is presently beseeching to protect it. The illusion of "non-violence" spread by King and others is a criminal *disarming* of black people, and is consistent with the role of these "leaders" as agents of the power structure. The movement must scrap these illusions once and for all and begin to organize the Negro people to defend themselves from violence. The movement must look to itself, not to the Federal government, for protection.

By developing now a party commanding respect and winning gains through the organization of black power, yet a party without racial exclusivism, Negro militants will lay the basis for eventual working-class fusion. This fusion will come about when the exploited section of the white South is driven into opposition and in desperation is compelled to forego color prejudice in order to struggle along class lines against its real enemies—the owners of land and industry and their state.

—from *Spartacist* No. 4, May-June 1965

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Zaire...

(continued from page 1)

and the U.S. eagerly volunteered military aid. Moroccan troops and Egyptian pilots were the only foreign forces involved (alongside Mobutu's pygmy troops) in what little fighting occurred during the 80-day "war." But this time, the Angolan-based FLNC was able to take Kolwezi within two days, and a direct imperialist intervention was thus necessary.

Shaba/Katanga witnessed a variation on this theme in 1960. Only in that case the secessionist movement, led by Moïse Tshombé, was backed by the white *colons* and Belgian imperialism. When the black rank and file of the army of the newly-independent Congo revolted against their Belgian officers, the former colonial power decided that even nominal independence of the Congo was too risky. White settlers and the Union Minière Mining Trust, hiding behind Tshombé, declared the independence of Katanga province. As atrocity stories about attacks on whites flew thick and fast, Tshombé appealed for the "sending of Belgian troops to protect human lives and goods." At the UN the Belgian



Norma

Mobutu embraces French president Giscard.

minister for foreign affairs harangued the assembly concerning the rape of white women and the murder of priests as the Belgian paras moved into Katanga.

First and foremost, the "sacred mission" of the paratroopers was protection of the copper and cobalt mines of the Union Minière. When, with connivance of the UN forces, Congolese president Kasavubu dismissed radical nationalist Patrice Lumumba as prime minister and after Lumumba was murdered in 1961, the Belgian mining syndicate could breathe a little more easily. Henceforth, the Congolese central government, especially after Mobutu's rise to power, would be backed by imperialism against various tribalist and secessionist opposition groups.

The working class must not be misled by cynical imperialist propaganda about missionaries, teachers, mining technicians and the like. The real issue is not the fate of the Belgian colonialists but the predatory control of the imperialists on the natural wealth of Zaire and the role of the U.S. Air Force, the Belgian paratroopers and the sadistic scum of the French Foreign Legion in propping up the Mobutu dictatorship. Wracked by a 75 percent annual inflation rate and a foreign debt of \$3 billion, the Zairean economy is in a shambles. Moreover, it is only Mobutu's terrorist regime that forcibly holds together the Zairean state, composed of 220 tribal units.

The Specter of Cuba

As in last year's invasion, Mobutu's press agency claimed that the FLNC was not only armed and trained by Cubans and Angolans, but that Cuban soldiers participated in the fighting. This time, it was claimed that the

invasion was hatched in Havana under the code name "Operation Dove." After all, playing on Western imperialism's fears of a Cuban/Soviet presence had already garnered Zaire's disaster-ridden economy additional millions in foreign aid last year. As was the case last time as well, no proof of any Cuban participation could be found. However, after doing nothing about Ethiopia's turn toward the Soviet Union, the U.S. was looking for an excuse to "draw the line" on Cuban intervention. Even before the invasion, Carter had delivered a strong warning to the USSR and Cuba about their role in Africa, charging the Soviets with "innate racism"!

When the fighting first broke out, units of the 82nd Airborne Division were put on alert. But as the absence of any Cuban presence became clear, the U.S. merely assisted in airlifting the French and Belgian troops to the area, and provided the Zairean army with rations, fuel and equipment. American imperialism's interests were not so directly threatened.

But while there is no proof of Cuban participation, the FLNC invasion is connected to recent events in Angola. The FLNC is based on Lunda tribesmen from Shaba, with leadership going back to the Katangan gendarmes who supported Tshombé and have fought the central government for two decades. In exile in Angola, they fought for Portuguese colonialism against the Zairean-backed, Bakongo-based National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), then continued this fight on behalf of the Cuban/Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Meanwhile, in its most recent efforts to destroy the military capabilities of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) the South African regime launched a murderous raid on SWAPO refugee camps in southern Angola on May 5. Three South African columns entered Angola to attack the camps and killed hundreds of refugees, including women and children. In addition, South Africa is backing the continuing guerrilla war of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) against the MPLA regime, mainly in order to hamper SWAPO which, like UNITA, is based in southern Angola. According to Luanda, UNITA soldiers were recently ferried to bases in Zaire to open a northern front. By unleashing the ex-Katangan gendarmes, therefore, the MPLA can indirectly retaliate for the South African raid.

There is nothing leftist about the FLNC, however. They will ally with anyone in pursuit of their tribalist feud with Mobutu. Those who take their "anti-imperialist" rhetoric as good coin would do well to remember that only a few years ago, Mobutu, in a drive against "colonial culture," renamed the Congo Zaire and nationalized various foreign enterprises, thus qualifying for the vacuous label of "progressive" which Third World cheerleaders now give to the FLNC. In reality the only real difference between these two military-tribal cliques is ethnic, and there is thus no basis for supporting one as against another. But Marxists do militarily support African nationalists against direct imperialist interventions (such as the current Belgian/French/U.S. operations) and call for the defeat of groupings which become nothing more than pawns of such interventions.

As for the alleged killing of some 70 Europeans, this pales beside the crimes of Belgian colonialism, which slaughtered tens and hundreds of thousands of Africans in its drive to exploit the Congo's natural resources. The range of Belgian atrocities was long ago captured in Mark Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, which quotes the chapter headings of a British consul's eyewitness account:

"Expedition against a village behind-hand in its (compulsory) supplies; result, slaughter of sixteen persons; among them three women and a boy of five years. Ten carried off, to be

Soviet "Free" Trade Unions...

(continued from page 2)

working-class opposition to bureaucratic usurpation of the Russian Revolution and imperialist opposition to the revolution itself. No proletarian opposition to the Kremlin can be built without a firm commitment to defending the conquests of the October Revolution. The "Free Trade Union Association" does weakly take up this point, writing: "We have lost confidence in the Procurator of the USSR as an organ which will stand guard over the gains of October..." ("A Collective Complaint"). (This document, incidentally, was *not* reprinted by the AFL-CIO or Amnesty International.) But the dissident workers group then turns around and in effect appeals to capitalist governments, State Department socialists and reactionary union leaders who are mortal enemies of the Russian Revolution.

If the victimized workers believe what is written in their complaint and in their references to socialist property, then their appeal to anti-Communist forces in the West is self-defeating; if this is but a cover to ward off charges of anti-Sovietism, then it still shows the strength of the Soviet workers' attachment to their revolution. And if the dissident workers have not yet realized how decisive this issue is, they should see how their appeals to anti-Communist forces in the West have added grist to the imperialist propaganda mills. Genuine Soviet trade unions will never be worth a kopeck to the workers as defensive organs to regain and defend Soviet liberties unless they are bulwarks against capitalist restoration!

It is not surprising that the first organized stirrings of opposition among Soviet workers would be infected with the right-wing ideology of the broader dissident movement, from tsarist Black Hundreds fanatics like Solzhenitsyn to pro-imperialist liberals like Sakharov. Most of the current generation of dissidents are drawn from a petty-bourgeois stratum of intellectuals, artists, professionals and government officials which in social composition far more resembles the Stalinist bureaucracy than the working masses. A large number of them were, in fact, at one time Khrushchevite advocates of self-reform by the bureaucracy who lost faith as a result of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

With the futile hopes of a liberalization of the bureaucracy having soured, a section of the Soviet intelligentsia turned toward the West. For these individuals, the prospect of emigration seemed preferable to the maintenance of the oppressive Stalinist regime of

prisoners until ransomed; among them a child, who died during the march."

"Government encouragement of inter-tribal slave-traffic. The monstrous fines levied upon villages tardy in their supplies of foodstuffs compel the natives to sell their fellows—and children—to other tribes in order to meet the fine."

"Men intimidated by the torture of their wives and daughters. (To make the men furnish rubber and supplies and so get their captured women released from chains and detention.) The sentry explained to me that he caught the women and brought them in (chained together neck to neck) by direction of his employer."

The hands of blacks were chopped off as punishment for not turning in their quota.

In view of this long history of hellish exploitation and oppression, which had reduced the Congolese population by *half* in the early decades of the twentieth century, the immense hatred of the Zairean blacks for their former colonial masters is easily understood. Marxists oppose the notion of "collective guilt" and indiscriminate attacks on whites or any other population group. However, it should by now be clear to those

Brezhnev & Co. Thus they have appealed to Cold War sabre-rattlers such as U.S. Senator Jackson to use imperialist blackmail (e.g., the threat of cutting off wheat shipments) whose real victims would be the Soviet people. Although certainly many revolutionaries can be recruited from among Soviet intellectuals, particularly students, as a social stratum this grouping is extremely susceptible to the corrupting influences of both the Stalinist bureaucracy and liberal bourgeois ideology.

For the Soviet working masses it is entirely different. They have nothing to gain and everything to lose from the restoration of capitalism. Except under the most extreme conditions, it is unlikely that the pro-imperialist blathering of the dissident intellectuals like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn could win any broad credence among the Soviet proletariat. The first condition for the building of a general, powerful workers opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy must be the rooting out of such corrosive influences. Klebanov and the victimized Soviet workers must be defended against the rapacious persecution of the Brezhnevites, but there can be no quarter given to appeals to the imperialist "democracies" against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The dissident Soviet workers have two choices before them. On the one hand, they may pursue a bloc with the pro-imperialist dissidents. Such a course would be not only a betrayal of the interests of the Soviet masses but also an inestimable gift to the Stalinist bureaucracy in its cynical attempts to pass itself off before the Soviet people as defenders of the October Revolution. The Soviet workers' disgust at the Orlovs and Sakharovs is a perverted but also just expression of their hatred of imperialism and attachment to the tremendous achievements of the Russian Revolution. Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev & Co. have always sought to portray all opponents to their anti-working class regimes as lackeys of imperialism.

Or, alternatively, the dissident workers can follow the necessary course of judiciously opposing the excesses of the bureaucracy while explaining to the Soviet masses the principled means by which the original goals of October can be recreated.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Usec and OCI, left social democrats and "Euro-communists" all conciliate the pro-imperialist dissident currents. Only authentic Trotskyism, as represented by the international Spartacist tendency, with its firm insistence on the need for defense and extension of the gains of October, through political revolution against the Stalinist usurpers, provides a banner around which the Soviet proletariat can rally. ■

Belgians, who for generations have been the most arrogant and parasitical of all of the white settlers in Africa and who go to their ex-colony to participate in renewed exploitation of the toiling masses, that *they might not come back alive*. The hysteria over the fate of these European colonialists is simply a pretext for imperialist intervention.

We oppose French imperialism's current African adventures. Some 1,700 French troops and French fighter-bombers now prop up the government of Chad against insurgents; French planes carry out air strikes from bases in Mauritania against the Algerian-backed Polisario Front. We oppose all attempts to further entrench U.S. or French imperialism in central Africa. No military aid to Zaire--no imperialist troops or advisers for the butcher Mobutu! It will be the copper miners of Zaire and Zambia under a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership, and linked to the masses of the South African proletariat, who will establish the workers and peasants governments leading to a socialist federation of southern Africa. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Santo Domingo...

(continued from page 12)

interference in the democratic process of the election, this would have a great effect on the support which we give in the future to the Dominican government" (*Listin Diario*, 22 May).

The clear signs of displeasure from the U.S. (Carter accused the military of trying to stop the election of Guzmán) make it likely that the transition will take place. Balaguer, himself put into power by U.S. bayonets, no doubt vividly recalls the fate of his one-time boss, Trujillo, who when he was no longer useful to the American imperialists was assassinated by liberal officers with guns from the CIA. For its part the PRD has been careful not to ruffle the feathers of any military hawks. Its presidential candidate Guzmán assured the armed forces that he would not touch the officers corps if elected. And PRD secretary general José Peña Gómez issued a statement of nauseating praise for the "democratic mentality" of the armed forces and deploring any "division of an institution [the army] whose unity is crucial for political stability, order and national sovereignty" (*El Nacional de ¡Ahora!*, 19 May).

To the U.S., which engineered Balaguer's victory in 1966 and his defeat in 1978, it is not a paramount concern which bourgeois leader sits in the Dominican president's chair today, so long as the masses are kept quiet. Unlike many countries in Latin America where a substantial, although subservient, native bourgeoisie developed over the decades, in the Dominican Republic only the most feeble comprador class emerged. In the early 1900's the U.S. literally stationed its officials in the Dominican customs house to ensure the repayment of loans and directly controlled the government following a 1916 Marine Corps invasion. In 1930 Trujillo came to power with U.S. support and his family soon controlled 65-85 percent of the key economic sectors (banking, air and maritime transport, sugar, utilities and insurance).

With the assassination of the "Benefactor," these properties passed into the hands of the state. However, following Balaguer's 1966 "election," a massive process of denationalization began, primarily to the benefit of U.S. and Canadian corporations. Today virtually all extractive industries, such as nickel (Falconbridge) and bauxite (Alcoa), are in North American hands and one third of the sugar industry, the country's primary product, is controlled by Gulf and Western.

The major left groups participating in the elections were the Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD), a bourgeois nationalist formation led by former PRD president Bosch; the Partido Comunista Dominicano (PCD), a pathetically reformist "Carib-communist" party which was legalized by Balaguer last November; and the Unión Patriótica Antiimperialista (UPA), an election bloc of several Maoist groups (Bandera Proletaria and Línea Roja MR-1J4). Other groups, notably the once hegemonic Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD) boycotted the elections.

The most despicable of these phony "leftists" are the PLD and the PCD, who in response to the soldiers' ballot box theft called for a deal with Balaguer. The PCD, which favorably comments on the government's "agrarian reform" law, called on the PRD not to "insist on formalisms and intransigency which would stand in the way of the perspective of a negotiated solution...." Bosch, in turn, called for a government of national unity including Balaguer's PR and the armed forces! So much for this supposed "anti-imperialist" and acerbic critic of "Pentagonism."

Línea Roja MR-1J4, the main force in the UPA, in response to the ballot

box seizure simply called on the Central Election Board to proclaim the PRD the winner and said not one word about any form of popular protest. The MPD, on the other hand, talked of preparations for resistance if the military refused to recognize the PRD victory. However, this supposed militancy went hand-in-hand with *political* support to the PRD: "...the victory of the PRD... would make possible the realization of laws and reforms concerning the economic and national policies which would momentarily alleviate some problems such as freedom for political prisoners... and the return of the exiles."

—*La Noticia*, 21 May

Thus the MPD's supposed revolutionary abstention was simply a form of "critical" support to the bourgeois liberals (not running its own candidates would increase the PRD vote).

All of the Dominican reformists are currently giving tacit or explicit political support to one of the major bourgeois parties, Balaguer's PR or the PRD. This is precisely the situation which prevailed during the 1965 Santo Domingo uprising, when the MPD in particular (as well as the then-Castroist MR-1J4) ceded leadership of the "constitutionalist" revolt to the PRD and its supporters in the army, such as Colonel Caamaño Deñó. The bourgeois "constitutionalists," in turn, agreed to abandon their struggle under the pressure of the "OAS Peace Force" (U.S. Marines). The key to the transformation of the Santo Domingo revolt into an authentic proletarian revolution was to *break* the political ties to the class enemy. A wealthy rancher like PRD candidate Guzmán, for instance, is not about to support a program for land to the tiller and expropriation of the large estates—which would have been crucial in rousing the peasantry to support the Santo Domingo uprising.

The Maoists' popular-front bloc with the PRD meant bloody demise for the 1965 revolt, and the behavior of the reformists in the recent elections demonstrates they have learned nothing from this defeat. Should the military again demand a crackdown on popular agitation, the left will find that the "multi-class" PRD is no more reticent about using force against the workers than was Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang—as the Chinese workers found out in 1927 after obeying Stalin's criminal orders to follow the leadership of the KMT. Peña Gómez' praise of the "unity" of the army which crushed the Santo Domingo commune should make this clear. In the meantime, if conditions relax in the Dominican Republic it will not be because of the independent struggle of the Dominican left but because of the "good will" of Jimmy Carter. And what Caesar gives he can also take away. ■

Chicago ISA...

(continued from page 5)

In an article titled "What Iranian Students Need is a Spanking," Wiedrich made one of the most vicious butchers in the world out to be a benign father figure, joked about his cruel torture and called for the students' deportation:

"Frankly, I hope the Shah rumples their rumps with fatherly boots when they get home. They deserve it.... I wish the American immigration authorities would lift their visas and hustle them home as fast as Air Iran can loft them. They don't belong here. They aren't worthy of our freedoms."

Defend the ISA!

Whether or not Youssefi and Maham are paid by the SAVAK for their dirty work, it is clear they are armed criminal thugs and provocateurs of the reactionary despot, and their gangsterism threatens not only the ISA, but the entire left. ISA defense lawyers Hass and Voci have filed criminal complaints against Youssefi and Maham, and others, but the courts cannot be expected to burn out this nest of criminal thugs—they have proved instead to be willing accomplices in the frame-up of the ISA. In the context of a vigorous defense of the ISA the workers movement must demand: Jail the Shah's thugs! Stop the SAVAK/cop attacks on the ISA!

Despite the burning need for a broad united defense of the ISA, it is unlikely to develop. The responsibility for this tragic failure lies above all with the politics of the ISA itself. The ISA's rejection of a united front, in which each participating group would be able to raise its own banners and propaganda in the context of a defense effort, is the result of its leaders' fear of exposure of their bankrupt policies. The Maoists in the ISA could not stand up under open criticism of China's long-standing support for the "anti-imperialist" Shah, and the pro-Peking loyalists even support China's military aid to Teheran.

The result of this sectarian thuggery derived from Stalinism and the anti-communism of the Muslim nationalists has led all wings of the ISA to enforce political censorship in its minimal reformist propaganda and protests. But this method—common to all Stalinists and "progressive" nationalists—severely undercuts the possibility of building the broadest defense actions just when they are most needed. With the sharpening of class struggle in Iran, with the SAVAK ever more viciously on the attack, the ISA reformists play the same treacherous role as their counterparts in Iran. Just at this moment, when class instinct must demand solidarity on

the basis of "an injury to one is an injury to all," the Stalinists and nationalists dump the defense of victimized militants for their own narrow sectarian advantage.

Political censorship and spitting on the norms of workers democracy has become a way of life for the fractured ISA. They physically "censor" not only revolutionaries, but also opponent reformists within their own organization. The Revolutionary Communist Party and its Iranian supporters have launched vicious physical attacks on the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which is supported by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). CAIFI, in turn, reflecting the civil-libertarian treachery of their SWP backers, crosses the class line to call for *state prosecution* of left-wing Iranians they accuse of attacking their members! They further criminally refuse to defend the Iranian guerrilla fighters against the Shah's state repression.

Like CAIFI, all wings of the ISA are, however, united in suppressing revolutionary criticism in favor of an appeal to the conscience of bourgeois liberalism. They hope that Stalinist false proposition of a "two-stage" revolution will dovetail nicely with the democratic pretensions of the "progressive" bourgeoisie. So they hold protests with lowest common denominator politics, joining liberal and nationalist calls for "an independent, democratic Iran." The slogans that are outlawed by the ISA are precisely the ones that pose a *revolutionary* solution for Iran: the slogans of the class struggle.

The nationalism and reformism represented by the ISA in the U.S. is a serious obstacle not only to their own defense, but to the Iranian revolution. Only a Leninist vanguard party at the head of the Iran proletariat, leading the peasantry, can rip Iran from the stranglehold of imperialism and establish a workers and peasants government. And that party must be armed with the internationalist program of Trotskyism.

Defend the ISA! Down With the Shah! Forward to the Proletarian Revolution in Iran! ■

Romeo...

(continued from page 5)

Detroit's bake-oven auto plants and last summer's massive heat walkouts are being recalled. To impose "labor peace" on the assembly lines at any price, the auto bosses and the UAW fakers join hands to enforce the contract's "no-strike" clause with a vengeance. When the auto workers can take it no longer and the wildcats inevitably erupt, the "responsible (to the companies) union leaders" lounging in their air-conditioned Solidarity House offices look the other way as the bosses cut the strikers to ribbons. One of the fired Romeo workers summed up the feelings of thousands of other exasperated UAW members when he said, "I feel like I have been beating my head against the wall for seven days and right now I'm scared to death" (*Detroit News*, 19 May).

Every UAW militant should demand that a strike be authorized at the Romeo plant, and other Ford plants if necessary, to win back the 17 fired workers' jobs with full back pay, to clear all the strikers' records and to resolve all outstanding grievances. But the debacle at Romeo should also warn UAW members that few strikes over the intolerable working conditions in auto plants will be won until the UAW hierarchy's stranglehold is successfully challenged by an authoritative opposition standing for no-holds-barred class struggle with the companies. No more Romeos! Throw out the Solidarity House traitors! ■

Free Hugo Blanco! Release Thousands Arrested in Peru Crackdown!

General Francisco Morales Bermudez
Palacio de Gobierno
Lima, Peru

While your government financially bleeds the poor and working people in Peru on the orders of the U.S. imperialist International Monetary Fund, it unleashes brutal state repression against the masses who protest drastic price rises in basic necessities. We demand the immediate release of the more than 2,000 imprisoned during the mass protests. We demand freedom for peasant leader Hugo Blanco, who was seized at his home in a gestapo-style pre-dawn raid after his televised call for support to the general strike. Such acts of vengeance against recognized advocates of the oppressed and exploited of Peru, as well as against the nameless thousands who fill Lima's jails and streets, rip away your regime's mask of populism and reveal the hated face of capitalist oligarchic state terror in uniform.

Free Hugo Blanco!

Free the arrested strikers!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633 Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Liberal Opposition Appeals to OAS

Troops Steal Ballot Boxes in Santo Domingo

Last November the Dominican Republic's president Joaquín Balaguer announced that he was planning a fourth term in office and that if he didn't win the vote in the election, he would at least win the count (*Guardian* [London], 17 November 1977). Balaguer might very well have been able to "win" last week's election—in typical Dominican style, with the promised blatant election fraud except that he was missing one crucial vote, Jimmy Carter's. Carter chose instead to throw his weight behind Balaguer's challenger, wealthy cattle-rancher Antonio Guzmán of the bourgeois liberal Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD). The U.S. imperialist chief had extracted a promise from Balaguer some months previously that he would abide by the election results, and now Carter was going to hold him to it.

The elections were running smoothly on voting day, May 16, with only the usual irregularities: there was a machine-gun attack on one polling station, ballot boxes seized by the military in Vitoria, soldiers refusing to allow delivery of counted ballots to a district board in San Isidro, 23,000 voter registrations misplaced in the PRD stronghold of Santiago, a number of opposition poll watchers arrested and several forced at gunpoint by soldiers to sign falsified vote tallies. These are the normal techniques with which governments steal elections in Latin America. But this was not enough to stop the tidal wave of opposition to continued Balaguer rule, and in the early morning hours of Wednesday the PRD was leading by more than 100,000 votes.

So in a blatant act of force, the national police moved in at 4 a.m., told the official counters and observers of the Central Election Board to pack up and go home and seized the ballot boxes themselves!

The next day commercial radio and television stations were shut down while the government and armed forces stations played music instead of news; morning newspapers did not appear and telephone communications outside the country were cut off. All offices closed and heavily armed troops patrolled the nearly deserted streets of the capital. "Most citizens preferred to stay at home," one newspaper later reported. Amid a great deal of confusion armed forces minister General Beauchamps Javier issued a statement denying that a coup attempt was afoot, but gave no explanation as to why the vote count had been halted. There was, however, considerable speculation that the national police chief, General Nivar Seijas, had in fact intended to cancel the elections. One report said a faction of the army refused to go along, while another said that Balaguer himself squashed the attempted putsch.

Whatever the internal maneuvering, it is clear that international pressure was



Government troops stationed outside Santo Domingo headquarters of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano after election vote count was halted last week.

decisive in turning the situation around. During the day on Wednesday protests came in from the Socialist-led government of Portugal, the Acción Democrática government in Venezuela and the SPD-led West German government. (All three parties are members or associates of the Socialist International, with which the PRD is affiliated.) Most importantly, the United States reacted sharply against the military interference in the ballot-counting. The U.S. ambassador called on Balaguer, but was kept cooling his heels outside the presidential residence for several hours for an audience which never came off. Thereupon President Carter picked up the telephone and called not the Dominican chief of state but Galo Plaza, the head of an Organization of American States' (OAS) election monitoring team in the country.

With these signals it was clear that the autocratic Balaguer regime could not last. On Thursday evening the Dominican president made a radio broadcast announcing he would follow the decision of the Central Election Board "to the letter" and hand over power to the victor (a virtual admission of defeat). While condemning outside interference and lambasting the PRD for its (successful) appeal to Washington, Balaguer criticized leaders of his own party: "Our friends, our co-thinkers of the Reform

Party have been crying like Jeremiah at the wailing wall, like the Moors at Granada, who wept like women for what they couldn't defend like men" (*El Nacional de ¡Ahora!*, 19 May). If Balaguer and the military ultimately concede defeat and hand over the presidency peacefully to the PRD, this will be the first time in a century and the second time in the country's history that such a transition has occurred.

The Trujillo Heritage

The line-up of forces in the current election battle is a repeat of that during the early 1960's when, following the 1961 assassination of dictator Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, jockeying between the PRD (then headed by Juan Bosch) and right-wing military officers left over from the 31-year reign of "El Benefactor" led to civil war in 1965. After winning the war for the Dominican generals by deploying 42,000 Marines to Santo Domingo, the United States (in the guise of the OAS) supervised a "free election" in 1966 in which Balaguer, a one-time president under Trujillo, defeated Bosch. Balaguer was "re-elected" in rigged elections in 1970 and 1974.

The liberal PRD, however, has amassed overwhelming support among wide sectors of the Dominican population as the corruption of the present

continuista regime increases. Plantation owners, an emerging middle class and urban labor are strongholds of this party founded in 1939 to champion U.S.-style capitalist democracy against the Trujillo dictatorship. The period before the elections was marked by marches and demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of PRD supporters. Some months ago the PRD predicted that it couldn't win the election but was strong enough to force Balaguer to rig the results. By the beginning of the campaign, however, opposition spokesmen claimed they could win even allowing a margin of 150,000 votes for fraud (UPI dispatch, 17 May)!

The PRD's strategy in the face of the ballot box seizure has been to call on its supporters to remain calm (i.e., do nothing) and to appeal to the White House. They calculated correctly, for the Carter administration has been eager to score some "victories" for its "human rights" stance in Latin America. Washington was particularly disinclined to see a repeat of the 1965 uprising, which would stir up memories of the Yankee invasion under the last Democratic president, LBJ. Carter was quoted in an interview Saturday as saying "If it becomes clear to us that the will of the Dominican people has been subverted by illegalities or unjustifiable

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