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INSIDE THE
CIA
4-Page special

SHREWSBURY 2 JAILED BY TORIES - KEPT IN BY LABOUR



Militants lobbied the TUC in December to demand action for the freeing of the two. Now the TUC has moved - but will this be the beginning or the end?

The General Council of the TUC has called a mass lobby of Parliament for 14 January to demand the freeing of the two imprisoned Shrewsbury pickets.

Other trade union bodies - including the Shrewsbury National Co-ordinating Committee and the Liverpool corporation works department - have called for a one-day strike on the 14th to back up the lobby. As the Secretary of the South-East Regional Trades Council, Stewart MacKenzie, said, 'I hope the maximum number of factories will stop on 14 January, especially in London'.

Labour's Home Secretary Roy Jenkins has refused to budge on the question of the two. He has made it perfectly clear that his first loyalty is to the law of the ruling class, and not to the workers' movement who put him where he is.

Similarly Harold Wilson - fire-breathing advocate of cabinet 'discipline' when it suits his purpose - has just shrugged his shoulders and said that he can do nothing - only Jenkins has the power to free the two.

It is obvious that both Jenkins and Wilson are in need of a sharp reminder of just who they are supposed to represent. This is what the workers' movement should be preparing to serve up to them.

The attitude of the trade union bureaucrats throughout the long struggle to defend the Shrewsbury pickets has been utterly disgusting. For eighteen months they refused to lift a finger to help these trade unionists, charged only with the 'crime' of organising a picket.

The Shrewsbury workers were railroaded through the courts, slapped down with vicious sentences and shunted around from court to court in futile appeals against ruling class justice.



Eric Tomlinson and Des Warren

The Labour Government, instead of using its position to roll back this attack, has allowed it to ahead. Since Labour came into office the courts have ruled, in the 'Prebbles' case, that all pickets not connected with strikes are illegal. Labour's refusal to free the two and their virtual rejection of even the TUC's moderate proposals for amending the anti-picket laws are further examples of the treacherous cooperation of the Labour leaders with the ruling class attack on workers' rights.

In order to defend the right to picket, 14 January must be the beginning - not the end - of the struggle. Militants should work to bring out the largest possible number of workers for the TUC lobby - but only as the first step in a continuing campaign of demonstrations and mass strikes on such a scale that Labour will be forced to free the two and repeal all anti-picket and conspiracy laws.

Free anti-fascist militants!

The fascists of the National Front had a bad year in 1974. By the end of the year, a determined core of trade union opposition to the Front had been built up.

But the state has forced the left to pay a price for this. Kevin Gately was killed, fines running into thousands of pounds have had to be paid, and, as 1975 opens, two anti-fascist militants are in jail.

Ian Coleman is serving an 18 month term for opposing neo-Nazis in Leeds, while Tony Young, a Ford's worker, was arrested at Hyde Park Corner in September when thousands of people stood firm against the Front. As we go to press, he comes up for sentencing after spending 3 weeks in a remand centre.

Make no mistake about it, the National Front will be with us for a long time. Its racist, anti-Irish and chauvinist policies will still attract many workers

- in their thousands to the ballot box, in their hundreds to street demonstrations, and not a few to the fist and the tazer.

The fight against the fascists on the streets will continue in 1975. Nothing short of a permanent stop to their public activity can satisfy us. But the working class is not yet master of the streets. The price we have to pay must be kept down. This is why a campaign must be mounted to free Ian Coleman, and Tony Young if he is sent down.

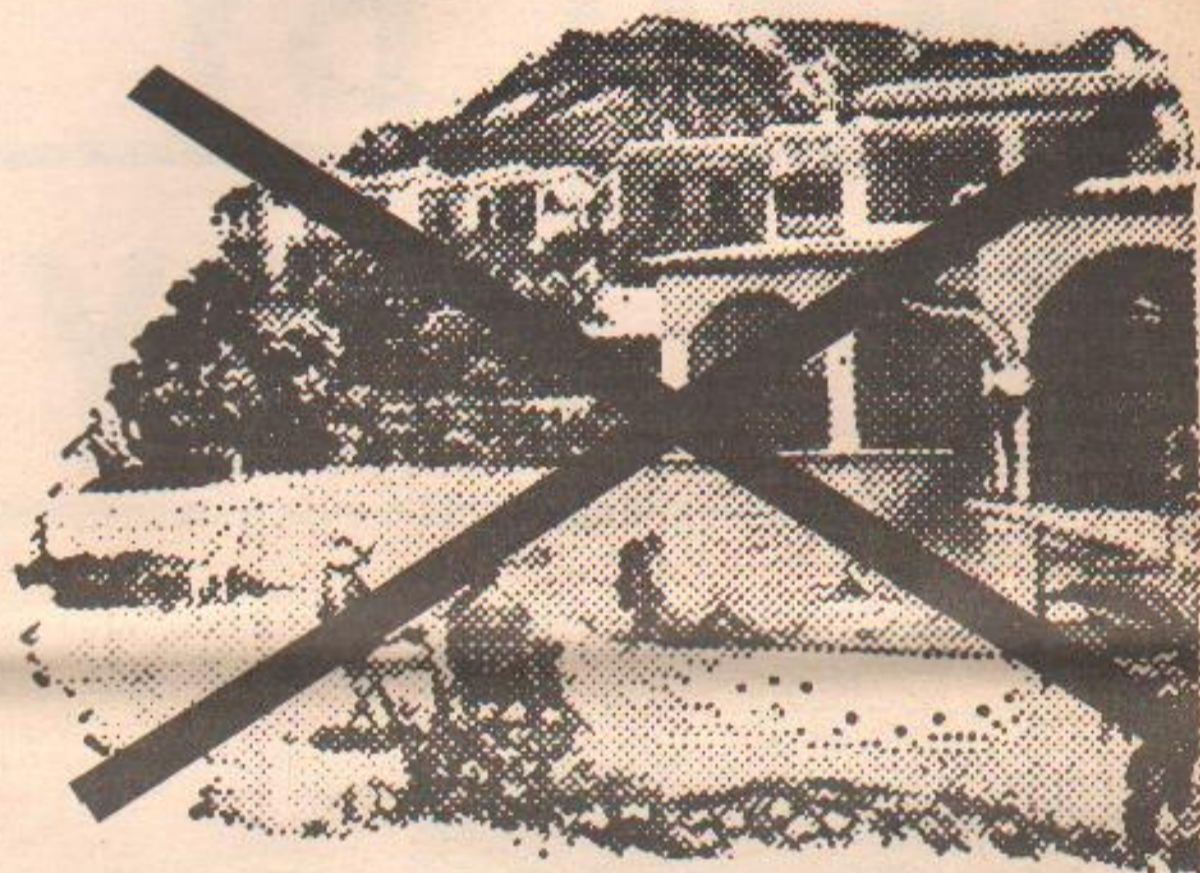
Mobilisation must be stepped up now for the Leeds Anti-Fascist Committee demonstration in Leeds on 18 January to demand a pardon and immediate release for Coleman. A demonstration and picket of the Home Office in London on the same day must be prepared for Tony Young.

Donations to pay legal costs and help the campaign to free Ian Coleman should be sent to: Leeds Anti-Fascist Committee, c/o 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

**STRIKE A BLOW FOR
THE RIGHT TO PICKET**

1974

NO HOLIDAY FOR THE RULING CLASS NO PICNIC FOR THE WORKERS



1974 began with the Tories' Phase 3. It ended with Labour's social contract.

In the imperialist 'province' of the Six Counties of northern Ireland, internment was half way through its third year when the year began. By the end of 1974, the Labour Government had brought in the Prevention of Terrorism Act so that it could jail and intimidate opponents in Britain of its bloody war in Ireland.

The Shrewsbury pickets, victims of a legal system that the ruling class has created to perpetuate and maintain its rule, are still in jail. The ineffectual protests of the Labour MPs, the TUC leaders, and the demands of the Labour Party Conference were brushed disdainfully aside by Labour's Home Secretary who reveres capitalist law and abhors working class militancy.

by
Bob Pennington

By the end of 1974 inflation had reached an astronomical 18 per cent. Rising prices had eroded the living standards of all workers. For the low paid the effects of inflation had been savage and cruel. But for the 'top people' the Labour Government had a message of good cheer—their salaries went up by as much as £4,000 with a promise of the same again next year.

Mr Benn—more of a mouse with a leer, than a tiger with a snarl—may have worried some of the more timid gentlefolk in the City. However, Mr Healey soon put their minds at rest when he dished out £3 billion to British industry and told the working class to go easy on pay claims or he would give them a massive dose of unemployment.

To make sure that Healey's message had gone home Mr Wilson appointed his favourite tycoon, Don Ryder, to be the Government's industrial overlord.

Despite Mrs Wilson's touching claim that 'if God had meant us to be joined to the continent he would have joined us on', her husband fully intends to upset both the plans of the almighty and the votes of the Labour Party Conference. For no one doubts now, least of all the pro-marketiers, that the Labour leaders, under the pressure of industrial capital, fully intend to stay in Europe.

'LEFTS'

At Labour's annual jamboree the rumblings and disquiet of the rank and file were contained by the 'lefts'. Like obedient puppets the Mikardos, the Jegers, the Lesters and the Harts danced at the end of the strings pulled by the right-wing Cabinet Ministers.

Mikardo argued against MPs having to submit themselves for periodic re-election and made sure that a resolution calling for defence cuts of at least £1,000 million was remitted to the NEC.

Lena Jeger got Conference to agree that the Clay Cross fines should be discussed with the Environment Minister, extreme right-winger

Anthony Crosland. This made sure that a resolution demanding the immediate lifting of the fines was defeated by 4,378,000 to 1,173,000.

It was Joan Lester and Judith Hart who came to the Government's rescue on South Africa and Chile.

After a year of record-breaking inflation, increasing bankruptcies and growing state repression, the Labour Party Conference did not take one single decision that broke in any way with the overall interests of the ruling class.

As the harsh winds of capitalist recession have swirled through the economy, big business has more and more demanded financial help from the state. Meanwhile the NHS, the education system, the housing programme and state pensions were squeezed in order to prop up a sick and diseased British capitalism.

Pensions will go up a derisory £1.60 for a single person and £2.50 for a couple in April 1975. By then these rises will have been wiped out by inflation and another of Labour's social 'conquests' will have been swamped by the capitalist crisis.

UNDEFEATED

Although the ruling class can feel a little more reassured with the performance of the Labour Government and the 'responsible' leaders of the TUC, they know that the main job has not been completed. The working class and its organisations remain intact and undefeated.

What is even more disturbing for the ruling class is that militancy has not simply been restricted to the big battalions like the miners, but 1974 saw the nurses wage a fight of unprecedented militancy.

Teachers, particularly in Scotland, fire service workers and other groups in the public sector have case aside their traditional roles as 'public spirited servants' and gone onto the offensive. Women workers at Salford Electrical Instruments, Wingrove and Rogers, and in many other firms, have downed tools and fought long bitter struggles over equal pay and conditions.

As less traditionally militant workers have gone into struggle they have used the techniques of occupations, mass pickets and elected strike committees, often refusing to let their struggles be strangled by the union bureaucrats. Such methods of organisation can, and will, act as an inspiration not just to the less-well organised sections of the working class but can show the way forward to many of the more powerful sections.

The last year has revealed not only a crisis of massive dimensions

as the Court Lines went bankrupt, Ferranti's went broke and British Leyland headed for the poor-house, it also revealed a political crisis within the organisations of the working class.

There is no 'national' way out. The exhortations from the Labour and trade union leaders for 'everyone to pull together' are meaningless nothings, treated with contempt even by the ruling class itself.

The miners showed in February that they could break not only the pay laws but the Government itself. They showed how the working class could impose its will. The attempts of the right wing to prevent the working class using its strength to fight the capitalist crisis will, if heeded, lead to disas-

ter. On every single issue the official leaderships of the working class were incapable of providing any solution to the crisis.

ATTACHMENT

Because of their attachment to imperialism they prostrated themselves before the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The attacks of the capitalist state on the Clay Cross councillors and the Shrewsbury pickets rendered them impotent. All they could do was appeal to the state's most loyal custodians for 'mercy'.

The example of the miners—and in 1972 the action of the workers' movement to free the Pentonville Five—did not inspire them or show them the way. In

fact the successful battles of the working class horrified them.

Above all, 1974 has shown time and time again that the workers' movement must be prepared to break from adherence to capitalist law and challenge the right of the employers to control the productive forces and run society in their image. The alternative is to stick to the 'rules of the game' and allow the ruling class to dump all the burdens of their crisis on to the backs of the working class.

The last year has shown that the workers do have the strength and fighting ability to take on the employers and their state. The task in 1975 is to use that power to the full.

Squatters' struggle splits Labour council

Mass action by squatters has forced an open split in Lambeth Council's ruling Labour group. This provides big opportunities for the squatting movement to take the struggle against evictions and for 'Decent Housing for All' into the heart of the trade union movement in Lambeth.

Together with the Trade Union Inquiry into Speculation, launched by Islington Tenants' Campaign from their struggle against Prebble's estate agents, this struggle can act as a focus for the squatting and tenants' movement to mobilise

large sections of the London labour movement on the question of housing.

MEETING

On Tuesday, 3 December, over 600 squatters and tenants crammed into Lambeth Assembly Rooms to meet Lambeth Council Housing Committee. The meeting was forced on the Council, because squatters who occupied the November meeting of the Housing Committee had exposed the existence of a secret document on housing policy.

This document seeks powers for a final solution to homelessness in Lambeth—and given the huge cutbacks in housing budgets, it is likely that other London boroughs will

soon be following Lambeth's leads.

The first stage of the Council's plan is to try to divide the squatting movement by offering families a 'special tenancy' in short life housing if they are squatting permanent council property; whilst at the same time evicting all single people. But there is to be no deal even for families in the long term. Once squatters are divided, the idea is to evict them all.

All empty council property would be made uninhabitable and prison-like reception centres would be reopened. Use of the proposed Criminal Trespass Law is also envisaged, which as a press statement of the all-Lambeth Squatters points out, 'would make criminals of homeless people who house themselves. It would also make it a criminal offence for anybody to be in property when the owner doesn't want them there, so the following actions would become crimes: occupations of factories, and demonstrations and pickets on private or state property.'

At the 3 December meeting, the Council tried to impose its authority from the start. The Council represent-

atives took the stage, announced their agenda, and gave their own stale 'justifications' for attacking the homeless.

The squatters' response was to impose their authority to project a solution in the interests of the homeless and working people generally. Three squatters songs were sung and then six speakers followed each other to put the demands of the All-Lambeth Squatters:

1. No eviction of either tenants or squatters.
2. Decent housing for all. No to the division between families and single people.
3. The waiting list, points system, housing programme and financial structure of the Housing Department to be made public.
4. The Council must make a public statement demanding from the Labour Government the powers to requisition all empty private property in Lambeth.
5. A public statement ordering the ending of council vandalism of council property.
6. The Council must publicly oppose the proposed Criminal Trespass Law.

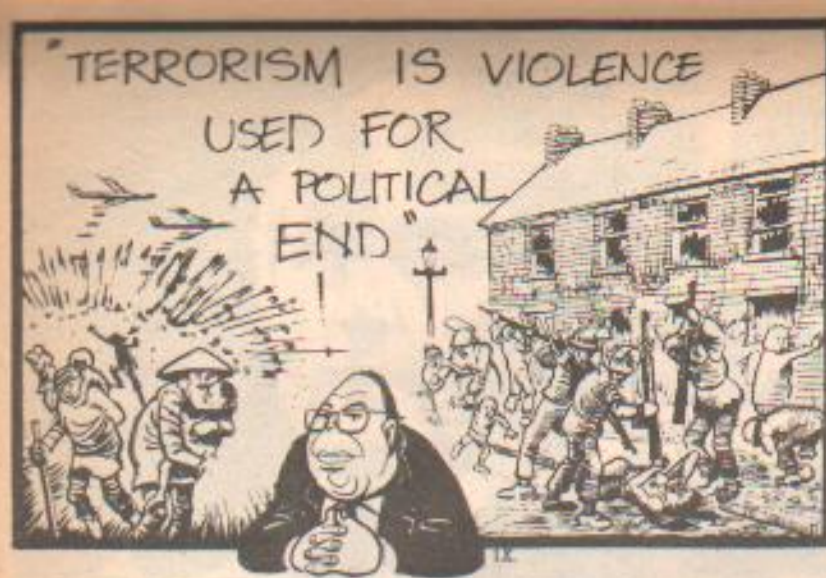
Then it began to warm up, Labour

councillors from Norwood who have been suspended from the Labour group on the Council joined squatters in a fierce attack on the Council's offensive against homeless people. Tenants expressed their support of the squatters. We had turned a phoney discussion into a demonstration of our collective strength and determination, and now are more able to extend the street organisation, the anti-eviction squads, and to build united action with council tenants.

When the Leader of the Council refused to withdraw the 129 eviction orders now in the pipeline, we walked out—to the final song: 'It's the same the borough over! From Vauxhall to Acre Lane! It's the rich that get the houses! and the squatters get the blame.'

The effect of all this has been to stall the Council. This provides the squatting movement with some time to get the matter raised in the trade unions, and to get a labour movement inquiry into the whole of the Council's housing policy in Lambeth.

Andy Metcalfe and Piers Corbyn



IRA post in O'Connell Street, Dublin, burns after being shelled by Government forces—with British weapons eagerly loaned for the purpose.

THEY'RE IRISH AND THAT'S WHAT COUNTS

Despite the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act', the bombings continue in Britain. But then no one really believed that the Act could put a stop to them. The real purpose of the Act remains to harass the Irish community in Britain and all those opposed to British imperialism's war in Ireland.

Having put the Act on the statute book, Roy Jenkins is clearly determined to ensure that it is used as frequently as possible. Never mind the fact that those who are being deported have nothing to do with the Provisional IRA. They are Irish, and that is what counts. Three instances over the last few weeks have shown how the Act is being used.

EXTENSION

Let us first take the case of Margaret Crowley, a 22-year-old Irish woman living in the East End of London. She was arrested on

Monday 16 December and held at Limehouse police station. On 18 December the police applied to Jenkins to grant them a five-day extension, which the 'civilised' Home Secretary did without hesitation. Meanwhile her lawyer, Christopher Scott, registered a complaint against the police and claimed that the Special Branch were being obstructive and unco-operative.

On Thursday 19 December, Margaret Crowley was supposed to appear in a magistrates court charged with 'assault' arising out of a clash between Irish demonstrators and police. The police failed to produce Margaret Crowley and refused to allow her solicitor to see her. In the court itself a protest was made, but the magistrate, John Phipps, refused to allow a protest to be formally lodged. The solicitor, Christopher Scott, was quoted in the *Guardian* as saying: 'under this new Act we are living in a police state'.

But despite all their attempts the police could not rig sufficient evidence against Margaret Crowley, and she was finally released with no charges against her. There is little doubt that if she had not been born in Britain, she would have been deported.

DEPORTED

The second instance is that of Albert O'Rawe, an old IRA member who served a prison sentence from 1943-47 after being convicted of 'treasonable activities'. On 30 November at 5am his Kilburn home was raided by the police, his house was thoroughly searched, and Albert O'Rawe was taken away.

O'Rawe makes no secret of his Republican sympathies—hardly surprising as many members of his family are interned in the Six Counties—but denies membership of the IRA. However, after being detained for a few days he was deported. Mrs O'Rawe has a family of six children to support and does not wish to return to Belfast.

This is how the Act operates, and it is no good *Tribune* shedding tears of regret when all the MPs who support it voted for the Act to become law. How they will vote when it comes up for renewal is an open question.

The third instance is by far the most ironic. Two Irishmen, Noel McComb and James Flynn, were deported to Belfast after their appeals had been overruled by Jenkins. When they arrived they were held by the Royal Ulster Constabulary for 48 hours and closely questioned. However, and this is where the sting lies for Jenkins and the Special

branch, they were released by the Belfast RUC with the authority of Merlyn Rees.

So here we have a situation where the case against McComb and Flynn was so obviously flimsy that they were not interned in Ireland. It is clear that the Act is being used to get rid of Irish people who happen to be political, and the sooner the labour movement wakes up to this the better. The Act is being used to acclimatise us to a whole number of measures which could be used against socialists in the trade unions and political organisations.

There are already enough indications of this in Birmingham, Guildford and Bath, where IMG members have been harassed and their homes subjected to a search. In Bath the IMG and IS have issued a joint appeal to the labour movement which describes how at least twelve people have been detained by the police, without being informed of their legal rights, thus making many statements without the advice of a solicitor.

TROOPS OUT

The appeal states that 'in general the people picked up seemed to have been chosen merely for their political beliefs'. It concludes by calling for:

1. An independent investigation into the methods used by the Bath police in their inquiries.
2. The repeal of the 'Jenkins Act' and the end of police raids and harassment of British and Irish socialists.
3. The withdrawal of troops from Ireland and support for the Troops Out demo (commemorating Bloody Sunday in Derry) on 1 February, 1975.'

The struggle against the 'Anti-Terrorism Act' must be intensified in the coming months, and the broadest possible united fronts should be developed demanding its repeal. The more local Labour parties, trades councils, trade union branches that can be mobilised in the coming months, the more difficult it will be for the Act to be renewed next April.

At the same time support must be built for the Bloody Sunday commemoration demo which has been called by the Troops Out Movement for 1 February 1975. An impressive turnout here will be the first opportunity for all opponents of imperialism's Irish adventure to show that they are not going to be intimidated by the recent measures enacted by the Labour Government.

Joan Stott

WHEN BRITISH IMPERIALISM DEMANDED CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND

By Chris Balfour

THOSE WHO TRY to blame the bloody struggle in Ireland on the Irish people themselves often rely on the example of the civil war in the 1920s. 'Look', they say, 'no sooner had the Irish settled things with the British than they fell out among themselves and started killing one another.'

But the Irish civil war cannot be laid at the door of some supposed 'natural Irish quarrelsomeness' any more than can the present struggle. Behind both lies the bloody hand of British imperialism.

TREATY

It was no accident that the Irish republican forces split over the Treaty proposed by the British Government to end the war which had raged from 1919 to 1921. For the Treaty was in the best tradition of 'divide-and-rule' tactics.

It offered juicy bait—the establishment of an Irish Government and administration which could be interpreted as a 'first step' towards full independence—while meeting none of the fundamental demands which the republican movement had fought for throughout its long history.

Ireland was not to be a republic; it would only be a 'Free State' inside the British Commonwealth, subject to the British crown. It was not to be independent: the British navy would retain the right to operate in Irish waters and out of Irish ports, and Irish markets would remain



Michael Collins, leader of the pro-Treaty forces—was promised British weapons if he would attack IRA bases

open to British goods. And the country was not to be united: the Protestant, 'unionist' population in the six northern counties were to be allowed to reject the democratically expressed will of the majority of the Irish people and force part of Ireland to remain in the 'United Kingdom'.

The British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, presented the Irish delegates to the Treaty negotiations with an ultimatum: 'I have here two answers, one enclosing the Treaty, the other declaring a rupture, and, if it be a rupture, you shall have immediate war.' The Irish delegates caved in and agreed to sign the Treaty on 6 December 1921. Their capitulation produced the split in the republican movement that British imperialism was hoping for.

SPLIT

The split inevitably affected the Irish Republican Army—one section becoming the official, full-time army of the 'Provisional Government' set up under the Treaty, and another remaining an unofficial force still devoted to the establishment of a republic. But, despite many incidents, the violence was limited and leaders on both sides were working actively to avoid the danger of civil war.

The British Government, however, saw things differently. They handed over a large quantity of arms and ammunition to the pro-Treaty armed forces, and in May 1922 offered more on condition that the pro-Treaty army agreed to attack the republican bases in Dublin.

Michael Collins (leader of the pro-Treaty forces) was told that '...the British Government will be prepared to provide him with the necessary equipment such as trench mortars for clearing out these strongholds.' And that 'when this operation had been carried out to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State [Churchill] he will then be prepared to consider further issues of arms (including artillery) to the Provisional Government...'

Despite these efforts by the British Government, a Pact was hammered out between the two groupings in late May. They agreed to set aside their differences over the Treaty for the time being, to present a common list of candidates in the forthcoming election, and form a coalition Government.

The British were furious. The Pact ensured a pro-Treaty majority in the new Government, but the danger of civil war was receding. A united republican movement could not be tolerated on any terms. British imperialism demanded civil war.

So once more pressure was applied by the British Government, and once more the pro-Treaty politicians buckled under. Leading pro-Treaty spokesmen broke the Pact, and the pro-republic leaders were not invited into a coalition after the election. British imperialism had managed to put civil war on the agenda in Ireland once again—all it required was a spark to set it off.

PRETEXT

On 22 June Sir Henry Wilson, commander of the British army and a notorious supporter of the Ulster Unionists, was assassinated in London by two Irish ex-servicemen. Despite the fact that the assassins were not members of the IRA, and that the IRA had dissociated itself from the action, Churchill demanded retaliation against the IRA stronghold at the Four Courts in Dublin.

At first he rashly ordered British forces to do the job, but more cunning minds realised that to succeed in starting a civil war the operation must be carried out by Irish troops. So a note was sent by the British cabinet to the Provisional Government in Dublin, demanding that they take action.

On 28 June troops of the Free State Army surrounded the Four Courts and demanded the surrender of the IRA forces. When they refused artillery opened fire and virtually shelled the buildings to the ground. The Irish civil war had begun—and the first shots had been fired by British guns, eagerly loaned to the Irish troops for the purpose.

TROOPS OUT - Remember Bloody Sunday

Demonstration in London on Saturday 1 February to demand withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and to mark the third anniversary of Bloody Sunday.

Provisional arrangements: assemble 12.30 at Speakers Corner. Rally from 2.30-5.30 in Conway Hall—speakers invited include Jeff Rooker MP, Mike Knowles (Hackney Trades Council), Mike Cooley (past president AUEW-TASS).



Basnett - the 'thoughtful' salesman of the Social Con-trick

THE GENERAL AND MUNICIPAL WORKERS' UNION, NOW THE third biggest in the TUC after Jack Jones' Transport Workers and Hughie Scanlon's Engineering Union, has set out to play a vital role in promoting the Social Contract.

The G&M leaders are confident that they can control the membership within the wage restraint guidelines of the Social Contract. The militants in the union are aware that at present the militant opposition to the right-wing union officials is not organised enough for the G&M to worry about any successful challenge to the Social Contract from its own ranks.

To understand the G&M's role in support of Labour's Social Contract we need to look a little deeper at the slow and subtle transformation in the role of David Basnett, General-Secretary of the union since 1972.

Basnett has never been a flamboyant figure in the TUC. His name is not a household word like 'Jones' and 'Scanlon'. Amongst the right-wingers—and Basnett is certainly that—he pales next to the ruthless anti-working class mouthings of Frank Chapple from the Electrician's Union.

Basnett is very much in the mould of the G&M 'mafia'. The top jobs in the union have always been 'in the family'. The names of Eccles and Hayday tend to recur in the lists of past officers. Lord Dukes preceded Lord Cooper as General Secretary before Basnett took over. Dukes was Cooper's uncle. David Basnett has been a full-timer in the union since he left school. Surprise, surprise, his father was also a bureaucrat in the G&M.

Basnett is a clever operator. On the TUC he's known as 'thoughtful' and a bit of an 'intellectual'. He's been in on the Social Contract since it was conceived by the Labour Party and the TUC. Basnett even has strong personal claims to being the originator of the Social Contract. At the beginning of April 1973, he

by Sam Boyd

wrote an article for the *Sunday Times* called 'Britain's Workers Must Have a New Social Contract'. This became, to the last dot and comma, the Social Contract of the present Labour Government.

The jig-saw fits together when we remember that it was later in 1973 (still under the Tories) that Basnett and Gladwin—the G&M Southern Regional Secretary—moved and seconded the motion on the Social Contract at the TUC.

Basnett increasingly steps forward into the limelight of 'public debate' and sells the Social Contract in a far more reliable way than someone like one-time 'lefty', Jack Jones.

Basnett's call goes out to the ruling class and to workers. In fact it's echoes so far deeper into the workers' movement precisely because Basnett is a trade union figure and not a Labour Minister like Michael Foot. The Labour Government will need all their allies on the right-wing of the TUC to intervene directly in the workers' movement.

This is why Basnett's 'dull' public image is being revamped. His colleagues at the G&M are urging him to get more 'projection' in the media. After the October general election, he appeared in a 'morning after' post-mortem programme on TV. Such programmes are usually reserved for press pundits and labour movement performers like Clive Jenkins of ASTMS and Ian Mikardo of the Tribune Group.

Eight days before the October election Basnett even wrote in the *Morning Star*, paper of the Communist Party, a long feature article commending the TUC's proposals on worker-directors to the working class as key parts of the Social

Contract. Soon he will become the trade union spokesperson for Britain staying in the Common Market.

Basnett is also shoring up his future in the G&M. There's nothing like internal ructions in the union for spoiling image-building. So Basnett is cleverly streamlining the union to increase the power of the Head Office even more. The problem for him is the power of the regional secretaries, who have fought for years to keep the Head Office machine out of their own regional empires.

REGIONAL BARONS

Not that any of the regional secretaries are particularly militant. Quite the reverse. But for Basnett a really top-down union can't afford the kind of power vested in the 'regional barons' at present. This strategy explains why Basnett is promoting regional and national shop stewards' delegate conferences



Known at the TUC as a bit of an 'intellectual', Basnett has strong personal claims to being the originator of the Social Contract

in various industries. This move is quite informal and unusual, and, of course, no changes are being proposed to the rule-book. These industrial conferences can put pressure on the regional machines.

The Head Office, by appearing to support the shop floor demands, can gain a base at regional level and break up the autonomous empires of the regional bosses. This will not happen overnight. But already the Head Office is manoeuvring to get support. Recently Basnett treated the National Officers of the union to 2.4 litre Jaguar cars as one in the eye for the regional barons.

As Basnett blows his trumpet harder, the wind of change is wafting through the G&MWU.

Militants should redouble their efforts to change its direction. A start can be made by building support against the Social Contract around the coming public sector claims, particularly for the gasworkers.

REAL WEAPONS

The regional industrial conferences should be turned into real weapons against the Government's Social Contract by demanding that the officials are responsible and accountable to them, not to the manoeuvres of the Head Office. In this way preparations can be made for elected strike committees to run the struggles when they break out.



PALME DUTT - MARXIST INTELLECTUAL TURNED STALINIST HACK

bureaucracy that took control in Russia after Lenin's death.

The high motives that had inspired the communist pioneers were cynically manipulated by the 'apparatchiks' who now ran the 3rd International. In turn the Datts, the Pollitts and the Arnolds became nothing more than cynical time-servers who followed every twist and turn in the Kremlin's line with an enthusiasm that converted the infant CPGB from a potential revolutionary organisation into a bureaucratic sect.

To make the CP safe for the Kremlin and ensure their own control over its apparatus, Dutt and Pollitt smashed the Campbell-Homer opposition to the ultra-left lunacy of the Third Period. A compliant and servile party was assured at the expense of driving it into the sectarian wilderness.

After the rise to power of Hitler in Germany—assisted by the ultra-leftism of the Comintern's third period politics—the Communist International turned its resources towards building an alliance of the 'progressive and democratic nations' against fascism. Figures like the Duchess of Atholl and the Right Reverend Hewlitt Johnson traipsed around the country with Dutt and the other CP leaders urging a popular front to oppose fascism.

Hitler's invasion of Poland and the Stalin-Hitler Pact blew this 'popular front' sky high, and the CP found itself on the political sidelines. The CP's erstwhile 'progressive' allies now had to be portrayed as imperialist war-mongers. Even Dutt's old ally Pollitt found this hard to swallow and resigned for a time from the general secretaryship of the CP.

But Dutt was undeterred. He wrote in *Labour Monthly* in July 1940, 'Churchill and Chamberlain unite in common defence of their imperialist and class interests—in the same magazine he spelt out even more clearly the line of the party on the war saying "...The new coalition Government of Churchill-Chamberlain-Attlee is a government of full and unlimited imperialist war."

Then, on 22 June 1941, the Nazis invaded the USSR. Unflinchingly recognising the 'new reality', Dutt did a complete about-turn, claiming that the opening of a second front was the "...way we can open up a new future for the working class movement and the peoples of the world..." The imperialist war had, according to Dutt, become a 'people's war.'

Even when Khrushchev blew the lid on Stalin's crimes at the 20th Congress in 1956, detonating an explosion throughout the world Communist Parties, Dutt remained an unrepentant and unreconstructed stalinist. At a CP executive meeting, replying to members shocked by the disclosures, he cynically commented that they were 'simply spots on the sun.'

On his death, Dutt got an obituary from the *Times*. Speaking of his role in helping to build the Indian Communist Party, the *Times* remarked: 'Yet, whatever damage he did to the British Empire...he probably more than made up by his strong discouragement of rebellious tendencies in India in the critical years 1941-45.'

It is a savage indictment of stalinism that a once idealist revolutionary should be thanked by the organ of the ruling class for services rendered.

Barbara Castle's fairly mild proposals over the payment of hospital consultants has caused consternation and frenzy in the top-paid ranks.

The suggestion that those working full-time inside the NHS should be better paid and their terms of employment improved is seen by the well off part-time consultants as an attack on their privileges. Coupled with the threat of the complete abolition of pay-beds they see this as weakening their earning power, which is based on parasiting on the NHS.

Once private beds are abolished the most important reason for people using private consultants will more or less disappear as they will find it far more difficult to put their patients at the top of the queue. Nor will they be able to use the resources of the NHS to treat their patients.

Determined to stick to their privileges and wax fat at the expense of the Health Service the BMA has been rallying the ranks. The December issue of *BMA News* boasts that: 'The BMA sanctions plan against the government is moving forward inexorably and claims that the BMA has now set up employment agencies in 'five centres'. The BMA has circulated all its members, whether they are consultants or not, with a form asking them to resign from the NHS and operate through the BMA employment agencies.'

At the same time the BMA has discovered a 'new sympathy' with the junior doctors—many of whom work an eighty-hour week for a take-home pay of around £120 a month.

This challenge to the NHS must be met and broken. Clearly the junior doctors have an excellent case and the pro-casualties of the Government in dealing with their claim can only help the consultants.

Furthermore the threat of the consultants can only be effectively met by the junior doctors taking over their duties—which in practice many of them already do, while the consultants draw the money.

BARBARA HAS TOP DOCTORS FOAMING AT MOUTH

BMA NEWS

The December issue of *BMA News* boasts that: 'The BMA sanctions plan against the government is moving forward inexorably and claims that the BMA has now set up employment agencies in 'five centres'.



BMA News—boasts that its 'sanctions plan against the government is moving forward inexorably'

The employment agencies being set up by the BMA should be blacked by all health workers and other trade unionists.

These latest moves from the consultants must be met not only by banning immediately all pay-beds in hospitals but by extending the ban on private practice outside the NHS. This means that other trade unionists have to give their support to those workers in the NHS fighting the consultants' blackmail.

IMC health workers

inside the

CIA



After Philip Agee (left) broke with the CIA in 1969, the Agency tried to keep tabs on him by planting a bugged typewriter (right)

Robin Blackburn and Tariq Ali talk to former CIA officer Philip Agee

Philip Agee was for 12 years an officer of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. When he broke with the Agency in 1969 his rank was that of a colonel. His credentials are impeccable and that is what makes his book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (Penguin Books) the most detailed and impressive account of a clandestine and worldwide counter-revolutionary agency at work.

In contrast to another ex-CIA man, Marchetti, who remains a liberal, Agee has broken from what he calls 'Wilsonianism' — a reference to the liberal American President Woodrow Wilson's supposedly

non-imperialist enlightened view of the world. Agee speaks today as a man who has been won over to socialism.

He decided to publish and expose the agency to the whole world. A simple defection to the KGB or Peking or Havana would not have had the same impact. Agee is a defector to the world revolutionary socialist movement, and his exposé has already caused the withdrawal of CIA officers in Mexico.

It would, however, be naive to imagine that the CIA is an exception compared to other imperialist intelligence agencies. It is certainly more powerful

and resourceful than any other, but its methods are today universally applied. And it is in that light that readers should study this interview. The 'black propaganda' operations, penetration, and political disruption which Agee describes are only too well-known in Ireland, and increasingly in Britain, where the perpetrators are *British* intelligence organisations. This interview with Philip Agee is therefore intended as a service to the revolutionary movement as a whole.

Tariq Ali
Robin Blackburn

Inside the CIA



Left to right: former CIA directors Allen Dulles, William Colby, and James Schlesinger; and John Downey, CIA spy captured in China.

Could you tell us exactly what you did in the CIA?

I was recruited originally in 1956, and my career ran until early 1969. I was in training until 1960, then I went to Ecuador where I served under cover of being a diplomat until the end of 1963. From early 1964 to late 1966 I was in Uruguay, and from 1967 till early 1969 I was with the CIA in Mexico City.

During that period I handled, directed and initiated most of the different types of operations that the CIA undertakes in the third world, including both 'collection operations' [information gathering] and 'action operations' which involve propaganda, trade union work, youth and students etc. This meant I was responsible for directing the work of dozens of agents in each country where I was stationed.

Why did you decide to leave the Agency in 1969?

When I first went into the CIA, I really believed what I'd been taught, from a very young age onwards: that there is a 'third way' between the traditional imperialism of the 19th century and earlier and revolutionary socialism. This is Wilsonian foreign policy [i.e. the 'liberal' foreign policy pioneered by US President Woodrow Wilson at the end of World War I], the search for a third way in which liberal capitalist nations would seek their self-interests and serve the greatest good of the greatest number.

Little by little as I worked for CIA, I began to question whether we were really promoting the reforms which we preached about. I began to find that the more successful our operations were the further away the reforms got. As a result I began to question the possibility of this so-called 'third way' and finally came to the conclusion that there really wasn't one and that what we were promoting around the world was simply a new version of the classic imperialism of the 19th century.

When did these doubts begin?

A series of factors coincided in mid-1965. The invasion of Santo Domingo was one. There a reformist President - whom the CIA had helped to promote in the early 1960s - was not allowed to come back and play his rightful role in leading his country. I concluded from this that it must have been economic powers in the United States, principally the sugar interests, who wanted to keep him out, as he had developed a programme of agrarian reforms which would have affected their interests adversely.

Also there was this incident of torture, which had more of an emotional effect on me than anything else. That happened several months after the Santo Domingo intervention. What happened was that we were in a 'state of siege' in Uruguay and the head of station [top CIA official in a particular country] wanted to help the police look a little better because they hadn't been able to arrest any of the labour leaders. They had been searching for these trade union leaders and couldn't find them. Two of our agents were in the self-defence squads the Communist Party of Uruguay and we had, of course, the names of the leaders of these squads. The chief

of station asked me to give to the police the name of the leader of one of these squads - Oscar Bonaudi. I gave the name for preventive detention, not thinking that anything else would happen.

About four days later, on a Sunday morning, the chief of station (at that time John Horton) and I were sitting in the office of the chief of police, an army general named Ventura Rodriguez. Also at this meeting was a colonel named Roberto Ramirez. He was the chief of the Metropolitan Guard, an anti-riot shock force.



Tanks roll through Athens in 1969 in a show of strength by the Greek junta, which came to power with the help of the CIA.

We in the CIA had just written a false document in the station that weekend 'proving' that certain named officers of the Soviet embassy were directing the trade unions in their struggles in this period of the state of siege. This document was to allow the government to justify the expulsion of those falsely accused Soviet embassy officials. We were showing them the document on the Sunday morning before giving it to the military intelligence people who were going to give it to the President.

While they were reading the false report I began to hear a moaning sound, which sounded like a street vendor outside trying to sell something. Gradually it became louder and louder, and pretty soon I realised that someone was being tortured. (I found out later that the torture room was just above the chief of police's office, on the next floor up.) The screams of this tortured man became louder and louder. The chief of police heard it too, of course, and he kept telling Ramirez to turn up the radio. (Ramirez had a tiny transistor radio and he was listening to the Sunday morning soccer game, while we were having this meeting.) Eventually Rodriguez said the report was good and would do the job and Horton and I left to get the report over to the President.

I haven't forgotten those screams to this very day. It was a case which was never publicised, but Bonaudi would remember it - if he is still alive.

The torture case, the Santo Domingo invasion and the growing realisation that we were really reinforcing all the corruption and injustices in Uruguay brought me to reconsider

more and more this activity that I was engaged in.

What would you say is the political objective of the CIA in the countries where it operates?

The political and economic objectives are virtually identical - the retention of these countries within the capitalist camp. In other words, to ensure that the goods that these particular countries produce are available to the US for the cheapest possible price and that the countries concerned provide a market for the export of American capital and obt-

union organisations in the third world, ORIT [the Inter-American Regional Labor Organisation - a wing of ICFTU] and the ITS's [International Trade Secretariats - international organisations of trade unions within particular industries; most are connected with ICF-TU and used by the CIA].

What the CIA does specifically in the trade union field, is to promote, along with the rest of the US government programme in this field, trade unions in the third world which fall into the 'Gompers-style' economic trade unionism. They try and keep the trade union movement co-opted so that they exclude political considerations from their programme and are quite happy to gain inch-by-inch rather than calling into question the whole capitalist system, which is certainly within their power.

I also engaged in quite a number of propaganda operations. We falsified lots of documents and attributed them to revolutionary organisations in order to bring discredit upon these organisations and the revolutionary movement as a whole - to discredit the Cubans, the Soviets, and all our enemies.

As well as penetrating left-wing organisations, does the Agency also seek to stimulate and create right-wing organisations?

At one stage in Ecuador we were trying to force the President - Arosemena - to take certain policy decisions in relation to the repression of the left, and to break relations with Cuba. What we did was to create a mass hysteria relating to the imminent communist takeover of the country. We acted together with a section of the Catholic Church and through the right-wing political parties to encourage mass demonstrations against any relations with Cuba and against the left in the country.

At one point in our campaign, a bomb was thrown by the Social Christian bomb squad into the Cardinal's house as a provocation. We were promoting the right-wing Social Christian movement in all their activities. In fact we eventually brought onto the station payroll the retired army captain who was the leader of these different squads.

We formed what was called the National Defence Front, which grouped in it lots of individuals and the most important political organisations of the Centre and the Right. They were powerful enough to get tens and even hundreds of thousands onto the streets, with the assistance of the Church.

The simple bombing of the Cardinal's house - with him, by prior arrangement, conveniently in the Basilica down town so that he wouldn't be hurt - resulted, a week later, in the largest mass demonstration in the history of Quito to protest this 'outrage'. The Cardinal, 90 years old, gets up on the platform at this demonstration and gives the principal address in which he says that following the teachings of Christ he is going to forgive the terrorists who tried to kill him. All this despite the fact that the bombers had been caught on the night by the police and had admitted that they were Social Christians! It didn't matter. The fact that the hysteria had



already been generated meant that even though the bombing had been found out it still worked. Finally, through a military ultimatum, which was the culmination of our propaganda and political action efforts, Arosemena was forced to break with Cuba.

Months later, when we felt that his government had been penetrated by leftists and communists, we started up the whole operation all over again. That led to his overthrow.

The important lesson to learn is that the recent revelations of the CIA's efforts to 'destabilise' the Allende government in Chile was no isolated case. These activities are taking place day in and day out, all over the world, and sometimes over a period of many years. In Indonesia it took the CIA ten years to bring about the overthrow of Sukarno in 1965. Destabilisation operations against him were begun at the time of the Bandung Conference in 1955. It was the same in Ghana to overthrow Nkrumah, and the same in Brazil although it was a shorter period of time (1961-64). But don't imagine that any of these operations are isolated. They are happening every single day.

The CIA has worked hand-in-glove with Onganía in Argentina (below) or





Agee's successors in Uruguay continued 'to help beat down the people who stand for change on the left'—in this case, the Tupamaros.

Why do you think it is that the CIA seems able to overthrow people like Sukarno, Nkrumah, Arosemena, even Allende, but is not able to overthrow Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro and leaders of revolutionary movements?

Well, certainly they tried. Not only Fidel Castro, but the Soviet Union itself. Even up until the early 1960s CIA were sending saboteurs into the Soviet Union with folding bicycles, or dropping different devices by parachute. This was called the 'Red Socks Programme'. Whatever an emigré with suicidal tendencies could be found he would be sent in, but they failed miserably

because they were all picked up and shot.

In the case of Cuba the CIA didn't spare any efforts to try and overthrow the Cuban revolution in its early years. But the difference between Cuba and China—countries which have had socialist revolutions—and these others is that they have the people on their side and you can't defeat them.

The reason that Sukarno was overthrown, the reason that Allende was overthrown, is related to the fact that the class struggle wasn't really entered into in earnest in those countries. It was delayed, delayed and delayed and eventually there

think it cost the Agency to carry out these operations?

Not very much actually. Our principal political operation, which involved propaganda, was running at \$50,000 a year and through this operation we promoted lots of demonstrations and propaganda against relations with Cuba and against the Velasco government.

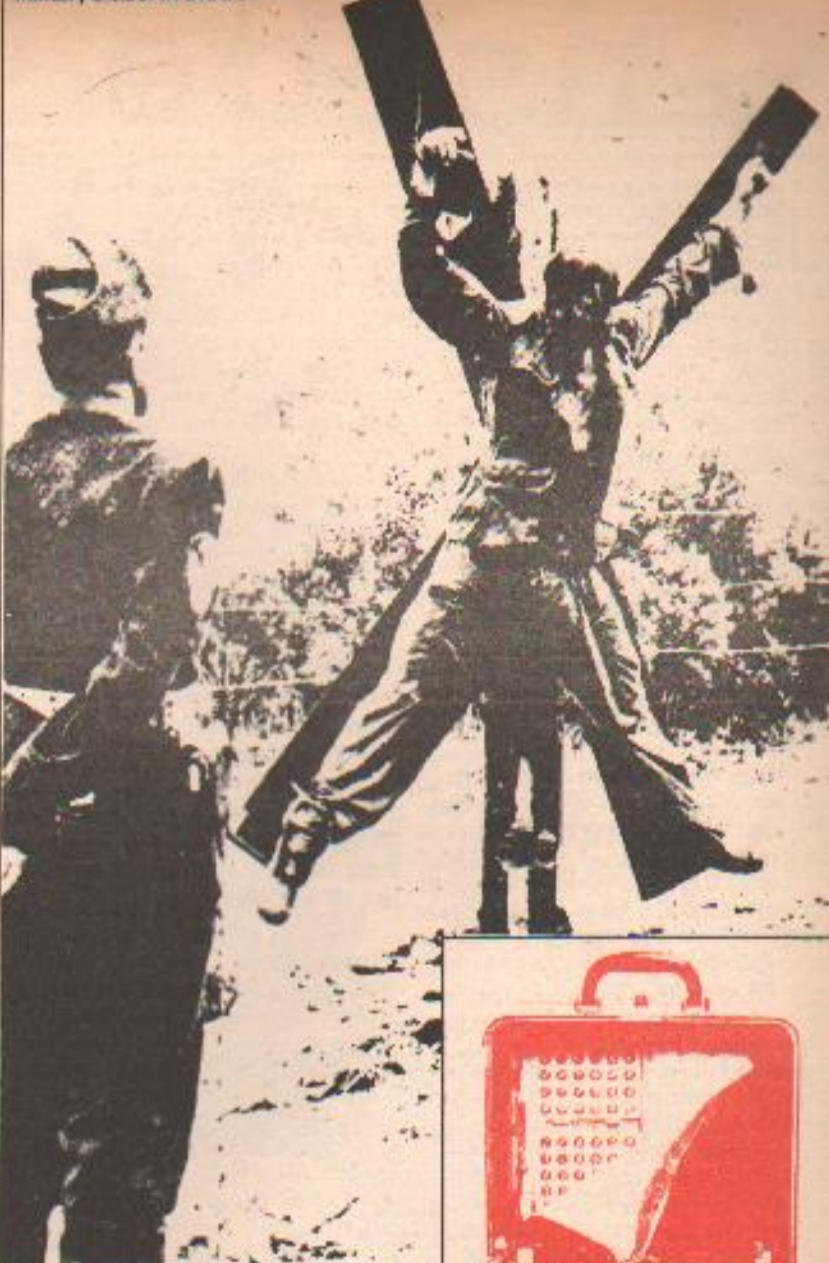
At one stage we had the Vice-President on our payroll. He was being paid \$700 a month before he became Vice-President, and after we increased his salary to \$1,000 a month.

But it doesn't matter how much a man is being paid. It's what he actually does that's important. In many cases very high government officials will be exceedingly effective without receiving a salary from the CIA. They understand that the interests of the class they belong to are identical with the interests of the CIA, the US government and US companies. They live from that exploitation. So they don't have to be paid.

When the Agency recruits someone from the Communist Party or other left groups or from the trade unions, what is the main factor there?

In the countries which are the poorest the mercenary factor is proportionately higher. In many cases there is a resentment on the part of the agent towards the leadership of the party. For instance, he might feel that his talents have not been properly utilised and that he should have been promoted. He builds up this resentment over a number of years and at some stage might offer his services voluntarily. But by that time he has gone through a hardening process against the revolutionary movement.

Lessons in torture at a CIA-aided military school in Brazil.



Inside the CIA

in American military dictatorships like that present regime in Brazil (bottom).



was a lurch to the right instead of the left. In addition the army and the police which exist to defend capitalism still existed and were used by the CIA as a base of operation. The security and military forces are primary targets for a large proportion of CIA propaganda, which uses fear by frightening the security and military forces that in the event of a socialist revolution they would all be shot, which is, of course, not true. In the Cuban and Chinese revolutions a not unimportant section of these forces came over to the side of the revolution.

What is the relationship between the intelligence gathering operations of the CIA and the clandestine counter-revolutionary operations which it carries out?

There is not much point in collecting intelligence unless you are going to use it. Information is no good in a vacuum. It cries out to be used. It can't be left alone. That's why the collection operations of the CIA, which are called 'foreign intelligence operations', can't be separated from its 'covert action operations', which is the use of that information.

It is for this reason that I believe that any attempts to reform the CIA are doomed to failure. There's no possible way in which information is going to be collected and not used. One of the central and most important type of operations of the CIA are liaison operations, which are those operations undertaken through or with local intelligence services. The CIA trains these services, equips them and then guides them, i.e. gives them the information requirements that the CIA needs to complete CIA programmes. These operations tend to strengthen the local service and thereby to prop up the minority capitalist regimes and repress the left. They are in themselves action operations: collection and action are inseparable.

You were responsible for overthrowing the Velasco government in Ecuador and 'destabilising' its successor. How much money do you

There are other cases. For example, one agent I worked with who was a fairly high level member of the Communist Party of Ecuador, did not want to break ideologically with socialism, but he was in such dire financial straits that he couldn't get along without the salary we paid him. All we paid him was the equivalent of something like 75 dollars a month, which kept him alive but not in an ostentatious fashion.

What often happens with CIA agents is that a holding account is opened within the Agency, and money will be set aside each month within that account. The agent will get a certain percentage of his salary to spend and all the rest will go into this account which fills up over the years, and at some undetermined time in the future will be used. This obviously serves as a control factor because the agent realises that if he doesn't have a proper attitude in the final settlement with the CIA, then he's signing quit—claims on all that.

On reading your book we can see that there are good grounds for believing that any serious left-wing organisation is vulnerable to penetration. Do you think revolutionary organisations can develop a method to safeguard themselves and identify these people?

Even if organisations are penetrated, that shouldn't be allowed to create any type of hysteria. After all, the job is to get the word out to more and more people and attract more people to the side of the revolution and that can even be done by an agent from the other side if there is proper party discipline. That is why any organisation must try and maintain as consistent and disciplined a record of activity on the part of its militants as possible.

If anyone is unusually curious about certain aspects of party work then he could be a potential agent. But that is why consistent propaganda and agitational activity by every militant is the best way of minimising the effects of penetration. In other words, turn the work of the traitor against capitalism.

Did you ever experience occasions when you thought that an agent was perhaps helping the movement a bit too much?

Well, there's sometimes a time when a decision has to be taken about how far an agent should go in developing his own position within the party. For example, it's very important for CIA stations to penetrate the militant action wings of left-wing organisations, so that they can know in advance of any violence that might be planned. If a CIA agent has been able to penetrate one of these organisations, then the decision has to be made as to how far he goes. Whether he should, for example, be allowed to participate in violence which might cost a life, such as the execution of a hated police torturer. The local situation would determine whether he should be allowed to go that far or not. In a serious insurgency situation as in Vietnam, or even in Argentina today, he might be allowed to go through

with it despite the costs.

To turn to some wider aspects of the problems we've been discussing, would you agree that there is some connection between the activities of the CIA and the facts which were thrown up by the Watergate affair?

I don't think there can be any doubt that Watergate represents the application within the United States of the methods that the CIA has been using abroad for the last 25-30 years. The penetration operations, i.e. the bugging, the political disruption, the black propaganda operations (e.g. attributing to someone a false document), were all applied in the United States.

Most of the Watergate operations were right out of the CIA textbook. And now we're beginning to see that the FBI had this COINTEL Programme which was their way of penetrating and disrupting everything to the left of the liberal Republicans



Victims of the CIA 'Phoenix Programme' in Vietnam, which led to the deaths of thousands of suspected NLF supporters.

Inside the CIA



and Democrats from 1956 onwards. The recent official reports released by the Justice Department show that in that period the FBI engaged in no fewer than 2,300 different operations against the left. This is an average of one new one every other day - not counting Sunday - for the last fifteen years.

These were not one-shot operations that just occurred and then ended. They had a tremendous cumulative effect over the years. They might begin one year and not end till ten years later. They were still in operation in 1971 when in a leftist raid on the Medina, Pennsylvania FBI office, the records were stolen and the existence of the programme revealed.

So we not only had military surveillance throughout the Sixties, but also the FBI, the Watergate operations and Nixon's own *illegal* intelligence plans.

Then there are the unhappy 'plumbers' group, most of whose operations we don't even know of yet. The break-in at the Watergate was only one of many. It is, of course, not a coincidence that most of the Watergate plumbers were trained by the CIA. It just goes to show that these CIA techniques and methods, which no-one thought would ever be applied at home because they thought that morality changed once we crossed our own national frontiers, were finally brought home and applied in the United States. This is very significant, quite apart from the fact that it led to the enforced resignation of Nixon.

We now hear from Kissinger that the threat to US interests does not merely exist in the third world, but also in the capitalist countries of Western Europe. Does this mean that the CIA will be actively involved and preparing to intervene in Europe?

Well, yes. You must understand that it is a corollary of Wilsonian foreign policy that any government, no matter how bad, is better than a communist government. It follows that anything which suggests the emergence of an anti-capitalist government *anywhere* in the world (not just the third world), is 'incompatible with the United States security interests' in other words the security of the ruling capitalist minority of the United States, because it certainly isn't in the interests of the Chicanos [Mexican Americans], Puerto Ricans, Indians, most women, blacks or the workers to see capitalist rule extended or continued.

I would say that Portugal, Greece and Italy must be the top priorities of the CIA at the moment. Whenever the legitimacy of capitalist democracy is challenged by the masses, the challenge posed by the CIA increases accordingly. In Portugal, in particular, given the importance of the Cape Verde Islands and Angola, the CIA must be in there working very hard indeed.

Reading the sections of your book on Uruguay, one felt that this third world country wasn't very different from Britain. You've been living here for the last couple of years, is that your impression?

I'm astounded practically week by week with the similarities between what I see here now and what I saw in Uruguay. In Uruguay you had a country which had a long tradition of liberal reform; it had a very high level of literacy; it had a welfare state and a mixed economy. But a small minority of people owned the large bulk of land which produced the bulk of the wealth of the country: beef, wool and hides. Dependent in the main on imports, the country was confronted with a permanent trade imbalance, decline in productivity and increasing governmental instability.

The result was resistance to the

declining standard of living, because in the Fifties Uruguay had attained a standard of living which was on a par with some West European countries. The militancy of the trade unions increased accordingly, because they weren't going to stand by and watch their living standards deteriorate while a small handful of owners were able to live like they always had, in a very privileged way with beautiful homes, big cars and shopping trips to Europe all the time. So the trade unions had to fight simply in order to keep up with inflation, but of course this wasn't enough to prevent a military takeover.

One got the impression that when there was a big general strike in Uruguay, at one time bringing the whole economy to a halt and really confronting the government with the power of the workers, it seemed as though the Agency didn't have too many things it could really do, despite all its penetration.

Yes. The march of events in Uruguay shows us just what the Agency could and couldn't do. It couldn't break the trade unions. The only alternative eventually was a fascist-type dictatorship. That's what they have right now - the most terrible, unspeakable repression that anyone could ever imagine. So all the penetration of the CIA in the left-wing organisations, the trade unions and the stud-



Above and below: mass mobilisations in Portugal following the 25 April coup. Says Agee: 'The CIA must be in there

ent movement, and the government, can't solve the problem - it can only make it much worse. This is what has happened in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguav, Brazil, Bolivia.

From your book one gets the impression that you were interested in any group which claimed to be working for socialism, whether it was the Cubans, the Chinese, the Trotskyists or the pro-Moscow groups. You didn't seem to distinguish very much between the different ideologies?

No. What we did in the stations was to distinguish between the different organisations relative to their respective strength and then concentrate on the ones that seemed stronger, both in the trade unions and also from the point of view of militant action, i.e. the armed struggle. These were the highest priorities to penetrate.

But what you must understand is that the CIA is not concerned so much with the global policies of the USSR as such. It is opposed to socialist revolution anywhere whether it is in Russia or China or Mozambique or Sri Lanka or Cuba - that is, a revolution in favour of the working class of the United States. The CIA, whose aim is to keep the United States both united and capitalist, is therefore justifiably concerned at the spread of revolution as such. The very existence of the Soviet Union and China is positive in terms of the interests of the American working class.

Why do you think that the United States is extremely reluctant to re-establish relations with Cuba? It's not because of the humiliation

involved. They realise the tremendous influence that the Cuban revolution has on the oppressed in the United States, such as the blacks and the Chicanos and the Puerto Ricans. Once relations are established there are going to be thousands and thousands of people going to Cuba, and coming back having seen what the revolution has done for the Cuban people. Many of them will see what a socialist revolution can do for the United States.

You've been to Cuba a number of times since you left the CIA. What was your impression of Cuba compared with those other Latin American countries where you'd been working?

I'd also been there before the revolution, so I knew something about Cuba under Batista and I was able to make a comparison. My impressions of revolutionary Cuba were very favourable because I saw many of the problems which existed in other Latin American countries beginning to be resolved there. They hadn't solved all the problems by any means, and they were the first to admit that and to discuss their failings. But they were grappling with the very basic things: the elimination of illiteracy, the extension of a free medical service to the entire population, the establishment of day care centres for children, the eradication of prostitution, the tremen-

the impact of these operations in their own countries.

Another purpose is to encourage former and current officers in the CIA who may be working in the kind of job that I had to do the very same thing that I did. They could make public the documents they have access to and write their own diaries, because there are many more CIA books to be written. There's one to be written on Brazil, on Chile, on Iran, on Indonesia, on the Phoenix programme in Vietnam [a CIA-initiated programme involving the systematic murder of all suspected supporters of the National Liberation Front; resulted in tens of thousands of deaths.]

I want to encourage all former and current employees of the Agency to tell the world the truth. It's not difficult. For instance, when I was working on this book I was going through back files of newspapers of the countries where I'd been working and it was like looking through CIA files themselves. Because practically everything the CIA does has a visible effect. The trouble is that most people don't realise that the hand of the CIA is behind many incidents.

Last summer Agency sources put out a story alleging that you'd defected to the KGB. There have been also a number of attempts to stop you publishing the book. What really worries them do you

Lisbon, May 25. Soldiers and sailors link arms with communists and socialists to call for an end of the colonial wars in Africa



working very hard indeed.'



Philip Agee's book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, is published by Penguin Books on 2 January, price 95p.

THE COLD WARRIORS OF THE

LABOUR PARTY

How CIA money won the day

At the 1960 Labour Party Conference the CNDers won. The Labour Party was committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament. This was the culmination of a mass extra-parliamentary campaign which went right through the ranks of the Labour Party and resulted in a defeat for the right-wing.

Hugh Gaitskell pledged that he would 'fight, fight and fight again' to win the party back. Few realised however, that this fight, as others in which the right-wing had been previously engaged, was to be financed by the Central Intelligence Agency, via its numerous front organisations. CIA money coupled with the pathetic failure of the Labour left to resist, led to a right-wing victory at the 1961 conference. The Agency had scored another

and the almost universal disgust with the CIA, not forgetting Watergate, it would be embarrassing for at least two senior members of the present Labour Cabinet to be exposed as having been on the CIA payroll for a whole period.

Denis Healey, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Anthony Crosland, Secretary for the Environment, were both assisted by the CIA. Crosland was for a whole period a paid adviser to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a CIA front organisation. It was in this period that he wrote his book *The Future of Socialism*, which became the bible of the Labour right through the '50s and early '60s.

Healey was the paid London correspondent of the *New Leader*, a ferociously anti-communist magazine financed by the CIA. *Socialist Commentary*, the 'theoretical'

Another Labour right-winger, Michael Stewart, then Foreign Secretary in the 1964-70 Labour Government, was one of the more effective apologists for US imperialism in Vietnam. The young terriers of the CDS are still with us - Brian Walden, Roy Hattersley, Bill Rodgers, Shirley Williams - together of course with their elders in the Cabinet - Healey, Crosland, Jenkins.

It is not surprising that the *Sunday Times* would like to keep their cupboard firmly closed on this particular skeleton. Discrediting the 'people we support', as Harold Evans is reported to have described them, was just not on.

And if it had been the Left who had been accepting money from Eastern Europe? Just suppose Foot, Greenwood, Allain, et al had been on the payroll of the KGB. In that case the *Sunday Times*, together with every other Fleet Street newspaper, would have broadcast the news and witchhunted 'the lefties' out of public life. Yet another classic example of the double book-keeping in which the unfree press excels.

OWN AGENTS

It is hardly surprising that even the belated publication of Fletcher's article has aroused the wrath of the Thomson House barons. Bruce Page, whose own credentials are increas-

By TERRY KELLY

ingly being questioned by unbiased journalists, is at the moment engaged in a controversy with Fletcher in the correspondence columns of *Time Out*. Knowing what we do of the operations of the CIA and its counterparts in British intelligence, there can be little doubt that most, if not all, of the 'quality' papers employ their own fair share of agents.

The *Economist* and the *Observer* both employed Philby for a period. The fact that Robert Moss of the *Economist* is increasingly being paraded as an 'expert' on Chile on TV and radio is surely not unconnected with his open and blatant support for the Pinochet dictatorship, in the same way as Patrick Honey used to be carted around to support US policy in Vietnam. The fact that Honey was an intelligence operative was never in any doubt.

A British Philip Agee would be an invaluable aid in uncovering penetration of the British press.

SCANDALS

The Labour Party has always covered up such scandals. Its refusal to investigate corruption in the North-East is not an isolated phenomenon. The Stonehouse affair shows what happens when Labour MPs are not regularly investigated by their constituency parties and do not have to submit themselves for re-approval before an election.

The fact that a Labour MP and former minister has been involved in crooked deals and has been unscrupulously making money out of Bangladesh relief is not something which should be tolerated by the workers' movement. On these questions the *Tribune* group, too, are largely passive and for good reason: after all their leading light, Ian Mikardo, is a weathly businessman, who has made a not insubstantial sum of money out of business deals with Eastern Europe!

The Fletcher exposures should

also be borne in mind when we analyse the recent formation of the Manifesto Group - an attempt to counter the Tribunes by the Labour right wing. Its leading members include Brian Waldea and Michael Stewart, and as time passes we shall no doubt see many other old familiar names coming into the limelight.

Some of Kissinger's recent statements have implied that he is not happy with the situation in Europe, and while Italy and Portugal are his main worries, he has also expressed concern over the Labour Party. Given all the information we have about the CIA, we should not be at all surprised to find the hand of the CIA gently pushing the Labour friends of imperialism to start combatting the 'left'.

After all the leading CIA agent in London today is none other than Cord Meyer, who funded the Congress for Cultural Freedom in the old days and is on visiting and first name terms with a number of members of the present Government.

As the social and economic crisis deepens and causes increasing strains within the Labour Party, the fellow travellers of US imperialism will get more and more nervous and edgy. In the present period, however, they will not get much mass support as it is *their* system which is in crisis. Striking hard and effective blows at them will therefore be much easier. Richard Fletcher's article provides us with extremely useful material, and it should be circulated as broadly as possible within the labour movement.



Anthony Crosland - former paid adviser to a CIA front, the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

success.

In the late '60s and early '70s, when the role of the CIA in setting up various front organisations had been admitted, the *Sunday Times* commissioned Richard Fletcher to write a piece for their magazine on CIA penetration of the Labour Party. Fletcher produced a text which was cleared for libel; expensive artwork was then prepared ready for printing.

But the Editor of the *Sunday Times*, Harold Evans, censored it at the last minute because of the embarrassment it would cause the Labour right wing. The offending article, 'How CIA Money Took the Teeth Out of Socialism', was suppressed. It would have remained lost had not an enterprising new group called Radical Research Services decided to reproduce it as a pamphlet with additional information explaining why it was censored and the political antecedents of Harold Evans.

This is the second article by Fletcher to have been censored by the *Sunday Times*. In August 1967 he wrote a piece detailing CIA penetration of the international trade union movement, showing how the British TUC was a member of CIA-supported bodies. On that occasion, Bruce Page, the commander of the Insight team, effectively prevented the article from being published.

None of the facts cited by Fletcher are sensational or surprising; but given the end of the Cold War

journal of Labour's right wing, was heavily financed by the J.M. Caplan Fund, yet another CIA subsidiary. Others on the CIA payroll were Dick Taverne, Hugh Gaitskell, Rita Hinden and William Rodgers. The latter was the main organiser of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism (CDS) grouping inside the Labour Party, which was known to have had 'rich backers'. Fletcher's piece makes it obvious where some of the money was coming from.

The effects of this CIA money were obviously not unimportant. It is not surprising that Healey, Crosland and the Labour right were the most vociferous defenders of NATO, SEATO, CENTO and American foreign policy throughout the '50s and '60s.



Hugh Gaitskell - vowed to 'fight, fight and fight again', but the money came from the CIA.

THE FRAGILE WITH CARE

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WHAT'S ON

IMG GAY GROUP: Contact J. Mills, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds.

SHEFFIELD RED CIRCLES: Every Wednesday at 7.30pm in the Lion Hotel (corner of The Wicker and Nursery Street).

'BRITISH LEYLAND - An Economic Report', pamphlet on the background to the present crisis inside BLMC. 10p per copy, send cash with order to: 72, Cambridge Road, King's Heath, Birmingham.

TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT: Open educational meeting on 'Why the need for a mass movement to get the troops out of Ireland'. Monday 8 January at 8.00pm in Stockwell Hall (2 minutes Brixton Tube), TOM speakers.

'NATIONALISATION or Expropriation', second edition of pamphlet produced in 1973 by the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. 10p per copy, send cash with order to 72 Cambridge Road, King's Heath, Birmingham.

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A Sense of Our History

James Cannon, one of the co-founders of the Fourth International, and one of the foremost leaders of world Trotskyism until his death last year, once said the one of the tasks of any revolutionary organisation must be to instil workers with a sense of their own working class history—their struggles, their victories, and their defeats.

This is above all true in Britain, where nationalist and reformist traditions are particularly deep. Consequently we will be running a column for the next year which briefly details the main events in the history of the workers' movement on the anniversary of their re-occurrence.

5 JANUARY 1919: Start of the 'Spartacus' uprising in Berlin, named after the organisation which had just become the German Communist Party. A workers' demonstration, protesting at the dismissal of a left-wing police chief by the Social Democratic government, took over newspaper offices and railway stations. These actions, which grew over several days and were brutally suppressed by troops commanded by the Social Democratic leaders, Ebert and Noske, was part of a whole period of revolutionary instability in Germany, during which there were partial insurrections, mass strikes and soviets formed in several cities.

The unsuccessful German revolution, to be repeated in 1923, was one of the first revolutionary responses in the advanced capitalist world to the end of the First World War and the Russian Revolution. Without doubt, success on either of these occasions could have changed the face of revolutionary struggle in the twentieth century.



2 JANUARY 1959: Havana, the capital of Cuba was taken and the Batista dictatorship overthrown, after three years of struggle in the countryside by Fidel Castro and his guerrilla army. The Cuban revolution, which went on to overthrow capitalism and imperialism completely in the next two years, was the first successful revolution in the Western hemisphere.

It acted as an example and a base for revolutionary attempts elsewhere in Latin America throughout the 1960s. Castro's lieutenant, Che Guevara, by his unstinting revolutionary internationalism in leaving Cuba and attempting to start the revolutionary process anew in Bolivia in 1966-7, was an inspiration for a whole new generation of militants in Europe and around the world in the late '60s.

4 JANUARY 1969: A civil rights march from Belfast to Derry in Northern Ireland was ambushed by loyalist thugs, many of them off-duty members of the 'B' Special Constabulary at Burntollet Bridge. Later that evening the Royal Ulster Constabulary invaded the catholic Bogside area in Derry, smashing windows and beating up catholic workers.

The civil rights campaign, organised to win equality for the oppressed catholic minority in the North, was the first mild step which upset the whole repressive sectarian set-up in the Six Counties. Very soon the peaceful campaign came up against the harsh fact that the sectarian state could not be reformed. Large numbers of those mobilised then began to look to the IRA to defend them against the increasingly vicious attacks and pogroms launched by the loyalist bully-boys, who were incensed by what they saw as a threat to their sectarian privileges.

CEYLONESE MILITANT GETS LIFE SENTENCE

Rohan Wijeweera, the main leader of the now-banned Sri Lankan revolutionary organisation JVP (Janata Vimukti Peramuna—People's Liberation Front), was sentenced a fortnight ago to life imprisonment by the specially constituted court which had been trying him and other revolutionaries for the last two years. The charges included 'waging war against the Queen', (though the country has been a republic for two years now), 'high treason', etc.

The JVP, which developed in the late 1960s, had by 1971 attained massive support in the countryside. The Ceylonese ruling class then decided to unleash a wave of repression before they could link up with the urban working class. The JVP waged a defensive struggle, but were defeated by the Bandaranaike regime, which was supported by Pakistan, India, Britain, the USSR, the USA and China.

The Ceylonese army, egged on by all the parties in the coalition government—which included the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party—decided in April 1971 on a barbaric display of its power: 60,000 JVP members, supporters and sympathisers were massacred in cold blood.

Meg Mansfield

The dead bodies were floated down rivers in order to terrorise the rest of the population. In the villages, Sandhurst-trained army officers organised the gang-rape of JVP women sympathisers. Ten thousand 'suspects' were incarcerated in prison camps.

Wijeweera had been arrested before April 1971, and he was in prison as news of the massacre of his comrades came through. Since then a few thousand prisoners who agreed to 'plead guilty' have been released,

while the remainder have been kept in prison. A special Criminal Justice Commission, with unlimited powers, was set up to try the 'conspirators'. The trial began two years ago, with trade union leader Bala Tampoe defending a number of the prisoners and legally advising Wijeweera, who conducted his own defence.

PARODIES

Throughout the trial the three judges, parodies of Lewis Carroll's creations in *Alice in Wonderland*, prevented Bala Tampoe from tearing apart the prosecution's case. When Tampoe destroyed the credibility of prosecution witnesses, they were withdrawn from the court and new, better rehearsed ones were found: when he challenged the clearly partisan role of the judges he was threatened with contempt of court. At one stage a senior judge shouted at Tampoe: 'You are behaving as if you were being tried'.

Despite the harassment, Wijeweera succeeded in delivering a speech in his defence. In this he explained the development of the JVP, its aims, and his belief in Marxism and Leninism, which he argued had nothing to do with 'conspiracy' or 'terrorism'.

The speech itself, an excerpt of which was published in *New Left Review*, ranks as one of the most impressive speeches to be made in the dock in recent decades. Wijeweera knew that this would be his last chance for a long time, perhaps forever, to speak to the world working class. Needless to say the trial and the speech were not mentioned in any of the 'quality' papers of the capitalist world. Today Wijeweera is sentenced to life imprisonment. He is 30 years old.

TOUGH MEASURES

What is beneath contempt is the attitude of the CP and the LSSP leaderships, who, far from ensuring that a semblance of justice is maintained, have argued all along for tough measures. In the cabinet itself, it is now well-known that it was an LSSP leader who argued that all the

Rohan Wijeweera—jailed for life

JVP leaders be hanged in public! When another LSSP minister, Colvin R. de Silva, recently visited London he was subjected to severe and vigorous questioning both on the political prisoners and on the forcible deportation of Tamil workers to India. Unable to reply, de Silva lost his cool completely and denounced the questioners as 'fools' and 'friends of terrorists', before making a hasty departure from the meeting hall.

BREAKING POINT

The international working class movement has to be mobilised to demand the release of all political prisoners, and notably comrade Wijeweera. The present crisis of the world capitalist system has strained countries like Sri Lanka to breaking point, and it is not unlikely that the masses themselves will free the political prisoners in the years to come—but till then, support and solidarity are urgently needed to break the wall of silence surrounding the repression.

Obituary:

JABRA NICOLA

Comrade Jabra Nicola, a founder-member of the Trotskyist movement in Palestine and for many years a member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, died in London last Friday. He was in his mid-sixties.

Comrade Jabra was better known to many readers as A. Said, under which name he wrote a number of articles for the press of the Fourth International and for journals such as *Black Dwarf* and *Politique Hebdo*. His last project was to have been a study of the development of Arab society from antiquity to the present day. He had been commissioned by Penguin Books to produce this work, but unfortunately ill-health prevented him from consistent work and only the introduction was completed.

As an old Palestinian revolutionary, Jabra Nicola's work was well-known to many members of the early Arab Communist Party, and he provided for the comrades of the Fourth International in the Arab East an essential link with the old traditions of communism in the area. His death has come as a sad blow to the Fourth International. In our next issue we will be publishing a fuller appreciation of comrade Nicola.

IMG Executive Bureau

Review



A year of hope and counter-revolution

Big Red Diary for 1975 (Pluto Press, 75p)

Pluto have chosen the year 1945 as the theme of this year's diary, as an altern-

ative to last year's total panorama of workers' struggles throughout history. Although 1945 was a very eventful year, this does mean there are some rather large gaps when nothing happened. The reading, though fascinating is not as inspiring either, as that year was largely one of defeat and counter-revolution. But we can still learn many lessons from it.

It was the year of the Atom Bomb, the year of the Stalin-Churchill-Roosevelt carve-up of the world into spheres of influence, the year of the opening of the McCarthy tribunals in the USA. Above all, the year of a whole wave of workers' struggles around the world, most of which were defeated, misled and destroyed by imperialism and the collaborationist 'popular front' policies of Stalinism. Greece, Italy and France are the prime examples.

There were some victories and partial victories—Yugoslavia, Vietnam and the struggle in China and Korea continued undefeated. But the whole mood of the book is one of a gradual slither towards defeat and demoralisation. There are some good ruling class quotes—Roosevelt: 'The first thing I asked Chiang (Kai-shek) was "Do you want Indo-China?"' (February, 1945).

If you still need a diary, buy this one. If you don't, buy it anyway to read.

Carl Gardner



Tim Hall's article on the car industry, in *Red Weekly* of 19 December, argues that the only solution for the car workers is a programme for the complete nationalisation of the industry under workers' control.

But where would even a fully nationalised industry, under the most perfect workers' control, find outlets in the present shrinking world market? The very production of this most inefficient form of transport is madness by any standards. Are nationalised car-plants going to go on producing cars, to pile up in the stockyards? Who is going to buy them, who is going to pay to maintain full employment?

These are all important problems facing socialists in any sector of the economy which is not producing essentials, but which capitalism is trying to close down. Trotting out the pat formula 'nationalisation under workers' control' doesn't even begin to tackle them. —KEVIN TODD, London.

INPRECOR



INPRECOR is the fortnightly information organ of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International published in English, French, Spanish and German. The first issue of 1975, appearing on 10 January, will be a special double issue on the world economic crisis, including two articles by Ernest Mandel—price 30p. But subscribers will get it as part of their subscription. Rates are £4 for 25 issues—order now from INPRECOR, 97 Caledonian Rd., London N.1.



CHILE

'NO RETREAT BY THE MIR'

Interview with Edgardo Enriquez and Carmen Castillo

LUIS VITALE RELEASED

Luis Vitale, one of the leaders of the Chilean section of the Fourth International, has finally been released from prison. On 28 November the junta allowed him to leave the country for Germany, where a job had been offered him as professor in the social science faculty at Frankfurt University.

At the time of his arrest, Vitale was professor of history and geography at the University of Concepcion.

Vitale's release followed a campaign on his behalf that was launched more than a year ago. At its congress in February 1974 the Fourth International named him its honorary chairman as a symbol of the revolutionary victims of repression around the world.

Vitale was arrested in Santiago shortly after the September 1973 coup that overthrew the Allende regime. For long weeks he was held in the National Stadium of that city. He was severely tortured. Later he was transferred to a concentration camp. For some time his life hung in the balance as a result of the brutal treatment to which he had been subjected.

The author of several books and essays, Vitale's best-known work is his history of Chile, *Interpretacion Marxista de la Historia de Chile*. The work had only been partially published prior to the 1973 coup.

Vitale holds dual Argentine and Chilean citizenship. He was born in Argentina in 1927 but had lived in Chile for two decades. He married a Chilean and has a daughter who was born in Santiago.

He has a long record of activity in the Chilean labour movement. In the years 1959-62, Vitale was a national leader of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT - United Federation of Workers). He helped draft the resolutions presented to the first and second national congresses of the CUT, particularly those sections dealing with agrarian reform, the problem of imperialism, and industrial development in Chile.

The GIM (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten-International Marxist Group, the German section of the Fourth International) has announced a speaking tour for Vitale through the Federal Republic of Germany.

On 5 October the general secretary of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), Miguel Enriquez, was shot dead by police after a two-hour gun-battle in the suburbs of Santiago. His murder was followed by considerable press speculation that the MIR would be unable to continue functioning as an effective organisation inside Chile after this blow.

These doubts are countered in the interview below, recently given to the French daily paper *Le Monde* by Edgardo Enriquez, brother of Miguel and the MIR's chief spokesperson abroad, and Carmen Castillo, Miguel's companion, who was injured in the same gun battle, arrested by the junta, and then subsequently released after an international campaign had been mounted on her behalf.

Is there a political explanation for the death of Miguel Enriquez and the arrest in the course of the last few weeks of several of your leading members?

EDGARDO ENRIQUEZ: There are two main explanations for the death of Miguel Enriquez: the MIR's refusal to do a deal with the SIFA (army intelligence); and the slowness with which the Chilean left has moved towards united action.

Towards the end of August the junta reached the conclusion that the MIR - the only party with a policy of open struggle against it - was becoming a real danger. They realised that the MIR could in the medium term become a catalyst which would allow the left as a whole to break out of its isolation. The problem for the generals is not so much the MIR itself as the resistance committees it has been setting up. The action of these committees shows that militants at the base are working more and more closely together despite their different party affiliations.

How would you describe the role played by the MIR in the opposition?

EDGARDO ENRIQUEZ: Several of the parties of the left are waiting for a hardening of opposition by the 'democratic' bourgeoisie. The MIR doesn't think that this is at all sufficient; on the contrary, it thinks that active struggle, based on the working class and peasants, is the key element in the opposition to the junta.

The MIR has had to take on alone the responsibility for this open struggle, and to bear alone the costs of this undertaking. Miguel fell at a time when the MIR was carrying a responsibility which it did not wish to carry and does not wish to continue carrying alone. The only way to avoid further such victims is to bring about united action by the left.

The MIR has always pursued this objective from the day of the coup. It even published in January 1974 an appeal to which until now there has been no reply. This document, entitled 'The basis for uniting our forces', proposed: the unification of the left against the junta; organisation of a popular resistance movement; the restoration of democratic liberties; and the defence of the masses' standard of living.

dissensions inside the MIR following Miguel's death. There is no dissension: the new general secretary has the backing of all the militants, of all the members of the political commission, as well as my own unconditional support.

It's been reported that a great many of your militants have sought refuge in the Italian Embassy in Santiago, including Humberto Sotomayor.



Miguel Enriquez - killed because of the MIR's refusal to do a deal with Chilean army intelligence, and as a result of the failure of the Chilean left to come together in united action.

The new general secretary of the MIR is comrade Andres Pascal. He had been nominated by the political commission as Miguel's successor should anything like this happen.

It is important to give the lie to certain stories in the press about

who was described as an eventual successor to Miguel Enriquez. What have you to say about this?

EDGARDO ENRIQUEZ: Humberto Sotomayor was a member of the political commission. He has been expelled from the MIR, by a decision taken by the political commission.

inside Chile, for having sought exile in an embassy. All militants of the MIR have been instructed not to seek refuge in the embassies unless authorised to do so by the political commission.

As to the number of MIR militants who have sought refuge in the Italian Embassy, I would simply refer you to the Italian press agency Ansa: one of its editors, sent to Santiago on 13 October, reports that most of the refugees were there before 5 October. Of these, thirty or so are children of less than ten years, and many of the rest are the wives of resistance members.

Can you explain what happened to Lumi Videla Moya, whose body was found in the courtyard of the Italian Embassy in early November? The Chilean authorities denounced the 'Roman orgies' which they said were going on and claimed that Lumi had died in disgraceful circumstances.

The Embassy said that her body had been thrown over the wall. CARMEN CASTILLO: Lumi was a member of our central committee. She was arrested on 21 September. The same day, at 7pm, the police raided the flat of her companion, Sergio Perez Molina, and took away their 5-year-old son. They kept this child prisoner for 20 days until the Catholic relief organisation Pro Paz succeeded in obtaining his release. The same organisation also put forward a *habeas corpus* demand for Lumi herself, which shows quite clearly that she had neither found refuge in an embassy nor was about to do so. Lumi died by strangling. Her son had been tortured in front of her.

I would also like to talk about the case of Laura Allende, the sister of President Allende and the mother of the MIR's general secretary, Andres Pascal. She was arrested on 2 November along with her daughter Marie-Anne, who is aged about 30. Since then we've had no news at all of them.

Laura has been a Socialist Party MP. She is suffering from a cancer disease which requires continuous cobalt treatment. The Mexican Government has offered to take her in but has received no reply. Her lawyer has put in a *habeas corpus* demand which has been rejected. She is 62.

She is not and never has been a militant of the MIR, but before and after the coup her behaviour can only be described as admirable. She has never sought asylum. I would hope that there will be an international campaign for her as there was for me, which proved to be very effective. What are your party's perspectives for action?

EDGARDO ENRIQUEZ: We will continue on the political line mapped out by Miguel Enriquez. There is no question of a retreat by the MIR, but nor will it get involved in desperate actions. We will not allow ourselves to fall into the trap of localised armed confrontations.

The MIR will continue with the same tactics even if Mr Kissinger is trying to reach agreement with the Christian Democrats, and ex-President Frei in particular, to replace Pinochet. Our tactics can be summed up in a very few words: we seek to develop the mass popular resistance without waiting until the contradictions inside the bourgeoisie get worse.

US Officer took part in torture

One of the most forceful pieces of evidence of the participation of US military personnel in the coup in Chile has recently been released by United Press International (UPI). The following is a communique received from sources in Chile describing the discovery of a US Army Special Services officer participating in the torture and murder of an alleged guerrilla in a rural area in the south of Chile. The incident occurred in November 1973, a little more than two months after the bloody military coup.

Between 28 and 30 November about 200 junta troops were pursuing a small band of eight resistors. One of the eight was captured and could be heard crying out under torture. His companions returned to save him. They observed 12 junta soldiers practising a system of torture and death. The victim was nearly nude, tied to a seesaw plank above a drum of water. His head end would be doused, while hot coals were applied to his legs. When half drowned he would be revived and questioned. A man without insignia, talking good (accent free) Spanish, was giving orders to another with a lieutenant's insignia.

The guerrillas attacked, rescued their diving friend and killed the "junta" soldiers. The closer inspection of the man without insignia revealed a man between 36 and 39 years of age, flat top hutch haircut, left arm tattoo, right arm axilla tattoo (shown below). In his shirt pocket there was a CIM ID card "issued to advisor".

"One of the junta soldiers admitted before dying that all in the squad had shared in the torture. The place was east of Osorno. The victim died of "infection and blood loss" - his chest was sliced by a sharp blade. His testicles were crushed. A large branch had been shoved deep into his rectum."

The officer's name was Charles Starloy. The United States Government has successfully kept evidence of this sort concealed for nearly a year. Undoubtedly Charles Starloy was not the only Special Forces officer assigned to assist the Chilean military in their barbaric torture of political opponents. The question that remains to be answered is: to what extent did the United States participate militarily in the coup in Chile? We must find the answer to this question. -USLA Reporter.



Tattoo on US officer's right arm

BRITISH LEYLAND RUNS OUT OF ROAD

ITALIAN WORKERS FORCE PRICES DOWN

There is only one country in Europe where the capitalist economic crisis is hitting harder than it is in Britain—that is Italy. There prices went up by 25% last year.

A series of Italian governments have taken exactly the same road as the Tory and Labour Governments here and tried to make the working class foot the bill for the crisis. Dennis Healey's last budget was just a small sample of the sort of 'austerity' measures that the Italian Government have adopted and the Labour Government will try on in the next few months.

Just like Healey, the Italian Government decided to hike up the prices of public services—power, transport, and telephones. A 30% rise in electricity bills, they said, was 'absolutely essential' to 'improve the health of the economy' in the 'most difficult period in the country's history'.

Yet last week the Italian Government signed an agreement with the unions that cut electricity rates by 20%—'at a stroke'! Why this sudden change of heart? Had the season of goodwill gone to the heads of the Italian ruling class?

RESISTANCE

Not quite. For the past three months the Government has been faced with a massive—and growing—campaign of militant resistance by Italian workers to their plans.

The trade union bureaucrats opposed Government economic policy, but tried to limit actions against it to a series of half-day and one-day general strikes. These were important displays of working class solidarity and militancy, but by themselves were no more than a periodic nuisance for the Government and the bosses. Since the trade union bureaucrats were not prepared to go beyond these limited actions and launch an all-out fight, the Government could afford to ignore them.

But rank-and-file trade unionists, in conjunction with the organisations of the revolutionary left, took the struggle a step further. They organised massive direct action in which workers simply refused to pay increases in bus fares and electricity bills.

In the big industrial cities of Milan and Turin workers would board the buses and refuse to pay the new fares. Instead, democratically elected committees collected

the fares at the old rate and sent them in a lump sum to the bus company. And by the time the Government gave in, 70,000 workers in Turin alone were part of a movement which was refusing to pay increased electricity bills.

The leaderships of the trade unions and the workers' parties—including the Italian Communist Party—opposed this struggle, denouncing it as 'inopportune and dangerous'. But their fear of this movement growing beyond their control was an important force in pushing them to keep up even their limited campaign of resistance to the Government.

The same fear struck the Government. Tens of thousands of workers were openly flouting the law, the Government, and the reformist leaders of the workers' movement. Where would this all end? Rather than run the risk of finding out the Government decided to give in.

They did this through a deal with the unions in an attempt to cover the fact they were actually surrendering to the mass movement of 'irresponsible law-breakers', and in the hope that they could persuade the unions to call off their campaign at the same time.

But with this big victory under their belts the Italian workers are not about to accept lying down the other attacks on their living standards that the Government has up its sleeve.

With gas, electricity, post office and public transport charges all going up in this country in the next few months the British workers' movement could certainly take a useful lesson from our Italian comrades' book.

IF TONY BENN had not agreed to give state guarantees to British Leyland's bankers, its workers would not have got a pay packet for Christmas. The Corporation would be bankrupt by now.

In October the banks refused a request from BLMC for a large loan. Leyland claimed that this was to finance their investment programme, but in fact it was needed to solve a short-term cash shortage which was driving the company to the wall.

Benn stepped in because the collapse of BLMC would be politically disastrous—it would have devastating results not just for those directly employed by the Corporation, but for the 2,000 supplier firms, for steel, paper and glass producers, and for the balance of payments. But do the measures Benn has announced safeguard the jobs and living standards of BLMC workers?

LABOUR'S CHOICE

Faced with the collapse of BLMC, the Labour Government have a clear choice. Either they take measures to secure the jobs, living standards and working conditions of the workforce, which must start with taking the industry out of the hands of private capitalists; or else they take the measures necessary to restore the Corporation to a profitable concern, capable of competing with the other capitalist car producers.

To do that, Labour will have to step up the attacks which BLMC has carried out in recent years on jobs, on the value of wages and on the agreements and shop-floor organisation that protect working conditions.

Already Leyland's bosses have made it clear that this is what they see happening. In a letter to employees at the Cowley and Longbridge plants, one of the directors spelt it out: 'I wish to emphasise that Mr. Benn's statement makes no difference to the tasks which we must face up to immediately. Any Government finance which may be made available will be intended for the modernisation of our product range, plant and equipment, to keep us abreast or ahead of competition. It will not remove from all of our plants the obligation to be economic and to pay their way.'

Since then, management has announced production cuts for the Marina and Maxi models at Cowley, which will be accompanied by a renewed drive to reduce the manning levels on the assembly tracks, by implementing the studies of Industrial Engineers.

From what has been said so far, it is clear that Labour is also thinking along these lines. Benn has been engaged in secret talks for some months with the BLMC management, without even informing—far less

consulting—the workers whose security he claims to have at heart. And one of the most ruthless of capitalist industrialists, Don Ryder of IPC, has been put in charge of the rescue operation.

WORKERS' RESPONSE

If BLMC's problems are not to be solved at the expense of its workforce, it is obvious that things cannot just be left up to Benn and the Labour Government. Healey's budget has already shown that when the employers crack the whip, Labour will back the capitalists against the working class.

But so far the silence of the leaders of the main unions in BLMC has been deafening. Only the Executive of ASTMS, which represents supervisors, has come out for the nationalisation of the Leyland combine. Yet all the engineering unions adopted a policy of state control of all industries requiring Government finance at the last conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. They even mentioned BLMC as a case in point.

Such policies make fine conference resolutions, but they are meaningless if the union leaders will not fight for them to be carried out when they are most urgently needed. What is needed now is a campaign throughout the BLMC combine and the dependent supply industries for the Labour Government to nationalise BLMC.

A first step would be to organise meetings of workplace representatives, from manual and staff unions, in each complex of BLMC factories, to discuss the future of the company and launch a fight for nationalisation. Representatives of the Labour Government should be summoned to such meetings to put their cards on the table and take their policies from the workers whose interests they were elected to represent.

NATIONALISATION

Many workers are doubtful about nationalisation when they look at the fate of workers in industries that have been nationalised in recent years—the huge red-

undancies in the steel industry and the sackings at Rolls Royce are obvious examples. It is clear that on its own nationalisation will not protect workers' jobs.

First, there should be no compensation to the major shareholders—they have already made a killing off the backs of carworkers. £30 million worth of BMC shares bought on issue in 1952 would have yielded an average of 73% up to 1967, not counting capital gains! The workers who would pay any compensation through taxes, owe these people nothing.

Second there must be no illusion that proposals for 'workers directors', which Benn may well come up with, will protect the workers' interests. In the steel industry, having ex-steel workers on the board of BSC has been cold comfort to workers whose jobs have been 'rationalised' out of existence.

But to ensure that the process of nationalisation and reorganisation of the industry is carried out to protect workers interests—to safeguard all jobs, to defend and extend agreements that protect working conditions, to protect wages against erosion by inflation, and so on—the workers will have to organise a system of workers control over the management of the nationalised company.

Workers control by mass meetings could be organised by the existing shop-steward structure, extended to involve non-manual sections of the workforce, or by specially elected committees at factory and national level. But control of this sort would involve a lot more than the functions exercised by present shop-stewards and staff representatives. It would mean not just negotiating with but exercising control over the management of the nationalised company, with all its commercial and financial affairs open to full inspection by the workers.

Such a development in one of the biggest companies in the country would lay the basis for workers management, not just of one nationalised company, but of the whole economy under a workers' state.

Cowley IMG

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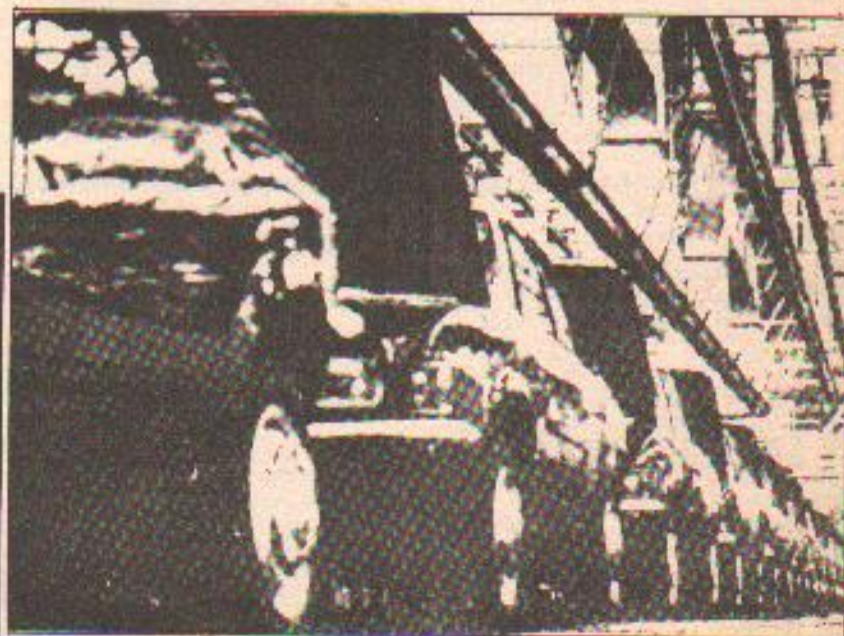
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