

hope in the liberation of their country.

I had a chance to talk with some of the Africans who are in the army. They said they were getting very disgusted because when they are in the valley fighting they are treated as equals, but when they get back to Salisbury they become natives again—their children have no school and no jobs. They also said that when they are in the field they are always put in front so that they can have the first contact with the freedom fighters . . . and also get hit by the land mines. They said the freedom fighters now know this and delay their attacks until their brothers are out of the way. The freedom fighters are able to get useful information from their brothers in Smith's army.

My observation of the situation is that time has run out for any kind of peaceful settlement that is middle of the road. If the African National Council were to attempt to accept anything short of majority rule, I am convinced the people as a whole would reject such a deal. The solution now definitely lies in the hands of the liberation movements as to when Zimbabwe will be free. The degree of violence before freedom comes will depend entirely on how long it will take the white electorate through Smith to see the handwriting on the wall.

There is very little the African National Council can accomplish on its own; its function depends entirely on the pressure put on Smith by the freedom fighters, and, fortunately, its leaders seem to be aware of this at the moment. The role of ANC is merely to help politicize the masses and also keep their morale high. If at any time ANC decides to part ways with the freedom fighters, I am convinced that the people would reject it. Everyone in Zimbabwe now knows that our freedom will have to be obtained through an armed struggle.

Tsitsi Shaba

Tsitsi Shaba is the pseudonym of an African recently returned from Zimbabwe.

EXCURSUS V

Destabilizing Isla Azul

From the Chicago Trumpet, September 23, 1978: George McGoo, Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, admitted yesterday that undercover operations have been going on for one year against the government of the Republic of Isla Azul. According to informed sources, the admission was made in secret testimony to the

House Committee on Latin American Affairs.

Mr. McGoo testified that in the last twelve months the CIA has spent upward of \$75 million on activities designed to "destabilize" the regime of General Manuel Ramirez Odoroso. Some of these funds were channeled to the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Isla Azul (FALIA), the underground organization of leftist students that has claimed responsibility for the recent attack on the prison during which twenty political detainees (including the American professor, Dr. Ralph Goodnik) were freed. Funds also went to support two newspapers that had been suspended by the Ramirez government, a clandestine radio station broadcasting from offshore, and the illegal union of banana plantation workers which has been organizing strikes in the eastern section of the island republic. Mr. McGoo asserted that none of these funds were allocated for the purchase of arms by any underground group. Asked how he could be sure of the eventual use made of CIA funds once they had reached the underground, he replied that he had personally received assurances to this effect from responsible contacts in the underground organizations.

In the course of the hearing there occurred a heated exchange between Mr. McGoo and Congressman Horace Schmutzer, Republican of Indiana. Congressman Schmutzer expressed outrage at this blatant interference in the internal affairs of a sister republic in the Americas. According to the Congressman, the CIA operation violated both the Charter of the United Nations and the obligations incurred by the United States through membership in the Organization of American States. Mr. McGoo conceded that such covert operations were always regrettable, but that there were occasions when they could not be avoided if this country was to live up to its mission of upholding democracy and human rights in the Hemisphere. He stressed that this mission was not just a matter of idealism but was a treaty obligation of the United States resulting from its adherence to the Compact of Havana, ratified by the Senate last year. Congressman Schmutzer remarked that he had been consistently in favor of détente with Cuba, as it had been initiated by the last Republican Administration, but that détente did not mean the United States should turn against its best friends in Latin America. He added that he recognized the necessity of covert intelligence-gathering operations by the CIA, but that he was vigorously opposed if such operations became direct efforts to subvert the governments of other countries.

Mr. McGoo's testimony is certain to lead to renewed questions in the Congress about United

States policies in Latin America. At public hearings before the same committee last spring Secretary of State Malvina Bessinger denied that the United States was engaged in covert operations against any government in Latin America. At that time she explicitly referred to the Ramirez Odo-roso regime in Isla Azul. She said then that while the United States regretted the repressive policies of the Ramirez government, this did not provide a warrant for interference in the internal affairs of Isla Azul. In a statement to the *Chicago Trumpet* Congressman Schmutzer said: "It is quite clear now that Secretary Bessinger lied to us last spring. Or, if she didn't lie, one hand of the government doesn't know what the other is doing. Either way, this is an intolerable situation. I shall call for a special investigation by the Congress."

A spokesman at the State Department said that Secretary Bessinger would have a statement on Congressman Schmutzer's charges later today. Professor Goodnik, reached by phone at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said the public ought to understand the circumstances in which the United States Government might have felt compelled to intervene in Isla Azul, if indeed that had been the case. He said he had no direct knowledge of any CIA involvement in the operation that freed him from prison. He repeated his oft-stated view that the Ramirez regime was "the most odious in the Western Hemisphere," describing it as "reactionary, repressive, exploitative, and thoroughly rotten." He added that instead of getting "hung up" on legal niceties Americans should be proud that, since the new Democratic Administration in Washington, the United States was finally helping "the good guys in Latin America." A spokesman for FALIA, reached at the organization's liaison office in New York, refused to comment on the alleged link with the CIA, saying only that he suspected a plot by right-wing politicians and newspapers to subvert the new relationship between the United States and the progressive camp in Latin America.

From an editorial in the New York Glory, September 24, 1978: . . . But the issue of United States policy toward Isla Azul must be kept distinct from the other issue raised by the publication of secret testimony before a Congressional committee. It would be rash indeed to argue that such publication is never justified in a democratic society. Already the defenders of the *Chicago Trumpet* are citing the Pentagon Papers and the revelations about CIA activities against the Allende regime in Chile by way of precedents. These cases, however, are not comparable at all

to the present "leak" from the House Committee on Latin American Affairs. In the case of Vietnam the issue was an illegal war that was offensive to the conscience of the American people; in the case of Allende the subversion was directed against a democratically elected government. The *Chicago Trumpet*, on the other hand, has allowed itself to be the instrument of those who would sabotage the new "spirit of Havana" and who would turn back the clock in the Americas. Congressman Schmutzer's efforts in this respect are only too well known (see editorial in the *New York Glory*, "The Banana Lobby," June 5, 1978). It would be ludicrous indeed if such "dirty tricks" were allowed to find shelter in the doctrine of freedom of information. Perhaps it is time, after all, to reconsider whether this country does not need legislation along the lines of the British Official Secrets Act. Furthermore, the campaign against Secretary Bessinger must be seen in the context of right-wing congressmen who make a habit of "leaking" confidential material to newspapers favorable to their case. It may be taken for granted that Secretary Bessinger was well aware of this propensity when she testified before the House Committee on Latin America Affairs last spring. Under these circumstances, can she be blamed for being less than candid?

PLB

QUOTE / UNQUOTE

"Americanization" With a Vengeance

In the present emergency it behooves every American citizen to do his duty and uphold the hands of the President . . . in the solemn obligations that confront us. The primary duty of a citizen is loyalty to country. This loyalty is exhibited by an absolute and unreserved obedience to his country.

—James Cardinal Gibbons, April 5, 1917

Keeping Conscience in Check

For a Catholic "to follow one's conscience" is not, then, simply to act as his unguided reason dictates. "To follow one's conscience" and to remain a Catholic, one must take into account first and foremost the teaching of the magisterium.

When doubt arises due to a conflict of "my" views and those of the magisterium, the presumption of truth lies on the part of the magisterium. "In matters of faith and morals, the bishops speak in the name of Christ, and the faithful are