

DES MOINES, IOWA
 TRIBUNE

E - 113,781

MAR 16 1972

Sudan's Little-Noted 16-Year Civil War Over at Last

By Charles Foster Ransom
 (Of The Tribune Editorial Page Staff)

SUDAN'S 16-year civil war seems to be over at last, by agreement between the government in Khartoum and the South Sudan Liberation Front. In this immense territory along the upper Nile, civil war broke out a year before independence came, between the 4 million blacks in the south and the 12 million "Arabs" in the north. It has been a bloody war, little noted by the outside world because major power interests were slight.

Sudan got its name from the Arabic "bilad as-Sudan", the country of the blacks, and all Sudanese look pretty black to the Egyptians, just as the Egyptians looked pretty black to the ancient Greeks. Northern Sudan long ago adopted the Muslim religion and the Arabic language. The much blacker peoples of the south retained primitive pagan religions or converted to Christianity. They felt oppressed by the dominant northerners, who used to make slave raids there as recently as the 1890s, before the British reconquest.

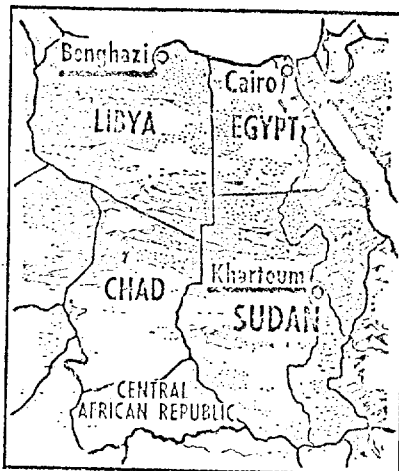
Strife

Since 1955

As independence from both Britain and Egypt approached in 1955, the old hostilities broke out again and have been going ever since.

The agreement of 1972 calls for a large degree of home rule for the southern area of Sudan under a new constitution for the whole country. South Sudan entered the bargaining process in mid-February from a strong military position: a re-equipped army, undefeated recently, receiving regular pay, according to the London Times.

There is a mystery about the source. A rebel representative told a meeting in New York last fall that no aid from the major powers was available because the rebels' foes are Arabs. The Arab government has accepted aid from Russia and its satel-



lites, and from China, Egypt and Libya. It charges the rebels have had help from Israel, West Germany, the United States Central Intelligence Agency, Uganda, Ethiopia and Roman Catholic relief and missionary agencies. Maybe.

Tried for Training Rebels

Sudan tried Rolf Steiner for training the rebels. Steiner is a German who was a mercenary leader for Biafra in its rebellion against Nigeria. Steiner admitted training some southern Sudanese, but he claimed it was only for self-defense of their farms where he was giving them technical aid.

Last July's coup and countercoup in Khartoum left Sudanese Premier Jaafar el-Nimeiry convinced that the Sudanese Communist Party organization (till then supporters of his "Arab socialist" regime) was behind the army officers' revolt. So he hanged a number of Communist Party leaders as well as actual participants. This infuriated the Soviet government and its allies and didn't help his own army's efficiency.

Anyhow, this winter Nimeiry made another attempt to settle the long civil war with the south by negotiation, and this time he seems to have succeeded.

BEST COPY

Available

*THROUGHOUT
FOLDER*

13

6/24/98

Africa: Intriguing Continent of Intrigue

By DICK RUSSELL
Contributing Editor

STATINTL

IN A CITY of tree-lined boulevards, the morning papers are on sale. Malawi's Banda is the first African president to visit South Africa. He is shown alongside Johannes Vorster, the South African leader, and the caption says: **DIALOGUE.** Troops are massing along the Tanzania-Uganda border, a headline screams of protracted war and the death of the East African Community. Congo-Kinshasa has changed its name to the Zaire Republic; the old name, says President Mobutu, gave too much emphasis to the Bacongo tribe which dwells along the southern shores of the great river.

This is Africa, 1971, an embryo emerging from the womb of handcuffed centuries, a kaleidoscope suspended between two worlds. Everywhere, the traditions of centuries are webbed in the stunning cycle of social change. The larger powers—Americans, Russians, Chinese, even Israelis—kept up their subtle but perpetual search for spheres of influence. Independent Africa, entering its second decade with one-fourth of the earth's surface, nine percent of world population, and more than 60 separate nations, has reached a crossroads.

In important ways, it has been indeed a year of dialogue. For the first time, moderate African leaders talked of discussions with South Africa. Though their voices were muted at the OAU Conference, several hinted of eventual trade links. Even the isolated apartheid regime showed signs of relaxing its racist policies.

Corruptability of Power

In Addis Ababa, the leaders of Sudan and Ethiopia also forged a breakthrough. Few neighbors had been so ideologically opposed. Haile Selassie's government remained a traditional monarchy, with Coptic Christian allegiance and American backing. Sudan's President Numeiri was a staunch Moslem Socialist, with ties to the Arabs and the Eastern bloc. But since his dramatic July overthrow and return, Numeiri was stronger than ever. For too long, the two nations had covertly aided each other's rebel forces; it was time to talk. And cultural barriers fell, too.

"You must understand that African leaders are different from European leaders," says a West African businessman. "In Europe or America, if there is corruption in the government, the president would eliminate certain people not here. Power is such a new thing.

Rarely has the corruptability of power been shown more clearly than in the Uganda coup. Last January 25, Uganda's Socialist president Dr. Milton Obote was overthrown by the military while attending a conference in Singapore. His replacement was a conservative, spare-talking major general named Idi Amin, who in 1969 had been Obote's closest friend. By the end of the year, the repercussions threatened to erupt into the continent's first major war of the decade. Tanzania, which granted him asylum, had allowed its Chinese advisers to train the remainder of Obote's troops. As early as July, they were massing along the borders with Uganda. Amin replied by shelling Tanzanian villages.

The Coup de Grace

Strangely enough, General Amin never planned the events which cast him as leader of Uganda's 10 million people. The disruption of Africa's most stable economic union (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania) might have been avoided altogether. To understand why, one must go back to 1966. That was the year Milton Obote ousted the country's last reigning monarch and began a herculean effort to turn Uganda's hostile tribal regions into an effective republic. Some measures were drastic—a one-party constitution, an unwillingness to hold elections. Despite favoritism toward his own Lango tribe, and although his form of socialism included his several mansions, the quest was basically sincere.

But Dr. Obote had a tragic flaw. Like Macbeth, the more power he gained, the more it consumed him. He began to imagine plotters in every conference room, assassins behind every door. On December 19, 1969, Obote's fears were realized. He was shot in the mouth while leaving a conference hall. Upon recovery, he began stockpiling arms in a Kampala hideaway. He plunged obsessively into Uganda's problems, working 18 hour days, trusting nobody but himself—and his chief intelligence officer, Akena Adoko.

Akena Adoko was head of the General Service Unit (GSU), equivalent to the FBI. The GSU's mission was to root out Obote's prime antagonists; rivals, even some close friends, soon found themselves in detention. Until 1969, the commander of Uganda's military had been like a brother to Obote. General Amin came from a nondescript background, had little formal education, but his strength of character was unbroken.

able. Akena Adoko began to poison the relationship.

The coup de grace came late in 1970. Brigadier Akoya, like Amin one of the strongest military figures, was found murdered in his home. Amin's tribe had been a traditional enemy of Akoya's. Subtle accusations were leveled. The gulf between Obote and Amin became unbridgeable. Yet observers in Uganda are convinced the GSU murdered Akoya to create dissension, not without the tacit support of the Soviet Union.

"There were definite connections with the Russians," said a government source. "The GSU people went to Russia regularly for training. It was so obvious it was ridiculous. Whether this was an international move by the Russians to get their tentacles into East Africa is an open question."

Last January 11, a secret meeting of the GSU determined to assassinate Amin. He remained the prime obstacle to Akena Adoko's supremacy. Eleven days later, Obote received a phone call at the Commonwealth Heads of State Conference in Singapore. He agreed to the plot: Amin would die on January 25.

China's Year of Emergence

Unknown to Obote, adviser Akena Adoko had a grander design. He would first eliminate General Amin, then seize the government himself. Obote, who awaited the results over 2,000 miles away, was finished—one way or the other.

The GSU's forces began massing at six o'clock on the fateful Sunday evening, but Amin had spies of his own. When fighting began in the streets of Kampala, sirens sounded and people closed their doors. By midnight, it was over. General Amin, in a startling turn-about, was the leader of Uganda. Then the retributions began. Personal and tribal vendettas were squared; every senior officer but one was killed. The GSU was disbanded, its members imprisoned or kept under constant surveillance. Akena Adoko escaped to Tanzania, where he joined Obote under the Socialist wing of Julius Nyerere. To this day, sources doubt if the deposed president knew of Akena Adoko's backfired plans to deceive him.

"Akena Adoko is a soothsayer and kept telling him all the rest were liars," says a Uganda official. "The diplomatic thing would be for Amin to say to Obote: 'Look, we got rid of this cancer, but we got a new one. We will be

continued

THE SUDAN

The Armed Missionary

Dressed in a tan safari suit with a military cut, he sat at a table in the well of the crowded courtroom. There was a long, ugly scar on the side of his face—mute testimony to his occupation. As TV floodlights played on his shaved head, his eyes glanced over the galleries as if in search of a friendly face. He found none—only an Arabic sign with a verse from the Koran: "If you are to judge someone, be fair."

Then, as paratroopers trained rifles at the defendant's chest, the prosecutor rose to address the five-member military tribunal in the sweltering Khartoum People's Court. "In the name of God," he declared, "Rolf Steiner is an enemy of humanity and of the African peoples in particular. You will not try the accused alone, but the evil ideas, the organizations and the imperialist countries that are still seeking to exploit the Third World and drain its resources by aiding and creating mutinies and waging civil strife."

Khaki-Clad Knight. The scene in the Khartoum courtroom last August was memorable for more than its drama. It marked the first time that a white mercenary had ever been brought to trial in Africa. Last week the tribunal rendered its verdict: the German-born Steiner, 42, was guilty of aiding the 15-year-old rebellion of black southern Sudanese against the northern Arab government. Steiner was sentenced to death, but President Jaafar Numeiry immediately commuted the sentence to 20 years' imprisonment.

One reason Steiner was treated with leniency was that, in a 50,000-word confession, he freely admitted his role as the Anyanya rebels' commander in chief. The borderline area that separates the black Christian south from the brown Muslim north has become the scene of international intrigue on a grand scale, he said. He implicated, in varying degrees, CIA operatives, Peace Corps people, British intelligence, relief organizations, the Roman Catholic Church, Israel, Ethiopia and Uganda. Through his German-speaking Sudanese lawyer, Steiner pleaded that he was not a cold hired killer but a kind of khaki-clad White Knight destined to right the wrongs of black Africa.

Wolf Cubs. Destiny has thwarted Steiner: in seven wars he has never been on the winning side. His first military experience was in the World War II Nazi "Wolf Cubs," a branch of the Hitler Youth. Two years after the war ended he ran away from a Catholic seminary and joined the French Foreign Legion. He saw action in Korea, Indochina, the Middle East and Algeria. Steiner next went to Biafra. "They wanted to play a little bit of war," he recalled recently, "so I went there to play war."
Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000800130001-2
(good luck) by the Biafrans, he rode around in a white Mercedes with a

death's-head pennant fluttering from its hood. Though a capable military commander, Steiner was regarded by observers as something between a borderline psychopath and a gleeful good Samaritan. To command attention from his troops, he would fire submachine-gun bursts into the ground at their feet.

But when he found a two-year-old Ibo child cowering in some bushes, its parents lying dead near by, he personally nursed the boy back to health. After keeping some Biafran army brasshats cooling their heels outside his caravan one night, Steiner emerged soaked with sweat and water. "I have been bathing my baby," he declared deadpan. In contrast to this episode, a trembling young Arab woman whom Steiner held captive in the Sudan testified at his trial that he had snatched



STEINER AT TRIAL IN KHARTOUM

Playing savior.

her baby and thrown it in a river.

Steiner was kicked out of Biafra in 1968. The next year he entered the rebel territory in the southern Sudan by way of Uganda. Quickly winning the rebels' confidence, Steiner was made commander in chief. Late last year, when he illegally entered Uganda to catch a flight to Europe, he was arrested. Uganda's President Milton Obote—who was overthrown two weeks later—turned him over to the Sudanese government.

Superior Man. "He was really a freak in this profession," reflected one of Steiner's old Biafra mates recently in Nairobi. "As a kind of self-appointed messiah, he thought he had a mission to fight for African underdogs. The runaway scholar of divinity was seeing himself as a kind of armed missionary, the superior man from the superior race playing savior to the persecuted. With a little more *juju*, Steiner may yet be out in time to fight another war."

10 NOV 1971

VIETNAM, SUEZ, ALGERIA, BIAFRA

STATINTL

20-Year Sentence in Sudan Ends Wars for a Soldier of Fortune

BY STANLEY MEISLER
Times Staff Writer

NAIROBI, Kenya—Rolf Steiner, the accused mercenary who called himself a 20th century Marquis de Lafayette, was sent to prison by Sudan Tuesday for 20 years for fighting on the side of the southern rebels in the Sudanese civil war.

He was sentenced earlier to death by hanging, but Sudan President Jaafar Numeiri commuted the sentence.

The case had evidently become an embarrassment to the Sudanese government. It took almost two months for Numeiri to reach a decision, reflecting his hesitation about how to deal with Steiner. Last Sept. 19, a military tribunal passed its decision on to Numeiri for confirmation.

He was found guilty of waging war against the central government, illegally importing medicines and other articles, being in the country without proper papers and collecting arms and ammunition to be used against the government.

At the time of the trial, most observers in Khartoum believed that a jail sentence would mean an eventual, quiet release for Steiner before the sentence was completed.

Discrepancy in Image

During the trial, Steiner simply did not live up to his advance billing as the great, evil enemy of Africa.

When the trial began in early August, Sudanese officials wanted Steiner to account for what they believed were his crimes against all of Africa.

In the few weeks that a detested white mercenary in an African tribunal

for the first time. In a sense, Steiner would answer for all the humiliations inflicted upon blacks by the racist, brutal mercenaries.

Steiner hardly fitted the image. Shaven bald, he looked immaculate and ascetic. Cool, dignified, dressed in either an orange windbreaker or a khaki safari shirt over a white cotton turtleneck, he kept his hands folded neatly in front of him as he listened placidly to the hours of Arabic testimony and argument interpreted over earphones into German. At most, he seemed like a bored fanatic.

In his own defense plea, Steiner refused to be lumped with the Congo mercenaries, whom he called "the scum of our civilization."

"This is what the prosecutor . . . understands by mercenary," Steiner said in German. "In this way, everything falls into the same scum, and the sack is thrown at my feet."

Instead, Steiner likened himself to the Marquis de Lafayette, Ernesto (Che) Guevara and Regis Debray.

"When a man freely believes in something and fights for it, he is not called a mercenary," he said.

Steiner said he had joined the rebels of the southern Sudan because he believed the black peoples of the south were oppressed by the Islamic, Arabic-speaking peoples of the north.

"With joy and pride," Steiner said, "I give up my life to the cause of the African people who are suffering in the southern Sudan so as to help them take a step toward their freedom."

For much the same reasons, Steiner insisted, he had fought with Biafra

during the Nigerian civil war.

Steiner's contentions, however, were ridiculed by the prosecutor, Khalfalla el Rashid.

"Can any reasonable person accept what the man standing before you here is saying? That he is an idealist? That he is categorically different and other than the Congo mercenary?" El Rashid asked.

"The accused may be a different kind of mercenary, yet he is undoubtedly one."

In fact, El Rashid went on, Steiner was even more dangerous for he is a mercenary who has convinced himself that he is an idealist.

Judge Instructs

In the end Dafalla el Radi, the judge advocate, instructed the five-man military tribunal that reached the verdict on Steiner that it did not matter whether Steiner was a mercenary or not.

He told them they must reach their verdict on the narrow grounds of whether Steiner broke Sudanese law by his activities in the south. Nothing else counted.

The judge advocate's instructions to the tribunal, which came on the last day of the trial, made it clear that Sudan no longer looked on the trial as a showcase for the redress of African humiliations by white mercenaries. The judge advocate advised the military officers against dwelling on what Steiner had done in Biafra and elsewhere. El Radi, in fact, even dismissed much of the evidence about Steiner's activities in the southern Sudan as hearsay.

has climaxed a complex, strange and, in some ways,

Continued

18 OCT 1971

STATINTL

Civil War Still Feters Region

BY STANLEY MEISLER
Times Staff Writer

JUBA, Sudan—Several weeks ago, mortars screeched out of the tangled, green bush on the banks of the White Nile and exploded aboard one of the little steamships that regularly make their way on a chugging, hot, incredibly slow voyage from Juba to the northern Sudan. Eleven passengers were killed.

The attack, never announced by the Sudanese government but revealed by several foreign and Sudanese sources, was a kind of symbolic pronouncement that, despite all the rhetoric in Khartoum, the Sudanese civil war still flares on, with all its destruction and paralysis.

This attack by the Anyanya rebels of the south came at the same time that President Jaafar Numeiri of Sudan was repeating his two-year-old promise of regional autonomy for the south and insisting that he now intended to fulfill it.

The mortars were not necessarily a reply by the rebels — their rejection of autonomy. The killings evidently meant only that a lot more than promises will be needed to quiet the enervating rebellion in the south.

Another Meaning

The attack seemed to have another symbolic meaning, for 10 of those killed were southerners, and the steamships on the Nile keep the southern town of Juba alive. In the long Sudanese civil war, it is the south that has suffered the most.

The war has embroiled the south intermittently since 1955 and continuously since 1963. It is Africa's longest war. Most

ers believe it has led to at least a half-million deaths from wounds, disease and starvation, and forced 200,000 refugees to flee across the borders into Uganda, Ethiopia, the Congo and the Central African Republic.

It is a cultural war. The black Negroid peoples of the south, mostly pagan, some Christian, want autonomy or some kind of separation from the government of Sudan, which is controlled by the Arabized, Islamic, brown peoples of the north.

Most outsiders credit the Anyanya (the name comes from a Sudanese poison made by grinding a cobra's head into powder) with 5,000 to 8,000 soldiers. Though there are splinter groups and rivals among the rebels, outsiders believe that, in general, they are well organized with large units, typewritten orders, radio communication, some semblance of uniforms and medical teams.

Steiner Claim

In his recent trial in Khartoum on charges of fighting for the Anyanya, West German Rolf Steiner reportedly claimed that the rebels were helped by the Israeli government, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, British Intelligence, President Idi Amin of Uganda, the Italian Roman Catholic order of Verona Fathers and German Catholic relief organizations.

Most outsiders, however, believe that the only significant help comes from the Israelis, who drop arms and other supplies from a DC-3 on a regular flight from Ethiopia. Some other materials may come across the border from exiles in Uganda and relief organizations.

Like most guerilla groups in Africa, the Anyanya operate on a small scale. They lay mines, ambush Sudanese patrols,

steal food, and intimidate southerners cooperating with the government.

The vastness of the three provinces of the south is on their side. Government control is fragile in the hinterland of most of Africa in any case. To a village, government sometimes only means a teacher, a health assistant, and a tax collector. If the rebels can keep these officials out, they keep out government.

Limit Control

In this negative way, the rebels have limited Sudanese control to those towns and villages that the Sudanese garrison with soldiers or police. Given the size of the area and the Sudanese army, this amounts to few places. In Equatoria, the most southern and troublesome province, the Sudanese, according to observers, control only Juba and four other towns and villages. The Sudanese also control the routes between these bases when they use military convoys.

The absence of government control does not mean Anyanya control — at least not in a formal way. The Anyanya evidently have set up some schools and health clinics but, in general, they can only work in hiding. If they claimed control over any sizeable village, they would be blasted out by the Sudanese army and air force.

The flight of the refugees and most of the killing in the south evidently is the result of heavy-handed reprisals from the Sudanese army, which keeps half its 35,000 men in the south.

1965 Incident

The most publicized brutality took place in 1965. The incidents were laid bare later in a case before the Sudanese high court in Khartoum. Justice Abdel Magib Imam, a northerner, said the following to the court, leaving any reasonable doubt:

At 11:20 a.m. on July 8, 1965, Sudanese soldiers began firing into the native huts of Juba, the capital of Equatoria Province. Justice Imam called it "a reprisal or revenge attack" and said the shooting continued until the afternoon of the next day. At the end, 360 southerners were dead and many others wounded.

After the shooting, the soldiers rushed to the Juba hospital a half-mile away where three southern doctors were operating on the wounded. One doctor was shot dead. The other two managed to escape. As they did, they saw the soldiers tearing a blood transfusion line from a patient on the operating table.

On July 11, a party of 100 southerners, including several government officials, were celebrating the weddings of two couples in a private home in the town of Wau, capital of Bahr el Ghazal Province. Suddenly, soldiers surrounded the house, opened fire, and then rushed in, still shooting. More than 70 southerners were killed, including a 4-year-old boy and a 10-year-old girl.

No One Punished

It has never been made clear whether these reprisals were ordered by the Sudanese government in Khartoum or whether the northern soldiers decided on their own to teach southerners a lesson. In any case, no northern soldier was ever publicly punished for the incidents. The case before the high court concerned an editor arrested for sedition after he printed a news account of the massacres.

Most diplomats in Khartoum believe that these incidents are no longer the rule in the south. They credit Gen. Mobarak Osman, who took over command of the south after Numeiri came to power in 1969, with trying to discipline his troops. According to the court, he used his soldiers mainly

23 AUG 1971

*Soldier of fortune Steiner***Contradictions in Sudan trial**

By John K. Cceley

Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Khartoum, Sudan

Rolf Steiner, German soldier of fortune and onetime member of the Hitler youth movement, sits for his portrait on live television, as his trial for "crimes against Africa" continues.

The defendant, perhaps one of the most widely traveled mercenary soldiers of all time, wears neat prison khakis. He is pale in contrast to the black and brown complexions of his captors.

With shaven skull and chiseled features, Mr. Steiner, chatting to his Sudanese defense lawyer, looks like Yul Brynner playing the film role of Mr. Steiner.

Two Sudanese commando guards, their Czech machine guns slung with muzzles pointed at Mr. Steiner, stand immobile, flanking him. A red and white sign in Arabic designates Mr. Steiner for Sudanese television viewers.

Gen. Jafaar al-Nimeiry's government, recently under Communist fire for stern action against Communist rebels, is reinforcing both its African and its Arab-nationalist credentials through this showy trial.

Recent history retold

The prosecution case, Mr. Steiner's alleged detailed 300-page confession, includes a whole history of the ill-fated secession of Biafra, where Mr. Steiner fought with the former Biafran leader, Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu, as well as of the black rebellion in the southern Sudan.

Mr. Steiner has said in open court that the prosecution's case against him, an Arabic version of his supposed confession, bears no resemblance to the confession he made and signed in the German language. He insists the prosecution document is a doctored one prepared by East German security experts working with the Sudanese police.

The prosecution's case in this first trial of a mercenary in Africa has been a comprehensive indictment of foreign mercenaries on the continent and their links with what it termed "imperialist" secret services.

Top names disappear

A few months ago at least one other white mercenary was reported still fighting in southern Sudan, a Captain Armand, also an alumnus of the Biafra school. Most of the former top names in the

movement — such as Iorgio Norbiello, the Italian, and Taffy Williams of South Africa, or Mike Hoare, Jean Schramme, and Bob Denard of the Congo, or Captain Goosens in Yemen — have disappeared, died, or in a few cases returned to more peaceful pursuits, or reportedly found use for their services in Rhodesia or Portuguese Africa.

Mr. Steiner's alleged testimony, sometimes minutely detailed to the point of irrelevancy, supports Khartoum's charges of the involvement of Israel in encouraging the rebellion as a "second front" on the Arab world's southern limits.

Relief groups involved

The Vatican, the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Peace Corps, and many of the same Western church or private relief groups who sent food and medicine to Biafra reappear in Mr. Steiner's story about the southern Sudan.

Mr. Steiner, himself, delivered to the Sudanese authorities by Uganda last January, emerges as a many-sided, contradictory human being rather than as some kind of fascist ogre.

One moment he is showing his black pupils at the Wengi Bol training camp in southern Sudan's Equatoria Province how to throw grenades and demolish bridges.

Career traced

The next, he is setting up hospitals, self-help agricultural programs and, he says, "planning to devote the rest of my life to the welfare of southern Sudan and finding a political, not a military, solution to its problems."

Mr. Steiner, who had joined the French Foreign Legion in 1947 after fighting with Hitler's teen-age Volkssturm in the last throes of World War II, served in Indo-China, Korea, the 1953 Suez war in Egypt, Algeria (in the anti-de Gaulle secret army organization, or OAS), before the Congo and Biafra.

His alleged testimony said he entered Sudan in June, 1969. He was helped to get into the south by the Verona Fathers, a Roman Catholic missionary order, he added. Once there, he worked for two months with Anga Nya's Joseph Tarrang, one of the rebel commanders executed by General Nimeiry's government for last month's uprising here.

After contacts in Europe with all groups interested in southern Sudan, Mr. Steiner allegedly said he returned to help build an airstrip, hospitals, launch agricultural programs, and "create a real guerrilla army — and these are the kind of things you find in British Army manuals."

Some Western observers here believe the People's Court may spare Mr. Steiner's life because of his cooperation with the court.

Many Sudanese disagree: "How can our government execute, as it did last month, 14 of our own people for trying to overthrow General Nimeiry and let this foreigner—whose conspiracy was international and far better organized—go free?" they ask.



Revelations in Sudan bare CIA's intrigues

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

LONDON, Aug. 16 (By airmail)—The true enemies of Sudan, where the right-wing military regime of General Numeiri has murdered Communist leaders and imprisoned thousands of others on faked charges of involvement in a coup against the government, have been revealed in the trial in Khartoum of Rolf Steiner, the West German mercenary who helped organize a tribal revolt against the government in southern Sudan.

Presented to the court, in the trial that opened on Aug. 2, was a statement of over 300 pages containing the answers of Steiner to interrogation when he was turned over to Sudanese authorities last December by the Ugandan government that had arrested him for an illegal crossing of its border. Milton Obote was then still the president of the Uganda.

Steiner has made sweeping revelations of imperialist complicity not only in the revolt in southern Sudan but also in other attempts to overthrow the Sudanese government. His detailed statement describes the intensive participation of the U.S., British, West German, French, Israeli and Saudi Arabian agencies in the organization and equipping of the so-called Anya Nya rebels, and in fostering the rightist Umma revolt near Khartoum in 1970.

Paid by Peace Corps

According to Steiner, who has had a long bloody career as a mercenary all the way from Vietnam to Nigeria, where he was paid by French oil interests to aid the unsuccessful "Biafra" secession, he was originally sent to southern Sudan in July, 1969, by a West German "food and agricultural organization," a front for intelligence activity. However, when he became a commander of the rebel forces in November, 1969, his salary was paid by the U.S. Peace Corps based in Uganda.

He was paid, he said, an astronomical amount by a CIA agent named Mr. Briston, working ostensibly as a Peace Corps member attached to Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda.

The CIA's main interest in 1969 and 1970, said Steiner, was the overthrow of General Numeiri's government, which was then, under popular pressure, expropriating imperialist corporations. Briston, while pretending to support the secessionist aims of the Anya Nya rebels, tried hard to ally them with the Umma Party of the reactionary Imam el-Hadi el-Mahdi. The CIA was only concerned with using the Anya Nya as a pawn to subvert an independent Sudan and would have thrown their cause aside had the Umma revolt succeeded.

Arms shipped to Imam

Steiner was apparently involved in the CIA contacts with the Umma Party, which was promised \$15 million of CIA financing. Through British links, \$18,000 worth of arms had been supplied to the Imam when the abortive revolt occurred in March, 1970, and 12,000 arms had been stockpiled in Ethiopia for Umma use had the uprising developed. Umma forces were suppressed and the Imam killed by determined action of the Sudan government, backed by mass demonstrations of support led by the Communist Party.

British intelligence, said Steiner, played a leading role in the Umma revolt, and two British military experts had been sent to help train Anya Nya guerrillas, with eight more scheduled to be sent at the time of Steiner's arrest. In the British press considerable publicity has been given to the revolt in southern Sudan.

CIA shifted tactics

The turn of events in Sudan since Steiner was arrested

would indicate that the CIA and its fellow imperialist agencies made a shift of tactics after the failure of the Umma revolt and the lack of success of the southern revolt. Concentration, it is evident, was made on driving a wedge between General Numeiri and the mass movement led by the Communist Party of Sudan. Numeiri's brutal massacre of Communists and of left nationalists has all the earmarks of a CIA operation, and Numeiri's direct links with the big British monopoly corporation, Lonrho, have since been established.

Significantly, one of the Communist leaders immediately executed was Joseph Garang, who was minister for southern affairs in the Sudan government and who had done more than anyone else to achieve a solution of the Anya Nya problem and therefore was a chief target of imperialist wrath. Steiner, in the meantime, is reportedly housed in luxurious villa quarters near Khartoum and is confident of winning freedom with the aid of his imperialist paymasters. His interrogation statement with its revelations was made some time before Numeiri's anti-Communist shift, and his defenders are now trying to repudiate it.

Sudan

A soldier of misfortune

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN KHARTOUM

The trial of the west German mercenary, "General" Rolf Steiner, which opened last week before a military court in Khartoum, is important for two reasons. First, the Sudanese leader, General Numeiry, by making the trial look scrupulously fair, is using it to help Sudan and the world forget the distinctly hurried conviction and execution last month of 14 men held responsible for the abortive coup of July 19th. Second, it is the first trial of a mercenary in Africa; it is therefore regarded as an important step towards getting these soldiers of fortune out of the continent.

Herr Steiner is accused of waging war against the Sudanese government by helping the separatist rebels in the south, the Anya-Nya. From a transcript of his interrogations, the court has been told at length of his career in the French Foreign Legion in Indochina and of his military exploits in north Africa and Biafra. According to the prosecution, he claims to have been made commander-in-chief of the Anya-Nya army by the rebel leaders.

Herr Steiner is pleading guilty to the charge of illegally entering the southern Sudan, but not guilty to all other charges. The prosecution says he has not denied that he commanded the Anya-Nya, but he says he was not fighting for money; he claims he was not paid by the rebel leaders, the "Anidi government," and even applied for "Anidi" citizenship. The purpose of the military struggle, according to his alleged statement, was to bring pressure upon the Khartoum government to promote a political solution to the problem of the southern Sudan, whose pagan and Christian negroid inhabitants deeply resent the domination of the Moslem Arabic-speaking northerners. How much of his supposed statement represents Herr Steiner's real views is not clear, however; on Wednesday he denounced part of the Arabic transcript as "lies."

The trial, which is expected to go on for some time, has already opened up questions of foreign involvement in Africa. It has been alleged that Herr Steiner was sent to Sudan by west German relief organisations, and that he then appointed himself adviser to the rebels. There has also been discussion of Israel's assistance to the



Steiner stood for the south

southerners, which is widely regarded as an attempt to further Israel's interests by attacking the Arab world's soft black underbelly. Both Britain and the American Central Intelligence Agency have also been accused of involvement; but then no one ever leaves the CIA off a list like that.

A Sudanese Court Hears of a Mercenary's Life

By JOHN L. HESS

Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, Aug. 16—It is 110 degrees in the former Assembly chamber at Khartoum. The overhead fans only stir the heat. Sleepily, six dark-complexioned officers who constitute the court eye the blond, bullet-headed defendant sitting at his table, guarded by two soldiers with submachine guns.

Such is the setting, as described here in Cairo by those who have witnessed it, for a trial that has aroused more excitement in anticipation than in performance.

It is the trial of Rolf Steiner, the German soldier who insists that he is more a missionary than a mercenary, but the trial has also from the start implicated Israel, Roman Catholic agencies, the Central Intelligence Agency, Uganda and Ethiopia in a 15-year-old guerrilla war in the southern Sudan.

Observers of the trial feel that political considerations such as these will settle Mr. Steiner's fate. The wider implications of the case brought the secretary general of the Organization of African Unity, Diallo Telli, to the opening session two weeks ago.

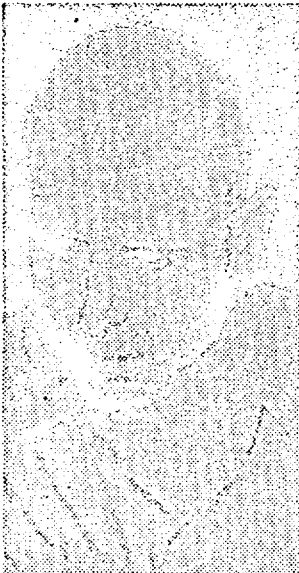
With Nazi 'Wolf Cubs'

The Sudan straddles the divide in Africa between Islam, to the north, and black Africa, pagan or Christian, to the south. A fitful guerrilla war has been sputtering in the southern Sudan against the north since independence, and some outsiders have apparently taken sides.

Mr. Steiner, who is 41 years old, says that his military career began in 1945 with the Nazi "wolf cubs," a branch of the Volksturm, or home guard, which was made up of members of the Hitler Youth. Two years later, he says, he left a Catholic seminary to join the French Foreign Legion, in which he fought in Indochina, Korea, Algeria and at Suez.

His story, as told to several journalists, becomes a little fuzzy. He has said that he made a trip to the southern Sudan in 1965 to seek means of getting supplies to the rebel areas, but resigned from the Foreign Legion only in 1967.

He had already been to Biafra



United Press International

Rolf Steiner

by that time and, although he indicates that his original mission there was sponsored by the French, he says he turned independent to avoid being involved in what he called dirty business about oil concessions. His exploits as a commander of Biafran troops are well known.

Expelled at last by the Biafrans, Mr. Steiner returned to the southern Sudan, operating from Uganda. He was arrested there last winter and handed over to the Sudanese in a gesture of solidarity from the new Ugandan regime.

Contacts With Agents

Mr. Steiner pleaded guilty to having crossed the Sudanese border illegally, but pleaded not guilty to making war, to recruiting mercenaries, collecting weapons, smuggling and spreading malicious rumors.

Mr. Steiner says he was stirred by the condition of the people in the south Sudan. He went to Rome to the Verona Fathers a missionary order that was expelled from the Sudan years before and which was deeply upset about the fate of its converts. They passed him along to Caritas International and to a German Charitable organization, the Society for the Promotion of African Affairs.

The Society acknowledges that it had contacts with Mr.

Steiner but denies that it gave him a mission. Mr. Steiner says that he was sent to work out a route for shipment of relief supplies, and that this led him to consider setting up model farms in rebel territory—which, in turn, led him to military training to enable his charges to defend those farms.

Mr. Steiner does not seem to have been very successful in the Sudan. He concedes that the main force of the rebels was under Joseph Lagu, whom he described as an Israeli protégé. He also described contacts with an alleged agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, a freelance journalist named David Robison, and with British Intelligence. Both agencies at one time or another, were supposed to have helped the rebels by way of Ethiopia and Uganda.

Questions of the Sentence

Prosecution witnesses have testified that they saw Mr. Steiner training southerners at a camp. He, himself, does not deny it, but says contemptuously that if he had wanted to make war, he would have blown up bridges and cut off the south from the north.

Observers say that Mr. Steiner's sentence will be decided not on the case before the court, but on a balance of state interests.

On the one hand, they say, the Sudanese Government is aware of the revulsion aroused by its summary executions of leftists last month and is interested in improving relations with the West. On the other hand, clemency for Mr. Steiner would move some nationalists to say that the regime is kinder to white mercenaries than it is to Sudanese critics.

Nimeiry seeks peace talks with southern Sudanese

By John K. Cooley
 Staff correspondent of
 The Christian Science Monitor

Khartoum, Sudan

Gen. Jaafar al-Nimeiry's military government indicates it wants to reopen peace talks with southern Sudanese to end the southern Sudan's civil war.

Tobi Madot, one of three southern Sudanese in the new Cabinet General Nimeiry formed after last month's unsuccessful leftist coup against him, made this announcement Aug. 9.

It came simultaneously with prosecution testimony in the televised trial of West German mercenary leader Rolf Steiner. The testimony, Mr. Steiner's 300-page confession, says Israeli officers and Ugandan leaders, including present Ugandan chief of state Gen. Idi Amin, aided the rebellion, while the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was more interested in promoting a coup to end General Nimeiry's regime in Khartoum.

But the testimony also admits tacitly that the southern black rebellion's roots lie in the ignorance, poverty, and ill health of Sudan's underdeveloped three southern provinces, Equatoria, Bahr al-Ghazal, and Upper Nile.

Mr. Madot said he had reached agreement with Vice-Premier and Interior Minister Maj. Abul Kassem Mahammad Ibrahim that the government would stick by General Nimeiry's promise of June 9, 1969, shortly after he seized power here, of "regional autonomy" for the south.

Dialogue planned

A "Dialogue" would take place with southern leaders to stabilize the South, Mr. Madot said. When Mr. Madot asked Major Abul Kassem whether this would include the Anya Nya (the poison that spreads) armed guerrilla movement, "Abul Kassem expressed the government's willingness to open dialogue without exception with all the southerners who are now abroad so that a radical solution can be worked out."

General Nimeiry's policy statement of June, 1969, which has been reactivated, acknowledges the "deep historical roots" of southern separatism which it attributes to British colonial policy in giving the southern Sudan separate treatment before Sudanese independence in 1956.

General Nimeiry's advisers on the southern question were mainly Marxists, and

many observers here compare their concept of "regional autonomy" with the Leninist one used for some nationalities as Armenians and Jews in the Soviet Union.

The Nimeiry government began to set up southern youth and trade-union organizations, partly to pave the way for the southern wing of General Nimeiry's proposed Sudan Socialist Union.

This is to be a single legal party, inspired by Egypt's Arab Socialist Union, to replace the old and now outlawed Umma and other political parties.

Presumably this would facilitate Sudan's later entry into the projected Arab federation of Egypt, Libya, and Syria which the Sudanese Communists bitterly opposed on grounds of the southern question and lack of proper political organization in the Sudan.

Mr. Madot is Minister of State without portfolio. The other two members of southern origin in General Nimeiry's latest Cabinet, Southern Affairs Minister Abel Aliar and Public Works Minister Luigi Adok, replace Communists implicated and executed in the July 19th coup attempt against General Nimeiry.

Assessment sought

In the Steiner trial testimony Aug. 10, Mr. Steiner's confession identified a man named "Norman" as one of his CIA contacts. Mr. Steiner said he first met Norman in October, 1967, in Bonn. "Norman wanted information about Katanga and anti-American French activities in the Congo," Mr. Steiner's confession said.

Norman subsequently requested Mr. Steiner's assessment of the Anya Nya as a fighting force and said "United States policy opposes creation of an independent state in southern Sudan and secessionist attempts in any other African country, which was why it did not support Biafra. . . ."

"Norman told me further," Mr. Steiner continued, "that the U.S. Government is not concerned with the southern Sudan problem, but we are interested to stage a coup in Khartoum."

Mr. Steiner said he nevertheless hoped for CIA help to augment Israeli aid, which was insufficient. The attempted revolt of Saddeq al-Mahdi, a former Prime Minister and head of the Umma Party from the Mahdi family's Abba Island in the Nilein March, 1970, was encouraged and aided by U.S. and British agents, Mr. Steiner's testimony alleged.

11 AUG 1971

Witness Blames CIA In Sudanese Trial

Reuter

KHARTOUM, The Sudan, Aug. 10—A CIA agent told West German mercenary Rolf Steiner that the United States assisted various rebel groups in the Sudan to help spread confusion and sedition which could lead to the collapse of the government of President Jaafar Nimeri, a prosecution witness said today at Steiner's trial.

the British organized a rebellion against the president last year by followers of the dissolved Umma Party, the statement said. Saudi Arabia also helped Umma, the CIA man told Steiner, it said.

The CIA agent told Steiner the United States was interested in the black African secessionist movement only to cause confusion and spread sedition, the statement said.

The witness also quoted Steiner as saying that Britain, Israel and Saudi Arabia also assisted the rebels with money and arms.

A military tribunal is trying Steiner, 40, a former French legionnaire, with leading an armed insurrection in southern Sudan against the Khartoum government, spreading malicious rumors, smuggling drugs and entering Sudan without permission.

Steiner has pleaded guilty only to the last charge and faces the death penalty on the others.

Prosecution witness Police commandant Khalifa Karrar today continued reading a statement allegedly made by Steiner to his questioners.

One CIA agent told Steiner

Our readers say--

HAILS HALL'S STATEMENT ON SUDAN

I was very glad to read of Gus Hall's statement published in the July 27 Daily World concerning recent events in the Sudan. Hall again shows us that the Communist Party, U.S.A. is the bulwark of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism in the United States and is a world-respected and revolutionary party.

Hall exposed the role of Numeiri, the C.I.A. and other reactionaries in the destruction of progressive regimes, regimes that really sock it to U.S. imperialism. Great men such as Shafieh Ahmed el Shiekh shall not have died in vain. They shall be avenged!

—BLAIR CLIFFORD, Gary, Ind.

Sudan links Britain and CIA in trial of mercenary

By JAMES ALLAN in Khartoum

BRITISH intelligence, a "former British diplomat," the American Central Intelligence Agency, the Vatican, several European religious and charity organisations together with Israel were linked with West German mercenary Rolf Steiner at his trial in Khartoum yesterday.

In an opening speech, the prosecutor, Mr Sayed Khalafalla el-Rashid, Sudan's Advocate-General, made it clear that it was not just the 40-year-old Steiner's activities among the Anya-Nya rebels in southern Sudan that were on trial, but most of the "imperialist" countries.

In the next hour, he proceeded to attack in all directions, beginning with a piece of history about Britain having hired 30,000 German mercenaries to fight in the American War of Independence.

He alleged that in 1969 Mr Beverly Bernard, whom he described as a former British diplomat, and Mr Anthony Deval, both working for British intelligence, itself closely tied to the CIA, had been in contact with Steiner and helped him plot some of his activities among the southern Sudan rebels.

Bright lights

Steiner, who was captured in Uganda last autumn after fleeing across the border from the Sudanese Army, sat quietly throughout the speech, his shaven head glistening in the fierce television lights.

He tried to listen to the simultaneous translation in German over headphones several times but gave up in apparent disgust—either at the translation or the allegations.

The trial had been adjourned from Monday when he was given time to prepare his defence.

Sudan and the Apollo Hotel in Kampala.

In June, 1969, Steiner and Mr Barnard went to London, inspected a wireless system that could be used and collected maps of the southern Sudan.

After meeting Father Agostino of the Verona Fathers in Uganda, Steiner entered the Sudan and arrived at the rebel headquarters on July 7, 1969. By then he was being backed by the Biafra-Sudan Committee and Action Medico as well as Caritas.

Steiner drew up a report as a result of his visit saying that the southern problem was caused by the policy of oppression practised by the Arab Government in the north against the southerners, who suffered from lack of education and medical care.

"In his second trip," said the prosecutor, "the accused established himself as the mastermind and the one responsible for training the secessionists. His activities were many and in all fields in the area under the influence of the rebels."

"These activities represent the crimes which were committed by the accused against this country."

"Plan for coup"

The prosecutor added that documents belonging to Mr Barnard "revealed a wide plan for a coup. It was also revealed that Alexander Gay was working for British intelligence. He had also participated in operations in the Congo and Biafra."

Mr el-Rashid, in his opening remarks, said Steiner's trial was a unique case—"it could be the first of its kind in the history of African justice."

He told the court: "You will not only try the accused who stands before you (but) you are looking into an international crime which plagued the third world, disturbed its life and endangered its achievements."

"The accused is an enemy of humanity and the African peoples in particular. You will not try the accused alone but the evil ideas, the organisations and Imperialist countries who are still seeking to exploit the third world and drain its resources and capabilities by aiding and creating mutinies and waging civil strife."

The first witness, Police commandant Khalifa Karrar, who headed the six-month investigation into Steiner's activities, claimed that Steiner had admitted involvement with the rebels after first denying it.

to charges for which he could be sentenced to death. He has pleaded guilty to illegal entry into the Sudan but not guilty to:

- Waging war on the Sudanese Government by commanding and training rebels;
- collecting arms and ammunition for them;
- launching a false propaganda campaign against the Sudan; and
- smuggling and distributing drugs without the necessary medical qualifications.

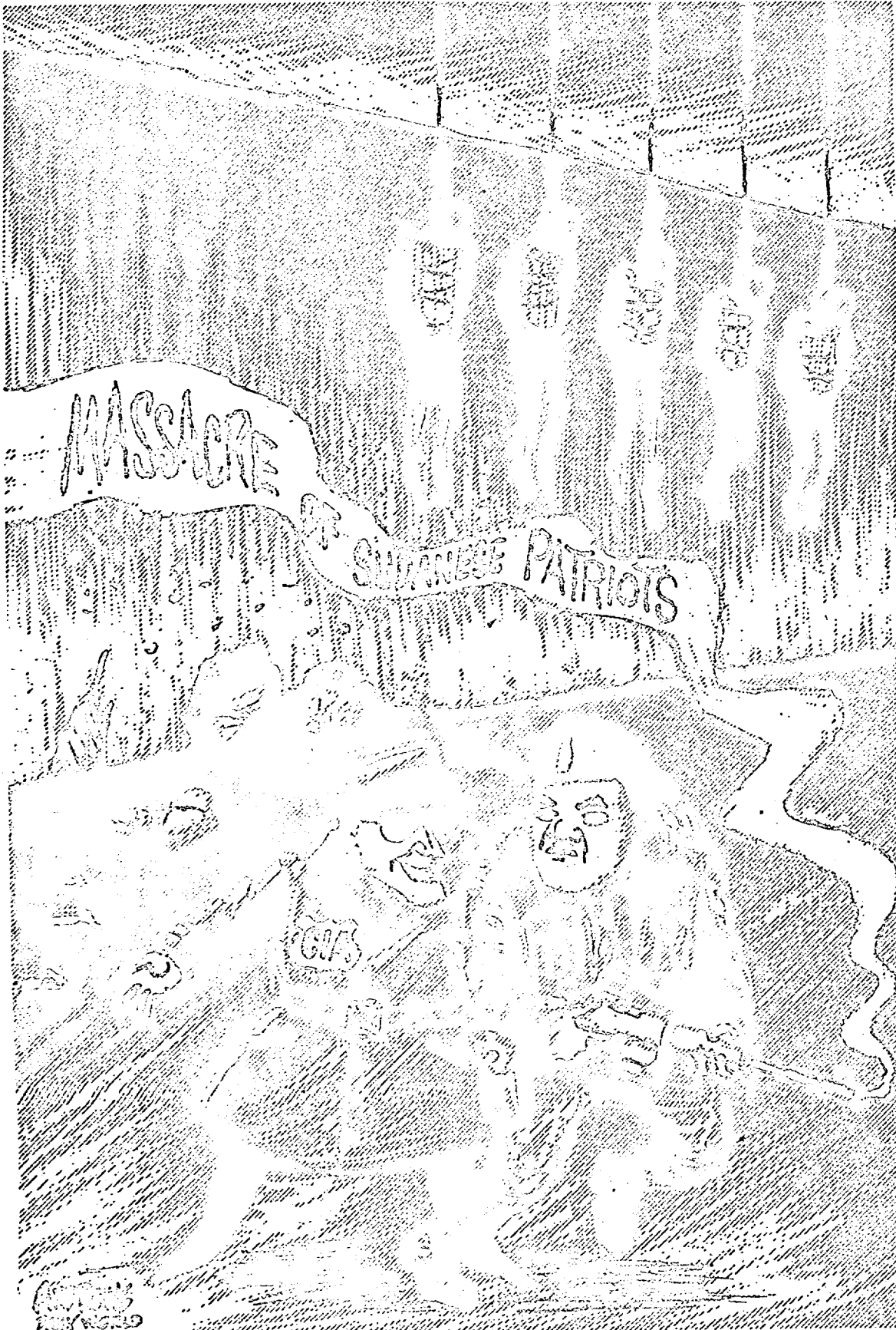
Biafra expulsion

The prosecutor said that after Steiner's expulsion from Biafra by Col Ojukwu, the accused met Dr Carlo Bayer, Secretary of Caritas International, the Catholic relief agency, in February, 1969. Dr Bayer, who had contacts with the Vatican, introduced Steiner to the Verona Fathers who told him of their concern for the Negroes in southern Sudan and their desire to help the rebels.

In March, 1969, they introduced him to Dr Franz Gypkins of Frankfurt, who was President of the Society for the Support of Africa. This led to a meeting with a member of the society, Gunther Kaplan, who in turn introduced Steiner to Mr Beverly Bernard, "a former British diplomat," and Mr Anthony Deval.

They discussed with Steiner the possibilities of providing assistance to the rebels through Southern Air Motive, an airline they operated, and suggested Steiner should co-operate with an English mercenary called Alexander Gay. A wireless communication system was set up between Steiner in southern

30 JUL 1971



DAILY WORLD
27 JUL 1971

CIA backs Sudan bloodbath: Hall

NEW YORK, July 26 — A reactionary bloodbath involving the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is now underway in Sudan, it was charged today by Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party.

Executions by the Numeiri regime are being "carried out on the orders of world imperialism," Hall said. Text of his statement follows:

"The world is shocked by the reactionary bloodbath in Sudan. The present scale of executions has nothing to do with the events of the past few days. The daily killings are a feature of a counterrevolutionary drive against all of the revolutionary forces of Sudan. The campaign of mass murder is an attempt to shift Sudan from its anti-imperialist path. The executions are carried out on the orders of world imperialism.

"Among the outstanding leaders executed

yesterday was Shafieh Ahmed el Sheikh, general secretary of the Sudan Federation of Workers Union and also vice president of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

"The events in Sudan are proof of the subversive work of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. When all of the attempts at open intervention against the revolutionary forces of Sudan failed, U.S. imperialism shifted to subversion and internal political sabotage.

"The people of Sudan will recognize the face of the imperialist enemy. They will find ways of returning Sudan back to its anti-imperialist path of national independence. The forces now directing the killing of honest, militant, heroic revolutionaries will be called to answer for these dirty deeds. Their imperialist masters will not be able to save their hides from the wrath of the people."

WASHINGTON

1 JUL 1970

1 JUL 1970

Henry Taylor / Red blow in Sudan



WHILE the Soviet Union steadily enlarges its Mediterranean fleet, Moscow stooge Muammar El-Qaddafi, who seized strategic Libya last September, has now struck an undisclosed Red blow in Africa's Sudan.

On June 21 El-Qaddafi met in his capital at Tripoli with Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Syrian President Nureddin Al-Attassi and King Hussein of Jordan. Behind the scenes, here is the result affecting the Sudan:

Except for Turkey, Israel, Tunisia and Morocco, the entire southern rim of the Mediterranean is hostile to us. Nasser is Moscow's Castro in the Mediterranean. El-Qaddafi, in turn, has lined up Libya in this region where we have so much at stake.

The Sudan is a big order for anybody. The African continent could almost cover all of the United States, Europe, India, China, and 10 Japans, and the Sudan alone is almost as large as India. It is as large as Alaska, Texas and New Mexico combined. In the wet season the Sudan's Sudd region alone, probably the world's most desolate and dangerous swamp, covers an area larger than England.

ON Jan. 1, 1956, the Sudan, a former Anglo-Egyptian condominium, declared itself the Republic of The Sudan and gave the British the boot.

Today Omdurman is the site of a new Sudanese upheaval. And this is where El-Qaddafi fits in.

Maj. Gen. Gafaar Al-Nimeiry, who once unabashedly told me in Omdurman that "the ability to govern here depends on the length of your sword," heads the current military regime. I tried to tell him that if he ever fails to play the Moscow game, the Communists will

stand him against a wall and pin decorations on his chest with bullets. But to no avail. Al-Nimeiry is in the Kremlin's pay.

Last July he demanded that a number of American diplomats leave our Khartoum embassy. Al-Nimeiry falsely accused them of counter-revolutionary contacts. And this spring Al-Nimeiry, claiming (untrue) that a CIA plane had landed on a deserted East Sudanese airfield to scout a location for an insurgent headquarters, bombed the U.S. Information Services library in Khartoum.

A MONTH ago, undisclosed to the world, an assassination attempt was made on Al-Nimeiry's life. The CIA finds that it was made by the Sudan's biggest religious movement, the anti-Russian Ansari ("followers of the prophet") sect. Their leader is Oxford-educated Sadik Imam El-Hardi El-Mahdi, the great-grandson of the legendary holy man. The assassination attempt on Al-Nimeiry took place at Aba Island on the Nile. Al-Nimeiry captured Sadik El-Mahdi and had him thrown into prison.

Promptly after El-Qaddafi seized Libya last September, Soviet Army Chief of Staff Marshal Matvei Zakharov, the godfather of Arab armament, paid a secret visit to him in Tripoli. Zakharov sponsored the Tripoli meeting on June 21, and there El-Qaddafi secretly agreed to send Libyan troops to the Sudan to support Al-Nimeiry in the fight against the anti-Soviet rebels.

The CIA finds that Al-Nimeiry's call has gone out to Moscow and to El-Qaddafi. Behind the scenes, Libyan troops are being airlifted (ironically) from what was our immense \$600 million Wheelus Air Force Base near Tripoli. For on June 11 our flag came down after 16 years from this last major U.S. military base in all of Africa. El-Qaddafi's revolutionary red, green and black flag went up. He immediately changed Wheelus' name to Uqbah Ben Nafa and welcomed incoming Soviet planes.

Imperialism's Fifth Column

STATINTL

SEVERAL areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been the scene of reactionary plots in the first half of 1970. One of them, in Cambodia, culminated in a coup d'état. Information filtering into the press suggests that all the plots can be traced to the US Central Intelligence Agency headquarters at Langley.

Of course, the State Department consistently denies American complicity, and CIA guilt cannot always be pinpointed. In fact, it may well be that not all these conspiracies were directly instigated and organised by imperialist services—in some cases they may have joined at a later stage. But this much is certain: everywhere the cloak-and-dagger operators have been at work.

Supporting Israeli aggression

The first three months of 1970 saw plots in Iraq, Sudan, Lebanon and Cyprus. Some of the details have come to light. The Lebanese Interior Minister, for instance, announced that US Intelligence had a hand in provoking armed clashes between the ultra-Right Kataeb party and the Palestinian commandos. The Lebanese army and security forces were involved in the fighting. The Sudanese press points to the link between the CIA and the latest unsuccessful coup of the Ansar religious sect and the Al-Umma party, which speaks for Sudan's capitalist and landed interests. In Cyprus, the pro-fascist National Front which, the press says, operates with the encouragement of the Greek and US secret services, engineered an attempt on the life of President Makarios. The Iraqi authorities arrested a group of army officers and civilians charged with preparing a coup d'état. The press says they had the assistance of CIA and Zionist agents.

Each of these attempted coups had its own distinctive features. But all of them had one and the same political aim—to install pro-imperialist regimes and thereby strengthen the imperialist positions in the Middle East and, more specifically, in the Eastern Mediterranean.

That aim, doubtlessly, follows from the alignment of forces in this strategic area. The imperialists banked on the Israeli *Blitzkrieg*. They thought it would write *finis* to the progressive regimes in the United Arab Republic and Syria. That hope did not materialise. Nor have Israel's subsequent aggressive actions produced the desired results. They have not weakened the progressive regimes of these two countries. On the contrary, both in the UAR and Syria the government has been strengthened by the patriotism of the people, the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the support of the world Communist, workers' and national liberation movements.

While giving the Israeli aggressors every assistance—modern armaments, generous loans—the US and other imperialists are relying more and more on their espionage and subversion machine. The events in Iraq, Sudan and Lebanon show that they are using it to hamper the growing unity of the Arab states in the fight to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression. The idea, obviously, is to generate more friction, distrust and antagonism. That was the purpose of the CIA in Lebanon: armed conflicts were to provoke a major political crisis that would isolate the country from the progressive Arab states, place it under a police regime and impede, if not halt altogether, Palestinian commando action.

The aim was very much the same in Iraq and Sudan. But the imperialists were also out to undermine the rear areas of the Arab states directly confronting Israel. Coups in Baghdad and Khartoum would greatly complicate the UAR's and Syria's strategic and political position. To a certain extent the same aim was pursued in the Nicosia plot. There have been many press reports that the imperialists are anxious to overthrow the Makarios government and turn it into a NATO war base spearheaded against the Arab states and serving the Israeli aggressor.

Behind the Cambodian Coup

Thousands of kilometers separate Phnom Penh from Khartoum and Beirut, but in Cambodia too, the aim was to support the aggressive forces. It was to be achieved by use of the CIA technique.

Bogged down in Vietnam, US imperialism has long been encroaching on Cambodia's independence and sovereignty, trying to bring it under its influence and dragoon it into its Indochina gamble. One pressure technique was constant harassment by US forces operating from neighbouring South Vietnam. They bombed and shelled Cambodian border regions and several times CIA agents tried to overthrow Prince Sihanouk and set up a reactionary regime that would abandon the country's traditional neutrality and its solidarity with the Vietnamese in their fight to repel the aggressor.

With the US army facing increasing difficulties in Vietnam, the Pentagon decided to step up its activities in Cambodia. The plan, according to press reports, was to use Cambodian territory for operations against the South Vietnam National Liberation Front in what was conceived as a gigantic pincer manoeuvre. Apparently, the US military command began to press for action in Cambodia when it found that the Vietnamisation plan was not working out the way it had expected. And apparently Sihanouk's diplomatic tour abroad was chosen as the opportune moment for the CIA's "quiet Americans" to put through the plan.

Power in Phnom Penh is now in the hands of men who have joined forces with the imperialists to halt the country's progressive development and suppress the Indochina liberation movement. The first steps in that direction were made immediately after the coup. General Lon Nol's conservative regime has agreed to co-operate with the US and accept military "aid" from it. With the consent and approval of that regime, Saigon forces, supported by American aircraft, have invaded Cambodia in an attempt to outflank the NLF forces and suppress popular support for Prince Sihanouk, whose followers are fighting to overthrow the conservative government and keep Cambodia a peaceful and neutral state.

The world was shocked by the news of America's outright intervention in Cambodia where, as in South Vietnam and Laos, US troops are applying scorched earth tactics against the peaceful population. This fresh aggression by Washington brings out even more saliently the link between the coup d'état in Phnom Penh and imperialism's far-reaching neo-colonialist plans in South east Asia. To all practical purposes, Cambodia is being turned into a "third Vietnam", the second being Laos, where more than 12,000 American military "advisors" are involved in the war against the patriotic forces.

It can be safely said that neither the Saigon puppets nor the Laos and Cambodian reactionaries provide America with anything like a firm support base for its reactionary war in Indochina. And certainly they cannot fight that war with their own armies, even if given the latest American weapons. Consequently, the neo-colonialists will have to rely mainly on their own troops and extend their operations to the whole of Indochina. But the experience of heroic Vietnam has shown that half a million interventionist troops, armed to the teeth, cannot impose imperialism's will on a people determined to uphold its independence, sovereignty and freedom; a people, moreover, that enjoys wide international support.

New tactical elements

Has anything substantially new been added to the technology of imperialist plots and their political orientation, compared with the past? The answer, of course, is in the affirmative—the bulk of it, naturally, is kept secret—for a categorical affirmative answer. We can only judge by the tip of the imperialist subversion ice-