

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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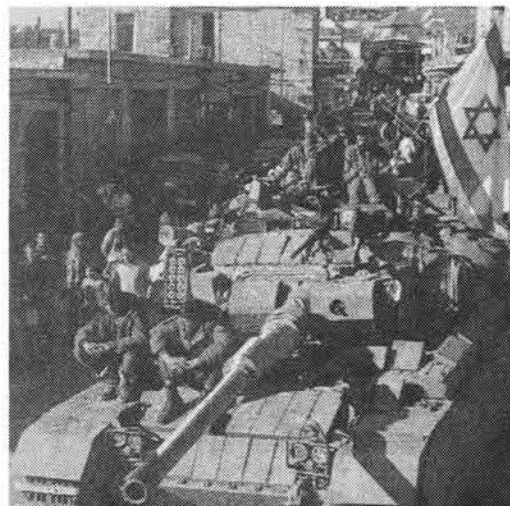
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March 4, 1985

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Lebanon Mass Resistance to Israeli Occupation in the South

*Israeli troops begin
partial withdrawal.*



South Africa

- **Speech by ANC Leader Oliver Tambo**
- **Nelson Mandela Vows Continued Defiance**

Participants in South African youth rally demand Mandela's release.

**New Zealand
Blocks Visit of
U.S. Warship**

***New Caledonia*
Interview With FLNKS
Activist Susanna Ounei**

Washington seeks cure for 'nuclear allergy'

By Doug Jenness

U.S. government officials are calling it a "nuclear allergy"; and the *Washington Post*, one of the more prominent capitalist dailies in the United States, declared in a February 8 editorial, "it is disturbing to see it on the loose."

What State Department and Pentagon officials and the capitalist press are gnashing their teeth about is the widespread international opposition of working people to Washington's freely deploying or planning to deploy nuclear weapons anywhere it wants and sailing into ports throughout the world with nuclear-armed warships.

As one high-ranking Reagan administration official put it, "We are concerned about an unraveling here."

For more than 30 years Washington has placed thousands of battlefield nuclear weapons in countries affiliated to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). And U.S. nuclear-armed warships have docked in ports in many countries including Japan and New Zealand. As the dominant imperialist power, Washington has insisted and generally obtained acceptance from its imperialist allies for the deployment of nuclear weapons.

But this nuclear buildup on the soil of other countries has come under growing attack. Washington's decision in 1979 to deploy 572 nuclear-tipped missiles in five West European countries sparked mammoth protests there. In spite of these protests the U.S. government is placing missiles in West Germany, Italy, and Britain as scheduled. Opposition in Belgium and the Netherlands, however, threatens to delay agreement by the governments in those countries to have the missiles deployed on schedule.

Big protests in New Zealand led to the decision by the recently elected Labour Party government to bar U.S. nuclear-armed warships from visiting ports in that country (See article on page 109). And the pressures of the antinuclear movement on the government in Australia resulted in its recent decision to withdraw its support for MX missile tests in the region.

In the United States there have been protests in port cities where the U.S. Navy has decided, under a new program called "homeporting," to dock nuclear-armed ships.

Secret plans to deploy nukes

On top of these challenges to its nuclear policy, criticism is being leveled against Washington for its recently revealed contingency plans to deploy antisubmarine nuclear weapons in at least eight countries. The countries are Canada, Iceland, Spain, the Philip-

pinas, Puerto Rico, Bermuda, the Azores Islands of Portugal, and the British-ruled island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. The Reagan administration admitted the existence of these plans following the disclosure of a classified U.S. government document.

The 1975 document, entitled "Nuclear Weapons Deployment Plan," was provided by William Arkin, a nuclear weapons expert at the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies, to officials in the countries where U.S. weapons are to be deployed. Arkin also made the document available to the *New York Times*, which published a report on it in its February 13 issue.

According to the document, contingency plans would be put into effect in the event of an "emergency," but what constitutes an emergency was not specified.

Under the contingency plans, the weapons to be deployed are nuclear depth charges. Each has an explosive power just slightly less than the bomb Washington dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. The bombs would be released from P-3 Orion planes or other maritime aircraft to destroy submarines or to block underwater passage of submarines.

Government officials in the eight countries claimed that they did not know about the contingency plans before receiving the top-secret document. If this is true, it serves to underline the high-handed manner in which Washington treats even its closest allies as it carries out its job as the top cop for the imperialist world.

Certainly working people in these countries did not know about the secret deployment plans. Exposing the document to the light of day has provoked widespread debate and opposition. In the face of this, government officials in the countries concerned insisted that no deployments could be made without permission.

Five of the countries involved are affiliated to NATO and have military bases maintained by Washington on their soil. Far from rejecting Washington's nuclear policy, the governments in these countries support and are integrated into the imperialist military alliance aimed at the Soviet Union and other workers states and at suppressing the struggle for national and social liberation in the semicolonial countries. Their military policies are based on support to Washington's "nuclear umbrella."

However, they have had increasing difficulty selling this to the working people in their own countries. And the public exposure of the top-secret document adds to their difficulties in this regard.

For example, there is a long history of struggle in Iceland against the U.S.-operated

NATO base located in that country.

In Spain, there recently has been a big protest movement against the NATO bases, and a referendum on keeping Spain in NATO is scheduled for next year. The social democratic prime minister, Felipe González, favors keeping Spain in NATO. But the revelation of the nuclear deployment plan has given ammunition to those fighting to remove Spain from NATO. One of their arguments has been that NATO membership will ultimately lead to the placement of nuclear weapons in Spain.

Protests in Puerto Rico

The revelations about Washington's projected nuclear buildup in Puerto Rico, a direct U.S. colony in the Caribbean, have sparked protests by pro-independence forces and criticism from the colonial administration.

The document states that Washington already has established several nuclear weapons storage facilities on the island. U.S. personnel who have been certified to handle nuclear weapons are stationed at the Roosevelt Roads Naval Station. Some of the operations of these personnel are tied to current nuclear weapons operations.

In 1977 Washington signed a protocol agreeing that nuclear weapons should be kept out of Puerto Rico. At the time it declared that it had removed the nuclear weapons previously stored there. Washington, however, stated that this did not apply to the transit of nuclear weapons, including overflights and transit landings by aircraft carrying nuclear weapons.

The Reagan administration attempted to help its allies counter the antinuclear opposition by immediately sending a statement to all U.S. embassies in countries where nuclear weapons are deployed or might be deployed. It asserted that nuclear stocks and missiles will be stationed in "conformity with NATO defense plans and in agreement with the states directly concerned."

At the same time Washington thinks that its allies should stiffen their resistance to antinuclear opposition.

The February 14 *New York Times* reported that the administration is "putting together a policy of reassuring allies about their participation in nuclear issues and at the same time of being tough in holding them to existing commitments to play a role in nuclear operations and deployments."

'Put allies' feet to the fire'

One top official explained the "being tough" approach as follows: "Unless we hold our allies' feet to the fire over ship visits and nuclear deployments, one will run away and then the next. We will not be put in a position where they want our protection but without the necessary weapons in place to do the job."

The *Washington Post* added, "As a Pacific naval power, moreover, the United States cannot watch with indifference the spreading of different kinds of anti-nuclear sentiment through a vast realm of the South Pacific — no matter how tranquil and remote that region

may now seem. As a world power, it must consider what conclusions may be drawn by allies elsewhere and by other groups waving the anti-nuclear banner as they observe the American embarrassment."

In addition to protests in New Zealand and Australia there has been a growing movement, especially among the peoples of newly independent countries, for a nuclear-free Pacific.

Washington fears that if any of its imperialist allies, like those in New Zealand, buckle to political pressure and dissociate themselves from aspects of U.S. nuclear policy, it will spur the antinuclear movement to force other governments to do likewise. Therefore, Washington is countering by exerting its own pressure — including the threat of economic sanctions — to persuade its allies to stand up to and fight the antinuclear sentiment in their countries.

So, while President Reagan has begun nuclear disarmament talks with the government of the Soviet Union, his administration is sounding the alarm against the spread of the "nuclear allergy" and demanding that the anti-nuclear banner be furled. The Reagan administration's agreement to nuclear arms talks is calculated to give the U.S. government the image of a peacemaker and to disarm antinuclear protesters.

Meanwhile, it goes ahead at full steam with its plans to put nuclear weapons into space and to increase its nuclear capacity on the land and the sea. For example, the U.S. Navy is moving steadily to increase the nuclear capability of its warships. This will increase, not lessen, the need for visits to allied ports.

Washington is also pouring millions of dollars into a gigantic arms buildup in Central America as part of its war against the working people there.

Many government officials in the imperialist countries allied with Washington believe it would be politically suicidal not to dissociate from some features of U.S. military policy. But their critical statements and occasional actions like refusing port visits or delaying agreement on placement of missiles, do not represent an abandonment of imperialist foreign policy objectives. They are only an attempt to

prove they are champions of peace and independence from U.S. domination in order to deflect attention from their own reactionary foreign policies.

Working people in the imperialist countries

are learning, however, that the struggle against NATO bases, U.S. warship visits, and the deployment of nuclear weapons must be linked to the struggle against their own imperialist rulers. □

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Israeli army begins partial pullback

Tel Aviv threatens continued 'aggressive strategy'

By Steve Craine

In mid-January Israeli armed forces began to withdraw from the area around Sidon in southern Lebanon, part of the nearly 25 percent of Lebanese territory that they have occupied since June 1982. The Israeli government claims that this pullback is only the first phase of a three-phase plan that will eventually remove all Israeli occupation forces from the country.

The occupation of southern Lebanon and the brutal 88-day siege of Beirut in mid-1982 not only destroyed the major base of operations of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) but also altered the relation of forces in Lebanese politics to the detriment of the oppressed masses. Feeling that certain of their goals have been accomplished and that the costs of maintaining their occupation are mounting, the majority of the Israeli government, led by Labor Party Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, has decided some form of pullback is needed.

The withdrawal process got under way when the Israeli army began dismantling its installations in the area of Sidon, the largest city of southern Lebanon. Army convoys of up to 30 or 40 trucks rolled south from Sidon carrying everything the Israelis had built there in two and a half years of occupation. Even huge concrete blocks used to protect their installations from car bombs were loaded onto trucks and hauled south.

But they did not have to travel far. The first phase of the withdrawal — the only phase for which a specific schedule has been set — entails moving Israeli front lines from just above Sidon to a line between the Zaharani and Litani rivers, at some points as close as seven or eight miles from Sidon. At most only 200 square miles are being evacuated in the present stage.

The pullback was approved by the Israeli cabinet in a 16-to-6 vote on January 14. Defense Minister Rabin, the principal author of the plan, commented, "After two and a half years in Lebanon, we have learned the hard way that Israel should not become the policeman of Lebanon."

Playing the policeman's role has become harder and harder for the Israeli occupiers. Resistance to their rule has increased, especially among Muslim peasants in southern Lebanon (see accompanying article). Even some groups who reportedly welcomed the invasion in 1982 have turned to open resistance.

In the first 10 days of February, there were 51 attacks on Israeli troops in south Lebanon — 4 soldiers were killed and 18 wounded. At least 30 Lebanese and Palestinian collaborators

of the occupation forces have been killed since the beginning of this year. Leaders of the Israeli-funded South Lebanon Army (SLA) report an increase in defections. One-quarter of the SLA's Sidon unit has deserted.

But in fact Israel's rulers are not willing to end their interference in Lebanese affairs. And their intention to "protect Israel's northern borders" by any means necessary has been restated emphatically in the course of the discussion over troop withdrawal.

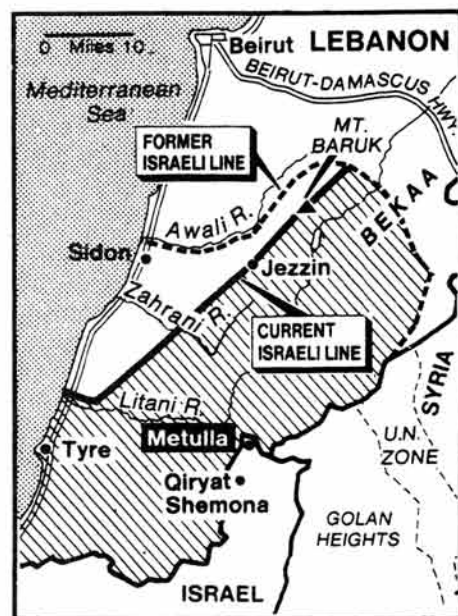
Withdrawal or redeployment?

Phase one of the plan, which is to be completed by February 18, is merely a "redeployment" of troops from about one-fifth of the total area now occupied. The overall strength of the occupation force in the country will not be reduced. It is presently estimated at 20,000 troops. Although the precise borders of the initial withdrawal area have not been spelled out, it excludes Christian strongholds like the town of Jezzine and important strategic sites like Mount Baruk, where the Israeli army has developed a sophisticated electronic spy station capable of monitoring all radio communications in the area.

The proposal adopted by the cabinet describes the areas to be relinquished in phases two and three but sets no dates for when they will go into effect. Phase two will cover the evacuation of the eastern part of south Lebanon, including the Bekaa Valley. There Israeli units are dug in facing Syrian and Palestinian troops. Left to the final phase will be a 6- to 12-mile strip immediately north of the Israeli border.

But to win approval for the three-stage plan, its proponents in the Labor Party granted the cabinet the right to review the decision at each phase of its implementation. Prime Minister Peres has said he would like to have the process completed within six to nine months. Opposition within the coalition government to any pullout remains very strong, and there is bound to be more resistance to the final phase since establishing an Israeli-controlled zone along the country's northern border was one of the justifications given for the 1982 invasion, which was code-named "Operation Peace for Galilee."

One strong opponent of any form of withdrawal was not able to attend the debate and vote in the cabinet. Ariel Sharon, who as war minister headed the 1982 invasion, was in New York pursuing a lawsuit against *Time* magazine. He accused the magazine of libel for reporting that he had encouraged the massacre of Palestinian refugees at the Sabra and Shatila camps in September 1982. Although he



was unable to win a financial settlement, Sharon was able to gain political capital when the jury ruled that *Time's* article was inaccurate.

The Tel Aviv daily *Ma'ariv* expressed its skepticism over the completion of the full withdrawal plan in an article headlined "Will there be a second stage?" And an unnamed Israeli official told Edward Walsh of the *Washington Post* that if all goes well with the initial pullback "there is no doubt that stage two will proceed." However, he pointed out that if problems develop after the withdrawal from the Sidon area, "the stage two decision will be taken in light of what has happened in the first stage."

Even if the entire plan is eventually carried out, the Israeli government has made it clear it will retain the ability to intervene against any developments in Lebanon that are not to its liking.

"No terror organization will be allowed to establish itself as the PLO did in the south of Lebanon," stated Rabin. "We will not allow such a thing, even if it means bombing from the air or entering Lebanon for limited military operations." Rabin told reporters that the "Israeli army will pursue a mobile aggressive strategy for defending the country's northern border."

The Palestinian weekly newspaper *Al-Fajr*, published in occupied Jerusalem, commented that Rabin's remarks "hint at a revival of the policy pursued by the Israel army during his premiership in the middle 1970s when Israeli warplanes continually bombed Palestinian ref-

ugee camps in southern Lebanon."

The government is also counting on its puppet South Lebanon Army to fill in for the Israeli Army in the 6- to 12-mile border strip that will be the last area to be evacuated. The plan approved by the cabinet reserves the right to move "technical advisers" in and out of the SLA-controlled strip.

Ongoing action by Israeli forces shows that Tel Aviv has no intention of scaling down its military domination of the region simply because it is now redeploying some of its forces. On January 9 Israeli planes bombed alleged Palestinian and Shi'ite guerrilla camps in the Bekaa Valley. Additional air raids were carried out on February 10 and 11 on Palestinian bases near the Beirut-Damascus highway. The February 10 raid hit a building belonging to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The Israeli Army conducted major raids on the Shi'ite village of Burj al Shemali and an adjacent Palestinian refugee camp east of Tyre on February 6.

Although the redeployment plan was the subject of considerable debate in Israeli government circles, the differences are only tactical. As Gideon Samet wrote in the January 17 *Ha'aretz*, a major Israeli daily, "It was a clash between stubbornness and openness, between doctrinal thinking and pragmatism, between blind trust in military might and a recognition of the limits of such might."

Israeli army supports plan

In other words, there were no differences of principle. It was reportedly the army's strong support for the Peres-Rabin plan that tipped the balance in their favor in the cabinet. The military's chief argument was that Israel could be protected at far less cost to the army with the kind of aggressive military strategy advocated by Rabin.

Both Labor and Likud politicians are concerned to preserve the political gains of their invasion of Lebanon. The first objective of that invasion was disrupting the PLO. Lebanon had been the PLO's main base of operations since the early 1970s. During that decade, the PLO grew stronger militarily and diplomatically. It was also becoming a significant force in Lebanese politics, building its own infrastructure in the refugee camps and among the oppressed Lebanese masses.

The immediate impact of the invasion was to drive the PLO out of its south Lebanon and Beirut base of operations. In the long run, this disruption of the Palestinians' organization heightened tensions within the PLO, leading to the traitorous mutiny of a segment of Fatah in the Bekaa in early 1983 and the boycott by some PLO factions of the last Palestine National Council meeting, which was held in Jordan in November 1984. This political weakening of the PLO was an important gain for imperialism and one that the Palestinians will not be able to reverse quickly.

Israeli strategists were also interested in using the military occupation of Lebanon to install a government in Beirut that would be

completely subservient to Tel Aviv. After 32 months of occupation this goal now seems unattainable. Syria has troops stationed in more of the country than does Israel. Even the peace treaty Lebanese president Amin Gemayel signed with Israel in May 1983 had to be broken in order to maintain his "national unity" government in Beirut.

But the Israeli occupation has acted as a significant counterweight to the political organizations of the oppressed Lebanese masses. Despite their big majority in the population, the Muslim masses have been unable to remove Gemayel's right-wing, Christian-based Phalange Party from the leadership of the government. Israeli terror bombing attacks, house-to-house searches, and massacres like the one at Sabra and Shatila in September 1982 serve as a permanent threat to all organizations of the oppressed in Lebanon. Moving the Israeli troops back across the border will not remove this threat completely, as Israeli political and military leaders often point out.

Having won these gains in Lebanon, the "pragmatic" wing in the Israeli government has recognized the significant liabilities that come with the continuing occupation.

\$1 million per day

The invasion and occupation have cost the Israeli economy some \$3 billion since June 1982, and the bills are still coming in at a rate of \$600,000 to \$1 million per day. This has put a severe strain on the economy, which suffered an inflation rate of close to 450 percent last year. The working class — Arab and Jewish — bears the burden of this war-induced inflation.

Another liability for the Israeli regime has been the growing opposition to the occupation forces by the Shi'ite majority of south Lebanon. About 60 percent of the 1 million Lebanese under occupation are Shi'ite Muslims, the majority of them poor farmers. In explaining his withdrawal plan to the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations in New York, Defense Minister Rabin conceded that the Shi'ite guerrillas had become a big problem for Israel.

Israeli strategists also have to contend with a permanent source of opposition to their rule — the 2 million Palestinians in Israel and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. In these territories, which the Israeli rulers have no intention of abandoning, protests against Israel's anti-Arab policies at home and in Lebanon are continuing.

The occupation is increasingly unpopular with the majority of Israelis because of the economic costs and the continually growing list of casualties. More than 600 Israeli soldiers have been killed in Lebanon: A small but significant number of soldiers have refused assignment to the occupation force.

An indication of the Israeli people's lack of support for the occupation was the failure of a January 17 demonstration against the withdrawal plan. The demonstration was held in the northern Galilee town of Kiriat Shmonah. Palestinian shelling of Kiriat Shmonah and

other settlements in response to Israeli bombing raids in early June 1982 was used as an excuse for the Lebanon invasion that year.

However, despite attempts to make the residents of Kiriat Shmonah think their security was threatened by the withdrawal plan, only 300 people, most of them children, attended the demonstration. Its organizers had predicted thousands and brought along Israeli and U.S. television crews to film the event.

Both for domestic and international consumption, the Israeli government needs to at least present the appearance of moving toward a solution to the Lebanon problem.

Washington boosts aid to Israel

The Reagan administration in the United States has already shown its approval of the new tactics of Peres. Washington has indicated its willingness to substantially increase aid to his government. In December 1984 a 78-page book entitled "Israel's need for U.S. aid in fiscal year 1986" was secretly submitted to Washington. It asks for a total of \$12 billion in outright grants for the next three years. This compares with the current annual aid total of \$2.6 billion.

In keeping with the Reagan administration's much-publicized attempts to reduce the federal deficit, the White House has not agreed to all that its allies asked for. But Reagan did tell Defense Minister Rabin that he will request a \$400 million increase in military aid, bringing the total military aid for next year to \$1.8 billion. The amount of economic aid remains open, but U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy told a congressional committee that unless economic assistance is expanded beyond the current level of \$1.2 billion a year it would be "extremely difficult for the [Israeli] government to carry out its economic reforms."

Washington is also stalling on the planned sale of 40 more F-15 jets to the Saudi Arabian government. Rabin had expressed his opposition to the sale while visiting Washington at the end of January. His position was supported by a bipartisan group of senators led by Democrat Alan Cranston of California.

Imperialism may stand to gain more than it will lose from withdrawing from Lebanon. There are some in the Israeli government who are arguing this case. But it is also quite possible that advocates of staying in Lebanon will win out. As Abdallah Bouhabib, Lebanese ambassador to the United States, said, "the so-called 'first phase' may also be its last phase." He pointed to the Israeli withdrawal from territory it occupied in the Shuf mountains outside Beirut in 1983. This earlier withdrawal did not represent any fundamental change in Israeli strategy, but was part of the attempt to divide Israel's opponents among themselves.

Israel's ally, the apartheid regime in South Africa, also announced a phased withdrawal plan to remove its troops from Angola. That was a year ago, and the South African troops are still there. □

Israeli troops face mass resistance

General strikes, demonstrations, and armed actions in south

By Georges Sayad

BEIRUT — Two and a half years after the massive Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Israeli troops still occupy the southern third of this country.

The south includes the richest agricultural areas, but also the largest concentration of oppressed Shi'ite working people. As part of the broader struggle by the Lebanese masses against the attempts of imperialism, the Israeli regime, and their Phalangist allies to consolidate their grip over Lebanon, the population in the south has been engaging in mass resistance to the continued Israeli occupation.

In these areas, armed attacks on the occupiers have become the norm, coupled with periodic mobilizations of the workers and peasants in open defiance of the Israeli army and its local henchmen in the South Lebanon Army (SLA), a force organized, armed, and funded by the Zionist regime.

According to figures compiled by the Lebanese Center for Documentation and Research, between Jan. 1, 1984, and Sept. 5, 1984, there were 334 armed attacks on Israeli forces leading to at least 26 Israeli soldiers killed and 140 wounded.

The Lebanese National Resistance Front (or National Resistance), which is the main front organizing armed resistance in the south, reported that between Nov. 24, 1984, and Dec. 22, 1984 — a period of just one month — there were 71 attacks on the Israeli army or the SLA, leading to 33 Israeli casualties and another 34 among the pro-Israeli collaborators. The National Resistance concluded its report by saluting "the heroic resistance of our people, which will accomplish its national unity through the course of struggle against the occupier and will erect a secular democratic state."

The broad scope of the armed resistance has been met by a vicious and massive Israeli campaign of arrests, deportations, intimidation, and assassinations, as well as a scorched-earth policy to deprive the population of its livelihood. Rather than quelling the resistance, these have sparked mass protests and new attacks.

The January 3 *Daily Star*, an English-language newspaper published in Beirut, reported on one such cycle of events. In the previous days, five Israeli soldiers had been wounded by resistance attacks. The Israeli army responded by sending 1,000 soldiers into the villages of Teir Debba and Bidas, arresting a number of people and ransacking homes. "In one home an Israeli soldier threw a mattress over a two-month-old baby. And when his mother rushed to save him from suffocation,

the soldier said, 'Leave him to die before he grows up to be a terrorist.'"

Following these Israeli acts of repression, villagers of Teir Debba held a sit-in condemning the occupation. And the armed resistance continued.

The Palestinian masses of the refugee camps in the occupied south have been an integral part of the resistance despite the severity of the repression against them. They live in quasi-imprisonment at the mercy of the Israelis and the SLA.

For example, on January 2, the 20th anniversary of the founding of Fatah, a demonstration of 7,000 was held at the Ain El Helweh refugee camp near Sidon, right under the nose of the Israeli army. According to local press reports, the demonstrators were carrying Palestinian and Lebanese flags and portraits of PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat. Leaflets by the Fatah leadership were distributed to the demonstrators calling for "the continuation of the armed struggle against Israel and rejecting [United Nations] Security Council resolution 242 as well as all capitulationist projects."

The Amal movement, which is based largely among the Shi'ite masses, has stressed the liberation of the south as a top priority.

Amal leader Nabih Berri, speaking at a congress of the Syrian Baath Party in Damascus, centered his speech on the situation in the south. According to news reports, Berri sharply criticized Washington, declaring that there

was "an Israeli-U.S. plot" aimed at "defeating the national resistance to the occupation of Lebanon," partitioning the south and creating a separate canton in the zone between the Litani River and the southern border with Israel.

Berri vowed, however, that "the national resistance will continue."

Christians join general strikes

Besides the armed attacks on the Israeli occupation forces and the Palestinian demonstrations, the mass resistance in the south has also been reflected in a number of general strikes called by the Amal movement.

A new component has been added to these periodic strikes: the participation of significant elements of the south's large Christian community.

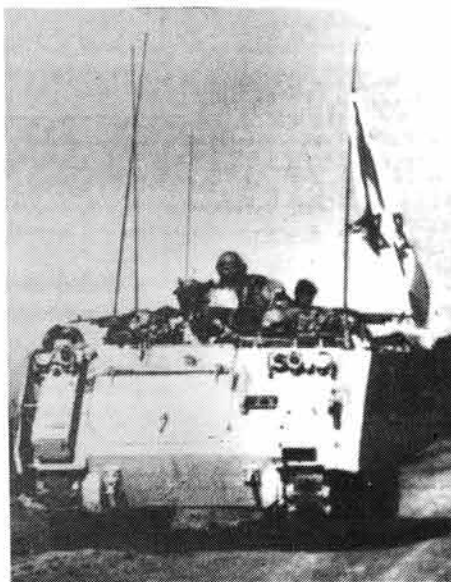
On November 12, for the first time according to press reports, Christians heeded Amal's call for a general strike against the occupation. This was followed by another strike on December 15, which was unanimously carried out.

In occupied Jezzine, which is majority Christian, a mass commemorating the death of three resistance fighters was held during the December strike. According to the December 16 Beirut daily *L'Orient-Le Jour*, in his sermon Father Aoun "insisted on the importance of Islamic-Christian co-existence" and on "national unity in the south." "Those who count on Israel," he said, "are in fact introducing the wolf into the sheep pen."

This joint strike was hailed by Amal, as well as by the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), which is led by Walid Jumblatt and has a strong base among the Druse population.

A demonstration of 2,000 was also held at the Husseiniyeh, a Muslim religious site. The opening statement to the rally by Moustapha Saad declared, "The south, with all its components, is opposed to occupation. . . . We are for the coexistence of Muslims and Christians but are against those who came behind the shadows of the enemy tanks and who have no place among us. There exists a patriotic attitude among the south's Christians, far from the hegemonism of the Lebanese Forces and the Phalange."

Central to Israel's plans for Lebanon — and the plans of the Phalange party of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel as well — is the fomenting of conflict based on religious differences, stoking the Christians' fears of massacres in order to push them into the hands of Israel and the Phalange and prevent a united struggle by all Lebanon's religious communities. Thus the recent joint actions by Mus-



Israeli patrol in southern Lebanon.

lims and Christians against the occupation are a deadly threat to the Israeli and Phalangist policy of divide and rule.

The mounting resistance to Israeli occupation and its impact on Israelis in the army and at home has affected the Zionist regime's negotiating posture and its proposal for a partial withdrawal. Tel Aviv hopes that by withdrawing from Sidon, the largest population concentration of Lebanese and Palestinians under occupation, Israeli casualties would be drastically reduced. But the Israeli regime would like a friendly force to occupy the city. Short of that, it is preparing and hoping for a bloodbath along religious lines that would prevent the National Resistance from turning the city into a base of operations against the Israeli occupiers.

Battle over coastal road

The Israeli regime's concern about what could happen after a withdrawal from Sidon and other parts of the south is shared by President Gemayel's Phalange Party, which represents a section of the dominant Maronite Christian ruling class.

A central aspect of Gemayel's plans has been reestablishing "security and authority" throughout the country, that is, dismantling the militias of other political forces and moving in the government army, in which the Phalangists have a heavy influence. The Lebanese-Israeli negotiations at Naqura over southern Lebanon have provided an opportunity to take a step in this direction.

The Gemayel government advanced the argument that to remove Israeli objections over possible "terrorist" infiltration once its troops pulled out, the government's Lebanese Army had to show its capacity to take over the evacuated areas and secure them from Beirut to the Awali River. This became known as the Coastal Road Security Plan.

In pushing for these particular army deployments, the Maronite rich were also looking ahead to the likely impact that an Israeli withdrawal would have on the relationship of forces among the various Lebanese political currents. The Gemayel government fears that a withdrawal would severely weaken its position, triggering a renewal of the civil war that could result in the defeat of the Phalange and a victory for the oppressed Muslim masses. The military setback handed to the Phalangists by the Druse fighters in the Shuf mountains in 1983 was a foretaste of what could come.

But by insisting on army deployments that would allow the Lebanese army to enter Sidon, the government was directly challenging Jumblatt's PSP, which controlled a strategic sector of the coastal road south of Beirut. The PSP pointed out that such a deployment would leave its forces surrounded and at the mercy of an army that had already attacked them twice before.

The PSP decided to resist the deployment. In mid-December, fierce battles erupted, with the PSP on one side and the Lebanese Army and Phalangist militia on the other. Druse vil-



Militiamen of the Progressive Socialist Party.

lages were bombed, as were parts of the Phalangist-dominated East Beirut.

The fighting dragged on until the first week of January. To break out of the impasse, Gemayel went to Damascus on December 27 and sought Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's aid. Assad announced his support for the Coastal Road Security Plan, and pressure was brought to bear on the PSP. Even Amal urged a rapid solution, arguing that it was necessary to unite all forces in Lebanon to liberate the south and to remove all obstacles to an Israeli withdrawal.

On January 9, a compromise solution was finally put into effect. It required the withdrawal of PSP and Phalangist heavy armor, artillery, and barricades from the coastal road to the Awali River and the phased deployment of several hundred government soldiers, beginning with 50 policemen of the Internal Security Forces. However, Amal had to guarantee the policemen's safe passage to the coastal road, indicating the weakness of the government forces.

This compromise agreement avoided a collapse of the so-called National Unity Government, which, while dominated by the Phalangists, also includes Nabih Berri of the Amal and Jumblatt of the PSP.

Mothers of disappeared

Another sign of the Gemayel government's instability and the complete lack of confidence in it among the Muslim masses has been the mobilizations by mothers of the disappeared.

During the Phalangist reign of terror in West Beirut (from September 1982 to February 1984), the Phalange carried out severe repression against the masses of West Beirut, its sur-

rounding slums, and Palestinian refugee camps. As a result, over 3,000 nationalist, Muslim, leftist, and Palestinian political activists and fighters were seized by the Phalangist security apparatus. Close to 2,100 have not been heard of since.

Last July a series of mobilizations by the families of the disappeared shut down the Beirut International Airport and the port for over a week. The families demanded that the fate of their children be clarified immediately. In response, the Gemayel government set up a commission to investigate the kidnappings. After six months the commission had yet to resolve anything. And only about 120 of the disappeared had been visited by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

In total despair, due to the lack of progress in determining the fate of her 13-year-old disappeared son, Nayiffa Najjar Hamadeh committed suicide on Dec. 27, 1984. This suicide sparked a new wave of mobilizations by the mothers of the disappeared and thousands of supporters in West Beirut. These took the form of "pickets" across all the access roads between East and West Beirut. The pickets — armed with sticks, rocks, and sometimes more modern weapons — erected barricades and sealed off East Beirut from the West, preventing anything from moving.

The Committee (West Beirut) of Kidnapped or Arrested Persons announced its intention to keep these roads shut until the fate of their loved ones was clarified. "We want the leaders, particularly the President Amin Gemayel to accept their responsibilities. . . . It has now been two years that we have made requests and demonstrated in vain. But we are certain that they can do something to obtain the liberation

of the 2,111 disappeared on our list," Marcelle Honein, a member of the committee, told *L'Orient-Le Jour* December 29. Honein's brother, a Christian Maronite, was arrested by the Lebanese Forces (a coalition of rightist militias led by the Phalange) in September 1982.

The kidnappings by the Phalange of political opponents is continuing, though at a much lower rate. Tripoli Kidnap Relatives Committee head, Abu Jihad, has said that the Lebanese Forces are still daily kidnapping people at Barbara, the northernmost position of the Phalange, which Tripoli residents must pass through to go to West Beirut.

The pickets and barricades were gradually lifted on January 7 and 8 after a series of government promises were made and a new commission was set up.

Even though the committee on the disappeared lifted its pickets, the problem is far from being resolved, and the parents are far from placing their trust in the Gemayel government. In a January 3 communiqué, the committee announced, "Our position will be determined by the seriousness of the state and the Lebanese Forces show in the fulfillment of their promises."

Commenting on the government plan, the Secretary General of the Committee for the Defense of Democratic Liberties, Sinane Barage, stated, "By creating a new commission, the Council of Ministers has once again buried the question of the kidnapped. . . . The decisions of the Council of Ministers do not take into consideration those arrested by the state authorities whose freedom requires no negotia-

tions with any party."

Combined with all its other difficulties, the Gemayel government faces another potential crisis point as well: the economy. After 10 years of war and the occupation of the south, the Lebanese economy is on the verge of collapse. The Lebanese pound has reached an unprecedented low of 10 to the U.S. dollar, about one-quarter its value before the beginning of the civil war.

In addition, unemployment stands at least at 50 percent, and some union sources have placed it at 75 percent.

The discontent over this disastrous economic situation will make it even harder for the Gemayel government — and its imperialist backers — to consolidate a stable capitalist regime on the backs of the Lebanese masses. □

DOCUMENTS

Palestinian prisoners victimized

Inside Israel's Neve Tirza women's prison

[The following statement was issued in January in Tel Aviv, Israel, by Women Against Occupation (WAO).]

* * *

The Palestinian political prisoners in Neve Tirza women's prison are once again under brutal sanctions by prison authorities. Their "crime" this time is celebrating Palestinian national holidays, such as the founding of the Fatah movement on January 1.

As all Palestinian prisoners, the women marked this day by gathering together and singing national songs. As opposed to previous years, the women were ordered to disperse and when they refused and continued singing, were forcibly dispersed and some 7–10 were placed in solitary confinement cells. (These are small, individual cells, where a person can only sit or lie down. A prisoner may not have books or handwork, is forbidden to speak to other prisoners in the cells, and is taken out for only one hour a day. The law limits this punishment to seven days at a time, but prison authorities frequently take a prisoner out for 24 hours and then take them back for another week.) One woman was finally released only on January 21!

Although the official reason for this attack on the prisoners is the January 1 celebration, lawyers, relatives, and the prisoners themselves claim this was only a pretext.

Lawyer Jawad Boulus of Felicia Langer's law office reports the prison authorities have recently tried to establish a new "work law" in Neve Tirza. This law states that a prisoner who does not work will be locked in her cell for 23 hours a day, thus depriving her of the "free time" all prisoners enjoyed before. A prisoner

who works for two hours will have only two hours "free time," etc.

As there is never enough work for all prisoners and as the guards will divide the work and decide who will be locked up, and as all work must be divided between Jewish and Arab prisoners, there is no doubt that this law will harm the Palestinian prisoners and cause tensions among all prisoners.

In order to protest this law, the prisoners started a work strike, and no Palestinian prisoners went to work. The authorities retaliated by the usual method of removing all "privileges": radio, television, newspapers, books, hairpins, extra clothing, communal meals, free time, knitting and embroidery, writing materials, personal effects, etc.

Prisoners are locked in their cells for 23 hours a day, family visits are allowed only once every two months, in short, the authorities have brought the women back to the situation of the 1983–4 struggle, when these conditions lasted for 9 months. All sanctions also apply to the three Lebanese women still held illegally in Neve Tirza.

Beside these legal (according to British mandate law) sanctions, the prisoners suffer other types of harassment by the guards: hot water has been cut off (January is one of the coldest months of the year in Israel), prisoners have been forbidden to speak to each other, they are prevented from taking books from the Arabic-language library, donated by prisoners' families. The Society for Prisoners has paid for a year's subscription to the Israeli daily the *Jerusalem Post* as a present to the women, but they have not received even one copy.

A number of prisoners are ill and receive no treatment. The mother of Roshdiya reports that her daughter is sick but receives only aspirin.

The mother of Magida was not allowed to see her daughter on January 20. She still suffers pains and infection in her eyes since the tear gas attack in October 1983 and is treated by the prison doctor with aspirin. Her mother said that although she is poor she hired an Arab doctor to check her daughter's eyes, as she has no faith in the prison doctor, but he was not permitted to enter the prison.

Yet all lawyers point out that the isolation from the world outside and from each other is the hardest form of punishment for the women.

Jawad Boulus says preventing the prisoners from talking to each other, from eating their meals together, singing, reading, knitting, seeing their families — these seem small things, but for a prisoner these are signs of life. Taking a book away from a prisoner is like taking air away from someone outside.

WAO has once more taken up the struggle for human rights for the women in Neve Tirza. A sit-down in the offices of the International Red Cross was staged on January 21 by the prisoners' mothers and women's organizations, demanding that the Red Cross intervene for the prisoners. More actions are planned.

We call on women's movements, democratic and human rights organisations, lawyers and civil rights groups to join in the support of the Neve Tirza women. We urge you to send letters of protest to: Minister of Interior Itzhak Peretz, The Knesset, Jerusalem.

We urge you to stage demonstrations and pickets at Israeli embassies and make the situation in Neve Tirza known to the public.

Messages of support to the prisoners can be sent through WAO. We ask for any information concerning activity for the prisoners.

They can be sent to: Women Against Occupation, P.O. Box 2760, Tel Aviv, Israel. □

Women protest dangerous drugs

Government sanctions use of harmful contraceptives

A coalition of women's organizations has been formed in Bombay to protest the Indian government's approval of the injectable contraceptive drug NET-EN for manufacture in India.

On Dec. 28 and 29, 1984, the Campaign Group Against Long-acting Contraceptives demonstrated outside a meeting organized by the Family Planning Association, which, they say, is promoting the use of dangerous or untested long-acting contraceptives such as NET-EN and Depo-Provera.

Depo-Provera, which needs to be injected only once every three months to prevent pregnancy, is produced in the United States by the Upjohn Company and has been used by millions of women in at least 80 countries. But the U.S. Food and Drug Administration has twice rejected Upjohn's requests to have the drug approved for contraceptive use in the United States.

A leaflet issued by the women's group reported that tests of Depo-Provera conducted by Upjohn on dogs showed increased incidence of breast cancer, inflammation of the uterine lining, drug-induced diabetes, and other problems. After three and a half years of the study, all the dogs on high doses and half the dogs on low doses had died. Upjohn declared that dogs were not accurate indicators of the drug's effect on humans. The company later conducted another test using monkeys, but again claimed the high incidence of uterine cancer among the test animals was "irrelevant to human experience."

Women using Depo-Provera have experienced breast cancer, two types of uterine cancer, serious menstrual disturbances, and masculinization of female fetuses. A World Health Organization report in 1982 indicated that the majority of women using injectable contraceptives had their menstrual cycle disrupted.

The leaflet pointed out that even less is known about the effects of NET-EN. Nevertheless, the drug controller of India has granted licenses to two companies to manufacture the contraceptive.

"We believe that we have a right to know the details of the research studies, to make our own investigations and to come to our own conclusions," the leaflet stated. "We do not consider the masses of women mere pawns in population control strategies to whom contraceptives are 'sold' on the basis of incentives without proper information."

The coalition added that many population control advocates, including the World Health Organization, consider injectable drugs an ideal form of contraception. "According to

them if the benefit outweighs risk, the drug should be used. But the risks are taken only by women. The benefits are mainly for the pharmaceutical companies, the population control experts and the Governments of third world countries."

The group is demanding a ban on all long-acting contraceptives, making public all studies on these drugs in India, an end to experimentation on women in the semicolonial countries, and a public inquiry on injectable and implanted contraceptives.

The Women's Centre in Bombay, one of the members of the coalition protesting injectable contraceptives, also recently organized two meetings to discuss the use of prenatal sex-determination tests to abort female fetuses. It

published a brief report of the discussion.

The majority of women attending the meetings rejected the argument that the tests give women a chance to choose whether to have a son or a daughter. "One woman pointed out that when women 'choose' they are aware of what it means to have an unwanted daughter and the price they and their daughters would have to pay in the society," the report stated. As one participant put it, "It is a social adaptation rather than a 'choice' on their part."

The report cited the pervasive prejudice against female children, from the custom of celebrating only the birth of sons to bride burnings to the practice of female infanticide. "To bring up 'Women's freedom of choice' and 'Women's right to control their own bodies,'" the report summarized, "to defend an obscurantist and anti-women value-system, is to make a mockery of feminism and of Indian women."

The Women's Centre said it would circulate the report to other women's organizations and explore the possibility of a joint campaign to ban the tests. □

STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Support April 20 demonstrations

Against the U.S. war in Central America!

[The following statement was unanimously adopted by the World Congress of the Fourth International, which met in February. The congress brought together representatives of revolutionary socialist parties in 38 countries.]

* * *

As the U.S. government deepens its aggression against the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and throughout Central America and the Caribbean, a march on Washington, D.C., along with protest demonstrations in San Francisco and other cities, has been called for April 20, 1985, by a broad array of forces in the United States.

The first demand of these demonstrations is to stop the U.S. military intervention in Central America. Other demands call for a halt to U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa, to the mounting U.S. war budget and nuclear arms buildup, and to racism and unemployment.

Sponsors of the call already include trade unions such as the International Association of Machinists and the United Food and Commercial Workers; civil rights organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Operation PUSH, and League of United Latin American Citizens; the Rainbow Coalition; the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and other Central Amer-

ican solidarity and antiwar groups; church and religious organizations; and many other social and political organizations. A nationwide coalition has been set up to coordinate plans for the demonstration, as well as local coalitions in many cities.

Along with the many individuals and organizations that will participate in building this action, the April 20 demonstration offers special opportunities to draw the unions and organizations of oppressed nationalities, women, and working farmers into the fight against Washington's aggression against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

The February 1985 World Congress of the Fourth International hails this initiative in the United States and encourages antiwar forces, Central American solidarity committees, trade unions, workers' organizations, and youth organizations in other countries to discuss holding solidarity actions on or around the April 19-22 antiwar activities in the United States. □

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Kanak women in independence struggle

Interview with FLNKS activist Susanna Ounei

By John Steele and Mel Mason

[In late December 1984, Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president in 1984, and John Steele, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada, interviewed Susanna Ounei, a long-time activist in the independence movement in the French Pacific island colony of New Caledonia.

[Ounei is a founder of the Group of Kanak and Exploited Women in Struggle (GFKEL), one of the 10 organizations that joined together in September 1984 to form the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS). The interview was conducted in French in New Zealand.]

* * *

"My participation in the struggle in New Caledonia began on Sept. 2, 1969, when Nidoish Naisseline returned from France and set up the Red Scarves organization," Susanna Ounei recalled.

Naisseline is a Kanak chief from the island of Maré, off the east coast of the main island of New Caledonia. The Kanaks are the native Melanesian people who inhabited New Caledonia before the arrival of the French colonialists in 1853.

"Our aim back in 1969," Ounei added, "was simply to bring the term Kanak back into favor, because 'Kanak' had been turned into an insult."

Humiliation as a child

"My activity today flows from my experiences as a child. Having sat in classrooms with French children who treated us as 'dirty Kanaks' every day, with teachers — representatives of the Catholic Church — who treated us the same way, made me a revolutionary from a very young age," Ounei said.

"In school we learned that our ancestors were the Gauls, with blond hair and blue eyes," she related.

"We also saw how our fathers and mothers were humiliated by the white bosses when they tried to find work so they could feed us. When I was 12 years old, I already dreamed that one day there would be a party of Blacks to fight the whites."

Because the French authorities have continually encouraged immigration into New Caledonia from France and from other French colonies, the 62,000 Kanaks now make up less than half the island's population.

About 37 percent of the population is European, and the remainder are immigrants from other French colonies in the Pacific and from Indonesia.



SUSANNA OUNEI

Socialist Action

New Caledonia lies some 750 miles east of Australia, 12,000 miles from France. The colony is made up of the nickel-rich main island, some 270 miles long and 30 miles wide, and three smaller islands in the Loyalty group.

The bulk of the 54,000 French residents live in the capital city, Nouméa, and most of the rest are concentrated on the west coast of the main island.

"Most of the Red Scarves members were from the Loyalty Islands," Ounei explained, "because that is where our founder, Naisseline, was from." In addition, in Ounei's view, Kanaks on the Loyalty Islands were less beaten down than those on the main island, where the French had seized most of the land, established the nickel mines, set up large cattle ranches, and placed the Kanaks on miserable reservations.

"In 1974 revolutionary organizations were set up on each of the three islands in the Loyalty group and another on the main island.

"There was a group called Atsai on the island of Ouvéa, one called Wayagui on Maré island, and another called Ciciquadsy on the island of Lifou.

"They all worked with an organization that was set up on the main island, called the 1878 Group, whose name was taken from the date of the first big insurrection against French rule," Ounei explained.

In January 1976, these four groups came together to form the Kanak Liberation Party (PALIKA).

Historic roots

The Kanak leader emphasized that "the movement's demands today flow from the history of our colonization, from our earlier revolts, and all the repression we have suffered."

The first major revolt, 25 years after the start of French rule, was led by High Chief Atai in 1878. "It was clear to Chief Atai that the French were stealing our land and that we had to fight to take our land back," Ounei explained. But the revolt was crushed and Chief Atai was killed, along with thousands of other Kanaks.

In 1917 another high chief, Noel, led the second big revolt against the French colonial administration. "Noel's revolt," Ounei stated, "was sparked by the French government's attempts to send Kanaks to France to fight in World War I against the Germans.

"Noel could not understand why we Kanaks should go 12,000 miles to France to defend French land from the Germans when the French themselves were stealing our land right here in New Caledonia."

This revolt was also crushed. "The French cut off Noel's head and sent it to Paris, where it was exhibited in a museum," Ounei remarked bitterly.

Organizing women

Ounei's decision to focus on the participation of women in the liberation struggle came in 1974. That year she was one of several dozen people who demonstrated against the annual military parade held on September 24 to commemorate the anniversary of the arrival of the French on that date in 1853.

"For us, September 24 is the Kanak day of mourning. When we held up our banners at the parade calling for the unconditional return of our lands and calling it a day of mourning, we were savagely beaten and two of us were arrested.

"The next day the rest of us decided to occupy the courtroom to demand the release of those arrested. As a result, we were all arrested and ended up spending eight months in jail. While in prison, we women had many discussions about the role of women in the struggle and women's role in the future.

"When we were released, we began to raise the question of women in the movement. We made up a little questionnaire. Why was it that the women swept the hall after every meeting? Why was it customary that women never said anything in the meetings? Why was it custom-

ary that during and after every party, you found the women in the kitchen or doing the dishes while the men were enjoying a smoke or sitting in the shade?"

Ounei recalled that these questions caused quite a furor within the independence movement. "At that time the boys wanted to talk about Kanak independence and the unconditional return of Kanak land, but they didn't want to deal with the concrete point of the status of Kanak women.

"The men said we were engaging in feminism and trying to copy the women's liberation movement in France, which made me laugh because at that time I had never been to France. The questions I was raising flowed from my own experiences in practice," Ounei stated.

Ounei and others set up the first women's group and posed questions to the leaders of the proindependence organizations. "We said it is not natural that you should speak in the plaza to thousands of people about doing away with the exploitation of man by man, while among ourselves you exploit your wives. You sit in a comfortable chair while the women do everything.

"They responded that we were being too theoretical," Ounei recalled.

In 1979, the women's group printed up 1,000 leaflets for distribution at a convention of PALIKA held on the island of Lifou. "When the boys read those leaflets," Ounei told us, "they were very unhappy. They said we were butting into people's domestic lives and upsetting the relationships of couples.

"But when the women read our leaflets," Ounei continued, "they told their husbands that we were right."

Cake sales

Each of the political organizations in that period had a women's group affiliated to it. These groups were generally run by the wives of each organization's leader.

The women in these auxiliaries sewed clothing and baked cakes to raise money for the party. "I said this was exploitation. The women sew and bake and turn over all the funds — then you see a woman come in with a black eye because her husband, an independence militant, has beaten her."

Ounei believes that many of the ideas she was raising harked back to the old customs of the Kanaks. "Through the arrival of the Bible and colonization, our old customs were destroyed. We were obliged to go back and look at what had been. In doing so, we found that our old values were much more positive than what replaced them.

"In the past," she maintained, "there was no idea that women had to stay home, that they should not be running about, that God Almighty will be angry if they are not like the Holy Virgin."

Grandmothers were free

"Our grandmothers," she continued, "were quite free. When they married into another

clan, they left home with their own lands, and they brought that land into their husband's household.

"This land served as a tie between the clan of the wife and the clan of the husband. Because the woman brought her land, there was more respect for her.

"In terms of contraception, which you are not supposed to talk about today, our grandmothers in New Caledonia before the colonization had many leaves they used for contraception."

In 1982 the Group of Kanak and Exploited Women in Struggle was set up. Ounei stressed that "the word 'and' in the name is very important because there are also non-Kanak women who want to participate in our revolutionary group."

"The present role of this organization," she explained, "is to raise all the problems that Kanak women encounter in New Caledonia. We protest against the problems of battered women, raped women, and the fact that young girls get pregnant and are forbidden contraceptive methods.

"Girls of 13, 14, and 15 get pregnant," Ounei stated, "because they have no access to contraception, and find their future is ruined. They have to leave school, raise the child alone, and seek work as housekeepers.

"We are told that contraception is a mortal sin. We say that is not true, because our grandmothers practiced contraception long before the French came."

Women more comfortable in GFKEL

The GFKEL now has groups established in the capital, Nouméa, and in Conception and St. Louis. "In Nouméa," Ounei said, "there are women from all the political parties in our group. And you also find women who support Kanak and socialist independence but are not involved with any of the independence groups. They do not feel comfortable participating in those groups. They are afraid to raise their own ideas or speak, because they feel the level of discussion is too high for them.

"Women who get involved in our group feel more at ease to say what they want, to raise any questions they might have."

The GFKEL is growing, said Ounei, because "in addition to talking we also act. Our objective," she pointed out, "is Kanak and

New Caledonia's population

In the last census, New Caledonia's population stood at 145,368. Of these, 61,870 (42.6 percent) were Melanesians; 53,974 (37.1 percent) were Europeans; 12,174 were from the French Pacific colony of Wallis and Futuna; 5,570 were from the French colony of Tahiti; 5,319 were from Indonesia; 1,212 were from Vanuatu (the former joint French-British colony of New Hebrides); and 5,249 were of "other" origin.

socialist independence, which means real liberation, including the liberation of women.

"To gain true socialist liberation," she added, "we have to start with the grass roots, meaning with ourselves."

Take part in action

In the past year the GFKEL has participated in the land occupations that have been organized in the countryside and took part in the roadblocks that were set up by proindependence forces during the Kanak boycott of the Nov. 18, 1984, elections to the Territorial Assembly of New Caledonia.

"During the roadblocks two soldiers were killed, and women from the GFKEL were beaten and imprisoned," Ounei said. "We got them released by chaining ourselves for 20 hours. When the cops asked us what we wanted, we replied: 'We have chained ourselves because we want the freedom of the Kanak political prisoners.'"

In the election boycott, some 80 percent of the Kanak population stayed away from the polls. One of the few Kanak organizations opposing the boycott was the Kanak Socialist Liberation (LKS) group, led by Nidoish Naiseline, the chief who had founded the Red Scarves. The LKS got slightly more than 7 percent of the total vote.

Ounei explained that the FLNKS also organized an economic boycott. "We boycotted the nickel mine in Thio," she told us, "and we were able to force the closing of that mine because the FLNKS is quite strong there. You know that New Caledonia is the number two nickel producer in the world. Before being taken to the city, the nickel has to be cleaned and taken from the countryside to Nouméa. The workers blocked it. Comrades from Wallis [another French Pacific colony] participated in this action. Before that the Wallisians were not with us at all. They always voted for the right-wing parties in return for a sack of rice or sugar.

"This year the FLNKS sought them out and explained its objectives to them. It explained that the enemy is not the workers from Wallis or the white workers, that the enemy is the capitalist and colonialist system. As a result, all together they blocked the mine."

The Group of Kanak and Exploited Women in Struggle has been part of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front since the FLNKS was established on Sept. 24, 1984, as a coalition of proindependence forces. The women's group also supports the Provisional Government of Kanaky that was set up in December 1984 by the FLNKS.

"The provisional government has a political bureau, on which there are representatives of all the organizations," Ounei explained. "Together we decide what to do. The provisional government is making the preparations today for tomorrow's socialism."

Ounei explained the goals of the provisional government. "We want all our lands back without conditions. We want the annulment of

the elections because we don't recognize them. Aside from the fact that 80 percent of the Kanaks boycotted these elections, we don't think it's right that the new immigrants who arrive in New Caledonia in 1970 or 1972 should be able to vote. We never go to France to vote. We consider all this invalid.

"The French government," she continued, "would like to give us independence in 1989 with a referendum in which everyone could vote who has lived in the country for five years. But we are not stupid about this. From 1984 to 1989 is five years in which the French government, headed by Mitterrand or someone else, can send in immigrants. We are beginning to be a minority. There are 20,000 more non-Kanaks than Kanaks today. By 1989 there could be millions of non-Kanaks while we would still be tens of thousands."

Susanna Ounei has been in New Zealand for nearly a year learning English in order to advance her work as a representative of the Kanak struggle in Pacific countries.

"Since I arrived in New Zealand, I have been working with the Maoris," Ounei stated. The Maoris are the indigenous people of New Zealand. "Later I also began working with all the non-Maoris, the whites who have a positive attitude, like the comrades from the

Socialist Action League [New Zealand section of the Fourth International] and from Corso," a New Zealand aid agency.

"While Kanaks were carrying out a general land occupation in New Caledonia on March 24, 1984, we also carried out a land occupation with the Maoris here at Bastion Point to show that the Maoris and Kanaks are waging the same struggle," she stated.

When U.S. warships visited New Zealand last March as part of joint U.S., Australian, and New Zealand maneuvers, Ounei recalled, "we mobilized with the comrades in Auckland and participated in the demonstration of 5,000 people. Our banner said 'Kanaks, Maoris, Independence!'"

Ounei has also helped organize demonstrations at the French embassy in New Zealand. One drew 1,000 people demonstrating for Kanak independence, an end to French nuclear testing in the Pacific, and the withdrawal of French nuclear and conventional forces from the Pacific.

"For us," Ounei stated, "international solidarity is very important because exploitation has no single color, nor do the oppressed. Even though New Caledonia is a very small place, we hope to make the situation there as well known as possible around the world." □

councillors were highlighted at the same January 14 council meeting that cut off services to the Whiterock Leisure Centre.

At that meeting, PD's John McNulty was forcibly removed from the council chambers by officers of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, and the council voted to exclude Sinn Féin councillors from any council delegations.

McAnulty has been suspended by the city council since December for making a reference to the British flag as a "butcher's apron." His physical removal from the council chambers on January 14 prompted a walkout by other non-Unionist council members from PD, Sinn Féin, and the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

A joint statement by Sinn Féin councillors Alex Maskey and Sean McKnight pointed out that "what is happening to John McNulty is an attack on nationalists and requires nationalist solidarity."

The vote to exclude Sinn Féin members from city council delegations ratifies the British government's policy of forbidding any contact between government ministers and Sinn Féin elected officials. Last November, Sinn Féin councillors Maskey and McKnight were refused the right to represent their constituents when they were ejected by the police from a meeting of the City Council gas committee because the meeting would be attended by the minister of industry.

As in all other areas of the city council's work, the deep impact of the national question has been a constant backdrop to the workings of the gas committee, which has been deliberating a proposal to raise the price consumers pay to heat their homes.

At its January 14 meeting, the city council voted in favor of an 8.5 percent increase in gas charges. An earlier motion to reject the price hike, made by Democratic Unionist Party member Sammy Wilson, was withdrawn by Wilson when it was seconded by Sinn Féin's Maskey. Wilson claims to represent working-class Unionists in Belfast.

Maskey blasted Wilson's move, noting that "it was obvious [Wilson] was against the price increases and [against] giving in to government blackmail until I seconded his stand, and then, rather than be seen to be on the same side as a Sinn Féin man, he chickened out and let his people down."

PD council member McNulty has announced he will file an appeal to the High Court against his exclusion from the Belfast City Council.

McAnulty stated: "This isn't just another storm in a teacup. . . . Daily we see from the British and Unionists further attacks on democratic rights; first on Sinn Féin, then on other anti-imperialists like PD, and finally on the whole anti-Unionist people.

"Someone has to take a stand and fight back," McNulty continued, "and that's what I'm doing."

People's Democracy has launched a special £1,000 fund drive to finance the legal appeal. □

Northern Ireland

Council victimizes nationalists

Attacks right to fly Irish flag in Belfast

By Elizabeth Stone

BELFAST — The national question — whether Northern Ireland will be part of a reunified Ireland or will remain a British-ruled enclave — affects every other question in the six counties of northeastern Ireland still under British rule.

The divide between the "Unionists" (those in Northern Ireland who favor its continued "union" with Britain) and the nationalists who support Irish reunification is felt on questions that might seem far removed from the ultimate status of Northern Ireland. It involves questions like the functioning of community centers and the gas rates consumers pay.

More than 200 residents of the nationalist Whiterock area of West Belfast turned out January 21 to launch a campaign against attempts by the Belfast City Council to close the Whiterock Leisure Centre, a public sports and social center in the community.

Pro-British members of the city council voted January 14 to stop providing services at the leisure center because area residents had hoisted an Irish flag over the building and installed a plaque written in the Irish language.

One Unionist council member even entered the leisure center with a gun to force the staff to take down the flag.

The community meeting voted overwhelm-

ingly to fight to keep the center open with the Irish flag flying and with any other expressions of the area's culture desired by residents.

Whiterock is a strongly nationalist community whose residents suffer the effects of British colonial policy in Ireland. Facing discrimination from the government of the British-run statelet and from pro-British employers, more than half the area's residents are unemployed.

The attitude of many of the pro-British forces toward Belfast's nationalist population was expressed by one Unionist member of the Belfast City Council, George Seawright, who referred to the "vermin scum in West Belfast." Seawright also suggested that "all Catholics should be incinerated."

Attempts by some members of the city council to defend the nationalist population are constantly hampered by harassment and discrimination from the Unionist majority.

The two councillors from People's Democracy (PD) and the two from Sinn Féin, organizations that support a reunited Ireland, have been special targets.

The Belfast City Council went so far as to vote down a motion by People's Democracy's John McNulty and Sinn Féin's Alex Maskey that would assure all council members "equal democratic rights in the council."

The obstacles placed in the way of these

Visit of U.S. warship blocked

While Labour government maintains proimperialist policies

By Neil Jarden

AUCKLAND — A naval training exercise between the ANZUS powers — Australia, New Zealand, and the United States — has been canceled following the withdrawal of the United States. The exercise, Sea Eagle '85, had been scheduled to take place off the south-east coast of Australia in March.

The Pentagon has also announced that it will conduct its next Pacific region tests of the MX missile without using bases in Australia. The move followed the announcement by Australia's Labor Party premier Robert Hawke that antinuclear sentiment in the party would force him to reverse a prior agreement to allow use of the bases.

The U.S. government's withdrawal from the ANZUS naval training exercise followed the refusal of the Labour government in New Zealand to allow a port visit by a U.S. warship, the *USS Buchanan*. The Labour government, which is based on New Zealand's unions and was elected last July, has said it will no longer allow nuclear-armed vessels to visit New Zealand ports.

The government's stand has wide popular support among working people in New Zealand. There has been an ever deepening opposition to visits by U.S. nuclear-armed warships since they were resumed in the mid-1970s under the previous National Party government of Robert Muldoon. The National Party is New Zealand's main capitalist party.

Opposition to the entry of nuclear-armed vessels has been expressed in protests by waterfront unions and other workers against such visits, and by street demonstrations involving tens of thousands of people. The main union federation, many individual unions, and successive Labour Party conferences have adopted policies opposing the visits and calling for New Zealand's withdrawal from the ANZUS alliance.

In addition, throughout the Pacific the past decade has seen a growing movement among the indigenous people of the region for the Pacific to be nuclear-free. It is in this region that are found most of the world's victims of nuclear weapons — from those who had atomic bombs dropped on them at Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the people of the various Pacific islands and the aboriginal people of Australia, who have suffered the effects of U.S., French, and British nuclear weapons testing.

The stand taken by the New Zealand Labour government reflects the pressure of this sentiment. For example, in 1983, when Labour was in opposition, party leader David Lange, now New Zealand's prime minister, attempted to

have Labour's antinuclear policy overturned. This move was forcibly blocked by opposition from the party's ranks and by the unions.

Since Labour came to office, peace organizations in New Zealand have mounted an extensive campaign to pressure the new government to maintain an antinuclear stand. While seeking to accommodate this pressure, Labour's officials have repeatedly stressed their continuing political and military commitment to the "Western alliance" and to the ANZUS pact.

ANZUS is a military alliance, signed in 1951, that was sought with the United States by New Zealand's and Australia's imperialist rulers as a result of the replacement of Britain's world military predominance by that of the United States following World War II.

From the beginning ANZUS has been an imperialist pact, aimed primarily against the Soviet Union (plus China, Vietnam, and other emerging workers states) and against the national liberation struggles of colonized peoples in the Pacific and Southeast Asia.

It is one of more than 100 military and intelligence treaties that link New Zealand, Australia, and the United States (as well as Britain and Canada), and reflects the common interests that unite the capitalist ruling classes of these countries economically, politically, and militarily.

New Zealand's special role under ANZUS is policing the colonial island nations of the South Pacific. In return, New Zealand imperialism receives a range of special privileges from Washington — from favoritism in trade to military equipment and assistance.

This is an arrangement that New Zealand's capitalist rulers do not want to give away lightly — especially as policing the South Pacific, for them, is not a burden, but something that enables them to secure their own economic domination over the region.

From the time of its preparation in the 1940s (under a previous Labour government) till today, ANZUS has received full support from both the National Party and the reformist leadership of the Labour Party.

No fundamental change in policy

The Labour government's refusal to allow the *USS Buchanan* to visit New Zealand represents no fundamental change in this imperialist foreign policy. Prior to declining the proposed visit of the *USS Buchanan*, David Lange had requested the U.S. government to send an alternative vessel, a frigate, that Lange claimed had not yet been fitted with nuclear weapons. Such a visit, he said, would allow his government to demonstrate its "continuing and deeply felt commitment to the ANZUS alliance and

their desire to work in the closest cooperation with their treaty partners."

Lange described the subsequent cancellation of the Sea Eagle naval maneuvers as "regrettable." New Zealand's warships have been conducting such training exercises in the Pacific and elsewhere for over 20 years with U.S. and other nuclear-armed vessels.

In 1985 alone, New Zealand's armed forces are scheduled to take part in 22 army, air, and naval training exercises with the Pentagon, many of them involving nuclear weapons.

It is this close military partnership, and the integrated character of the ANZUS forces in the Pacific region, that makes New Zealand itself a de facto nuclear power.

This was illustrated by recent revelations surrounding the sinking of the Argentine warship *General Belgrano* during the British war to hold on to its colony of the Malvinas. The British navy, itself nuclear armed, relied on signals from New Zealand's military radio systems for much of its south Atlantic navigation during the war.

517 U.S. bases in Pacific

The past decade has seen a major increase in the U.S. military presence in the Pacific. This has been justified by propaganda claiming an "expanding Soviet presence" in the region. In actual fact, the Soviet Union has no military bases in the Pacific outside its own territory. In contrast, Washington is reported to have 517 military bases and installations of various kinds in the region outside its own mainland.

The imperialist military buildup in the Pacific has been fully supported by both the National and Labour governments in New Zealand. New Zealand itself has established a rapid deployment force in Pacific Island "trouble spots."

Partner in colonial wars

In fact, the whole New Zealand military is structured, equipped, and trained to participate in Vietnam-style counterrevolutionary wars abroad, and it has been used in this role in successive wars in Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Vietnam.

New Zealand's forces today serve with the UN multinational force currently stationed in the Sinai desert. The New Zealand government provides aid to the right-wing guerrillas attacking Kampuchea from Thailand. It is increasing its military ties with the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. And it maintains its own 1,000-strong military base in Singapore.

In its first budget, last November, the Labour Party government increased military

spending by 15 percent, while cutting spending in social welfare and almost all other areas.

During the recent upsurge in New Caledonia, Lange has said not a word in support of the Kanak people, but instead has backed the French government. And his government has refused to oppose the escalating U.S.-led war against the workers and farmers of Nicaragua.

The cancellation of Sea Eagle '85 has focused much media attention on the New Zealand government and its foreign policy. David Lange's refusal of port entry to the *USS Bucha-*

nan has been hailed by leaders of the peace movement in New Zealand and internationally as a "courageous blow for world peace."

An editorial published in the February 15 issue of the New Zealand newspaper *Socialist Action*, which reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, puts forward a different view. It says: "The only way working people can achieve peace is to fight against imperialist war policy, which means, first and foremost, the imperialist war policies of their own government.

"It means demanding New Zealand troops

out of Singapore; support for the Kanak people's struggle in New Caledonia; no support for the U.S. government's war against the people of Central America; no support for the British in the Malvinas; freedom for East Timor and West Papua; real aid without strings attached to Vanuatu, Fiji, Samoa, and other Pacific and third-world nations; and so on."

For working people here, this means "demanding an end to New Zealand's participation in ANZUS and all other imperialist military alliances, including all secret military and intelligence treaties." □

Pacific

U.S. navy tries to rule the waves

Broad network of imperialist military alliances

By Will Reissner

Washington and its imperialist allies maintain a massive military presence in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. That presence, which generally receives little attention in the big-business media, threatens those actively struggling against imperialist domination today in the Philippines, South Korea, New Caledonia, and elsewhere in the region.

The imperialist military deployment in the Pacific has two fundamental and interrelated aims. One is to militarily threaten, with nuclear and conventional weapons, the workers states in the region, especially the Soviet Union, North Korea, and Vietnam.

The other is to prevent social changes in the region that would threaten the economic and political interests of the imperialist powers.

The weight of the entire network of interimperialist alliances and military bases is brought to bear to further both aims.

Washington's armada

The centerpiece of imperialist military power in the region is the U.S. Navy, while the military forces of the other imperialist countries play a complementary and vital role in a regional division of labor.

The Pentagon permanently stations the U.S. Third Fleet in the eastern Pacific and the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the western Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Since President Reagan took office in 1981, the U.S. Navy has been the biggest beneficiary of the huge arms buildup that has taken place. More than \$62 billion has been allocated just to build new ships.

As a result of the naval buildup, for example, the number of surface warships of the Seventh Fleet almost doubled between 1980 and 1983.

From bases in the Philippines and Japan, the U.S. Seventh Fleet — with its 70,000 sailors, 550 aircraft, and 90 ships — can project an

awesome range of offensive military power throughout the western Pacific and Indian Oceans. The fleet is organized around three aircraft carrier groups, one of which, with its home port at the Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines, is now deployed to the Indian Ocean.

In addition, the Pentagon has established a base for the Rapid Deployment Force on the British-ruled island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. Large quantities of military equipment and supplies have been stockpiled on Diego Garcia to be transported to other parts of the region where U.S. troops might be sent to intervene.

Threats to Korea

The offensive potential of the Seventh Fleet rests not only on its aircraft carrier battle groups, but also on the newly refurbished battleship *New Jersey*. The *New Jersey* saw action in the Korean and Vietnam wars, in which it was used to pound shore targets with its 16-inch guns.

U.S. Navy Secretary John Lehman boasts that the guns of the *New Jersey* "can take under attack virtually all the MIG bases . . . in North Korea and punch right through the hangarages, bunkers, and caves where the real high priority targets are."

Such verbal threats against North Korea are buttressed by annual mock invasions of that country held under the guise of "Team Spirit" military exercises. Held in February and March each year, the "Team Spirit" maneuvers involve more than 200,000 U.S. and South Korean troops, who stage mock invasions of North Korea by land, sea, and air.

Nearly 40,000 U.S. troops, armed with nuclear weapons, are permanently stationed in South Korea.

Such maneuvers and troop deployments are not only aimed at North Korea, but are also designed to intimidate the working people of

South Korea. In 1980, for example, South Korean troops under U.S. command were used to crush an uprising against the Chun Doo Hwan dictatorship in the city of Kwangju.

The Pentagon has also upgraded the U.S. Pacific Tactical Air Forces by assigning several squadrons of ultramodern, deadly F-16 fighters to U.S. bases in South Korea and Japan.

While the F-16s based in South Korea directly threaten the North, the squadrons based at Misawa air base in northern Japan directly threaten the Soviet port of Vladivostok as well as the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin Island.

To highlight Soviet naval vulnerability in the Pacific, Washington and its allies regularly hold provocative naval maneuvers off the Soviet coast.

Tokyo rearms

While the Pentagon builds up its own presence in the northwest Pacific, Washington has also encouraged the growth of Japanese naval and air power.

In the past, Japan's role in U.S. military strategy was to serve as a logistical base and unsinkable aircraft carrier for U.S. military forces, as it did in the Korean War.

But under U.S. urging, Tokyo is boosting its arms spending and is preparing to take over naval patrolling of sealanes for 1,000 miles to the east and south of Japan, thereby freeing the U.S. Seventh Fleet for other operations.

At present, the Japanese "Self Defense Forces" have about 250,000 troops. Already the Japanese air force has more tactical air power than all the U.S. fighter planes now stationed in Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines.

But under a military spending plan adopted in 1982, the Japanese government has begun a major military expansion. By the completion of the program in 1987, the Japanese navy will have 178 ships and 185 aircraft; the air force

will have 138 F-15 fighters, 58 F-1 fighters, and 35 other aircraft; and the army will have 418 aircraft and 1,314 tanks.

Washington has also encouraged the formation of a three-way alliance between itself, Japan, and South Korea to bring Japanese military pressure more directly to bear against Korea and the Soviet Union.

ANZUS alliance

Other U.S. allies in the Pacific also participate in the Pentagon's pressures against North Korea. At least six times each year, U.S. air force units from around the Pacific, often joined by Australian and New Zealand units, gather at Clark Air Base in the Philippines for "Cope Thunder" air-war games. "Cope Thunder" is the largest air combat training program held outside the United States and regularly features simulated bombing of targets in North Korea.

In fact, Washington is constantly engaged in joint maneuvers with its imperialist allies in the Pacific. The biggest of these are the "RIMPAC" naval maneuvers held every two years.

In May 1984, "RIMPAC" assembled 80 ships and submarines, 250 aircraft, and 50,000 sailors and marines from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Japan, and the United States to practice naval warfare off Hawaii.

In October 1984, "Triad '84" exercises involved 61 warplanes from Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. That exercise has "no particular relevance to the defence of New Zealand or Australia," wrote Owen Wilkes in the Sept. 25, 1984, *New Zealand Times*. "It is rather an exercising of the techniques and technology that would be used in a 1980s-style Vietnam-type war, a war carried out by F-16s bombing, strafing and napalming Third World villages, and F-15s providing protection against the local air defence and carrying out deep interdiction strikes."

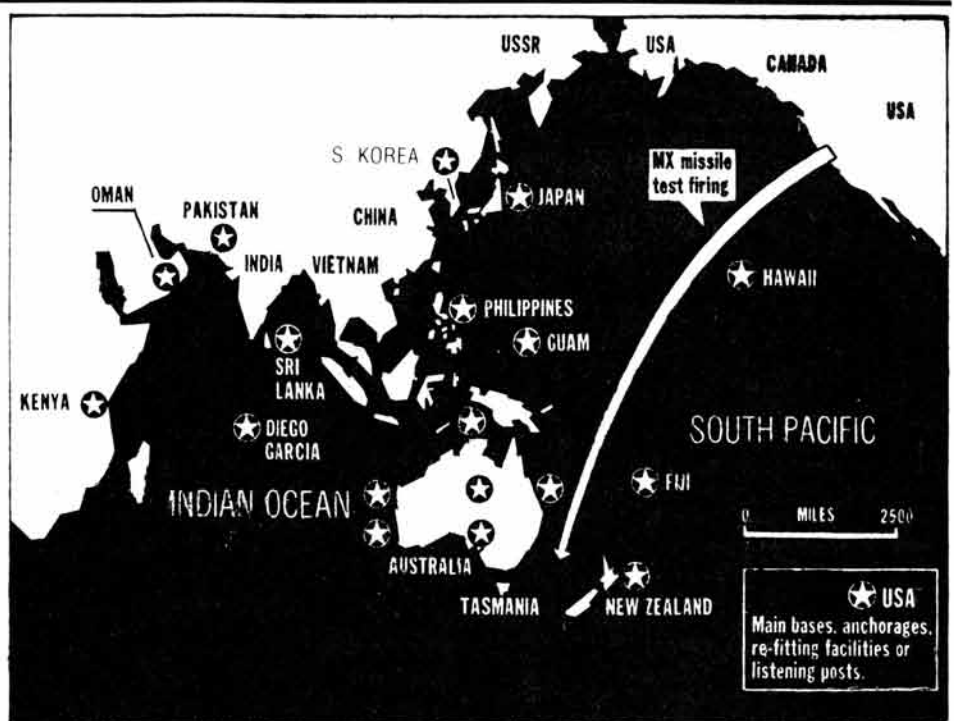
While each of the imperialist powers in the Pacific cooperates with the Pentagon in such joint undertakings, they also make their own special contributions to the general protection of capitalist investments and political interests in the region.

In an annual "military posture statement" presented to the U.S. Congress in 1982, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. David Jones pointed out that "Australia and New Zealand, although possessing small armed forces, contribute significantly to U.S. objectives in East Asia and the Pacific."

General Jones noted that "Australia and New Zealand possess the best capability for assisting U.S. power projection into the Pacific Islands in response to crises there."

'Our backyard'

New Zealand's capitalists view the South Pacific as "our backyard," in the words of former Defence Minister David Thomson. Most major New Zealand businesses have investments in the Pacific islands, and the New Zealand government provides government officials and police and army trainers to many of the small countries in the region.



To protect those investments, the New Zealand armed forces have established a Ready Reaction Force designed for intervention in the Pacific. Composed of 1,200 men and based at Burnham Camp in Canterbury, the Ready Reaction Force includes "special forces" type troops as well as infantry companies with light tanks, helicopters, and transport aircraft.

According to the New Zealand government's "Defence Review," the Ready Reaction Force "will be equipped and trained for land operations up to as high a scale of intensity as can be foreseen in the circumstances of the South Pacific." Within the New Zealand armed forces as a whole, the Ready Reaction Force has priority in selecting personnel and equipment.

In addition, New Zealand maintains a garrison of about 1,000 troops in Singapore.

Australian intervention forces

Australia too has its own regional intervention force to protect the large Australian investments in the South Pacific. The 2,500-man Operational Defence Force was set up in 1978 and is based in Townsville, Queensland, near potential targets of intervention in the South Pacific.

According to the March 1984 *Pacific Islands Monthly*, the Australian Operational Defence Force is jungle-trained and highly sophisticated in its capabilities. Some of that training was acquired in the October 1982 "Exercise Thermal Gale" carried out in Hawaii to beef up Australian and U.S. counterinsurgency capabilities.

Australia also maintains an air force squadron in Malaysia.

In addition, U.S. bases in Australia play a key role in the Pentagon's nuclear war plans. At North West Cape, the Pentagon maintains three naval communications installations.

One is a 5,500 acre, 2-million-watt, "extra low frequency" radio transmission station that relays orders to U.S. nuclear submarines at sea. It is the largest U.S. submarine transmitting station in the world and the only one outside the United States. Without that facility, U.S. nuclear-armed submarines could not operate in the Pacific.

A second "high frequency" radio station is used to transmit U.S. military messages around the world, while the third facility at North West Cape is a Naval Security Group electronic eavesdropping station.

The Pentagon also operates bases at Pine Gap and Nurrangar, Australia, where information from spy satellites is received and retransmitted to the National Security Agency at Fort Mead, Maryland.

British garrisons

The British military presence in the Pacific has declined sharply in recent decades as the relative power of British imperialism has fallen.

But the British still maintain a permanent garrison of troops in the oil-rich sultanate of Brunei on the island of Borneo. That garrison includes one battalion of Gurkha mercenaries, one company of Royal Marines, and one squad of helicopters. In 1962, British troops in Brunei put down a revolt against the sultan's rule.

British troops are also stationed in Hong Kong, from which they could be moved to other parts of the Pacific. The British garrison in Hong Kong includes four Gurkha battalions and one British battalion of engineers, as well as helicopters and patrol boats.

London is also developing plans for a highly sophisticated amphibious strike force that could be moved by transport jet to any part of

the world on short notice.

The Special Air Service and Special Boat Squadron, two highly trained commando units, have already surveyed the Caribbean and Pacific under orders written by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

At the December 1983 meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government, Thatcher raised the idea of establishing a joint intervention force of troops from Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand for use in present or former British colonies facing internal unrest.

Mitterrand orders French buildup

Although French intervention forces have traditionally been used in the former French colonies in Africa and the Middle East, Paris also maintains a large military presence in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In fact, one of the two French aircraft carriers is permanently stationed in the Indian Ocean.

There is also a large French military establishment in so-called French Polynesia, where Paris has conducted 99 nuclear tests on the is-

lands of Moruroa and Fangataufa.

In addition, with the rise of the proindependence movement in the French colony of New Caledonia, the French government has increased its security forces on that Pacific island to more than 6,000 men. President François Mitterrand announced in a January 20 television speech that "France intends to maintain its role and strategic presence in this part of the world."

Mitterrand added: "I have asked the prime minister . . . to take all the necessary measures to this end, particularly regarding installations for the strengthening of the military base in Nouméa," New Caledonia's capital.

According to a report in the January 23 *Australian*, the French government hopes to hold on to that base even if New Caledonia wins its independence. According to a French High Commission official in Nouméa, Paris is aiming for an agreement modelled on the one under which Washington operates its giant bases in the Philippines.

Washington has also been pressing its neo-

colonial allies in Southeast Asia to build up their military capabilities.

In hopes of resurrecting the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, which fell apart during the Vietnam war, Washington has been pushing for the militarization of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Thailand, which has provided sanctuary for the rightist guerrillas operating against the government of Kampuchea, has been especially favored with U.S. military largesse and has been promised F-16 jets for its air force.

Washington also continues to prop up the floundering regime of Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos, who is under growing pressure from rural-based guerrilla forces and a broad urban opposition movement.

Loss of the Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base would be a severe blow to the U.S. military presence in the western Pacific.

In the period since Marcos declared martial law in 1972, the annual level of U.S. military and military-related aid to his regime has risen by almost 600 percent. □

Philippines

Inside Marcos' political prisons

Interview with human rights campaigners

By Deb Shnookal

MANILA — The Philippines today subscribes to several international human rights covenants, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But the dictatorship of President Ferdinand Marcos, which has ruled the Philippines since 1972, abides by none of these in practice.

There are more than 1,000 political detainees in the Philippines today, most of whom have never been convicted but who are held under Marcos' dictatorial powers.

From 1972 to 1981 there had been 70,000 political arrests and detentions. However, during 1981, after martial law had been officially lifted in January of that year, a further 1,377 arrests were made. The number of political detainees has steadily risen since that time. In 1983 there were over 2,000 political arrests. (These are the figures of the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines [TFD], a human rights organization. While they provide the most accurate record available, the TFD will readily admit this is probably an underestimation of the real figure.)

Amnesty International investigations in 1975 and 1982, as well as various Filipino human rights organizations, have pointed to gross abuses of political prisoners, including torture, disappearances, arbitrary arrests, and illegal detention. President Marcos' response to such reports has been to denounce Amnesty International as "a tool of the communists."

However in 1977 Marcos was finally forced

to admit to a World Peace Through Law Conference in Manila that "there have been to our lasting regret a number of violations of the rights of detainees." But nothing much has changed since that time.

Workers, youths, women

Who are the detainees? According to human rights campaigner Armando Malay, for a long time Marcos denied the very existence of political detainees. Malay told me: "He would say there were only 'public order violators.' But lately he has been saying that there are political prisoners but it would not be wise to release them because they will only go back to their 'subversive' activities."

I interviewed Armando Malay at the National Press Club in Manila where he had come to greet his son-in-law, Satur Ocampo, a well-known imprisoned journalist, who had ironically been freed from prison for the day to address the press club on "Press Freedom Day" on Aug. 31, 1984. (See *Intercontinental Press*, Dec. 10, 1984, for an interview with Satur Ocampo.)

Malay was the dean of student affairs at the University of the Philippines and a founder of KAPATID, a support organization for political detainees and their families. At 70, he is now chairman of KAPATID and a columnist for the *Malaya*, the main opposition daily newspaper in the Philippines.

KAPATID was founded in 1978. It began, explained Malay, as "an informal kind of

gathering of families who had [relatives] in jail since 1972. It is an association for the release and amnesty for political prisoners. But another of its purposes is to help the families of political prisoners. They need all the help they can get, because most of the prisoners are their families' breadwinners."

Apart from grave economic problems, many families and especially the children also suffer traumatic experiences. Recently, the prisoners have won the right to have their children spend time with them in the jail.

I asked Malay how KAPATID approached the parents of detainees. He said that KAPATID has "encountered the problem where parents condemn their children for bringing them trouble. We don't right away refute the parents but try to befriend them. We tell them their children are doing this for their country.

"You'd be surprised," he said smiling, "how these parents who at the beginning were against their children's participation eventually come round. While most of them may not come out openly, they sympathize with the movement and try to help us in our goal."

Torture and solitary confinement

The use of torture is still quite widespread in the Philippines today, especially outside Manila, in the provinces, Malay told me. "Psychological and or physical torture was almost standard procedure until Amnesty International and other groups began to call attention to this.

If you are a young political prisoner and quite healthy they will take turns in punching you and doing all kinds of physical torture," said Malay. He referred to the work of the Task Force Detainees in documenting many cases of torture.

KAPATID and other human rights organizations are currently campaigning against the detention of a number of political prisoners in solitary confinement.

This treatment is usually reserved for the "so-called leaders of the movement," Malay said. "For example, Jose Maria Sison¹ was held in solitary confinement for years. Satur Ocampo was placed in solitary confinement after he led a hunger strike of prisoners. They try to break the will of the prisoners in this way."

Malay commented, "The UN has condemned the use of solitary confinement. Today there is the case of the two young students in Camp Nakar." (See accompanying article.)

Malay spoke also about the case of Fidel Agcaoili. Agcaoili was arrested in 1974 and charged in the Karagatan/Andrea case of rebellion and the smuggling of arms along with Sison and Ocampo and many other alleged Communist Party of the Philippines and New People's Army members.

In 1984 a petition campaign was launched for the release of Agcaoili, the longest-held detainee in the Philippines. The petition pointed to the fact that even if Agcaoili were found guilty of rebellion he would have already served his sentence, because at the time of his arrest such a charge carried a penalty of only six to twelve years.

Since that time however this has been amended under Presidential Decrees 1834 and 1835 so that any crime against national security, which can mean simply attending a demonstration, is punishable by death or life imprisonment.)

Marcos' sweeping powers

Malay explained that Fidel Agcaoili — who was finally released on Oct. 24, 1984 — was one of many victims of a preventative detention action (PDA). President Marcos retains over 2,000 general orders, presidential decrees, and letters of instruction, which in effect preserve martial law, abolished on paper only in January 1981.

These include Letter of Instruction 1211, which dispenses with the need for a warrant for arrest in instances where there is a threat to "public order and safety" — which can be very broadly interpreted. Such arrests are usually legalized after they occur with a presidential commitment order (PCO) or a preventative detention action. A PDA, like its precedent, the PCO, bypasses the judiciary. Marcos can simply order the arrest or indefinite detention of

1. Sison, who has admitted being chairman of the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines, was finally removed from solitary confinement in July 1984. For an interview with him, see *Intercontinental Press*, Nov. 12, 1984.

any oppositionist. He has the authority to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and is responsible to no one for his actions.

This means that a person can be detained even after being acquitted by a court. Malay assured me that there are many such cases. "The Military Review Board and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces [that is, President Marcos] have to review the decision. And as long as they do not review the decision of the military commission, people like Fidel must languish in jail — 10 years after he was arrested," Malay explained.

While in Manila I also interviewed two workers for the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines, Sister Mary Radcliffe and Romuelda de la Torre. Sister Mary is a nun from British Columbia, Canada, and works fulltime in the TFD national office. Romuelda de la Torre's son, Father Ed, is a well-known priest, poet, and artist.

Sister Mary described how TFD was established after martial law. "Thousands of people were rounded up and put into prison. People didn't know what to do. They were scared and confused. But after a few months people began to visit those in the detention camps."

TFD was set up under the auspices of the Associations of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines in 1974. "The sisters began to visit the detainees," she said, "taking messages from their families, or coffee, or clothes. Soon however it was recognized that not only the detainees were suffering but also their families and the children."

Brutalities against women prisoners

Sister Mary and Romuelda de la Torre spoke about the special problems women prisoners face. Rape and other forms of sexual harassment are common. Hilda Narciso was brutally raped when she was arrested in early 1983. "She is now trying to form a group of ex-detainees who have also been sexually abused.

She wants to use herself as a test case," explained Sister Mary, in order to break down the social stigma that still prevents many women from speaking up. She has approached other women's groups to support her.

TFD and KAPATID also run special campaigns for the release of women who have had babies while in detention.

Romuelda de la Torre described the terrible conditions in the military prisons, especially in the first years after martial law. "At that time," she said, "there was only four pesos a day food allowance for each prisoner. The prisoners were catered for by the military or relatives of military personnel, and they tried to economize as much as possible. Sometimes the rice was dirty and the detainees weren't even given decent coffee. So the relatives banded together. At that time it was really hard," she said. Poor conditions in the prisons led to hunger strikes by the detainees.

Romuelda de la Torre, or "Mother" as she is known at TFD, told me she had already been working with the poor at the time her son Ed became involved in the Federation of Free Farmers. She was a widow and had finished high school when Ed was still in school. She had worked as a seamstress.

Father Ed de la Torre was elected chairman of Christians for National Liberation when it was formed in 1972. He was arrested in 1974. Romuelda commented that although she "wasn't new to this, at that time I was really scared, because once you are hunted by the military they will shoot to kill. But at that time there was not mass salvaging [summary execution] like there is now. It seems to be the counter-attack of the military now that the people are really conscientized and will fight for their rights."

Father Ed spent several years in prison. On his release he went overseas but returned and was re-arrested in April 1982 along with Horacio "Boy" Morales, the alleged chairman



Deb Shnookal/IP

Germiniano Gualberto in Camp Nakar prison.

of the National Democratic Front² and a defector from the Marcos government.

Rights activists victimized

Sister Mary commented on the increasing number of priests and other church workers who have fallen victim to political repression in the Philippines. "Priests have always been looked upon as people you didn't touch," she said. "The fact that now they have tortured three priests, two of them very badly, is an indication that the regime is getting much more repressive. And now they slap PDA's on sisters as well," she added.

Organizations like KAPATID, TFD, the Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace,

2. The broad opposition front led by the CPP. The New People's Army is its armed component.

A visit to Camp Nakar prison

Filipino prisoners recount treatment

By Deb Shnookal

LUCENA CITY — Camp Guillermo Nakar seems an unlikely political prison. Situated in a busy street here in Lucena City, Quezon Province, on the island of Luzon, schoolchildren skip through the open gate and leafy grounds of the military compound. Few of the military personnel wear uniforms.

However 10 political prisoners, including four women, were detained at Camp Nakar when we visited in September 1984. Vicente Ladlad and Germiniano Gualberto, two of the political detainees, who are allegedly top New People's Army (NPA) and Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) officials, are held here in solitary confinement.

This contrast is typical of the Philippines: Behind the thin, polished exterior of pseudo-reforms and demagoguery of the Marcos dictatorship lie extreme poverty and brutal political repression — terror and murder by death squads in the countryside, summary executions (salvagings), disappearances, and intimidation, plunder, and torture by the police and military forces.

We spoke with the political detainees at Camp Nakar in their common recreation room from outside through the fence. They had been talking with their lawyers, so Ladlad and Gualberto were with the others that afternoon. Very few political prisoners in the Philippines have actually been convicted. But suspected "subversives" can be detained indefinitely under presidential decree.

The recreation room was bare with a few tables and chairs on a concrete floor. The detainees described the poor conditions in the prison — overcrowding, plumbing problems, and insufficient food allowance. Prisoners are given six pesos a day for food. Friends and relatives do the marketing, and they prepare their own meals. But six pesos is scarcely enough for one meal, so friends and relatives, if they

and others work together in exposing the abuses of human rights in the Philippines today. Although they operate quite openly, these groups are themselves subject to political repression, especially in the provinces. All stress in particular the need for international solidarity.

Malay told me "the media as well as the people and workers can do a lot. For example, if the dockworkers in Australia and other countries will just stop loading or unloading material for or from the Philippines, that would be a loud and clear lesson that labor in Australia is really helping the cause of labor in the Philippines." Romuelda de la Torre noted that the Filipino people are becoming bolder, because, she says: "We realize that if we do not fight for ourselves, who will fight for us? Others cannot help us, if we do not help ourselves." □

are able, must supplement the detainees' diet themselves.

Hunger strike

The detainees of Camp Nakar undertook a hunger strike in December 1983 for 10 demands, including their release, lifting severe restrictions such as confiscation of personal belongings, and removal of Ladlad and Gualberto from solitary confinement. The fast had to be given up after 78 days as some of the detainees nearly died. Some minor concessions were won.

Vicente Ladlad has received especially severe treatment. A former student leader now 34, Ladlad is alleged to be the secretary-general of the southern Luzon commission of the NPA and the chairman of the CPP in the southern Tagalog (southern Luzon) region. His wife was a victim of "salvaging" in 1975.

Ladlad is charged with murder and violation of the Anti-Subversion Law, and was arrested along with Gualberto in February 1983. For a long time he was kept in a tiny cell, hardly big enough for a bed, and denied the right to go out into an exercise yard. He described one of the two windows in his cell at that time as "an armstretch of heaven."

Among the prisoners we talked with were Salume Crisostomo-Ujano and her husband, Vitorino. I had met Salume's brother at KAPATID, a support organization for prisoners and their relatives. He had explained how his sister had been arrested in Manila on the eve of her wedding. She and her husband were held incommunicado for two weeks and subjected to psychological torture. As a consequence, Vitorino suffered from hallucinations and other mental disorders.

Salume, who now is allowed to share a cell with her husband, had a miscarriage in prison. In 1984 a petition was launched demanding the release of the women detainees at Camp Nakar and an end to the solitary confinement of Lad-

lad and Gualberto.

The detainees showed us some paintings they had done on wood. KAPATID encourages prisoners to do handicrafts such as painting or pottery to keep up morale. KAPATID provides the materials and the products are then sold to raise funds for the detainees.

One of our group, Mani, spoke very earnestly to the prisoners through the fence. He had been a student organizer in Lucena City and imprisoned for seven years. He had spent time at Camp Nakar himself. Others told me he had been severely tortured with water and electric shocks. One hand had been smashed, and he had bitten through his tongue so that now his speech is impaired.

Charges against military

We spoke to the prisoners while some members of our group went to present the military officials with formal charges against the armed forces in Quezon Province for terrorizing and murdering peasants in southern Luzon. Twenty-three peasants had signed affidavits against the military, realizing that, although they had no hope of any conviction through a military court, the public exposure might help to curb the abuses. (See *Intercontinental Press*, Oct. 15, 1984.)

As we sat on the grass outside the cell, a military guard recognized Mani, the ex-detainee, and came up to him in an almost friendly fashion. Mani just stared with a blank face at the soldier, who tried to tell him he had simply been doing his duty.

We had not been speaking with the detainees very long when the prison guards began to get nervous. They insisted that we move away from the fence and threatened to confiscate our cameras and film if we continued to take photographs.

Nevertheless we continued to communicate with the detainees with sign language while we waited for the rest of our group to return. The prisoners were obviously being told to keep away from the fence, from where they could see us. But they were in high spirits and one by one returned to the fence. One woman turned her back to show us her T shirt which read, "Free all political prisoners." Others playfully bargained with us over the prices of the paintings they had given us.

Then one of them suggested we sing them a song. So our group began "Ang Bayan Ko" (Our Beloved Country), the most popular Filipino nationalist song. The prisoners joined in with much gusto.

The guards, growing more and more agitated, told us to go away and took the prisoners into an inner cell. Our group continued to sing, and when the song had finished we heard clapping from inside the cell. Then from the bowels of the prison came an NPA marching song, to which we clapped along.

This was too much for the guards. We were ordered to leave and the prisoners were taken back to their cells. My last view of Camp Nakar was that of a woman's arm thrust boldly through a hole in a metal gate to wave us goodbye. □

Mandela vows continued struggle

Rejects Botha's 'offer' of conditional release

By Ernest Harsch

"I will return," declared Nelson Mandela, South Africa's best-known political prisoner, in a statement read on his behalf to a crowd of nearly 10,000 cheering Blacks in Soweto February 10.

Mandela, the central figure in the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), has been serving a life sentence since 1964, when he was convicted on charges of "treason" for his role in the struggle of the oppressed Black majority for national liberation. His statement — one of the very few he has been able to make since his imprisonment — came in response to a speech by Prime Minister Pieter Botha on January 31 offering to consider Mandela's release if he agreed to abandon his political activities.

Zinzi Mandela, the ANC leader's daughter, read the statement to the rally. Since Nelson Mandela cannot be legally quoted in South Africa, she herself risked imprisonment for reading it.

"I am a member of the African National Congress," Nelson Mandela said. "I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die." In South Africa, it is illegal even to be a member of an outlawed organization.

"What freedom am I being offered whilst the organization of the people remains banned?" Mandela asked.

"What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offense?" he said, referring to the identity documents, called "passes," that all Africans in South Africa must carry with them at all times.

"What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family man with my dear wife, who remains in banishment in Brandfort?" he asked, referring to Winnie Mandela, herself a political activist, who has been exiled to a remote rural area.

In rejecting Botha's conditions for his release, Mandela said to the crowd, "I am not less life-loving than you. But I cannot sell my birthright nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free."

Placing the onus for the continuation of the ANC's armed struggle on the repressive policies of Botha's racist apartheid regime, Mandela declared, "Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organization, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them."



NELSON MANDELA

Mandela's statement was greeted by the crowd with cheers, chants, and freedom songs.

The rally was organized by the United Democratic Front, a broad coalition of some 700 anti-apartheid organizations, including community groups, student associations, women's groups, and trade unions. It has played a major role in the mass demonstrations, strikes, and school boycotts of recent months.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, who had just won the Nobel Peace Prize a few months earlier, also addressed the rally. When he asked the crowd who their leaders were, they roared back Mandela's name and that of Oliver Tambo, the ANC's exiled president.

Veteran of freedom struggle

More than any other Black leader in South Africa today, Mandela has become a symbol for the struggle and aspirations of the country's oppressed majority.

Now 66 years old, Mandela first joined the ANC in 1944, when it was still a legal organization. Together with other young Blacks, he helped found the ANC Youth League and led the ANC as a whole toward greater reliance on mass forms of struggle.

After the ANC was outlawed in 1960, Mandela helped found the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). As commander-in-chief of Umkhonto, Mandela explained that those fighting for Black liberation had no choice but to take up arms, given the apartheid regime's proven determination to crush all forms of Black protest with armed force. "The time comes in the life of any nation," Mandela said, "when there remain only

two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defense of our people, our future, and our freedom."

While functioning underground to carry out that perspective, Mandela and other top ANC leaders were captured by the security police in 1962.

Mandela has held to his views throughout his many years in prison. In a June 1978 statement to commemorate the massive township rebellions two years earlier — a statement that was smuggled out of the Robben Island prison — Mandela affirmed, "Between the anvil of united action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule."

Recently, Mandela's views were expressed indirectly through a discussion he had with British Lord Nicholas Bethell, whom the apartheid authorities allowed to visit Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison outside Cape Town, where he is now being held. Bethell recounted some of this discussion in an article in the January 27 London *Mail on Sunday*.

According to Bethell, Mandela said, "The armed struggle was forced on us by the government. And if they want us to give it up, the ball is in their court. They must legalise us, treat us like a political party and negotiate with us. Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle. It is useless simply to carry on talking. The government has tightened the screws too far."

Mandela also responded to a suggestion, made a few years earlier, that he be released if he agreed to give up political activity and live in the Transkei, one of the 10 rural African reserves called Bantustans. The ANC, like most other Black groups in South Africa, does not recognize the Bantustans as separate political entities, but as creations of the apartheid regime.

"I completely rejected the idea," Mandela told Bethell. "My place is in South Africa and my home is in Johannesburg. If I were released, I would never obey any restriction."

Botha feels pressure

It was just a few days after Bethell's article was published that Botha raised the issue of Mandela's release in his speech before the parliament. But by placing unacceptable conditions on his release, Botha aimed to shift the blame for Mandela's continued imprisonment away from the apartheid regime — and onto Mandela himself.

Mandela could be released, Botha said, only if he gave "a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives, but will conduct himself in such a way that he will not again have to be arrested."

That would rule out not only participation in the armed struggle, but virtually all forms of political activity. In South Africa, the police have at their disposal a wide array of repressive

laws that enable them to pick up anyone opposed to government policy. There are political prisoners in South Africa who have been convicted of little more than giving a public speech or drafting a leaflet.

While Botha's offer was not a serious one, the very fact that he felt compelled to directly address the issue is an indication of the political pressures on the apartheid regime.

For the past few years, an international campaign demanding freedom for Mandela and other South African political prisoners has been mounting. In Western Europe, the United States, Australia, and other countries there have been demonstrations, petitions, and

union actions to demand Mandela's release, as well as to protest the collaboration of those governments with the apartheid regime.

Within South Africa itself, the demand to free Mandela and the other prisoners has been growing as well, along with the general rise in mass struggles against the apartheid regime and the increasing popularity of the ANC. Opinion polls among Blacks in recent years have indicated that the ANC has more support within the Black population than any other political group and that Mandela is far and away the most respected Black figure in the country.

This has had an impact among South Africa's white population as well. Some white

student and antiapartheid organizations have been campaigning for Mandela's freedom, while a few whites have been directly supporting and working with the underground ANC. A recent survey found that 43 percent of the white population favors the opening of negotiations between the government and the ANC.

When the apartheid authorities banned the ANC and jailed Nelson Mandela in the early 1960s, they thought that the liberation movement had been crushed. They were wrong. With the new upsurge in the Black freedom struggle, the ANC has become even more of a factor in South African politics today than it was two decades ago. □

DOCUMENTS

Speech by ANC leader Oliver Tambo

Perspectives for the revolutionary struggle against apartheid

[The following speech was given by Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), on January 8, marking the 73rd anniversary of the founding of the ANC. The speech was broadcast by Radio Freedom in Lusaka, Zambia, and reprinted by the ANC. Subheadings are from the ANC publication. Footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Compatriots,

A new year has begun, bringing with it fresh hopes and new challenges. I am sure that I express our collective conviction when I say that during this decade, each year has brought us closer to our cherished goal — the total liberation of our country.

The bells that rang in the New Year were, for us, a call to battle, summoning us to ever greater involvement and persistence in the struggle for democratic change. We can and will meet the new challenges successfully. The confidence with which we make this bold assertion is based on our unflinching commitment to fight with all our might, making all the necessary sacrifices, until victory is ours.

Today, January 8, 1985, we observe and celebrate 73 years of the African National Congress. As has been the practice in the past, the National Executive Committee of the ANC addresses an annual message to you on this our national day. To do so is both a duty and a privilege.

It is a duty because history has entrusted us with the destiny of our country, and we therefore must together render to one another, to the allies and active supporters of our struggle, and to history itself, an account of our stewardship over the past twelve months. We must together analyse and learn from our experience on the battlefield to victory, to carve out the path to our historically determined destination.

To address you, compatriots, on January 8,

1985, is a privilege. For we are addressing a fighting people, who, during a particularly ferocious offensive by the enemy, have accumulated a record of resistance and struggle worthy of our great heroes and martyrs, a people who not only have the resilience that defies defeat, but also the capacity to rise to the challenge of the hour and move on to the offensive, a people with a glorious future to fight for, a tough and brutal enemy to face, an assured and epoch-making victory to win.

It is five years since we rallied our people around the demands of the Freedom Charter¹ during 1980, the Year of the Charter. This year, as we mark the 30th anniversary of that historic document, we can with confidence say that, in struggle, millions of us have reaffirmed that the Freedom Charter constitutes the embodiment of our deepest aspirations and the blueprint for a new South Africa.

1984 saw us take bold steps forward on the road to freedom. The path we have traversed was fraught with numerous dangers and hazards. But, despite these, it is clear at the end of 1984 — the Year of the Women — that we have succeeded in shifting the balance of power within our country in favour of the forces fighting for national liberation, social justice and genuine peace in Southern Africa. Through persistent collective labour and dedication, we have made significant progress in forging a mighty people's movement against the racist monstrosity. As we said last year, it is in the attack that victory is to be found.

By attacking, we defeated the efforts of the racist regime to mobilise the Indian and Coloured, or so-called Coloured, sections of the

Black population² into acceptance of the apartheid constitution.

By our refusal to be bullied into acceptance of the enemy's constitutional schemes, we reaffirmed our determination to defend the unity of the Black people in pursuit of a common victory against a common enemy. We were asserting the truth that freedom is indivisible, that freedom for some is freedom for none, and hence, that no section of the Black people can be free while another is oppressed.

The defeat of the enemy's plans in August expressed our common assertion that apartheid cannot be reformed. By boycotting the apartheid elections we denounced [Prime Minister Pieter] Botha's "reform" programme as a sham.

These victories were of great importance for the further advance of our struggle. They served to raise the degree of isolation of the oppressive regime, and strengthened the ranks of the forces committed to the victory of the democratic revolution in our country. They confirmed our commitment to the revolutionary perspective of the seizure of power by the people and the building of a new society in a united, democratic, and non-racial South Africa.

By attacking, we frustrated the enemy's attempts to contain the militant democratic trade union movement and transform it into a tame

2. The Black population is composed of 24 million Africans, more than 800,000 Indians, and 2.8 million Coloureds (those of mixed ancestry). As part of its policy of divide-and-rule, the apartheid regime extended the vote to Coloureds and Indians — but not to Africans — for separate and subordinate Coloured and Indian chambers of parliament. In August 1984, during the elections for those chambers, the vast majority of Coloureds and Indians boycotted the elections in response to a call by the United Democratic Front (UDF), a broad coalition of groups opposed to apartheid.

1. The Freedom Charter, drawn up by a broadly representative Congress of the People in 1955, has been adopted as the ANC's program. It outlines a broad array of democratic demands for the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule.

and timid shadow that accords with the regime's wishes. This increased the fears that the White minority regime has of the power of the organised Black workers of our country.

That is why, during the past year, as at other times in the past, it has imprisoned, banned, banished, and even assassinated leaders and activists of the democratic trade union movement. We take this opportunity to salute the workers of our country, who, in the teeth of the most vicious racist persecution, have sustained and kept alive the spirit of militant democratic trade unionism such as is embodied in the policy and programme of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

During 1984, in addition to the magnificent shop-floor struggles waged by the workers, we were inspired by the united action taken by Black and White workers, and their various unions, in their confrontation with Highveld Steel.³ Again, in October, for the first time in 38 years, the Black mine workers embarked on a co-ordinated national offensive in this most sensitive sector of the South African economy.

The lesson from the victories we have scored and the advances we have made is that, in the future, our objective must be that wherever a struggle erupts — be it mine or factory, a farm or a building site, a shop or a service centre — we must emerge from such struggles with stronger workers' organisations, a higher level of political consciousness, and a greater determination to fight on as a united force, whatever the cost to ourselves as individuals.

The organised workers formed the core of the historic Transvaal stay-at-home which paralysed industry and commerce in the economic heartland of the country and compelled the capitalist owners of property to speak out. In an unprecedented move, the organisation of the leading capitalists drew the attention of the ruling group to the fact that the continued use of the old methods of repression would only serve to inspire the workers to intensify their offensive.

During this massive struggle, we achieved a level of united action among all sections of the oppressed, and the democratic forces as a whole, which must serve as a basis for the further escalation of the united people's struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution. We warmly salute all the workers and trade unionists who, in action, affirmed the correctness of the perspective we put forward last year, and the offensive of the working class is, and must be, an integral part of the national liberation struggle.

The youth, the pride of our nation

The student and working youth of our country have once more confirmed their place in



Black tenants near Cape Town protest cut-off of electricity, just one of many mass antigovernment actions during 1984.

our hearts as the pride of the nation. These relentless fighters for a South Africa that we can proudly call our own have, throughout this past year, swelled the ranks of the mass movement by joining the struggle in hundreds of thousands. Despite the campaign of murder and terror unleashed by the racists against them, including the very young, they have stood firm in their demands. They have refused to break from the ranks of the struggling masses. In saluting our students and working youth, we can truly say that they have earned for themselves the honour of being called the Young Lions.

Through their actions, supported and reinforced by the workers and the parents, they have forced the apartheid regime to give ground on many issues. To build on these advances, we must ensure that the Education Charter⁴ becomes the common platform of teachers, parents, and students in the mass struggle for a democratic system of education.

A special responsibility devolves on our youth during 1985. By its decision to observe the International Year of the Youth, the racist regime has thrown down the gauntlet to the youth of our country. Among the numerous crimes this regime has committed and continues to commit against our people, some of its most heinous have been specifically against our youth and children.

On the shoulders of the apartheid regime rest such crimes as the scandalously high infant mortality rate amongst Black children; the stunting of their growth through the use of child labour; the warping of their intellectual development through Bantu Education.

4. The education charter is a joint project of the National Union of South African Students (a white students' group) and the Congress of South African Students and Azanian Students Organisation (two Black organizations). It supports the education clause of the 1955 Freedom Charter and calls for equal education for all racial groups.

South Africa is littered with the graves of young patriots who were massacred by the apartheid regime in 1976 and in the subsequent years. This self-same regime, which bears responsibility for these crimes, has, with great impudence, decided to observe the International Year of the Youth, whose motto is: Participation, Development, and Peace! We call upon the youth to take this year as their own and to use it as a means to advance our own perspectives of youth participation in society, in development and in the struggle for peace. The gains we have scored in youth mobilisation and organisation provide a basis for greater progress toward the emergence of a society which will defend and promote the genuine interests of our youth.

We designated 1984 as *The Year of the Women* with the express purpose of concentrating our efforts on the mobilisation of our womenfolk as active participants in the struggle waged by our national liberation movement. The response to our call, *Women Organise and Unite for People's Power* has been commendable. New democratic women's organisations have emerged. Greater numbers of our womenfolk have been drawn into struggle.

We observed historic days like the 30th anniversary of the Federation of South African Women at impressive rallies. National Women's Day — August 9th — was turned into a week of campaigning against the fraudulent Coloured and Indian parliamentary elections. In this manner our womenfolk further promoted the unity of all the oppressed and democratic forces, transcending the barriers of race, colour, sex, and creed.

Intensive grassroots mobilisation of women as equal participants in the overall national struggle has laid the basis for the creation of a national women's organisation which could be founded on the principles contained in the historic Women's Charter.

Our women were active in all the battles which confronted our communities during the

3. In September 1984, some 3,500 workers at the Highveld Steel plant in Witbank walked off their jobs in a pay dispute. The strike was called jointly by the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), which represents the Black, unskilled workers in the plant; and the South African Boilermakers Society, which represents white, skilled workers.

Year. In many of these, as in Sebokeng, they fought in the front ranks. As parents, mothers, and workers, they stood firmly beside their menfolk and children against forced removals, starvation wages, increased rents and taxes, inferior education and health services, demanding full citizenship rights for all our people in a unitary, non-racial society.

The encouraging response of our women to the call to join Umkhonto we Sizwe,⁵ which has resulted in more women joining the people's army during the course of the year, has been one of the best ways of observing the Year of the Women.

The reaction to our appeal by the international community in general, and women's organisations in particular, in practically all the continents of the globe, was most outstanding in mobilising more moral and material support for our struggle. This support was crowned by the presentation of the Eugene Cotton Award by the Women's International Democratic Federation to our dear sister and mother, Albertina Sisulu.

We call on our women to build on these impressive achievements. We urge other sections of our people to continue to give their support and concrete assistance to our heroic women, mothers, and sisters, so that they can play their rightful role as co-fighters and co-liberators of our motherland.

Trade union unity

Despite all the achievements we have so far made, we are still faced with the necessity of accomplishing other tasks we have set ourselves, particularly the unity of the democratic trade union movement. 1985 is the 30th anniversary of the founding of SACTU. During this anniversary year, let us consolidate the gains we have thus far registered. We need to intensify our efforts to form one united democratic trade union federation. No democratic trade union should be excluded from such a federation.

The working class of our country has demonstrated its combativeness in the unprecedented number of strikes that took place during the past year. So that this militancy will not be dissipated, we should now strive towards one union for each industry, the organisation of the unorganised and the unemployed, and the launching of a mass offensive against the reduction of our living standards. We should treat the injury done to the 6,500 SASOL⁶ workers as an injury to all workers, and to all of us.

We must harness the collective strength of the working class not merely to improve the immediate economic conditions of that class, but to bring about democratic change in our country. The ANC joins those trade unionists who call for greater involvement on the part of



OLIVER TAMBO

workers and their unions in the struggle for democratic change.

1985 falls on the centenary of May Day. In recognition of the bonds that link the workers of South Africa with those of other lands, May Day was marked in a number of industrial centres throughout South Africa during 1984. We call on all our workers to ensure by their actions that May Day is recognised as a paid public holiday.

In a unique show of international solidarity, the Black mine workers, who are amongst the lowest paid and most brutally exploited of our workers, dipped into their over-lean pockets and made a modest donation towards the strike fund of the British miners, who are waging a life and death struggle to save their jobs. We take this opportunity to commend this exemplary action on the part of our miners.

The rural people's right to land

The dispossession of our people of the land that is theirs remains one of the most burning national grievances. The gross injustice of this historic crime has been compounded by the racists' arrogant attempt to deprive the African majority of their inalienable birthright as citizens of their country, South Africa. Millions of our people in the rural areas are brutally exploited as agricultural workers on farms carved out of their ancestral lands. Their daily lives are dominated by the dictates of the racist White farmers and agricultural companies against whom they have absolutely no redress, because they are the least organised and mobilised. The land question must be resolved, if needs be, the hard way.

In the meantime, we repeat our call to our people to give serious attention to the organisation and mobilisation of our rural masses. Basing ourselves on the needs of the people, and taking due account of the concrete conditions of their existence, we must devise suitable organisational structures and mechanisms to reach our rural masses and provide them with the organisational and political tools to defend themselves against exploitation and to assert

their right to the land. As we said last year, we must place the perspective of seizing the land from the dispossessor in front of our rural masses and educate them to understand that this is a task that calls for dedication, determination, and sacrifice.

The solution to the land question is inextricably tied to the struggle against the Bantustans,⁷ where the puppets, not content to do the dirty work of the Pretoria racists, have taken it upon themselves to impose even greater burdens on our oppressed people. Some of these Bantustan puppets have taken firm positions on the side of their masters in Pretoria and against the oppressed people and their organisations. Whenever the popular masses rise and deliver telling blows against the apartheid system their puppet voices are heard above the din of battle, denouncing the people and defending the people's enemy.

While opposing the revolutionary violence of the national liberation movement, they have not hesitated to unleash systematic violence against the fighters for the people's cause. They have banned the trade unions and brutalised trade union activists. They are fanning fratricidal conflict amongst our people in order to ensure the perpetuation of the apartheid system from which they benefit. Some have gone so far as to ban the UDF and other democratic organisations. This situation can no longer be countenanced. The offensive against the apartheid system must be extended to reach the Bantustans and other apartheid institutions in all corners of our country and among all population groups.

The plight of the thousands of our people whose homes are regularly bulldozed to the ground, and who are regularly bundled up and transported to distant and inhospitable parts of our country, requires our full attention and concerted actions of solidarity. We must elaborate organisational methods and forms of action to halt this crime against our people and to express, in a concrete manner, our solidarity with them. As we have said, we must organise the unemployed into organs of struggle, enabling them to engage in a determined offensive for jobs and adequate unemployment allowances.

Pretoria plots with the west

We have just gone through what was definitely one of the most trying periods in the experience of our movement and struggle. We have survived one of the most lethal attacks on our movement. Our courage and tenacity as a people during the difficult days of 1984 enabled us to withstand a fierce enemy onslaught and proceed to launch the biggest offensive that has inspired our allies and friends to greater supportive action and solidarity.

7. The ten impoverished and geographically fragmented rural reserves that are set aside for African occupation. They cover a bare 13.7 percent of South Africa's entire land area and are administered by tribal chiefs and other African officials appointed and paid by the apartheid regime.

5. Spear of the Nation, the ANC's armed wing.

6. Following the Nov. 5-6, 1984, Transvaal general strike, the bulk of the Black workers at the government-owned Sasol plant were fired for taking part in the strike.

Effectively exploiting unprecedented natural calamities, the historical legacy of colonialism, and by using its own puppet forces, the regime sought to impose conditions on the neighbouring states which were intended to paralyse the ANC and cripple the liberation struggle. A plot was jointly hatched between Pretoria, the United States, and some countries of Western Europe which, in a bid to drive a wedge between ourselves and the rest of the people of Southern Africa, sought to coerce their governments to turn against the ANC and the liberation struggle. This plot was equally intended to sow divisions among the Front Line States⁸ themselves and to distance them from the rest of Africa.

At great cost to themselves and their people, the Front Line States have borne the brunt of overt racist aggression, deliberate acts of economic disruption, and political destabilisation. To their great credit, they have stood united and resolute in their commitment to the cause of African freedom and independence, and especially in their total support for the ANC and SWAPO.⁹

The Kingdom of Lesotho, completely surrounded by racist-controlled territory, has, with singular courage and determination, persistently rebuffed the aggression, bullying, and blackmail of the Pretoria regime. These countries of our region have now been reinforced in their stand by the decision of the 20th Summit Meeting of the OAU to give priority attention to the struggle in Southern Africa. Under the current Chairmanship of President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Chairman of the Front Line States, the OAU is poised to intervene effectively during the current year.

World support for our struggle

As we stated last year, our struggle consists of four interlinked and mutually reinforcing elements. These are, first, the vanguard role of the underground structures of the ANC; second, the united mass political action of the people; third, the armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe; and fourth, the international campaign to isolate the apartheid regime while winning world-wide moral, political, and material support for the struggle. With regard to the second of these elements, there can be no doubt that we have registered great successes in raising the united mass action of the people to higher levels.

It is equally undeniable that we also achieved new victories as regards the fourth element, namely, the drive to isolate the apartheid regime and to win world-wide moral, political, and material support for our struggle. In this regard, we should mention a few salient successes.

The efforts of the apartheid regime to break out of its isolation have ended in dismal fail-

ure. Botha's visit to Europe ended as a severe rebuff for the racists. The new government of New Zealand adopted firm positions against the apartheid system, forcing the Pretoria regime to withdraw its diplomats from that country. The widespread and unprecedented demonstrations in the USA against apartheid and the Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" are an accurate barometer of the mounting isolation of the apartheid regime as well as the increasing scope and depth of support for the cause of liberation in South Africa and Namibia.

Likewise, the attempts of the apartheid regime to project itself as reformist have been exposed and condemned by the international community. Accordingly the UN Security Council has rejected Botha's amended apartheid Constitution as null and void, and of no force or effect. It affirmed the need for majority rule in a united, democratic, and non-racial South Africa.

And yet these achievements are not sufficient. We need to intensify our international offensive in the New Year, further to isolate the apartheid regime, strengthen our own ties of solidarity with progressive humanity, and thus further complicate the situation of the apartheid regime within our country.

During this past year we also took our struggle forward by beginning to carry out another strategic task we had set ourselves. As you will recall, last year we said we must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime.

We reject illegitimate rule

We have now set out upon this path. We have taken impressive strides towards rendering the country ungovernable. This has not only meant the destruction of the community councils;¹⁰ our rejection of the apartheid constitution was, in its essence, a reaffirmation of our rejection of the illegitimate rule of the Botha regime. Other struggles, including those around the issue of education as well as the stay-at-home, themselves pitted our democratic power against the power of the forces of oppression, racism, and counter-revolution, for the defeat of the latter and its replacement with popular power.

In this coming period, we shall need to pursue, with even greater vigour, the task of reducing the capacity of the colonial apartheid regime to continue its illegal rule of our country. The destruction of the organs of government weakens the regime and is a necessary part of our continuing mass offensive.

The victories we scored during the year have plunged our opponents into an even deeper political crisis. Apart from denying them the chance to expand their social base, they further sharpened the contradictions and conflicts within the ruling group, and exposed the utter bankruptcy and failure of the overall political programme of the racists. These are important

successes as they help further to weaken the enemy and shift the balance of power in our favour.

The regime knocked off balance

Through struggle, we have forced the apartheid regime into a situation of confusion, indecision, and an inability to define for itself any consistent direction of state policy. This situation has arisen because the efforts of this regime to project itself as a representative of the so-called forces of moderation, gradual and peaceful reform, have ended in failure. According to this tactical manoeuvre, the racists sought to present themselves as a reasonable and acceptable alternative to the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC, on one hand, and the fascist coalition of the HNP [Herstigste Nasionale Party — Authentic National Party] and the Conservative Party on the other. Knocked out of balance by the intensity of our offensive, the White minority regime lurches from side to side, fumbling for an equilibrium it can no longer regain. On one day it pretends to be concerned about the condition of the Black majority and, on the next, pledges itself to the maintenance of White minority domination.

At the same time, the posturing of this regime has angered large sections of the diehard racists among the Whites who see the maintenance of the apartheid system as a holy crusade. Moved by their attachment to the benefits that accrue to them from the system of national oppression and the super-exploitation of the Black majority, the political representatives of this tendency in White politics are challenging the Botha regime for the allegiance of especially the Afrikaner population.

The disarray in the enemy camp has compelled some to examine the fundamental premise of the entire system of racial oppression. The realisation has begun to dawn on some of Botha's own supporters that no solutions to the problems confronting our country are possible without the participation of the Black and democratic majority, and the leaders of this majority.

There are yet others from among our White countrymen who, more far-sighted than others, have decided to break with a system that is so patently criminal. These have joined the democratic movement. We are confident that the numbers of such White compatriots will grow as an integral part of the forces of liberation which are destined to defeat the apartheid regime and liquidate the criminal system it upholds. In order to hasten the advent of that day, we must give the enemy no respite; no time to regroup and recover lost ground. It requires that we must stay on the attack.

Role of the masses

We are entering the second half of the 1980s. When we cast our minds back to the Year of the Charter — 1980 — and the subsequent years, the one feature that stands out is the ever-expanding and visible role of the

8. The six frontline states are Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

9. South West Africa People's Organisation, which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule.

10. Black-staffed bodies set up by the apartheid regime to administer the Black urban townships.

masses of our people in the making of this history. As we enter this second half of the Decade of Liberation, it is necessary that we examine not only our striking power, but, even more important, the direction in which to strike and how to deliver the blow. In particular, it is necessary that we ask the question: at what pace — how fast — are we advancing towards the conquest of power?

The pace of our forward march depends on our success or failure to strengthen the first and third of the four interlinked elements we have referred to, namely, the all-round activity of the underground structures of the ANC and the armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe.

With regard to these two decisive elements of our revolutionary struggle, we should neither dramatise our shortcomings nor blind ourselves to the reality that we have not advanced on these two fronts at a pace corresponding to our advance on the other two.

To move forward to victory with the greatest speed, we must pay particular attention this year to the task of building a strong underground presence of well-organised revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them. Such a body of cadres constitutes the dynamising factor in our situation — a force capable of bringing together the various strands of our struggle, and assisting in the further development and consolidation of all our political and military combat forces into a mighty army of liberation.

The call we are making to all the democratic and patriotic forces of our country is that this year we must take it as our special task to strengthen and reinforce our vanguard organisation, the African National Congress. Already we have made great strides in this regard. And yet the imperatives of our struggle demand that we do not any longer postpone execution of the task we elaborated last year — to strengthen and expand the underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

Who are the cadres?

Who are these revolutionary cadres about whom we speak? Where are they? They are not special people. It is we — men and women, young and old, Black and White — who are involved in daily struggles, making sacrifices in pursuit of the people's cause. It is we, the workers in the factories, the mines, the farms, the commercial establishments and offices of various kinds; we, who work in health and educational services as well as those of us occupied within the residential areas.

The distinctive feature of the revolutionary cadre is a high level of discipline, dedication, and courage in carrying out the tasks assigned by the movement. Such cadres are guided by our goal of a united, non-racial, and democratic South Africa. They fight for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other leaders and political prisoners. They accept that our path to victory lies in a combination of the all-round activity of the ANC, united mass po-

litical action, armed struggle, and international solidarity and support.

It is now 25 years since the illegitimate regime in our country proscribed the representative and leader of our people — the African National Congress. The apartheid regime banned the ANC exactly because it wanted to remove from our midst this dynamising factor in our struggle. Frightened by the fact that we have nevertheless defeated its efforts to destroy our mother body, this regime has now made mere membership of the ANC a treasonable offense. However, through our relentless, daring, and death-defying actions, we have compelled the enemy to admit that, as before, the ANC is central to the solution of the South African problem. We must build on this achievement to ensure that in this second half of the Decade of Liberation, the ANC emerges more powerful than it has ever been.

ANC the alternative power

We further charge the ANC and all other patriots to continue to shift our posture to the offensive and, as we said last year, to cultivate the spirit of rebellion and the frame of mind which puts the politics of revolutionary change to the fore. The programmes of action that we plan and carry out should result in the initiative passing further into our hands. Our mass democratic and revolutionary movement should emerge ever more forcefully as the alternative power in our country.

Through struggle and sacrifice, we have planted the seeds of people's war in our country, that is, a war waged by all the people against the White minority regime. One of our central tasks in the coming period is to transform the potential we have created into the reality of people's war.

Guided by that perspective, we must build up the mass combat forces that are training themselves in mass political action for sharper battles and for the forcible overthrow of the racist regime. The mass combat forces of our revolution are the same political forces that are and have been engaged in the popular offensive. These death-defying patriots must now become part of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the vital cutting edge of our onslaught.

It is in this way that we will ensure that the people's army deepens its roots and grows inextricably among the popular masses. It is in this way that we will ensure that it grows in size, in the spread and quality of its operations and the weight of every blow it delivers.

In the course of our mass offensive, we have, from time to time and with increased frequency, created the situation in various localities such that the democratic forces challenged the apartheid authorities for control of these areas, emerging as the alternative power. With regard to the perspective of people's war, this means that we forged the conditions for us to transform these areas into mass revolutionary bases from which Umkhonto we Sizwe must grow as an army of the people.

In all the struggles that we waged in the past year, regardless of how peaceful they were,

the enemy confronted us with its armed might. In Sebokeng and other areas, the apartheid regime deployed thousands of regular troops in an attempt to crush the people's resistance.

At such moments who among us did not feel the urgent need for us to talk to the enemy in the language he understands best? Who has not seen that we too must take up arms as did our forebears, as did Bambata, Solomon Mahlangu, and as did Clifford Brown, only last year!¹¹

All we are saying, therefore, Fellow Combatants, is that we have it within our means to increase our capacity to hit back at the enemy, arms in hand. No one but ourselves will accomplish this task. We must all take it as a priority task to build up the popular armed forces, to transform the armed actions we have thus far carried out into a people's war, by helping to root Umkhonto we Sizwe firmly among the people and actively drawing the masses into the prosecution of a people's war.

Furthermore, all the oppressed need to emulate the example of the areas where the democratic movement has emerged as the alternative power. Wherever we are, we must transform our locality into a mass revolutionary base. In such areas, we should also use the democratic power we have accumulated through struggle, to defend and advance the interests of the people. We must use our organised mass strength and, by attacking, consolidate our victorious emergence as the alternative power.

The cultural workers — artists, writers, musicians, poets, sportsmen, and sportswomen — have the capacity to enrich the overall effort of our people in our quest for national liberation.

We charge our cultural workers with the task of using their craft to give voice, not only to the grievances, but also to the profoundest aspirations of the oppressed and exploited. In our country a new social and political order is being born. Our artists have to play an even bigger role as midwives of this glorious future. Let the arts be one of the many means by which we cultivate the spirit of revolt among the broad masses, enhance the striking power of our movement, and inspire the millions of our people to fight for the South Africa we envisage.

Apartheid economy in crisis

The continuing and deepening crisis of the apartheid economy confronts all of us with the task of defeating the efforts of the apartheid state and the bosses to shift the burden of this crisis on to our shoulders. This crisis is not of our making. It is the result of the exploitative capitalist system as well as the huge state expenditures to maintain and strengthen the

11. Bambata led an armed rebellion of Zulus against colonial rule in 1906, and was killed by British troops; Solomon Mahlangu was an ANC fighter executed in April 1979; Clifford Brown was another ANC fighter who was killed in action in May 1984 during an attack on an oil refinery in Durban.

enemy army and police and to finance the political and administrative structures of the apartheid system.

Why then must we finance the commission of a crime against ourselves by paying an ever-rising General Sales Tax, increased food prices, rents, fares, and so on! Why must we continue to lose our jobs, adding to the millions already unemployed, while the apartheid regime and the employers recruit skilled workers, especially from Western Europe!

We should therefore unite in action to demand food and not guns, jobs for the unemployed, and the diversion of resources to improve the lives of the impoverished masses. The wealth we create with our labour should not go to enrich a small clique and oil the machinery of apartheid, while millions suffer from starvation. In this struggle we expect the organised workers to play a central role, both to fight off the attack on our living standards and to help bring about the democratic society in which the wealth of our country will become the patrimony of the people.

Salute to our heroes

We salute and pay tribute to the many heroes and heroines of our country who have laid down their lives in our struggle for liberation. We extend our greetings to the leaders and activists of the democratic movement who, despite arrests, detention, and every form of persecution by the enemy, have stood firm and persisted in the common struggle to defeat and destroy the racist regime. Once more, we pledge to our leaders incarcerated on Robben Island, Pollsmoor, and other prisons that we shall not rest until the cause for which they have sacrificed emerges triumphant. The very fact of the arrest and detention of UDF and other leaders, some of whom have been charged with treason, emphasises the continuing importance of the struggle for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

We take pride in the fact that the international conscience, expressing itself through the Nobel Peace Committee, has decided to award the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to a Black South African — Bishop Desmond Tutu. This is the second instance within 23 years that our people, and Africa, have been given this honour. Bishop Tutu walks in the steps of our beloved Chief Albert Luthuli.

There is no doubt that this is a tribute to our selfless dedication and our resistance to one of the most cruel and inhuman systems the world has ever known. The award does great credit to the role of our religious communities in the struggle for liberation and should be an inspiration to all of them to get the heresy of apartheid expunged from the statute books and from our lives. It once more emphasises the importance our people and the rest of the world attach to the contribution the religious leaders and masses of our country must continue to make in the struggle for justice, peace, and life itself.

We greet the fraternal people of Namibia

and especially welcome among fighting ranks of our sister movement, SWAPO, the new Secretary General of SWAPO, Comrade Andimba Herman Toivo ja Toivo and his colleagues, whom the apartheid regime was forced to release from long terms of imprisonment. Their release and continued involvement in struggle will bring closer the day of freedom and independence for Namibia. In this regard we, the people of South Africa, demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African racist troops from Namibia and Angola.

We pay tribute to the Front Line States and the Kingdom of Lesotho for their firm and principled actions in defending our right of struggle and upholding the legitimacy and duty of Africa and the world to support our struggle.

We recognize the important contribution made by the OAU [Organization of African Unity] and various international organisations including the United Nations and its Agencies, the Non-Aligned Movement, the World Peace Council, the Socialist International — to mention but a few. They are largely responsible for ensuring that apartheid remains at the centre of world attention as a crime against humanity.

We congratulate our Palestinian brothers and sisters for successfully overcoming attempts to liquidate the Palestinian struggle. We support the call by the PLO for an international conference in furtherance of the struggle for a sovereign Palestinian homeland.

We condemn the continuing efforts of the U.S. Administration to destabilise and overthrow the popular government of Nicaragua and express our firm and militant solidarity with the fraternal people of that heroic country.

We express our solidarity with the people of Grenada whose right to self-determination was grossly violated and continues to be circumscribed, following the naked aggression by the U.S. armed forces.

We salute all people engaged in struggle for national liberation, especially El Salvador and East Timor. We pledge solidarity with all those struggling to defend their sovereignty, including the peoples of Southern Africa, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, the Middle East, Afghanistan, and Cyprus. We welcome the successes of the democratic forces in Latin America, and are confident that the foothold of the apartheid regime in the American subcontinent will be totally eliminated.

Our people have come to appreciate and value the consistent solidarity and growing support for our struggle given by the socialist countries, the Nordic States, and other countries.

Our ties with various governments, political parties, and parliamentary groups in Western Europe and Australasia have grown stronger and we look forward to ever-closer relations and greater co-operation with them in the struggle against the apartheid system.

We pay tribute to the millions of people involved in the ever-expanding work within the worldwide anti-apartheid movement. They

constitute a solid base of support for our struggle internationally. It is through their daily, and sometimes unknown, efforts that governments and peoples are kept alive to, and mobilised in action against, the numerous ploys of the South African racists to whitewash apartheid. In this context we welcome the momentous campaign undertaken by the people of the United States, which involves legislators, judges, bishops, trade unionists, and other outstanding personalities and government officials, and which is targeted on pressuring the Reagan Administration to reverse its support for the Pretoria racist regime.

We salute all these supporters and unsung heroes working for the cause of world peace and closer fellowship within the human race.

We take this opportunity once more to dip our banners in memory of that outstanding friend of our struggling people and movement, the late Indira Gandhi. We are certain that her successor as Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, will continue in her footsteps further to extend much appreciated all-round support to our struggle.

Year of the cadre

Rumours, emanating from the South African mass media, have been circulating about "talks" between the African National Congress and the Botha regime. There have been no such talks. Your organisation at this juncture is concerned to improve our capacity to accomplish the tasks we have set for ourselves in the unfolding year. In this respect we shall, as you know, be holding a National Consultative Conference this year, from which we shall emerge united and doubly strengthened to carry our struggle forward.

The strength of any organisation lies in the calibre of its individual members and units. In order to advance in keeping with the momentum of our struggle we must improve the quality and expand the quantity of our membership. We need cadres of unquestionable loyalty, dedication, and understanding of our struggle. In order to achieve such a high standard and spur our nation into a greater onslaught on the enemy and its institutions, we declare this year, 1985, *the Year of the Cadre!*

Let this year see us take big strides in further strengthening the organised underground structures of the ANC. Let us see greater mass political actions in all the provinces and districts of our country. Let it see us extend people's war to all corners of our land. Let it see the fastest and furthest possible co-ordinated advance on all fronts towards the goal of people's power.

There is no going back.

Forward Always is our battle cry!

The enemy cannot stop us.

Our future is in our hands.

Forward with the Year of the Cadre!

Mobilise and March Forward to People's Power!

Amandla Ngawethu!

Matla ke a Rona!

Power to the People!

Socialist Action League conference

Internationalist perspective high on agenda

By Helen Sheridan

[The following are two articles reprinted from the February 1 issue of *Socialist Action*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Auckland, New Zealand, that reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

For six days, from December 27 to January 1, members and supporters of the Socialist Action League and the Young Socialists gathered near Palmerston North to attend the ninth national conference of the Socialist Action League.

This was both a decision-making and an educational conference. During the 10 weeks leading up to the conference members of the Socialist Action League took part in a written and oral discussion on a series of key political questions facing revolutionaries in New Zealand today. At the end of this discussion period League branches elected delegates with speaking and voting rights during the formal decision-making sessions of the conference. These sessions focused on four reports being submitted to the membership by the National Committee of the League.

Alongside these formal conference sessions were a range of educational classes, feature talks, and workshops for participants in the Maori national struggle, women's rights activists, and Central America solidarity activists. In the course of the conference members and supporters of the League and YS working in the meat and food industries also met to discuss how to take the League's political campaigns and revolutionary ideas to their workmates and into the unions.

Educational classes

Many of the classes held over the six days provided a further opportunity for those attending the conference to discuss ideas put forward during the formal sessions. They included talks on the worker-farmer alliance in New Zealand; on the relationship of the demand for nationalisation of the land to farmers' rights and the struggle for the rights of the Maori people; and on the revolutionary Marxist programme for women's liberation. Another talk examined the class ferment among working people in this country in the period leading up to the election of the first Labour government in 1935.

Several talks drew on the rich contribution the experiences of revolutionaries in the past can make to an understanding of the political questions confronting socialist workers today. Two such talks were based on a newly-pub-

lished book of speeches and documents: *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*. One of the decisions made at the conference was to hold classes to thoroughly study this book in every branch of the Socialist Action League in 1985. (*Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* is available from Pilot Books, P.O. Box 8730, Auckland.)

Internationalism

Speaking at a special rally on New Year's Eve to launch a fund appeal to finance *Socialist Action* in 1985, Toafe Mano, a national executive member of the League, commented: "I think the conference reflects the mood we want to take into the new year: internationalism, optimism, and a willingness to learn as well as to teach in the struggles which lie ahead." This revolutionary commitment and optimism was reflected by the fact that those attending pledged to donate over \$17,000 towards the overall target for the 1985 fund appeal of \$35,000.

The presence of a number of international guests contributed to the spirit of internationalism which was a strong feature throughout the conference. A particularly enthusiastic reception was given to Susanna Ounei, a leader of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), who attended part of the conference.

Feature talks

Members of the Fourth International (the international revolutionary organisation to which the Socialist Action League is affiliated) from the United States, Canada, and Australia also attended. John Steele, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada, and Nita Keig, an Australian supporter of the Fourth International, spoke about the political situation in their countries today. As well, Australian socialist Deb Shnookal presented a slide show based on her recent visit to the Philippines.

Two leaders of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States — Mel Mason and Doug Jenness — also gave feature talks at the conference. Mason, who was the SWP's presidential candidate in the 1984 U.S. elections and who is also a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party, spoke about the long struggle that has been waged by Blacks in the United States to break from the domination of the two main capitalist parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, and to form their own political party in defence of their interests as Blacks and as workers.

Doug Jenness, who is the editor of *Intercontinental Press*, summed up the lessons that five years of revolution in Central America hold for

revolutionaries around the world.

Conference greetings

Internationalism was also the theme of the New Year's Eve rally. John Steele, Deb Shnookal, and Mel Mason presented greetings to the conference from revolutionaries in their countries. Messages of support were also received from People's Democracy, the Irish section of the Fourth International; from the Revolutionary Communist Party of China, which is based in Hong Kong; and from the Philippine trade union federation, the KMU (Kilusang Mayo Uno — May 1st Movement). (See box.)

Speaking in his capacity as a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, Doug Jenness told the rally: "In order to overthrow the ruling classes in our own countries, we must be internationalist through and through. The internationalist programme, the programme of revolutionary Marxism, needs an organisation. That organisation is the Fourth International."

Eleven countries were represented at the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, he said. At the world congress scheduled for early 1985, however, nearly 40 countries will be represented.

Fourth International

"There is a place in the world today for an organisation like the Fourth International. It needs to exist, because the struggle for revolutionary Marxism needs an organisation that assembles cadres in as many countries that it can, and that links up with revolutionary Marxists that are in governmental state power in Cuba, Nicaragua, and as they were in Grenada under Maurice Bishop," Jenness said.

This commitment to internationalism and to building the Fourth International was taken up by every speaker at the rally. As the final speaker, Mel Mason, said: "One of our resolutions for the new year must be to build solidarity with the people of Kanaky — to wish them victory in their battle against French imperialism; to deepen our solidarity with Nicaragua and Cuba; to deepen our solidarity with the fighters in El Salvador; and to deepen our opposition to the imperialist war drive in Central America, the Caribbean, and beyond."

* * *

"We are entering a period characterised by ongoing capitalist instability, by imperialist wars, and by revolutions. It is a period in which events are going to shake up the labour movement in this country from top to bottom,"

Andy Jarvis, a member of the national executive of the Socialist Action League, told those attending the League's ninth national decision-making conference at the end of December.

"What socialist workers do today," he continued, "is decisive for being able to build the sort of revolutionary workers party that is needed — a proletarian vanguard, steeped in the lessons of Marxist continuity — the sort of party that will be capable of stepping out in the coming class struggle battles and helping to lead the workers and working farmers in a revolution to end capitalist rule and conquer political power."

This report — which looked at the political situation in New Zealand under the newly elected Labour government — was one of four being submitted to the conference delegates for discussion and voting by the National Committee of the Socialist Action League. These reports took up the key political questions facing working people throughout the world, and the tasks ahead of revolutionaries in this country in 1985.

Two themes

Two themes ran through all the reports and discussions at the conference. Firstly, the centrality of the unfolding socialist revolutions in Central America and the growing threat of war by the United States and its imperialist allies against these revolutions. And secondly, the task of advancing working people in New Zealand along the road of struggle against their capitalist exploiters.

These are not separate tasks. As the League's national secretary, Russell Johnson, explained to the conference: "The best way to explain our perspectives to radicalising workers today is to point to the unfolding revolutions in

Central America and the Caribbean, to explain New Zealand imperialism's links into this war drive against the world's workers and farmers, and the need for working class solidarity action."

As well, Johnson stressed, "We explain the need for workers and farmers in New Zealand to learn from and follow the example set by the workers and farmers of Central America, who are today fighting on the main battlefield against imperialism."

Kanak struggle

Conference delegates also voted to launch a campaign in solidarity with the national liberation struggle being waged by the Kanak people of New Caledonia. Revolutionaries in New Zealand have a serious responsibility to explain to working people in this country what is happening in New Caledonia and the need for solidarity with the Kanak people, the delegates recognised. Today the Kanaks are directly confronting French imperialism. But, like all Pacific peoples, they are also threatened by Australian and New Zealand imperialism's military and economic domination of the Pacific.

A highlight of the conference was a speech outlining the history of the Kanaks' struggle by Susanna Ounei, a leader of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front. A message of solidarity was also sent to the FLNKS from the conference.

The Socialist Action League's internationalist perspectives were also reflected by the number of international guests attending the conference. As well as Susanna Ounei, revolutionaries from the United States, Canada, and Australia spoke.

The presence of so many international

guests also reflected the importance the Socialist Action League attaches to political collaboration with revolutionaries around the world.

Fourth International

The League is the New Zealand section of the Fourth International, a revolutionary socialist organisation with member parties throughout the world. One of the tasks of the conference, and of the discussions taking place in the weeks prior to it, was to politically prepare the membership of the League for a world congress of the Fourth International being held in Europe in early 1985.

A report outlining the main issues facing the world congress was presented by Neil Jarden. "We value being a part of the Fourth International very highly," Jarden explained. "From the time of Marx and Engels 150 years ago, those who shared the common goal of a socialist world have sought to unite in one revolutionary organisation."

The last world congress was held in 1979 — only months after the triumph of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions. These revolutions have had an important impact on the parties of the Fourth International over the past five years, Jarden explained.

"By learning from Central America, and by re-examining in the light of these revolutions what Cuba represents and what were the lessons of the 1917 Russian revolution, we have been enriching our understanding of our revolutionary heritage in a way that we were never before able to do," he said.

Workers and farmers government

"We have discovered, as have other revolutionaries in Central America in particular, that the Cuban revolution was in no way an isolated example. We understand more clearly than ever that a workers and farmers government is the essential first form of government that appears after a victorious revolutionary upsurge."

Two earlier reports by Russell Johnson and Andy Jarvis looked in more detail at the role of a workers and farmers government in advancing the working class along the road of leading a popular struggle for power.

"The key to being able to unravel what's happening in New Zealand politics at this present point is to understand the deepening class polarisation that is taking place in New Zealand society," Jarvis explained. On the one hand, capitalist politics is moving to the right under the impact of a 10-year employer assault on the rights and living standards of working people.

At the same time, this deepening class polarisation is having the effect of radicalising the most combative layers of workers. "A small layer of young, mostly rank-and-file workers is beginning to look for progressive solutions to social problems today," Jarvis said. "They are beginning to look at politics more from the conscious standpoint of being workers. And this process finds its firmest roots among the most oppressed and exploited

Philippine union greets NZ convention

[The following message was sent to the ninth national convention of the Socialist Action League of New Zealand by the May First Movement (KMU), an independent trade union coalition in the Philippines.]

* * *

Comrades,

Greetings of solidarity from the struggling Filipino workers!

It is a great opportunity for the Filipino workers, through the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU — May 1st Movement), to address our comrades in the struggle in New Zealand in the event of the ninth National Conference of the Socialist Action League.

For the peoples of Asia, like the Filipinos, your concern over the intensifying imperialist intrusion in Latin American nations is of utmost significance. Whereas, we are most aware of the imminent destruction that the very recent imperialist manoeuvres in Latin America poses on its people.

As we recognise, the countless evil effects of imperialism especially U.S. imperialism, on the sovereign life of the Filipino people and the peoples of Asia, we do also recognise the power of our people to resist and abrogate imperialist rule in our land.

It is in the revolutionary spirit of the Filipino working class that we view as important your discussions on world imperialism.

It is, therefore, our fervent hope that our solidarity transcends our continental limits for the liberation of the working class and the people, and the ultimate triumph of our common struggle against imperialism.

In the service of the working class and the people,

For the Kilusang Mayo Uno

Roberto T. Ortaliz

1st Vice-Chairman

Acting Secretary General

layers of the working class.”

Labour government

The rightward shift in capitalist politics — which has drawn the trade union officialdom, many middle class political activists, and even a minority layer of relatively privileged workers in its wake — has accelerated since the election of a Labour government in July, Jarvis said.

“Despite the origins of this government in the Labour Party, and despite the organisational roots of this party in the trade unions, the government of David Lange and Roger Douglas is a capitalist government not fundamentally different from any other,” he explained.

“Over the past five months, the capitalist ruling class has been able to use this government to deepen its assault on the rights and living standards of workers and working farmers.”

There has been little organised resistance on the part of the labour movement to these deepening anti-worker attacks, Jarvis pointed out. “In their own way, left wing union officials, middle class leaders of the peace movement, radical feminists, and others among this layer are helping to uphold the reactionary policies of the Lange government and reinforce support for its pro-imperialist course.

A shift to the left?

“These groups and individuals all try to deny the reality of what’s going on right now. They portray what’s happening under the Labour government as a shift to the left — a step forward — and seek to tie workers and the oppressed to the anti-worker policies of the government.”

Quoting from articles in the newspapers of the Socialist Unity Party and the Workers Communist League, Jarvis went on to explain: “The most bankrupt and disorienting role in all this is being played by those reformist forces claiming to be socialist or communist.” These groups hail the Labour victory as a big blow to the bosses, and paint up Labour’s policies in the most positive light possible. The way for the working class to advance today, they say, is by pushing for the gradual implementation of “progressive” reforms acceptable to the Labour leadership.

The Socialist Action League has a different framework, however. “We have to explain that the road forward lies not in seeking to pressure the government or to reform the Labour Party, but, rather, begins with the ranks of the industrial unions seeking to have our unions act as instruments of struggle on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed.

“We have to use the example and the lessons of the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean to explain in our propaganda the path of independent political action that all struggles need to take today, pointing towards a revolution to overthrow capitalist rule and establish a workers and farmers government.”

Jarvis then went on to look at the support given by the union officialdom, left groups,

and other political activists to the Labour government’s promise to ban nuclear-armed or -powered warships from New Zealand ports. This has been hailed as a brave stand against United States imperialism and a step towards New Zealand developing an “independent” foreign policy.

“One of the reasons that the petty-bourgeois left and others are so enthusiastic about this ‘independent’ foreign policy garbage is because they reject any analysis that says the war problem is a New Zealand problem — that it’s a problem of New Zealand imperialism. Instead they portray the source of war as being foreign governments — principally the U.S. government, and sometimes just American people, full stop,” he said.

“It goes hand-in-hand with an analysis that says that New Zealand is a semi-colony dominated by U.S. imperialism (or other ‘foreign’ capital) and that the main enemy of the New Zealand working class is not our bosses here at home, but the U.S. government and ‘foreign’ multinational companies. . . .

“It’s not just that this political standpoint is wrong or that it points in a false direction. It’s a standpoint that aids the bosses. It reinforces class collaboration, national chauvinism, and racism inside the labour movement.

NZ imperialism

“The latest reflection of this has been the recent rise of anti-Asian racism that has become current in pacifist circles in Australia and New Zealand under the absurd guise of ‘the threat of an Indonesian invasion.’ . . . It’s important to recognise that the Lange government is seeking to whip up such chauvinism in New Zealand today, and the nuclear question is being used to play at least a part in this.”

The Socialist Action League rejects this reactionary, class-collaborationist framework, Jarvis declared. The task of revolutionaries in New Zealand today is to tell the truth to working people — to explain that the main enemy of the New Zealand working class is its own ruling class here at home, and that this ruling class oppresses and exploits workers and working farmers not only in this country, but throughout the South Pacific, South East Asia, and elsewhere.

“We have to explain that as long as the capitalists hold political power in this country, then New Zealand’s involvement in imperialist wars is inevitable,” Jarvis told the conference. “Accordingly, the working class road to peace centres on the fight to overthrow capitalist rule and establish a workers and farmers government. That’s the only way it can be done.”

Build party of workers

The task of revolutionaries in the Socialist Action League and the Young Socialists today, Jarvis said, “is to push forward our orientation to the most oppressed layers in the industrial unions and to build a party that is rooted among and composed of workers from these layers at all levels.

“We will do that by aggressively taking our

communist ideas to these workers through our propaganda campaigns — explaining the need for a world class outlook, the need for socialist solutions to end exploitation and oppression, and what needs to be done for our unions to advance on the road of independent working class political action towards a workers and farmers government.”

How the League plans to carry out these perspectives in 1985 was the subject of the fourth report, which was presented to the conference by Eileen Morgan.

Over the past six years the League has taken important steps towards transforming itself into a party rooted in the industrial working class, Morgan pointed out. Today, the majority of League and Young Socialist members are industrial workers, and carry out political work through two national fractions based on the unions in the meat and food industries.

Central America

“Through our fractions we bring our revolutionary campaigns into the unions,” Morgan explained. “We advance the perspective of the working class thinking socially and acting politically, and of the need to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle.”

The fractions, therefore, are at the centre of all the League’s political work, she emphasised — “from women’s rights, to solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the Kanak people, to the circulation of *Socialist Action* and other revolutionary literature.”

A key proposal in the report was to place greater emphasis on carrying out Central America solidarity work through the fractions. “Systematic work to deepen our workmates’ understanding about what is at stake in Central America today will be the central question our fractions take up, providing us with a national focus for our work as revolutionaries in the unions,” Morgan said.

Circulation campaign

To strengthen the League’s ability to take its political campaigns and revolutionary ideas to working people, conference delegates voted to launch a special circulation campaign to build up a regular working class readership for *Socialist Action* and other socialist literature.

From February 15 to April 11, members and supporters of the Socialist Action League and the Young Socialists will mobilise to sell 1,200 subscriptions of *Socialist Action* to working people from Whangarei to Invercargill. Any subscriptions to the international news magazine *Intercontinental Press* sold during this period will also count towards the target of 1,200, the delegates decided.

Books and pamphlets on the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean will also be promoted during this period. As well, a special fund appeal is being launched to finance the distribution of *Socialist Action*, *Intercontinental Press* and Central America literature throughout the island nations of the South Pacific. □

U.S. socialist tours New Zealand

Mel Mason speaks to workers, Maori activists

By Neil Jarden

[The following article is taken from the February 1 issue of *Socialist Action*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Auckland, New Zealand, that reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Mel Mason, the candidate of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party in last year's presidential elections, made a brief tour of New Zealand shortly before Christmas. He was able to speak to workers in a number of centres, at factories, public meetings, and house meetings.

Mel's tour began in Invercargill. He was welcomed into the Nga Hau e Wha Marae [a Maori tribal meeting ground], and spoke to 20 people, mostly freezing workers. Later he spoke to a group of workers at the Lorneville freezing works camp, and he was interviewed for the *Southland Times*.

As well as the organised meetings, Mel spent many hours often late into the night discussing socialist politics with Maori activists and workers.

Central America

Everywhere he talked about the war in Central America (he visited Nicaragua last July), and the struggles of workers and Black people in the United States. He also spoke about the British miners' strike, from first-hand experience based on a trip he made there last year.

Many of those who heard Mel had recently seen a film about the Grenada revolution; they asked him about how the movement of supporters of murdered revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop was progressing.

At Palmerston North Mel toured the Longburn freezing works, and addressed workers there. He also spoke to house meetings of workers in Palmerston and Foxton.

In Hastings, Mel addressed a crowd of about 50 freezing workers at the gates of the Whakatu works, and later talked to workers at a local tannery. One of them commented afterwards: "It was good hearing Mel talk about Nicaragua. It filled out the reports you see in the newspaper — the papers never give you a worker's viewpoint."

While in Auckland, Mel visited Raglan where he met with Maori rights leader Eva Rickard.

Black struggle

After speaking in Auckland, Mel attended the Socialist Action League conference, where he presented greetings from the Socialist Workers Party and gave a talk on the history of the fight for independent Black political action in the U.S. Mel is a long-standing activist in

the Black struggle, with experience in the Black Panthers in the 1960s and in community struggles in Seaside, California, where he was elected to the city council as a militant socialist and supporter of Black rights.

At the League conference Mel met Susanna Ounei, a leader of the FLNKS [Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front] in New Caledonia. He pledged to take back the truth about the Kanak struggle to the Black move-

ment in the United States, and to help build support for it there.

Mel was able to begin this immediately when he returned. He presented a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the January 12-15 convention of the Socialist Workers Party in New York. The resolution, addressed to the Provisional Government of Kanaky, denounced the January 11 murder of FLNKS leader Eloi Machoro, and explained how the struggle of the Kanak people was an inspiration to all those struggling against colonialism and oppression, from Puerto Rico to the Philippines to the United States. [This resolution was printed in the February 4 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.] □

Peru

New facts in journalists' murder

Regime's cover-up begins to unravel

By Mike Taber

The Peruvian regime's cover-up of the January 1983 murder of eight journalists has begun to unravel. The victims, most of whom worked for major opposition newspapers in Lima, were killed by security forces in the village of Uchuraccay while investigating government claims in the deaths of seven Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrillas shortly before.

In an effort to whitewash the massacre of the journalists, Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde Terry named an investigating commission headed by a close supporter of his, the well-known novelist Mario Vargas Llosa. The Vargas Llosa commission's report in May 1983 absolved the military of all responsibility and held instead that the journalists were killed by peasants who mistook them for Sendero Luminoso guerrillas.

However, a trial of three peasants accused of the murders recently held in Ayacucho has produced irrefutable evidence disputing Vargas Llosa's "findings" and linking the military to the crime.

Among the facts revealed in the trial were:

- The military lied when it claimed not to have known beforehand about the journalists' plans to visit the region around Uchuraccay.

- The military's statement that none of its troops were in the area where the murders occurred was also a blatant lie.

- While the Vargas Llosa commission maintained that the eight were killed immediately after being met by the villagers, photographs recovered from the camera of one of the victims prove that the killings did not occur until the following day.

- Vargas Llosa claimed that the journalists were mistaken for guerrillas because of their unfamiliarity with the region and the Quechua language. However, four of the journalists in fact spoke Quechua, and three were well-

known in the area.

Other evidence has come to light exposing the cover-up. For example, the village where the killings occurred is now deserted, and its inhabitants cannot be found. Of the 18 peasants originally accused of the crime, fifteen have since "disappeared." And the military officers directly implicated have dropped out of sight.

These events are certainly not an isolated occurrence in Peru. According to Amnesty International, over 1,000 people have been "disappeared" by government forces in the last two years. Thousands have been murdered, often found later in mass graves, showing signs of torture.

The Peruvian regime is clearly afraid that the exposure of its role in the killing of the eight journalists will undercut its ability to continue receiving massive U.S. aid. Apparently unconcerned, the Reagan administration announced on January 29 that it would ask Congress to double military aid to Peru, making it the largest recipient of U.S. military aid in South America. □

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Women and the Grenada revolution

Speech by Merle Hodge views Bishop government's overthrow

[The following are excerpts from a speech given by Merle Hodge presented to a Caribbean women's conference in Antigua on Oct. 19, 1984. It was given on the first anniversary of the overthrow of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Grenada and the execution of Maurice Bishop and other leaders of the revolution by a faction led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. That overthrow opened the way for the subsequent U.S. invasion of Grenada.]

[Merle Hodge, a Trinidadian by birth, lived and worked in Grenada during much of the revolution. Among other things, she wrote for the weekly *Free West Indian* and played a leading role in the National Women's Organisation (NWO).]

[The conference at which she presented this speech was sponsored by the Antigua Women's Movement, an arm of the Antigua-Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM), one of the main left groups on that island. These excerpts are taken from the Nov. 16 and Nov. 23, 1984, issues of *Outlet*, the ACLM's weekly newspaper. The footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

When the revolution triumphed, the question of the status of women was given very high priority from the very beginning.

About one and a half years before the revolution, the New Jewel Movement had formed a women's arm, the NJM-NWO (National Women's Organisation).

Three months after the triumph of the revolution, the women of the NJM-NWO were joint organizers, with another women's organization called the Progressive Women's Association (PWA), of a big conference of women which had as its aim to take stock of the situation of women and begin to chart the way forward. It was a *Caribbean* conference, like this encounter. Women from all over the region gathered in St. George's to study together the problems facing us, and to consider how, in the newly liberated territory of Grenada, a path could be carved out for all Caribbean women.

The conference was a major event, attended by members of the leadership of the revolution. Our comrade Maurice Bishop delivered an important policy speech on the question of women.

It was a very successful encounter, generating a great deal of enthusiasm, solidarity among women, and a determination to work for the revolution to achieve the advancement of women and the progress of Grenadian and Caribbean society as a whole. The women who participated were *united* in these sentiments.

Today when I look back at that conference

and events which followed, I see a very important lesson to be drawn.

The PWA was an organisation dating from before the revolution whose membership included many middle-class women. The PWA had been active before the revolution. Individual members were supportive of the NJM struggle, and now the organisation welcomed the revolution and showed itself willing and ready to work for the revolution.

A few months after the conference, when I went to Grenada again, the PWA was in ruins, and the erstwhile members were cursing the name of Phyllis Coard.¹ They accused her of deliberately creating confusion within the group (which she had joined, conveniently) which led to the break-up of the PWA. It is only today, in the wake of events last October [1983], that a whole pattern of things is becoming very clear.

What destroyed our revolution in Grenada was ideological arrogance — theory placed above people, the Coard faction deciding that they had the gospel and that everybody else was reactionary, or bourgeois, or right-opportunist — or some other label. Phyllis mashed-up the PWA because there were too many middle-class women in it, women whom she automatically branded as reactionary. Some of these women were permanently alienated by this experience and withdrew their support from the revolution and would have nothing to do with anybody in the NJM but Jackie Creft.²

In contrast to the intolerance and rigidity of the group who gradually took over the party and the revolution, Maurice and Jackie, and when one takes stock, *all* of the comrades who were executed at Fort Rupert one year ago, had a genius for relating to all kinds of people, bringing out their strengths and winning their goodwill.

Jackie moved among all strata of the population, loved and respected by all. She alienated nobody on the grounds of class or ideology. She was, in fact, a major go-between for the party, for she was welcomed into the homes of even those who had turned against the revolution because they saw it eroding the privileges of their class. Jackie could get the most alienated of businesspeople, for example, to make material contributions to one project of the revolution or another. On October 19th, it was people of *all* classes who came into the streets

1. Phyllis Coard, Bernard Coard's wife, was the chairperson of the NJM Women's Committee and a leader of the NWO.

2. Jacqueline Creft, then minister of education, youth, and social affairs, was executed along with Maurice Bishop on Oct. 19, 1983.

to show their support for Jackie and Maurice.³

After the breakup of the Progressive Women's Association, some of the women who had been members continued to support the revolution and to work for it whenever they could find an opportunity.

Meanwhile the mobilization of women in the entire country was proceeding. A Women's Desk was set up within the first few weeks of the revolution, later to move out of the Ministry of Education and mushroom into a full-fledged Ministry of Women's Affairs, reflecting the tremendous increase in programmes for women that the revolution was engaged upon.

In May 1980 the decision was taken to open the ranks of the NJM-NWO to "all women who want to see our country develop and move forward, and our women achieve full equality as part of that process of development" (NWO document).

The NWO grew into a vigorous network of women's groups all over the country. Through this network Grenadian women were engaged in a whole range of programmes.

Apart from the work done to mobilize, educate and organise women through the NWO, the women of the country in general benefited greatly from policies of the PRG aimed especially at improving their condition — legislation such as the Maternity Leave Law, equal work, the law against sexploitation (the sexual exploitation of women in exchange for employment), the development of day-care facilities, assistance to mothers of school children in the form of school books and uniforms, and other measures.

In this paper I have dealt very skimpily with the concrete facts of the progress of women in Grenada during the revolution. One of the reasons for this is that I am writing about the Grenada revolution, and one of the aspects I am projecting in great detail is the question of women.

The second reason why I have not gone into detail is that for the purposes of this encounter I am more interested in drawing some of the lessons that can be useful to us as we seek to forge a Women's Movement for the Progress of the Caribbean.

One important lesson is the need to mobilize *all* women, to avoid *sectarianism*, which is a word that Jackie Creft used very often to express her disapproval of party members who

3. A reference to the massive demonstration that freed Bishop from house arrest. It was following the brutal attack on this demonstration by troops loyal to the Coard faction that Bishop and the others were executed.

showed arrogance towards people whom they saw as beyond the pale of the revolution because they were not "ideologically developed." In the crisis that we face in the Caribbean today, we have to adopt Jackie's spirit and gather in the goodwill of all women who want to work for progress.

But there is another lesson that we might have to draw from the experience of the Grenada revolution.

When the NJM-NWO threw its ranks open to wider membership, what happened was that it became a mass organisation rather than the women's arm of a party. This mass organisation immediately began to make a significant contribution to nation-building by unleashing the tremendous creative energies of women right across the country. Had the revolution not been cut down, the potential of this mass organisation would have taken the country from strength to strength.

But meanwhile, back in the party, the organisation which has the function of providing leadership and coordination, there was now no women's arm. When I recall certain events and certain trends, I realize that this may have been a huge mistake.

It is clear now that in the Grenadian revolution, two parallel processes were taking place all along, that these eventually confronted each other, and the one swallowed up the other:

1. The development of a *people's* revolution, carried forward by the creative energy of the mass of the people, the welling up of the wisdom they have carried within them for centuries, the voluntary effort of the people stimulated and motivated by the type of leadership practised by Maurice Bishop and the NJM core group that was eliminated along with him last October.

2. The slow, steady, calculated hijacking of this process by elements who placed theory above people, who had no real contact with the people, and who in the end were rejected by the people in no uncertain terms — the Coard faction.

There was no independent women's arm of the NJM Party. There was a Women's Committee, just as there was a Workers' Committee and Teachers' Committee, etc. But the chairperson of the Women's Committee was Phyllis Coard: the women of the party were firmly under the hegemony of the Coards, as were the young men of the grouping called OREL [Organisation for Revolutionary Education and Liberation], formed by the Coards in the early 1970's and which the Coards continued to cultivate within the revolution until this faction had ousted from the higher organs of the party all of the original core of leadership, finally executing them at Fort Rupert one year ago today.

Towards the end of 1982, party organisation began to tighten. The party began what now seems to many of us who witnessed it, a process of attempting to turn its members into robots.

Party organisation was the portfolio of Bernard Coard. In January 1983 a new avalanche

of rules, commitments, assignments, and compulsory activities was heaped upon party members, taking up, if these were carried out, every minute of their waking hours. More and more duties were heaped upon their heads as the year went by.

A system of residential weekends was instituted at which members studied literature selected by Bernard Coard. Much of it was to do with the principle of democratic centralism.

Overwork and strain began to have demoralising effect on party members. Their communities began to fall down badly.

The drastic discipline which was imposed upon the party was, I found out from Jackie later when she began to talk about her fears, a source of worry to Maurice Bishop. He was not in favour of the unrealistic demands imposed upon party members. But he too, alas, had to bow to "democratic" centralism as interpreted by Coard and his faction.

At one party weekend, the women revolted. A new list of duties was announced for all party members, taking away every Saturday, every Sunday, and every evening of their time. The women objected, putting forward the problem of child care and household responsibilities. The objective reality of the time was that men had not yet been totally won over to sharing these tasks, so that party women were more overburdened than their brothers in the party.

The women were overruled by Bernard Coard and others of his grouping who presided over that meeting. Maurice was not present.

The women left the meeting saying among themselves: "If Maurice was only here, he would have been on our side." Again, it was revealed to me long afterwards by Jackie that

Maurice was very saddened by that whole episode. He was of the view that the women's demands for more time to be with their children was a valid one, given the objective reality of the role of women in the present society.

But Bernard Coard and his gang won. The women who had been most vocal in the meeting were penalized in various ways — expulsion from the party, transfer into difficult areas of work, etc.

My contention is that had there continued to exist an independent women's arm within the party structure, they might have been able to save the revolution. Under the influence of Phyllis Coard, party women saw their role as agreeing to what the party men had decided upon by a much-subverted process of "democratic" centralism. Phyllis herself was the only female member of the Central Committee.

In this era of our history, the post-Grenada era, when we are undergoing a *real* process of recolonization, when every attempt is being made to use our women as agents of this recolonization by getting them hooked on a decadent American lifestyle, getting them to reject indigenous food for imported food, getting them entangled in the fashion-and-cosmetic race, generally befuddling their brains to kill their fighting spirit, it is clear that we need a strong, organized Caribbean women's movement, a network like the NWO for the mobilization and organisation of women. An organisation not alienated from the organisations which include men, but which will choose to remain a *female* force until we have finished the task of liberating the whole society, but liberating it and humanizing it at the same time, never placing theory above people, never losing the element of caring. □

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Rightists routed on Thai border

Vietnamese, Kampuchean troops raze base camps

By Will Reissner

In a dry-season offensive that began November 18, Vietnamese and Kampuchean government troops have routed Kampuchean reactionaries based along that country's border with Thailand. The last major counterrevolutionary military camp was captured February 14.

As of February 18, two small military camps controlled by former Prince Norodom Sihanouk had not yet come under attack, reflecting the Kampuchean government's view that Sihanouk's forces have little military significance. But Sihanouk's bases, too, are likely to be overrun before the dry season ends in May.

The defeat of the Kampuchean counterrevolutionaries — a coalition made up of followers of ousted ruler Pol Pot, former Premier Son Sann, and Sihanouk — has been a severe blow to their international backers. For six years the rightist guerrillas have been showered with military, financial, and political support from the proimperialist Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Stalinist regime in Peking, and Washington.

During the time Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime ruled Kampuchea, from 1975 to 1979, several million people perished as victims of executions, starvation, and disease.

In December 1978, Vietnamese troops entered Kampuchea and, together with insurgents led by present Kampuchean head of state Heng Samrin, drove Pol Pot's forces from power.

Attacks from Thailand

Many of Pol Pot's troops, however, were able to retreat to neighboring Thailand, where the right-wing government gave them sanctuary and allowed them to establish military bases in remote areas straddling the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Since then, Pol Pot's forces have attacked Kampuchea from their border camps in an attempt to prevent the reconstruction of Kampuchean society and the consolidation of the new government.

In 1982, Washington and its ASEAN allies were instrumental in forging a coalition between Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and the two groups led by Son Sann and Prince Sihanouk. The coalition's purpose was to divert attention from Pol Pot's murderous record and give the counterrevolutionaries a more palatable image internationally.

Washington backs this coalition as one prong of its policy to isolate and "bleed" the Vietnamese people as punishment for their victory over U.S. imperialism in 1975.

Peking, which is anxious to expand its rela-



Kampuchea's Foreign Minister Hun Sen.

tions with Washington, provides massive military aid to the reactionaries as a demonstration to Washington of China's usefulness as an ally.

Without the aid, backing, and protection they receive from their foreign sponsors, the Kampuchean counterrevolutionaries would have been defeated long ago.

Settlement proposals spurned

On numerous occasions the Kampuchean and Vietnamese governments have proposed political settlements to the conflict.

A January 17-18 meeting of the foreign ministers of Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam, for example, proposed a paired withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and elimination of Pol Pot's forces, free elections in Kampuchea with the presence of foreign observers, and an agreement by all countries in the region not to let their territory be used as the staging ground for attacks against any other country.

Kampuchean Foreign Minister Hun Sen stressed in an interview in the December 31 Paris fortnightly *Afrique-Asie* that if Sihanouk and Son Sann break their alliance with Pol Pot, they could have a role to play in Kampuchean political life. Hun Sen stated that his government's policy is that "any person, whatever his past, who breaks with Pol Pot and respects the Constitution of the republic will enjoy all the rights of citizenship, in particular the right to vote and to run for election."

The international backers of the Pol Pot-dominated coalition, however, have shown no interest in a peaceful solution in Kampuchea. As the routed counterrevolutionaries streamed

back into Thai territory, the ASEAN members immediately set to work to regroup and rearm them.

A February 11 meeting of the foreign ministers of the ASEAN countries — Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Brunei — called for increased international "support and assistance" to the "political and military struggle" of the counterrevolutionary coalition.

In a dispatch from Bangkok in the February 12 *Washington Post*, William Branigin wrote: "Asked in a press conference if this meant ASEAN was seeking direct foreign military aid for the resistance, Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila replied, 'Yes.'"

This appeal, Branigin reported, "was directed primarily at the United States."

Up to now the bulk of the military supplies for the rightist guerrillas has come from China, Thailand, and Singapore, while Washington contributes nonmilitary supplies and diplomatic and political support.

Sihanouk urges Chinese invasion

While ASEAN was calling on Washington to provide military equipment to the coalition, Prince Sihanouk was urging the Chinese regime to invade Vietnam.

At his well-guarded Thai government guest house, Sihanouk told reporters on February 16: "We want China to teach Vietnam a second lesson now." In 1979, Chinese troops invaded northern Vietnam to teach that country a "lesson" after Hanoi's troops and Kampuchean resistance fighters ousted Pol Pot's regime.

Sihanouk revealed that Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang had promised him in October that they would "punish" Vietnam if the Kampuchean counterrevolutionaries came under heavy military pressure along the Kampuchea-Thailand border.

The former prince added that he had received a message "a few days ago" informing him that "China was determined to counterattack" Vietnam along their common border.

For weeks, the Peking regime has been loudly threatening Vietnam. A Chinese foreign ministry official warned on January 10 that Vietnam would have to "eat the bitter fruits" of its activities in Kampuchea.

China's Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian made the warning more explicit on January 29. Wu told a press conference: "If Vietnam continues to make provocations, and if Vietnam does not accept a lesson which we brought the first time, we reserve the right to give it a second lesson."

As yet, the Chinese threats have not been translated into full-scale military attacks. But Chinese authorities have concentrated large infantry forces and air power along the border with Vietnam, and Chinese troops have launched sporadic attacks and have shelled Vietnamese border villages.

Peking flatly rejected a Vietnamese proposal for a January 16-February 26 cease fire along the Sino-Vietnamese border to mark the Tet lunar new year festival. □