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London: Miners' wives picket National Coal Board headquarters.

British Coal Strike Poses Challenge to Labour Party Conference

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Spurs Tamil Separatism**

First-hand Report
**Philippine Peasants
Face Army Terror**

**Australian Left Debates Role
of Right-Wing Croatian Group**

Mondale pledges to continue war in Central America

By Fred Murphy

Democratic Party presidential candidate Walter Mondale has left no room for doubt that, if elected, he will continue U.S. imperialism's escalating war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

Mondale — who masquerades as a "peace candidate" — spelled out his views in a major interview published in the September 18 *New York Times*.

In El Salvador, the candidate stated, his administration would go on "supporting Duarte, including military assistance." Like James Carter and Ronald Reagan, then, Mondale pledges to continue using President José Napoleón Duarte as the civilian facade for arming to the teeth El Salvador's brutal military dictatorship, which is waging war against working people in that country.

In Honduras, Mondale said, he would support Washington's "continuing traditional role" for "interdiction" of alleged "Nicaraguan intervention in El Salvador." This is precisely the phony pretext the Reagan administration uses for turning Honduras into one huge U.S. military base and using that country's territory to wage a war of terror and destruction against Nicaragua.

Nicaragua, Mondale charged, "is an increasingly totalitarian state" that is "violating plenty" of human rights. If elected, he said, "I would continue to interdict" supposed Nicaraguan intervention in El Salvador and step up "pressure" on Nicaragua by U.S. allies. Washington, Mondale went on, "should try to quarantine Nicaragua if it uses any force outside of its borders."

"What if," the *Times* interviewer then asked, "the Soviets and Cubans were to set up something we recognize as a military base in the area?"

That would be "a very serious threat to this nation's security," Mondale replied, one that would have to be "dealt with at that much higher level of threat." The candidate went on to endorse Reagan's threat to carry out a military strike against Nicaragua if it exercises its sovereign right to acquire Soviet-built MIG jet fighters to defend itself against the superior air power of Washington and its allies.

If the Nicaraguan government should obtain such aircraft, Mondale declared, "it would be intolerable. . . . What it means [is] that the Soviets have to get out of there and it means we have to take such steps as to bring about that result."

The Democratic candidate also endorsed Reagan's invasion and occupation of Grenada and the imposition of a U.S.-dominated government there. Force was necessary to "protect American lives," Mondale said, upholding

Reagan's phony pretext for the October 1983 invasion — planning for which began under the Carter-Mondale administration.

Overall, Mondale's most substantial complaint against Reagan's policy in Central America and the Caribbean is that it has not thus far succeeded in fulfilling U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary aims. The Democratic candidate asserted that "it is clear there are . . . three or four more times the guerrillas than there were [in Central America] three years ago. Many more Cubans and Soviets and so on."

Mondale's and Reagan's parties, the Democrats and Republicans, are the twin political instruments of the imperialist ruling class in the United States. At present, these parties and their candidates are trying to outdo each other as to which is "tougher" in defending imperialist interests at home and abroad and who can best sell Washington's military interventions around the globe.

The wealthy ruling families of the United States grasp that their "right" to reap huge profits from the exploitation of working people

is being challenged by the revolutionary upsurge unfolding in Central America. Hence their parties are jointly preparing to send U.S. combat forces into the war against the Nicaraguan workers and farmers government and the freedom fighters in El Salvador and Guatemala.

A key part of this preparation is the ongoing barrage of slanders — purveyed by Mondale and Reagan alike — against the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions and their leaderships. Such lies are crucial to the imperialists' effort to blunt the strong antiwar sentiment that persists among working people in the United States.

The November elections will not and cannot change U.S. imperialism's course toward expanded war in Central America, U.S. Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason declared in a statement responding to Mondale's *New York Times* interview. "That's why it's futile for opponents of U.S. aggression to try to stop the war by working to elect Mondale."

In fact, Mason explained, "supporting the Mondale-Ferraro ticket will *take away* precious time that is needed to begin building a movement that can stop U.S. intervention, a movement based on the labor movement and the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities." Instead of campaigning for Mondale, Mason urged opponents of Washington's war, "help organize the kind of massive, independent antiwar movement that is needed." □

A French pullout from Chad?

By Ernest Harsch

The first contingents of French and Libyan troops began pulling out of Chad September 25. It was the start of a gradual withdrawal, scheduled to be completed by mid-November, in which all French and Libyan combat forces are to leave that war-torn Central African country.

The withdrawal began just a week after the abrupt and unexpected announcement on September 17 that the French and Libyan governments had agreed to end their direct combat involvement in Chad. This agreement followed a month of top-secret negotiations. It was in the form of two simultaneous announcements in Paris and Tripoli — of a more tenuous and limited scope than a formal, signed accord.

The agreement stated, "The [Libyan Arab] Jamahiriya and the French Government noted their desire to develop their relations and their co-operation and to suppress all obstacles to this end.

"The Jamahiriya and France have decided to proceed, in the shortest possible time, with the total and concomitant evacuation of French armed forces and Libyan elements of support to the GUNT, as well as the totality of their armaments and respective equipment."

The GUNT is the Transitional Government

of National Union headed by former Chadian President Goukouni Oueddei, who was driven from power by the imperialist-backed forces of Hissène Habré in June 1982.

Since Goukouni had maintained friendly ties with Libya, his overthrow by Habré was part of the broader imperialist campaign of threats, military provocations, and destabilization against Libya itself. In response, Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi stepped up aid to the GUNT's armed forces, which were based in the northern parts of Chad closest to Libya.

As Goukouni's rebel forces made important military advances in mid-1983, threatening Habré's new puppet regime, the French and U.S. imperialists decided to intervene directly. Paris, Chad's former colonial master, dispatched some 3,000 French troops in August 1983. Washington sent tens of millions of dollars worth of U.S. military aid.

As a result of this timely intervention, Habré managed to retain his grip on power in Ndjamena, the Chadian capital, while the rebel advances were halted. Despite a few major clashes, an overall military stalemate has prevailed since then, with Goukouni's Libyan-backed forces dominating in the sparsely populated north and the French troops and Habré's army in the more economically important and

heavily populated center and south.

Under this stalemate, however, Habré has been able to strengthen his dictatorial regime. Through a combination of brutal repression and political maneuvering, he has contained the armed opposition to his rule in the south and at the same time has broadened the political base of his regime somewhat. French training and U.S. and French military equipment have also greatly strengthened the effectiveness and size of his army.

In the meantime, Goukouni's GUNT, which is a broad coalition of political and military forces, has suffered from a number of splits and factional conflicts.

The French imperialists have thus judged their year-long intervention to be a relative success, and now calculate that Habré's regime, at least for the moment, can survive without the direct presence of French combat troops. Whether the withdrawal is followed by renewed fighting or yet another round of "reconciliation" talks, Habré is in a stronger position today than he was before the French intervention last year. Qaddafi's decision to end direct troop support to the GUNT will bolster Habré's hand even more.

For Qaddafi, the agreement with Paris represents another step in his recent efforts to find some grounds for accommodation with governments, both imperialist and neocolonial, that have been hostile to Libya in the past. Feeling the pressure of the imperialist campaign against Libya, he hopes that this will win his regime some respite from the incessant attacks against it.

Just a month before the agreement with Paris, Qaddafi signed a treaty of "union" with the Moroccan monarchy of King Hassan II. This marked the culmination of Qaddafi's abandonment of the Polisario freedom fighters, who are struggling for Western Sahara's independence from Moroccan rule and who had previously received significant Libyan assistance.

On September 21, Hassan revealed that he had served as a go-between in the negotiations between Qaddafi and French President François Mitterrand, who visited Morocco shortly after the Libyan-Moroccan treaty was signed. Former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu of Greece also played mediating roles.

Papandreu then visited Libya on September 23-24, signing a \$1 billion economic cooperation agreement with Qaddafi. Papandreu was only the second head of state of a NATO member country to visit Libya since Qaddafi took power 15 years ago; the first was Prime Minister Turgut Ozal of Turkey, in May.

Although Qaddafi has maintained an anti-imperialist stance on some foreign policy questions, he has considerably modified his tone on others.

As recently as September 1, he railed against the French imperialists' "unjust colonization of Chad" and bombastically declared

that Libya would teach Paris "a lesson greater than Dien Bien Phu."

Following the agreement with Mitterrand, the tune was totally different. Qaddafi hailed the opening of "a new era" in relations between Libya and France and said that the two governments, together, could "create a kind of dynamism that favors peace and well-being for the peoples concerned."

But for the people of Chad there is no peace. Nor is there a "new era." Rather, it is the old era of French imperialist domination that they have suffered under since the beginning of the century.

Not only are the people of Chad still subjected to a brutal, neocolonial regime, but they are also the victims of continued French military intervention. The withdrawal agreement

applies only to French combat troops, not the many French military personnel who are in Chad in the guise of "advisors" or "instructors." It does not end the massive amounts of French military aid to Habré or French use of Chadian air space and military transit facilities in Chad.

Even if all those now deemed combat troops are actually withdrawn, they will not go far. Many are being shifted to French bases in the neighboring Central African Republic, ready to return to Chad at short notice. French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson has publicly declared the French troops would be sent back to Chad if Paris deemed it necessary.

Given Chad's history of armed rebellions and repeated French interventions, that prospect is a very real one. □

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Editor: Doug Jenness.

Contributing Editors: Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Managing Editor: Ernest Harsch.

Editorial Staff: Steve Craine, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner.

Business Manager: Sandi Sherman.

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Miners set challenge to Labour Party

Coal strike poses class-struggle issues sharply at convention

By Hazel McPherson
and Aileen O'Callaghan

LONDON — The 1984 Labour Party conference taking place in Blackpool in the first week of October will be one of the most important in recent history. It is the miners' strike, which will be entering its seventh month, that lends it such importance.

In terms of worker-hours lost, this strike is already the fourth largest in British history, behind only the 1926 general strike and the miners' strikes of 1912 and 1921. While all the indications are that the dispute will continue throughout the winter, it is not so much the scope, but the political character of the dispute, that has caused it to dominate the British news bulletins for most of the year.

A resolution to the conference submitted by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) seeks to commit the Labour Party to the NUM's "Plan for Coal." In the wake of the statement of support passed overwhelmingly by last month's Trades Union Congress (TUC) there is little danger of the resolution being rejected. However, it is already clear that the Labour Party leadership and a large proportion of its rank and file will each attach a different significance to the passage of the resolution.

The miners' Plan for Coal contains some fundamental elements of a workers' alternative plan for energy in this country. Its most important demands include: calling a halt to the nuclear power program; finding new ways to use coal, including the improved social use of coal burning as cheap fuel for old-age pensioners threatened annually with death by hypothermia because they cannot afford to pay heating bills; consolidation of bonuses into basic pay, pay increases across the board, and a four-day week for coal miners; and using new technology to shorten the working day, rather than lengthening the dole queue [unemployment line].

The miners are adamant that they will not accept the government's contention that pits that are not profitable to the capitalists must close. In rejecting the closure of "uneconomic pits," the miners are insisting that workers, jobs, and communities come first. This has led National Coal Board (NCB) boss Ian MacGregor to describe the dispute as one over who controls the coal industry, the coal board or the miners.

For Neil Kinnock, the leader of the Labour Party, the danger lies not in the passing of the NUM's resolution as such, but in the possibility that wide sections of the Labour Party and the trade union movement will take it at face value and fight to commit the mass organiza-



Clive Turnbull/IF

Labour Party march in support of miners' strike, Dinnington, South Yorkshire.

tions of the working class to implement it.

The experience of the recent TUC congress was a salutary one. Greater influence over the course of the strike was undoubtedly the price the trade union bureaucracy wanted to exact from the NUM for their statement of support. They hoped to first dampen its militancy and then bring it to an "honorable settlement" (that is, a sellout of the NUM).

Kinnock's tirade against violence

Kinnock has taken a similar approach. When he gave, for the first time as the party's leader, his fraternal greetings to the congress, he launched a tirade against the so-called "violence" of the miners' pickets. At the same time he chose to ignore the arbitrary arrests of 8,000 miners to date, the regular police riots, or the use of roadblocks and military-style occupation of pit villages by the cops.

Things have so far turned out a little differently than the expectations of the TUC and Labour Party officials, however. NUM President Arthur Scargill and the rest of the union's leadership have used the TUC statement to demand that key unions, such as those repre-

senting the power workers and engineers, deliver their promises of solidarity. Far from drawing back, the striking miners have increased their picketing. In fact, it has reached the point where Eldon Griffiths, Tory member of Parliament and political adviser to the Police Federation, has warned that the time is close when the cops will need to use plastic bullets to control the mass pickets.

Kinnock's TUC speech has therefore backfired on him.

For seven months, the miners have been making gains in educating fellow trade unionists and many Labour Party activists in the importance of class-struggle methods. Through the rough mass picketing, demonstrations, solidarity boycotts, solidarity strikes, the mass mobilization of women in the mining communities, and the refusal to recognize the authority of the police and the "justice" of the courts, they have shown that the Plan for Coal can only be won by methods advancing the organization, mobilization, independence, and combative unity of the working class.

Miners' leader Arthur Scargill has argued on a number of occasions that the kind of class-

wide action that would bring a quick victory to the miners could spell the end of the Tory government. But striking miners do not want to see a return of the kind of Labour government headed by Harold Wilson and James Callaghan — Labour governments that organized the shutting of hundreds of mines and attacks on workers' rights.

'Government loyal to workers'

Scargill has called instead for "a government as loyal to our class as Thatcher is to hers." Such a government, in fact, could guarantee the implementation of the Plan for Coal.

To do so, it would need not only to place the needs of the working class first in its priorities, but also to take on the power of the capitalists, speculators, and profiteers. It would have to base itself on the mobilization of working people through their mass organizations in defense of its program. In short, it would generalize the kind of advanced action the miners have been taking and explain to the working class as a whole the lessons of the class struggle. This is the challenge thrown down by the miners to a future Labour government.

Kinnock has moved to head off the anti-imperialist dynamic of the Labour Party's recent stand on nuclear weapons. Through its statement entitled, "Defence and Security for Britain," the Labour Party leadership has reaffirmed its commitment to NATO and for the first time speaks of expanding military expenditure, while mouthing promises for unilateral nuclear disarmament in the same breath. Despite the existence of a mass antimissiles movement led by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which has taken a stand against NATO, Kinnock is likely to have more success on this issue than on the issues in the miners' strike.

Unlike the miners, the CND leadership has turned its back on the methods of class struggle. It tries to trade off those of its demands which pose a challenge to the imperialists in return for a wider respectability through which it might then win greater influence in "official" opinion. Similarly, it has tried to thwart attempts to root the movement more firmly in the industrial working class. This refusal to embrace working-class strategy and methods opens the entire movement to derailment by misleaders like Kinnock.

Even as the conference agenda was sent out to delegates, it was revealed that during Britain's predatory "conventional" war with Argentina over the Malvinas Islands a British nuclear submarine was lining up the city of Cordoba for a possible nuclear strike. The CND leaders have been silent on this.

Their pacifist stance has prevented wide layers of the mass movement from understanding that the threat of nuclear war stems not from the stockpiling of hardware or a mythical Soviet invasion sparking some third world war. It stems from the existence of the predatory imperialist system, which makes wars a

fact of life in the regions it oppresses, like Central and South America and the Caribbean. Indeed, in September Thatcher announced the setting up of a new rapid deployment force for action in the Caribbean and Africa.

The CND leadership has failed to explain that the main enemy is at home and that it is from Thatcher and the British capitalist class that Britain's working people have to be defended.

Class struggle vs. pacifism

For the same reason, a Labour Party that peddles the need for nonnuclear defense and that uses pacifist arguments rather than opposing imperialism in the fight against nuclear missiles will never be able to confront Britain's real involvement in imperialist wars. That is true from the frontline against Argentina, in backing U.S. militarism in Grenada, Central America, and Lebanon, or in supporting Iraqi aggression against the Iranian revolution.

The acid test of any government claiming to base itself on working people's interests is the Irish question. Although more and more "left" members of Parliament, with growing support in the rank and file, are willing to speak in favor of a united Ireland, they refuse to tackle the central question of British troops. For 15 years now — nearly half of them under Labour governments — the British military has occupied the northeast of Ireland and, in company with the Royal Ulster Constabulary, waged war on the resisting Catholic population. Tactics developed in the north of Ireland are increasingly being deployed against the striking miners. Thatcher has already made plain her willingness to use troops to break the strike if necessary.

Miners back Irish struggle

Common repression forges closer ties

By Celia Pugh

LONDON — When *The Miner*, the newspaper of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), described police brutality against strikers in Blidworth and other mining villages of Nottinghamshire, it headlined the article "From Belfast to Blidworth." The police role has been revealed at the end of batons on miners' picket lines and in the harassment of mining communities.

Miners and their families are beginning to link their experiences with those of the oppressed nationalist communities of Northern Ireland, who are also resisting the intimidation of an invasion force. When the miners see their union attacked in the capitalist press as the "enemy within," they think of the smears of "extremists" and "fanatics" directed against the Irish people. They can see how wrong the media are on the miners' struggle, and more and more are concluding that they must be wrong on Ireland too.

The Irish question demands the answer of unconditional solidarity with the national liberation struggle being led by Sinn Féin and the Irish Republican Army. A workers government worthy of the name would demonstrate this solidarity by immediately ending the occupation of the north of Ireland, which remains a dagger pointed at the heart of the British labor movement as well as the Irish people.

The 1984 Labour Party conference will not transform the Labour Party into an instrument for achieving a workers government. Nor will any such Labour Party conference in the future. In the end, the conference is a tool of the labor bureaucrats, whose first loyalty is to capitalism.

Nevertheless, because the Labour Party was founded by the unions and is still based on them, it is inevitable that in seeking political solutions to their problems, the mass of working people in Britain want to thoroughly test out the Labour Party to form a government that breaks from the interests of the bosses. The ambition of the masses to mold the Labour Party to their interests will more and more frequently clash with the requirements of the bureaucracy to maintain it as an instrument to contain and betray those aspirations.

Out of these fights on program and principle will be formed a class-struggle left wing in the unions and the Labour Party, striving to bring to power in Britain a government that stands in relation to the workers as do the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments to the toilers of those countries.

In the context of the miners' strike, the 1984 Labour Party conference is part of the long testing-out process through which thousands of workers in the future will find their way to fight for a workers government in Britain. □

When Sean Downes was killed by a plastic bullet in Belfast August 12, Labour Party MP Tony Benn warned that such weapons could be used against British workers. Questions to government ministers have confirmed that rubber and plastic bullets are on hand in Britain to be used "in the event of a serious situation." Miners are asking how long it will be before they are used against them.

These points were taken up by Malcolm Pitt, president of the Kent NUM, when he spoke at an August 18 demonstration calling for British troops out of Ireland.

"The North of Ireland is Britain's Algeria," he said. "Britain should copy the French and get out! The people of Ireland, the British miners, and the British working class are locked in struggle with the same enemy but on different fronts. As in Ireland, imperialism has been confronted with the determined and fearless opposition of forces they never expected to

come onto the field of battle — in the battle for national independence and also in the battle for the miners and their livelihood.

"As in Ireland, the bankruptcy of the system has been revealed in the resort to naked violence by the police. . . . What Irish people have experienced for a decade is now being experienced by the British miners.

"And we have to be honest," Pitt continued. "As a labor movement we often turned our backs. But now we are experiencing the same tactics, and we have learned the lesson. We will remember and we will stand with all oppressed people against this sort of harassment in the future. Young Davy Jones and Joe Green, two of our members murdered on the picket line, are as much the victims of British imperialism as young Sean Downes over in Northern Ireland."

The Miner continues to hammer home this lesson of the coal strike. Its August 31 issue contained the following article:

* * *

Unless the Labour movement mobilises its full strength, the following horrendous developments could take place. Far fetched? Not at all. All of the measures listed below are now employed in Northern Ireland.

- The Prevention of Terrorism Act could be used when the authorities discover that they are unable to break the resistance of the mining communities — already pickets are referred to as "terrorists without guns."

- Paid informers could be used to fabricate evidence against individual members of the mining communities — recently in Northern Ireland 35 people were sentenced to 4,027 years in prison solely on a statement made by Christopher Black, who was offered thousands of pounds and a new identity in return.

- Miners on remand could have to wait longer and longer for trial. Women prisoners

in Armagh Jail, Northern Ireland, have to wait up to two and a half years in prison until their trial.

- Crowd control techniques learnt in N. Ireland are now much in evidence: and police armed with riot shields and operating snatch squad techniques are deployed in any gatherings of people whether they are at football matches, evicting squatters or intimidating pickets. As the strike is entering its 25th week and the authorities are becoming more desperate, how long will it be before they use the rubber and plastic bullets issued to every force in the country. Rubber bullets kill and maim just as surely as live ammunition. In Northern Ireland 13 people — six of them children — have been killed by rubber and plastic bullets.

- Miners' wives, mothers and daughters could be frequently subject to the kind of strip searching that is the sickening norm in Armagh

prison?

For those shaking their heads in disbelief, just think back six months. The current brutality seemed unbelievable.

The idea of phone-tapping must have seemed like something out of a spy novel. Yet many activists and the various strike headquarters have been subject to this kind of surveillance.

The use of agents provocateurs has also been widespread — that too would have seemed an unbelievable suggestion at the beginning of this dispute.

Is it therefore so unrealistic to assume that lessons learnt by the ruling class in Northern Ireland will be vigorously exercised here?

After all, the current Police Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police is the same Kenneth Newman who served in Northern Ireland from 1973–1979 and reorganised the RUC. □

Worldwide support grows

Miners' tours build international solidarity

"Shared plight — British miner finds brotherhood here" was the headline in the *Southern Illinoisan*, a daily paper widely read in the mining and farming communities of this midwestern U.S. state.

The article reported on the tour of Steve Shukla, a 25-year-old member of the Amthorpe branch of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Shukla has been traveling in the United States since early August, speaking to miners and other North American workers about the long struggle of the miners to defend their union and their jobs.

The response to Shukla's appeal for support has been enthusiastic and generous. United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local

2295 in southern Illinois, for example, voted to contribute \$500 to their striking brothers in Britain. The same local collected an additional \$200 at the mine portal.

Shukla met with lead miners in Viburnum, Missouri, who have been on strike for more than four months. There he heard about a familiar common enemy. Ian MacGregor, head of the British National Coal Board, has also been a prominent figure in the Amax mining company, which owns some of the struck lead mines.

In Toledo, Ohio, Shukla told auto workers engaged in a bitter strike against union busting at AP Parts, "We are standing strong and intend to win — and I know you do too."

Striking steelworkers at Danly Machine in Chicago have been out for five months. The \$113 they contributed after Shukla visited their picket lines was a true symbol of solidarity. He also spoke to 75 copper miners in Arizona, who have been on strike since July 1983, and visited coalfields in West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

In late October, Shukla will tour in Canada, traveling to Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal.

Reporting on the first part of his tour, Shukla told the U.S. socialist newspaper the *Militant*, "It is this spirit of international solidarity that can help defend all working people under attack, in any part of the world."

Such international solidarity has been demonstrated in many countries in recent weeks. The following are a few highlights.

- *Norway* — The September 8 issue of *Ny Tid* ("New Times"), an Oslo weekly that reflects the views of the Socialist Left Party (SV), reported on fund-raising activities on behalf of the British miners. "Oddvar Stølen of the General Workers Union told *Ny Tid* that money is rolling in for the fund. To date,

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160,000 kroner [Kr.1 = US\$0.12] has come in, and the flow of money is not about to decrease soon. Among others, the political youth organizations, AUF [Labor Youth League], SU [Socialist Youth], and NKU [Norwegian Communist Youth] have started an educational and fund-raising campaign for the coal miners' strike. . . . Many organizations and private individuals have dug deep into their pockets for the strike fund," *Ny Tid* reported.

The paper also reported on plans for a September 18 visit to Norway by Peter Heathfield, general secretary of the NUM. He was invited as a guest of the General Workers Union.

• *South Africa* — The Federation of South African Trade Unions, the largest grouping of predominantly Black unions in South Africa, issued the following statement:

"The Federation of SA Trade Unions fully supports the NUM in its fight against pit closures. With the formation of a wider federation of South Africa's independent trade unions next year, we hope to be able to offer you more concrete support.

"The fight for the right to work is particularly understood by South African workers and supported by our Federation. We believe that your victory will be a major step forward in the worldwide workers' struggle for job security and for a rational society. Amandla! [Power!]"

• *France* — A delegation from the Bold branch of the NUM toured mining and steel-producing areas of the country while a miner's wife active in the women's support groups in Britain spoke to a meeting at the Paris women's center. The tour raised about 20,000 francs [F1 = US\$0.11]. The tour was sponsored by, among others, the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International.

• *Poland* — Several support statements have appeared in clandestine workers' journals. An open letter to NUM President Arthur Scargill said, "Over the last few months, we and thousands of our trade union comrades have been anxiously following your struggle for the right to work. We know that, in its present stage, your struggle takes on new importance, that it is in fact a struggle for the survival of the British trade-union movement."

• *Brazil* — A resolution of the first congress of the United Workers Federation (CUT) stated, "Once again, as in its aggression against the Argentinian people, as in its passivity before the deaths on hunger strike of Irish nationalists, this government has shown itself ready to resort to the most brutal methods in its efforts to defend the capitalist and imperialist interests it represents. This strike has already seen the biggest police operation ever seen in Britain, with more than 1,500 miners pickets arrested and two killed.

"We Brazilian workers are familiar with this sort of repression and worse; many times it has been exercised against us in defense of those same interests, including those of British multinational firms operating in Brazil."

• *Sweden* — *Internationalen* ("The Interna-

tional"), the weekly paper of the Socialist Party, Swedish section of the Fourth International, ran a four-page feature on the miners' strike in its September 20 issue, with articles by SP leader Tom Gustaffsson, who recently visited mining areas in Britain. It also reported on support activities in several Swedish cities. The 2,300-member Wood Workers Union in Åstorp organized a meeting for a British miner and has raised thousands of kronor. Socialist Party members in Stockholm, Umeå, Malmö,

and Södertälje are organizing collections at shopping centers, subways, plants, and street meetings.

Volvo, the giant auto company, recently tried to block its employees from inviting Scargill to Sweden. The company argued the visit would cause Volvo to lose markets in Britain for its cars and trucks.

British miners have also toured in West Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Australia. □

STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

No coal to Britain!

Victory to the British miners!

[The following declaration was adopted by a majority vote of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International September 6.]

* * *

The British National Union of Mineworkers [NUM] has now been on strike for six months fighting against the attempt of the mine employers to suppress 20,000 jobs, close 20 pits, destroy whole mining communities, and smash the power of the NUM. In the course of this struggle five miners have died through involvement in the strike, two are fighting for their lives in hospitals, and there have been almost 5,000 arrests. The mining areas have become almost police states with the use of 20,000 police, the blockade of roads, and the continual police occupation of key mining areas. The assets of the South Wales National Union of Mineworkers have been seized by the courts.

This entire assault on the mineworkers has been preplanned by the Conservative Party for ten years and was presented in 1978 in a plan drawn up by the now transportation minister [Nicholas] Ridley for Thatcher. The confrontation, including the massive police operation, has been planned in detail by the Thatcher government during its five years in office.

The violent reaction of the Tory government is due to the stakes involved in the strike. If the British miners were to win, it would be a defeat for the entire policies of the Thatcher government — and a blow to all those governments pursuing monetarist austerity policies. For this reason alone a victory for the miners would be a victory for the whole working class internationally.

The British miners' strike is a crucial part of the international resistance of the working class to the capitalist and bourgeois governments' assaults on jobs and real income/wages which, in Europe, finds its expression in struggles like the fight for the 35-hour week in West Germany, the defense of the sliding scale of wages in Italy, the public sector workers general strike movement in Belgium, and industri-

al action against unemployment in France and Spain.

The miners are also a special target for the Tories since it was their action which brought down the Conservative government of Edward Heath in 1974. Since that time the Tories have plotted to destroy the power of the miners union as the key to breaking up the organized strength of the whole labor movement in Britain.

The miners have no strike pay, in order that their union can use its funds for fighting. The government refuses to pay any social security to the strikers and has reduced state benefits to their families to an absolute minimum. The government is also shipping strikebreaking coal into Britain, breaking union agreements with British dockers.

The miners have responded, stepping up their picketing. Miners' wives have organized themselves nationally and locally to win support and fight alongside the miners. The miners' wives, by their example, have been an inspiration to the strike and to the labor movement. They have made common cause with the struggle of the Greenham Common women against the missiles. The dockers have called two national strikes.

Coal mined in Poland is still being shipped to Britain by the Jaruzelski government. Other coal is being supplied by the South African apartheid regime. Action already being taken in support of the British miners needs to be stepped up and tightened.

Now there is urgent need for international solidarity. The Fourth International pledges itself to play its part:

- to get the truth out about the miners' case, through our press and through tours of miners and miners' wives;

- to raise funds and material solidarity for the miners and their families;

- to fight through the unions for the blocking of all coal movements to Britain.

No coal to Britain! Victory to the British miners!

Peasants victimized by military

Fact-finding mission learns of killings and torture in Quezon

By Deb Shnookal

GUINAYANGAN — Her name was Angelita and she was 10 years old, though exceptionally small for her age from malnourishment. Her eyes were wide and she chewed on a handkerchief, but her voice was clear and earnest as she related how she had witnessed the murder of her father, Jesus Nonsul, by the military.

Angelita was only one of many peasants from the barrios of Buenavista and Lopez in

Deb Shnookal spent two weeks in the Philippines in September. Further articles and interviews will appear in coming issues of *Intercontinental Press*.

Southern Tagalog, Luzon, who had come to testify before a human rights fact-finding mission.

The fact-finding mission included 30 people from the Task Force for Detainees; MABINI, a lawyers human rights group; Friends of the People of Quezon; and other human rights organizations.

The aims of the mission were to investigate reported military atrocities, to publicize its findings, and to provide material, legal, and moral support to the victims. The investigation took place at Guinayangan in Quezon Province, a six-and-a-half-hour drive southeast of Manila.

Quezon Province is a typical example of capitalism imposed on a feudal system of agriculture resulting in the utter impoverishment of the people. Most of the province is owned by the Gala and Rodriguez families. The principal product here is copra — the dried kernel of coconut from which oil is extracted.

The imposition of martial law by President Ferdinand Marcos in 1972 only increased the burden on the peasants in this province. Now they were not only subjected to extreme economic exploitation, exacerbated by the fall in copra prices, but also became victims of increasing harassment by the army, the Philippine Constabulary, and the paramilitary Civil Home Defense Force. These attacks are made under the guise of the so-called counterinsurgency program against the New People's Army (NPA), a guerrilla movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), said to have up to 20,000 people under arms.

A project entitled "Chains of Love" (*Oplan Cadenda de Amor*) was launched in this area as part of this program. This fake civic works project and its successor *Oplan Katatagan* have failed completely to "win the hearts and

minds" of the people. The ever-increasing atrocities committed by the military have only further alienated the peasants from the Marcos government.

Militarization of Quezon

About 7,000 military personnel are presently based in Quezon. This militarization has meant widespread abuses against the people such as massacres of peasants and their families, "salvaging" (summary executions), abductions, torture, illegal detentions, arbitrary arrests, looting, and other crimes.

In the first seven months of 1984, 20 cases of salvaging, 60 disappearances, and 36 arrests were reported in Quezon Province alone. However, Quezon is not the hardest-hit province. The island of Mindanao, where both the NPA and the Muslim Moro National Liberation Front guerrillas are fighting government forces, last year saw 265 salvagings, 115 disappearances, and 1,643 political arrests.

The September fact-finding mission included seven lawyers from MABINI, who took affidavits from a number of victims and witnesses with the intention of laying formal

charges against the Philippine armed forces.

Carlito Buton, a 23-year-old farmer from the barrio of de la Paz, Buenavista, described some of the problems he and his neighbors face. He said that the people are afraid of the military, but they suffer very poor conditions. Most are tenant farmers, growing coconuts, rice, corn, peanuts, and a few vegetables. They must surrender two-thirds of their produce to the landlord, while having to meet all the costs of such items as fertilizer themselves. "To meet our needs we often have to go to the landlord to ask for extra work," he explained.

Buton was arrested in June 1983 and accused of being an NPA sympathizer. Every time he denied any knowledge of the NPA, he said, he was hit with a rifle butt. He was held by the army for several days. "We're afraid of the military, but not the NPA," he said. "We provide them with food if we can. But we don't want to associate with the NPA because we're afraid of the military, not because we don't agree with them," he stressed.

"We don't hold it against people if they take up arms against the government. The people will give them food and water," he said. "The military are very unreasonable. They never listen to the people. Things have gotten worse here since 1983."

Young peasant tortured

Froilan Malveda is another young peasant from Buenavista. He was arrested by the 16th Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army in May 1983 along with his neighbor Edwin Malapote. He was accused of collecting money for the NPA. He experienced various forms of torture at the hands of a Sergeant Fidel Mendoza, infamous for such activities. Mendoza has since been transferred to another province.

Before being released, Malapote and Malveda were forced to sign statements admitting they had been NPA members, but now supported the government. Malveda insisted he did not know what he was signing at the time.

Other testimonies were given to the lawyers by women such as Loretta Dia and Juanita Macaraig, whose husbands had been salvaged. Some like Ida Capili had not yet located the bodies of their husbands.

Sergio Papica, 54, described the abduction of his 15-year-old son, Isagani, by 20 government troops of the 47th Philippine Constabulary. His corpse was found later, along with two others, riddled with 17 bullet holes.

Diego Querobin, a farmer, was on his way



NPA guerrillas. Army seeks to terrorize peasants who support guerrilla movement.

to sell his copra when he met some men in civilian clothes. According to witnesses they took him to a military camp. His naked body was found next day in a nearby river with 18 stab wounds and obvious signs of torture.

Felicitas Fresco, a barangay [village or neighborhood] councilwoman from Buenavista who had come to give evidence on the Nonsul murder, commented that it had only been since 1983 that the military had made its presence felt in the area. She described many cases she knew about of torture, both physical and mental, threats, arrests, and the looting of property such as chickens from farmers.

"The reason for the military presence," she said, "is the peasants' support for the NPA. The NPA apparently helps the people — by settling land disputes and protecting the rights of the common people."

When Fresco was asked if she was afraid to testify, she replied with confidence, looking around the room, "I'm not afraid because I'm telling the truth."

Hearings held in schoolroom

The testimonies were given in a crowded schoolroom in the small fishing town of Guinayangan. Many of the witnesses had walked 20 kilometers or more despite harass-

ment and intimidation from the military. As they spoke with the lawyers and other members of the fact-finding mission, several obvious stooges for the military tried to listen in to what they were saying. Fresco's confident answer was obviously directed at these spies.

It was decided that the witnesses and the fact-finding mission members should stay together that night for protection and sleep in the large hall behind the *convento*, the local priest's house. Watch was kept all night in case of provocation or attack.

Guinayangan was itself the scene of a massacre in February 1980. A large group of peasants had been on their way to join a rally against an increase in the coconut tax when they were ambushed by the military. Two people were killed and 19 were wounded. The governor of the province, Eladio Cadiwara, whitewashed the whole affair.

After evidence was taken from 23 of the victims and witnesses, local people brought a simple meal of rice and fish. Following the meal, the lawyers gathered the people together to explain to them their rights and what to do if they were arrested or raided in the future.

The faces of the men and women were serious and attentive as they listened, while some children slept curled on grass mats on the con-

crete floor. Many questions were asked, especially by women. A woman lawyer, Leo Bataat, concluded the meeting by saying, "If you permit fear to get into your hearts, then they will trample on your rights."

In fact, courage and determination are the only weapons these people have. Another young lawyer, speaking to me later, expressed great concern that these people may suffer further reprisals from the armed forces. "We can only really help them by publicizing their cases, and that's all," he said. "Their backs are against the wall. They have to fight or they will be slaughtered."

The next morning we all rose early. The local people again provided a breakfast of rolls, rice cakes, and coffee. Some of the young men had a guitar, and they sat around singing nationalist songs in sweet low voices — such words as "What greater love is there than the love of the country that nurtured you?"

Then we set off in a convoy of a bus and a jeep carrying the witnesses along the rough, unpaved road to the highway, the blackening clouds of an approaching typhoon behind us. At the highway the fact-finding mission members parted from the peasants, who then faced their long walk home and an uncertain future. □

Sri Lanka

Repression spurs Tamil separatism

Government extends emergency, enlists Israeli aid

By Steve Craine

On September 21, the government extended for another month the state of emergency that has been in effect in Sri Lanka for the past 16 months. The same day, President Junius Jayewardene announced that he would soon unveil the details of a plan he claims will solve decades of civil strife. The central feature of his proposal is to establish a second chamber in the national parliament to represent the country's oppressed minorities, particularly the Tamils.

Since Sri Lanka won independence from Britain in 1948, its governments have resorted to emergency rule at least once every five years. The current emergency was decreed in May 1983, only four months after an earlier period of curtailed civil liberties had lapsed. Jayewardene, like his predecessors, justifies imposition of such harsh measures as necessary to combat the "terrorism" of the Tamil minority.

The Tamils, who comprise about 18 percent of the country's 15 million people, have been systematically discriminated against by the Sinhalese majority and periodically brutalized by officially tolerated pogroms, the worst of which took more than 400 lives and left at least

100,000 homeless in July 1983.

A massive movement of Tamils has developed in response to this state-sponsored racism and the demand for an independent Tamil state — known as Eelam — has won wider support. Separatist guerrillas have stepped up their attacks on the army, police, and other institutions of the Colombo regime throughout the majority-Tamil Northern Province and Tamil sections of the Eastern Province.

New attacks on Tamils

In August of this year there was a sharp increase in clashes between government forces and Tamils, with at least 100 deaths in six weeks — the most since the previous July. But, unlike last year, the recent conflicts have been confined to areas where Tamils are the overwhelming majority, especially in the Jaffna Peninsula, the northern tip of the island. Instead of Sinhala mobs and government-organized thugs attacking Tamils in Colombo, where they are only 25 percent of the population, the recent pattern has been one of devastating reprisals against civilian populations in response to resistance against army and police forces.

The recent escalation of violence began Au-

gust 4 when two Sinhalese sailors were killed in the Tamil fishing village of Velvetthurai after being accused of harassing local women. In retaliation, the army entered the village and ordered all the men between 17 and 25 — about 340 — to report to the center of town. From there they were taken away to detention centers far to the south. The next day, the navy bombarded Velvetthurai, leveling at least 30 houses in one 500-yard stretch of the main street. The government officially denied responsibility, but one commander did admit to "some excesses."

Nineteen Tamils, including bound and gagged prisoners, were killed in an explosion at the Chunnakam police station on August 11. The government claims the only casualties were guerrillas who fell victim to their own premature bomb. But police had evacuated the building two hours earlier, and witnesses said the blast occurred the moment some 10 Tamil youths entered the front door of the station to investigate a rumor that prisoners were being tortured inside.

A survivor told reporters from his hospital bed in Jaffna, "Our mouths were gagged and some had their hands tied behind their backs." He said he was not a guerrilla but had been ar-

rested at his home and taken to the police station with 24 other people.

The day after the Chunnakam explosion, the town of Mannar was set ablaze by government troops in retaliation for a bomb attack on an army convoy. Three thousand were left homeless. The government stated that if its soldiers were responsible they would be punished.

The government's denials of responsibility are even less credible this year than last. The July 1983 pogroms were carried out, ostensibly, by civilian mobs. The recent atrocities were conducted by soldiers and cops who, even if out of uniform, are strangers to the Tamil districts they occupy, brought there only for the purpose of repression.

Lalith Athulathmudali, the head of the recently-established Ministry of National Security, has been given blanket authority by President Jayewardene to deal with the north. After the Chunnakam incident Athulathmudali attacked "correspondents from the liberal belt of the world" for distorting events in Sri Lanka. "It is not axiomatic that minorities always are oppressed," he said. He called reports of the naval shelling of Velvetthurai "rubbish" and displayed photographs he said had been taken since the incident that showed undamaged homes.

One-third of Sri Lanka's army is now stationed in the Northern Province. Considerable naval forces are deployed along the coast to enforce a crackdown on unauthorized travel between Sri Lanka and India, only 20 miles across the Palk Strait. On September 20 the navy sank three boats discovered in an "off limits" zone in the strait. Twenty-five people aboard the boats were killed.

Jayewardene has played on Sinhala fears that the 50 million Tamils of southern India

will come to the aid of Tamils in Sri Lanka. In fact, although the Indian government has denied giving any assistance to Tamil guerrillas, separatist organizations that are illegal in Sri Lanka operate public offices in Madras, the capital of India's Tamil Nadu state.

Colonial legacy

The origins of the Tamil-Sinhala conflict are rooted largely in the period of British colonial rule. The colonizers accentuated ethnic differences to maintain their control. Tamils from the north learned English and gained positions in the British colonial administration in disproportionate numbers.

Tamils have lived in Sri Lanka for centuries, mainly concentrated in the coastal areas of the north and east. In the 19th century, however, the British brought in thousands of Tamil workers from India to work the tea plantations in the central and southern highlands. Although the plantation workers lived in conditions resembling slavery, they were deeply resented by the Sinhalese peasants, who were displaced by the British tea operations.

One of the first acts of independent Sri Lanka (then known as Ceylon) was to declare the plantation Tamils stateless persons and disenfranchise them. The anticolonial demand to do away with the use of the English language for official purposes led to the establishment of Sinhalese as the only official language, disregarding the language rights of Tamil-speakers. In 1972 a new constitution made Buddhism, the religion of most Sinhalese, a virtual state religion. Most Tamils are Hindu or Muslim. Other forms of discrimination are maintained by the government, including requiring higher test scores of Tamil students applying to universities.

Over the past year, further steps have been

taken to reinforce the state's ability to suppress the Tamils and working-class organizations.

Immediately after the anti-Tamil rampage of July 1983, Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) proposed to amend the constitution to require all members of parliament to pledge loyalty to the unity of the state of Sri Lanka. The measure passed easily — the UNP held 143 of the 168 seats in parliament. Elected members of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), the major opposition party with only 15 seats, have boycotted parliament ever since to avoid having to take the oath. The TULF did, however, participate in a so-called all-party conference convened in January by Jayewardene to study the conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese. The UNP-controlled conference, however, was clearly a facade for the only policy Jayewardene has seriously considered — more repression.

Emergency decrees and the 1979 Prevention of Terrorism Act have been used against workers organizations throughout the country, as well as against the Tamil guerrillas in the north.

Under laws and decrees now in force, police can detain anyone suspected of "unlawful activity" for as long as 18 months without charges or trial. "Unlawful activity" can be stretched to cover a wide variety of actions including "failure to inform" authorities. Statements made to police while in custody can be the basis of conviction by juryless courts, even if the defendant retracts his statements under oath.

The state of emergency also allows secret burial without public inquest in cases involving suspected terrorism. In June, restrictions on the press were reimposed after only eight months of relative relaxation. Public discussion, at home or abroad, of Tamil independence is likewise a crime.

Israeli aid

Despite official Israeli denials, the Sri Lankan government now admits that its armed forces are receiving counterinsurgency training from the Israeli government. Since June, 10 agents of Shin Beth, the Israeli internal security agency, have trained 100 Sri Lankan soldiers in the techniques they have perfected against the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank. Some former commandos of the British Special Armed Services, now working for a "private" British security firm, are also involved in the training program. The Israeli tactic of brutal punishment of civilian populations in retaliation for guerrilla attacks was apparent in the August incidents.

In exchange for the Israeli aid, Jayewardene is moving to restore diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv, which were broken in 1970. Already an interests section for Israel has been established in the U.S. embassy in Colombo.

Jayewardene said he approached the governments of the United States, Britain, and West Germany for similar aid before going to the Israelis. "No other country was prepared to help us," he told Mary Anne Weaver of the *Chris-*

Support grows for Balangoda 18

Prominent figures in U.S. civil rights organizations and trade unions have joined an international campaign to protest the arrest of Sri Lanka union activists in the case of the Balangoda 18.

The 18, most of whom are plantation workers, were arrested June 15 under provisions of Sri Lanka's repressive Prevention of Terrorism Act. They are charged with holding an unauthorized meeting. Most of those arrested had been involved in a struggle for workers' rights at the Rye Estate in Balangoda and were supporters of the Sinhala-Tamil Friendship House there. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 17.)

A telegram to President Junius Jayewardene from the U.S. civil rights and trade union leaders concluded: "We see this arrest as a continuation of government repression of the labor movement and the Tamil people. We demand that all charges against

the Balangoda 18 be dropped." It was signed by Rev. Ben Chavis, deputy director of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice; Noam Chomsky; Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Alice Peurala, United Steelworkers of America Local 65; Wabun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt) of the American Indian Movement; and five others. Four U.S. congressmen — John Conyers, Walter Fauntroy, Charles Hayes, and Morris Udall — sent a similar telegram.

More messages of protest are needed. The Balangoda 18 Defense Committee asks that they be sent to President Junius Jayewardene, President's House, Colombo, Sri Lanka. Financial contributions and copies of protest messages should be sent to the Balangoda 18 Defense Committee at 53 Rajamalwate Rd., Colombo 15, Sri Lanka.

tian Science Monitor. "We've asked them all. But there's a big Tamil lobby in Europe and the United States, and they've convinced the U.S. Congress and European parliaments that 'you should not aid a country persecuting a minority.' They've cleverly submerged the Tamil terrorist issue. We're now bringing it to the top."

In fact, Washington played the broker in establishing cooperation between Sri Lanka and Israel. U.S. military aid to Israel carries the proviso that Washington must be consulted before Tel Aviv can give military assistance to a third government. According to the September 15 issue of the London magazine *Economist*, "The Americans made up for their own cold-shouldering of Sri Lanka by providing a go-between, General Vernon Walters, who helped to draft the agreement it signed last May with Israel." Never before has the United States government allowed Israel to operate openly out of one of its embassies.

Jayewardene has been cautious, however, in restoring ties with the Zionist government because of Sri Lanka's close economic connections with the Arab world. Much of the country's tea (its major export) is sold to Muslim nations, and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries has granted concessions for Sri Lanka oil purchases. Furthermore, more than 150,000 Sri Lanka citizens work in the Arab Middle East, sending significant sums to their families at home.

Separatist movement grows

The shock of the 1983 pogrom and the steadily tightening grip of the Sinhala-controlled central government have encouraged the growth of separatist sentiments in the Tamil community. Guerrilla organizations, known collectively as the "Tamil Tigers," are gaining support relative to the more established Tamil party, the TULF.

The TULF has endorsed the concept of an independent Eelam as a possible solution and has refused to swear allegiance to the unity of Sri Lanka. However, it is primarily a parliamentary formation and has indicated its willingness to compromise with the central government. Its participation in the all-party conference, like its earlier cooperation with meaningless local autonomy schemes, has discredited it among a large segment of the Tamil population.

TULF Secretary Appapillai Amirthalingam told the *New York Times* in late August, "We cannot say that it is going out of our hands, but definitely the militants are more assertive now and in the forefront of the struggle."

The separatist movement has been gaining momentum for several years, according to an August 22 *Times* report from Velvethurai. "The Tamil terrorists are popularly known here in this fishing village as 'the boys,' and their portraits, posters and slogans mark almost every wall and street corner," reported Sanjoy Hazarika. A local government employee told Hazarika, "They are our heroes, they are our freedom fighters." □

STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

New upsurge in South Africa *International solidarity needed*

[The following statement was adopted on September 9 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

There have recently been new developments in the struggle of the oppressed in South Africa. In the space of a few weeks we have seen the combination of:

- mobilizations for the boycott of elections to the "Coloured" and "Indian" assemblies (these assemblies do not affect the 20 million Blacks);
- school strikes and student demonstrations;
- riots in certain townships;
- and now the miners who are preparing to go on strike.

All this is taking place in a period marked by the growing number of workers struggles in the workplaces, the strengthening of independent non-racial trade unions, and the progress made toward their unification.

The most striking proof of the population's resolute opposition to and deeply felt rejection of Apartheid has just been shown — apart from anything else — by the boycott of the racial elections at the end of August 1984. Less than 20 percent of the "Coloureds" and less than 10 percent of the Indians voted in the masquerade organized by Pieter Botha. The latter is nonetheless pursuing the implementation of his constitutional reforms and has just been designated President of the Republic at the head of a parliament separated into three chambers based on racial criteria.

Emboldened by diplomatic successes that have made possible the signing of agreements with Angola and Mozambique and Botha's trip to Europe, the racist regime thought it could peacefully organize a "facelift" of Apartheid. It has benefited from the support of the Reagan administration and in general of all imperialist governments.

Today however it is faced with problems on the domestic front. In fact these cosmetic reforms are deepening racial discrimination and have not sown illusions among the South African masses, whose degree of organization is increasing. The recent mobilizations confirm the central role already being played by the independent trade unions and civic associations. Hundreds of thousands of workers, women, and youth are now in these organizations.

Recent struggles have also shown the need for political centralization. In their own way the United Democratic Front and the National Forum are seeking to fill this vacuum. This immediately subjects them to repression, in the same way as the underground African National Congress militants.

One of the most important lessons of recent events is the combination of social, economic, and political demands that emerged, as well as the simultaneous entrance into struggle of a wide range of mass movement sectors. School students have demanded the recognition of student councils and an end to corporal punishment, township dwellers have refused rent increases, and miners are demanding a wage increase. But all these demands combine with the struggle for democratic and trade union rights — a struggle that is understood by all these sectors as a central confrontation with the racist regime.

This demonstrated the explosive nature of the situation, the breadth of the accumulated social tensions, and the intensity of the national question. This combination of demands shows that the oppressed masses do not want a reform of the regime but the overthrow of Apartheid and exploitation.

The arrest of dozens of leaders and hundreds of demonstrators and the assassination of dozens of Blacks in the recent demonstrations show the real face of the so-called democratization of Apartheid. Each time this will be the only response of the racist regime. Consequently it is necessary that the oppressed masses of South Africa receive systematic international support. The workers and democratic movements must give ongoing support to the organizations formed by the Black masses of South Africa. And they must organize mobilizations against all types of collaboration of the imperialist countries with the South African regime.

We must give the greatest attention to South Africa.

The Fourth International calls on all its sections and members to participate in all mobilizations in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and to defend all their organizations. □

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New wave of anti-Pinochet actions

Youth meet police attacks with barricades

By Fred Murphy

Defying Gen. Augusto Pinochet's threat to carry out "another September 11" (date of the bloody 1973 coup that crushed a popular upsurge and installed his dictatorship), tens of thousands of Chileans took to the streets in a week-long wave of protests in early September.

The wide-ranging actions began September 4 and were called by an ad hoc coalition of Chile's four major opposition currents — the National Workers Command (CNT), Democratic People's Movement (MDP), Socialist Bloc (BS), and Democratic Alliance (AD).^{*} Coming together as the "National Committee for the Protest," these groupings urged Chileans to rally in public squares at noon on September 4 and to remain at home on the following day without working, shopping, or conducting business.

Massive mobilizations of troops and police (*carabineros*) broke up most of the September 4 rallies planned by the opposition. When central leaders of the protests attempted to gather in Santiago's Plaza de Armas that day, they were immediately set upon with clubs, dogs, and tear gas. CNT leader Rodolfo Seguel was knocked down and beaten below the waist.

In Punta Arenas and Arica, thousands of troops in camouflage uniforms kept protesters off the streets. When students gathered for rallies at the universities in Concepción and Copiapó, *carabineros* invaded the campuses and conducted mass arrests.

Despite the regime's huge show of force, the protests picked up steam over the two-day period. Shopkeepers shut their doors and truck and bus drivers kept their vehicles off the streets. In the poor and working-class neighborhoods (*poblaciones*), young people built barricades and set fire to rubber tires in an effort to keep out the *carabineros*. By nightfall

on September 4, widespread street fighting was under way in the capital and other major cities.

The regime's troops fired indiscriminately as they attempted to occupy the *poblaciones*. Among the nine persons the *carabineros* murdered around the country was a French priest, André Jarlan. He was shot while reading in his study at a church in the Santiago *población* of La Victoria, long a bastion of anti-Pinochet protest.

Jarlan's killing sparked a new round of actions as thousands from around the capital converged on La Victoria to denounce the crime. On September 7, the regime was obliged to tolerate Jarlan's funeral procession. Tens of thousands marched from La Victoria and other *poblaciones* to Santiago's main cathedral in the Plaza de Armas.

The requiem mass offered for Jarlan by Archbishop Juan Francisco Fresno was transformed into a further repudiation of the regime. Chants of "We want justice!" and "The people united will never be defeated!" rang through the central streets of the capital as confetti rained down from office buildings.

Four days later, on the 11th anniversary of the 1973 coup, barricades again went up in the *poblaciones*, and a cacophony of potbanging and horn-honking broke out while Pinochet was making his traditional speech at a military ceremony celebrating the occasion.

In his speech, the dictator reiterated the hard-line statements he had made in a series of press interviews in August. Contrary to earlier hints by members of his cabinet, no elections would be held before 1989, when a largely powerless parliament is to be chosen under the draconian constitution Pinochet pushed through in a 1980 plebiscite. "I reiterate once again the decision to lead Chile to its full institutionalization," Pinochet declared.

As for the protests, these were "an expression of organized violence." Pinochet vowed to "use all legal means to hold responsible" those who had organized them and to take all necessary measures, "however drastic," to prevent further "criminal acts."

Ten leaders of the National Committee for the Protest were indicted the same day on charges of "inciting subversion and calling to overthrow the country." They could be sentenced to up to five years' imprisonment if convicted. Those charged included not only MDP President Manuel Almeyda and CNT leaders Manuel Bustos and José Ruiz de Giorgio but also three top figures from the bourgeois opposition — Gabriel Valdés, Enrique Silva Cimma, and Mario Sharpe.

The decision to prosecute the bourgeois political leaders amounted to an admission by the regime that it had failed in its attempts to get the Christian Democrats and other forces in the Democratic Alliance to make a sharp break with the MDP and the Communist Party in particular. While the Christian Democratic leaders are all staunch anticommunists and even supported the 1973 coup, at this point they reject playing along with Pinochet's divide-and-rule tactics, which would only discredit them among the masses. Nor has the regime offered its bourgeois opponents anything substantial in return for such a capitulation.

Underlying the continued protests against Pinochet's rule is an increasingly desperate economic situation for working people. Some 30 percent of the labor force is without steady jobs. Thousands have had to resort to street peddling or begging to get by.

Following the last big outpouring of protest, on March 27, Pinochet sacked his University of Chicago-trained economic ministers and shifted to policies aimed at stimulating economic growth and easing the burden on the middle-class layers that were turning against the regime. Such measures have had little real impact owing to the limits imposed by a \$21 billion foreign debt, continued low prices on the world market for copper (Chile's chief export), and high interest rates internationally. New austerity measures called for by the International Monetary Fund were announced by the regime September 17. A currency devaluation and steeper import duties brought immediate price hikes for fuel, food, and other vital consumer goods.

The result of all this is a sharpening polarization in Chile. The unemployed youth of the *poblaciones* are more and more willing to reply in kind to the armed assaults of the *carabineros*. The CNT has put back on its agenda the question of calling a nationwide general strike. The Communist Party has reaffirmed its 1980 decision to advocate "all forms of struggle" in combating the dictatorship. Even Christian Democratic leader Andrés Zaldívar has declared that "the road is civil disobedience."

The situation in Chile today was summed up in the Sept. 11–25 issue of the opposition fortnightly *Análisis*. Now openly confronting each other, it said, are "the forces of the regime — the *carabineros* and CNI [secret police] especially — and the sectors that have suffered the most from 11 years of military government.

"The student strikes, reduced commercial activity, potbanging, and sit-ins that focused attention during the initial protests are now

^{*}The CNT is made up of Chile's main trade-union federations, including the key Copper Workers Confederation (CTC).

The MDP includes the Communist Party, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the faction of the Socialist Party headed by Clodomiro Almeyda, and a range of popular organizations and trade-union currents.

The BS is a bloc of left-Social Democratic and centrist currents, including the Christian Left, the United People's Action Movement (MAPU), Worker and Peasant MAPU, and several factions of the Socialist Party.

The AD's principal component is the Christian Democratic Party. It also includes the Radical Party, the Social Democratic Party, and one faction of the Socialist Party. All but the latter are bourgeois parties.

being displaced by the growing rebelliousness of those sectors that are prepared to defend themselves against police attacks, by local strikes pointing toward a national strike, by the

'war atmosphere' denounced by residents in the poblaciones of Pudahuel and La Victoria, and by a social mobilization that is impossible to hold back." □

the right, one that flows from a reformist adaptation to the conditions created by Pinochet's coup d'état.

Deeply marked by determination to reach a nonviolent solution, the totality of the political forces — reformist ones included — have made agreements at the top. The ideas of a national consensus, class collaboration, and a social pact are sanctified as the foundation of the democracy that is to be built. This explains the birth of the Democratic Alliance (formed by the Christian Democrats, various rightist bourgeois forces, and several factions of the old Socialist Party). This also explains the pressure exerted by the Democratic People's Movement (MDP) — composed of the Communist Party, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, and one wing of the SP — for joining the Democratic Alliance. It should not be forgotten that the "social pact" explicitly establishes the necessity of an agreement with the armed forces.

Legacy of the 1973 defeat

Revolutionary Socialist Party leader presents views

[The following is an interview with a leader of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Chilean section of the Fourth International, who was recently in Europe. It appeared in the September 7–13 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. What is the situation since the protests [of May 1983–March 1984]?

Answer. Several factors allow us to understand the difficulties and slowness of the process of rebuilding the workers and people's movement. The historic defeat suffered by the workers after the 1973 coup d'état was immense. Unemployment affects more than 30 percent of the population and working conditions are deteriorating.

But for several years now, organizations expressing the outlook of those sectors of the population who face these specific problems have made their appearance. These include the homeless, women, the families of political prisoners and the disappeared, and so on. While expressing a rise in consciousness and combativity, such structures also highlight the degree of heterogeneity of the mass movement. Their sectoral character limits the impact their actions can have on other sectors of the population.

In 1977, the best organized workers — the copper miners — launched the first resistance actions against the dictatorship. Beginning in 1978, after the promulgation of the Labor Plan (the set of laws that reestablished the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike), such activity and organization developed on a much larger scale, in spite of the limited character of the laws in question.

Toward the end of 1982 and the beginning of 1983, an important number of strikes took place. The spokespersons of the government and the bourgeois organizations, as well as of the reformist leaderships, were all unanimous — all with different considerations — in emphasizing the degree to which this process was getting out of control.

If one observes the succession of organisms that have called the protests and other demonstrations since May 1983, that is to say during the short period of a year, one conclusion is evident. Relations between the rank and file and the leadership have not crystallized. Thus

the popular sectors mobilize without asking who called them out, but without this implying the legitimization of any particular leadership.

Therefore, the popular layers have regained confidence in themselves, because they have been able to test their strength. Isolation has been broken; feelings and actions of solidarity again have assumed a prominent place in the consciousness of the exploited.

Still, participation in the protests declined toward the end of 1983, and this phenomenon was accentuated in 1984. This is explained — resuming our line of thought — by the consequences of the 1973 defeat, which have still not been overcome, and by the absence of a clear perspective coming from the organizations recognized by the workers as their own.

Moreover, in spite of these events, the dictatorship maintains its repressive capacity intact. It still can rely on the support of the preponderant sectors of the bourgeoisie.

We do not share, then, the analysis that May 1983 opened a process which will lead in a straight line to the fall of the dictatorship. There will be ups and downs, retreats and readjustments, before the necessary conditions come together for the dictatorship to fall.

Q. Are the organization and reactivation of the workers and people's movement the essential conditions for bringing about the dictatorship's downfall?

A. The weight of the defeat, the repression that decapitated and disrupted the political parties, and clandestinity have caused a historic break in the links between the workers and people's movement and the old leaderships.

The panorama presented by the traditional left parties is, to say the least, gloomy. The division and multiplication of organizations does not stop, while deals at the top without the slightest political basis have become commonplace. Disputes over leadership posts are accompanied by an elitist attitude toward the ranks that involves the suppression of debate and critical thinking.

If one compares the program of the old People's Unity* coalition with the current positions of the traditional left leaders, this will undeniably prove that there has been a turn to

*The People's Unity coalition governed Chile under President Salvador Allende from November 1970 to the September 1973 coup d'état. Its principal components were the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Radical Party, and United People's Action Movement (MAPU). — IP

Q. What forms has the process of self-organization taken?

A. As I have already mentioned, numerous organizations were formed to put forward sectoral demands. In the popular quarters one can cite, for example, the committees of the homeless, unemployed committees, soup kitchens, and so on.

Their open discussion of all problems, collective decision making, and immediate recall of leaders who do not carry out decisions decided collectively assure the greatest democracy in functioning.

The nature of these organizations explains their capacity to mobilize. Thus the committees of the homeless in the southern part of Santiago succeeded in organizing a land occupation that mobilized about 10,000 families!

During 1982 a series of meetings was organized at the initiative of several Santiago unions. These meetings decided to organize a Metropolitan Interunion Conference (CIM). This took place May 14–15, 1983, after a long period of preparation in which the union ranks were deeply involved.

The first experience of its kind since 1973, the conference was a success in spite of a boycott by the major political currents. But most significant were the resolutions adopted: class independence, workers democracy, and rejection of all forms of collaboration or the "social pact."

The correct orientation of that conference was made the platform of the Metropolitan Workers Council (CMT), constituted in December 1983. The CMT was created in response to the formation (at the initiative of the Christian Democrats) of the National Workers Council (CNT), formed around the Confederation of Copper Workers. The CNT has joined the dialogue with the dictatorship and the "social pact."

It is also necessary to mention the creation of a number of very important committees that since 1983 have taken on the task of organizing and mobilizing at the rank-and-file level. □

The Labor-Likud stalemate

Results of July 23 election show political polarization

By Michel Warschawsky

[The following article appeared in the September 17 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly English-language magazine published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

By moving up the date of the elections, the Israeli parliament thought that it was opening up the way for a solution to the crisis that has gripped the Jewish state since the 1981 elections. In fact, the coalition government that emerged from the previous elections, based from the outset on the thinnest of majorities, suffered numerous defections as the months went on. Moreover, the contradictions among the various components of the ruling majority rapidly created a situation of paralysis in the fields of domestic and economic policy.

The major governmental party itself, the Likud, faced the threat of a split, since the Liberal Party sought to regain some independence from the Herut Party of [Yitzhak] Shamir and [Ariel] Sharon. The economic disaster and the bogging down of Israeli forces in Lebanon gave grounds for supposing that the party's electoral base was shrinking. And, for several months, several of Likud's coalition partners had been looking constantly for a way of abandoning a ship whose helmsman seemed to have lost control.

On the Labor side, the hopes for regaining the majority and getting back its lost ministerial portfolios seemed within reach of fruition, to such an extent that the three Labor leaders — [Shimon] Peres, [Yitzhak] Navon, and [Yitzhak] Rabin — decided to stop their factional warfare and present themselves to the people as a homogeneous collective leadership.

The polls gave the Labor Party a lead of 17 or even 23 seats over the Likud, although toward the end of the campaign the gap between the two parties was clearly narrowing. Everything seemed, therefore, to indicate that the Knesset [parliament] that came out of these special elections would both put an end to the disastrous interlude marked by the Likud government and give the Labor Party maneuvering room that it had not enjoyed in many years.

With the defeat and the subsequent bogging down of Israeli forces in Lebanon, the 400 percent inflation rate, and the melting away of the country's hard currency reserves, the Labor Party had no lack of issues on which it could have waged an aggressive campaign against the failures of the Likud government. But it did not do so. Never has the campaign rhetoric been so tame. The major opposition party held

back from using the issues that most concern the people of Israel to mobilize the voters against the Likud.

Both those who directed the Labor Party campaign and those in the ranks who opposed their approach explain the moderate tone by two factors. One was a desire not to aggravate the divisions among the Jewish population, which the 1981 elections had split into two enemy camps that had not shrunk even from violence against each other. The other was a desire not to "scare" disillusioned Likud voters by a policy too diametrically opposed to that of the incumbent government.

In fact, the real reason for the lack of deep-going political debate between Likud and Labor was that the latter have no real alternative policy on the basic problems facing the country. As regards the Lebanon war, the Labor Party supported it as long as it seemed likely to achieve its objectives. With respect to the schemes for annexing the occupied territories, Peres and Rabin talk about a "compromise border settlement" with Jordan that even King Hussein rejected a long time ago. As for the grave economic problems, everyone knows that the "Labor solution" is an austerity policy that it would be suicidal to advocate openly in an election campaign.

Since the Labor Party feared more than anything else a mass mobilization against the Likud's foreign or economic policies, it confined itself to playing to the prejudices of the voters and trying to outdo the Likud in nationalist and chauvinist rhetoric, replaying the old scenarios about the "heroic" age of Zionist colonization. Following such a course, the opposition had no chance to make a breakthrough among the Likud voters. In fact, it even lost a part of its traditional electoral support.

Contrary to all the polls, far from making a breakthrough and getting a comfortable majority, the Labor bloc lost two seats, dropping to a total of 44. The Likud also lost seats, six in its case, but unlike its rival it could consider the fact that it managed to hold on to 41 as a relative victory. So, while one could say that there was erosion of Likud's support, it proved to be very limited, and Labor were not the gainers. In other words, the Zionist leadership crisis hit both the Likud and Labor, and this fact suggests that we can look forward to a worsening of the political instability that has characterized the Israeli political scene in recent years.

Let us look in more detail at the behavior of the various social strata in the recent elections. Without any doubt, the most important

phenomenon is that the poor masses on which the Likud victories in 1977 and 1981 were based have remained loyal to the party of Shamir and David Levy. As an inhabitant of the poor section of Tel Aviv said, "Likud has restored our honor. It is true that the government has made big mistakes, but I will vote for it because I have no alternative. Labor? Never! They are our enemies. They despise us and want to push us back to being second-class citizens."

Despite the eloquent silence of [ex-Prime Minister] Menahem Begin, despite Israel's getting bogged down in Lebanon, and above all despite the economic crisis, the poor strata of oriental Jews continue to see the Likud, or rather the Herut faction in this heterogeneous bloc, as *their* party, the party of the "Second Israel."

In this respect, these elections confirmed what the revolutionary Marxists have been saying for four years, against the general current of opinion in the other left formations; that is, that the Likud victory in 1977 was no accident, no tragic interlude, as some said, but the reflection of a deepgoing structural change in the poor masses. Labor had no chance to regain influence in the poor neighborhoods and the immigrant towns.

If there was a shift of votes away from Likud, or to a larger extent toward bourgeois groups independent of the two main formations, such as the slates presented by former Defense Minister [Ezer] Weizman and former Finance Minister [Yigael] Howovits, which together got four deputies, the source of this has to be looked for among the well-off layers that supported the Likud. That is, what seems to have happened is that a part of the supporters of the Liberal faction of the Likud were frightened by the political adventurism (i.e., the Lebanon war) as well as by the economic adventurism of the Herut leaders, and were nervous about the Oriental "mob" that they allied with in order to oust the Labor government. But the Labor Party lost as much on the left as it gained on the right.

The votes lost by the two big formations went mainly to the extremes — on the one hand to the moderate and liberal parties standing to the left of the Labor bloc, and on the other to the activist formations on the extreme right of the Likud.

On the eve of the elections, to the left of the Labor Party there were only the four Communist deputies (elected almost entirely by the votes of the Palestinian population) and three liberal deputies advocating a moderate policy on the Palestinian question. After these last

elections, the left flank of Labor almost doubled. In addition to the four deputies of the Democratic Front led by the CP, there are now two deputies for the Progressive List for Peace, a Palestinian nationalist formation joined by the remnants of the Zionist and "a-Zionist"¹ far left, and six deputies for two liberal and moderate parties — Shinui, led by Professor Amnon Rubinstein; and the Movement for Civic Rights, led by Shulamit Aloni. To this must be added the more than 15,000 votes cast for the slate of former left Labor leader Luva Eliav, which fell short of the quota needed to elect a deputy to the Knesset.

Polarization

Leaving aside the Arab vote, which is motivated very differently than that of the Jewish population, we can say that a significant sec-

1. "a-Zionist" is the term adopted by those who do not want to either oppose or support Zionism. — IV

tion of the old Labor voters have lost confidence in the ability of the Peres-Rabin leadership to pursue a policy alternative to that of the Likud, and that a current has emerged that hopes to push the Labor policy to the left by building an independent force with firmer positions, at least as regards the defense of democratic rights and the fight against "excesses" in the occupation policy. This, no doubt, is one of the effects of the growth in recent years of a mass movement against the war and the occupation.

The more dynamic section of Peace Now and the more moderate elements in the reserve soldiers' Yesh Gvul voted for Shulamit Aloni's party, which had Reserve Colonel Baron, a prominent leader of Peace Now, second on its slate; and for Luva Eliav. This crystallization of a current to the left of the Labor bloc was matched by the emergence of one of the opposite sort to the right of the Likud.

For reasons similar to those that impelled a

part of the Labor voters to shift to the left of the party, a section of the rightist voters wanted to establish an independent position, while insisting that they considered themselves an integral part of the "National Camp" led by the Likud. "Voting for the Likud means voting for both good patriots and for the opportunists of the Liberal Party," was what the T'hiya-Tsomet party led by Professor [Yuval] Neman and former chief of staff [Raphael] Eitan argued. "Voting for us means voting 100% for Eretz Israel [the land of Israel]."

With five deputies for the T'hiya-Tsomet, two for the far-right religious party Matsad, and one for the fascist grouplet of Meir Kahane, the activist wing of the Zionist right made a breakthrough. These results are all the more significant because among the youth (e.g., the army vote), the rightists got on the average double the score that they achieved among the electorate as a whole.

The sort of issues around which the most de-

New regime: austerity in Israel, terror in Lebanon

Nearly two months after Israel's inconclusive July 23 election, leaders of the two main Zionist political coalitions, the Labor Alignment and the Likud Bloc, managed to patch together a so-called national unity government. The unwieldy plan calls for Labor leader Shimon Peres to serve 25 months as prime minister and then step aside in favor of the Likud's top figure, Yitzhak Shamir. Few Israelis believe the new cabinet will last anywhere near that long, however.

Among the few points on which all components of this new "grand coalition" agree is the urgency of imposing harsher austerity measures on Israeli working people. Within days of taking office, Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai announced a 9 percent currency devaluation, a 9 percent hike in gasoline prices, and plans to cut government spending by \$1 billion. Resolving Israel's acute balance-of-payments crisis and related difficulties, Modai declared, will require cutting real wages back to 1982 levels.

The state of Israel has one of the world's highest per capita foreign debts; with a population of just over 4 million, it owes \$21.5 billion to foreign banks and governments. Much of this sum is owed to the U.S. government, which year after year has lavished hundreds of millions of dollars in long-term loans upon its sole imperialist ally in the Middle East.

A near-record \$2.6 billion in outright grants of economic and military aid to Israel has already been planned by the Reagan administration for the fiscal year beginning in October. Prime Minister Peres

has scheduled a visit to Washington for October 8, however, and reportedly plans to ask for up to \$2 billion in additional U.S. funding.

Peres may also request that much of the debt Israel owes Washington simply be cancelled. (The fact that the new prime minister must go begging for stepped-up U.S. largesse only weeks after taking office points up the emptiness of his pledge on September 16 to "make Israel an independent, self-reliant country from an economic point of view.")

In other spheres, the new governmental bloc is to proceed along much the same course set by the Likud regime that preceded it. Jewish-settler encroachment on Palestinian lands in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip is to continue, although at a somewhat slower pace than under the Likud. Six new settlements are to be built in the first year of the coalition government, while existing settlements are to be expanded without limit.

"The map of Israel will not be secure unless all the settlements scattered over its length and breadth are able to develop and put down solid roots, without pause and permanently," Peres declared in his inaugural speech to the Israeli Knesset (parliament). The Labor leader tactfully failed to specify the exact scope of the Israeli state's "length and breadth," however, since this is a point that divides Labor from its new-found coalition partners in the Likud. While Labor favors turning some densely populated Palestinian areas over to Jordan's King Hussein in exchange for a peace settlement, Likud has vowed not to give up one inch of "Judea and Samaria" (Zionist

term for the West Bank).

Should Peres fail to proceed as vigorously as the extremist Jewish settlers want, Rabbi Eliezer Waldman of the right-wing Tehiya Party told the *New York Times* September 20, "We won't let Labor forget that some of the largest and most important settlements were established when they were in power."

Israeli occupation of large parts of southern Lebanon continues under the new regime, despite mounting resistance by the area's predominantly Shi'ite Muslim population. Withdrawal of Israeli forces, Peres asserted September 14, "won't take more than a few months." But both sides of the new coalition make a pullout conditional on the establishment of "adequate security measures" — code words for continued Israeli occupation.

The brutal continuity of Israeli policy in Lebanon was demonstrated in the village of Sukmur six days after Peres was sworn in. Troops from Israel's puppet "South Lebanon Army" went on a rampage there, killing 13 Shi'ite villagers and wounding 22. "It was an out-and-out massacre," a diplomat in Tel Aviv told the *New York Times*. "The S.L.A. soldiers just ran amok."

Such terror against the local population by the Israeli military and its hired Lebanese rightist thugs is spurring resistance. Twelve attacks on the occupation forces were reported during the first week of September, 16 during the second week, and 23 during the third. "The trend is obviously bad," said Uri Lubrani, Israeli coordinator for southern Lebanon.

— Fred Murphy

terminated section of the rightist voters are closing ranks are support for intensive colonization of the occupied territories, toughness against the Palestinian population, and an offensive policy against the Arab countries. Moreover, the public support of these extreme rightist parties for various Jewish-settler terrorist networks leaves no doubt about how seriously their declarations have to be taken.

In this respect, while the election of the fascist Kahane, who campaigned around openly racist slogans calling for the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland, shocked local public opinion, the problem goes far beyond Kahane. That is, there is growing support for a tough colonialist policy. This current is based both in the power structures, in the army and the military and civilian administration of the occupied territories, and in semilegal, semiclandestine paramilitary formations.

The growing polarization of Israeli political life is no more than a reflection of the impasse of the policy of consensus around which the Likud and Labor are fundamentally united and whose most flagrant expression has been the Lebanon war. Despite the serious political and military setbacks it has suffered, the Palestinian movement remains a factor in Middle Eastern politics that cannot be gotten around. Facing it, there is less and less room between going for double or nothing, toward a general, more and more bloody conflict with all the peoples in the region — with all that this involves in terms of human lives, lower standards of living — and the militarization of the society; or else a radical turn toward the Palestinian people and their struggle for national liberation, which ultimately means putting in question the Zionist project as a whole.

The 700,000 Palestinians with Israeli citizenship do not count for much in the four years between elections. But with the approach of elections, the general staffs of the parties remember that they represent a far from negligible reservoir of votes, one that can provide 12 seats.

Up until 1977, about two-thirds of the Palestinian population voted directly for Zionist formations, or for Arab parties set up by the Labor Party administration. Repression and patronage practices considerably narrowed the possibilities for independent expression of Palestinian people. The banning of all nationalist political formations made the Israeli Communist Party the only means through which the Palestinians in Israel could express their rejection of their national oppression.

The weight of the PLO

The impact of the Palestinian national liberation struggle and of the resistance organizations on the Palestinian minority was revealed in a spectacular way by the general strike and the mobilizations for the Day of the Land in March 1976.² A year later, the Israeli Com-

2. Annual demonstrations celebrating the claim of the Palestinian people to their ancestral lands. — IV



SHIMON PERES

munist Party set up the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. In this front around its reformist program and under its total control, the CP managed to bring together a broad section of the Palestinian national movement, including both notables formerly linked to the Zionist parties and nationalist currents strongly influenced by the PLO, along with some Jewish democratic elements. In the 1977 elections, the Front got more than 50 percent of the Arab vote.

However, this electoral success, which was simply the reflection of the radicalization of the Palestinian population of Israel (the "Palestinianization of the Israeli Arabs," as the Israeli press put it), was very quickly worn out by the CP bureaucracy. Its hesitations, on the one hand, and its authoritarian and bureaucratic maneuvers, on the other, provoked desertions to the right and to the left. In the 1981 elections, the Front lost more than 20 percent of its vote and one deputy. Some of its former supporters went back to the Labor Party's patronage machine. Others preferred to abstain.

The most recent elections showed further erosion in the electoral support for the Democratic Front. It managed to hold on to its four seats, but it dropped below 35 percent of the vote of the Palestinian population. However, this time the votes it lost were not lost to the nationalist movement. A new slate, made up in large part of moderate and radical nationalist activists who had left the Democratic Front over the last five years, won two seats. The some 37,000 votes the Palestinian population cast for the Progressive Slate [Progressive List for Peace] reflected a not inconsiderable current in the Palestinian national movement in Israel that rejects the domination of the Communist Party.³

3. The Revolutionary Communist League (RCL), Israeli section of the Fourth International, took the following position on voting for the slates of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the Progressive List for Peace, according to the September 17 *International Viewpoint*:

"In view of their reformist program and the insistence that both slates put on their support for the existence of the state of Israel, the RCL could not

This current includes some who are looking for genuine representation of the Palestinian nation, others who regard the CP as too extremist, and still others who, to the contrary, think that the Communist Party is not nationalist enough and that it insists too much on its Israeli patriotism.

But over and above all such distinctions, 110,000 Palestinian votes (52.1 percent of the total) were cast for the two non-Zionist slates. This shows that the drop in the previous elections reflected more of a rejection of the CP's policy than a lowering of the national consciousness of the Palestinians in Israel.

Zionists face leadership crisis

The standoff between the Likud and Labor points to a deepening of the crisis of leadership in the Zionist state. There are two broad possibilities. One of the two major formations may manage to buy the support of several of the smaller ones by paying an exorbitant price and thereby gain a majority of two to six seats. In that case, we can expect to see a government paralyzed by trying to accommodate formations with contradictory interests. Or the two big parties may decide to combine in a government of national unity. In that case, they would have to decide explicitly not to take any steps that might offer a solution to the political and economic crisis.

In either case, in the long run new elections seem to be the only way out of the constitutional impasse in which the state of Israel finds itself. But first the electoral law will have to be changed so as to reduce the dependency of the big parties on the small formations.

The relative paralysis of government and the political polarization indicate that a new flare-up of political and social struggles is ahead in Israel, but this is on the condition that the Palestinian national movement and the PLO can overcome the crisis that they also are going through and give a new impetus to the liberation struggles. Against a national consensus in which fundamentally Labor, the Likud, and the activist far right are united behind the same strategy of war and colonization, only an alliance of the Israeli left with a determined and fighting Palestinian movement can offer a credible perspective for victory.

The Israeli left can bring little weight to bear against the activist right, which is supported to varying degrees by the ruling parties, unless it can base itself on a mobilization of the Palestinian masses in Israel itself and in the occupied territories. If, on the other hand, an alliance develops between progressive Jews and the Palestinian movement, it will be possible not only to counter the fascist gangs of Kahane and the T'hiya but also to give new impetus to the fight against the occupation and thereby further deepen the structural crisis that is corroding the Zionist state. □

join either one of these two groupings. It therefore campaigned for a vote against the national consensus and against the war and occupation, that is, for a vote for either of the two formations standing outside the Zionist camp." — IP

Interview with Canadian farm leader

New book describes farmer protests against foreclosures

By Jim Upton

[The following review is reprinted from the August 6 issue of *Socialist Voice*, the fortnightly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League, the Canadian section of the Fourth International, published in Montreal.

[After the review was written, Allen Wilford announced his resignation as president of the Canadian Farmers' Survival Association to stand as the New Democratic Party (NDP) candidate in Lambton-Middlesex in Canada's September 4 parliamentary elections. Wilford failed to win the seat, which had been held by Liberal Agricultural Minister Ralph Ferguson.]

* * *

Allen Wilford is a 35-year-old beef farmer from Bruce County, about 130 miles northwest of Toronto. Wilford, who has 440 acres "between me and the bank," is president of the Canadian Farmers' Survival Association. The Survival Association emerged out of the fight against attempts to foreclose on farmers who

Farm Gate Defense, by Allen Wilford. Toronto: New Canada Publications, 1984. 242 pp. \$9.95. Available from Box 4010, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1H8.

could not meet skyrocketing interest payments on mortgages and loans advanced by the banks.

Wilford is also the author of the recently published book, *Farm Gate Defense*. In it he describes how mounting production costs, low prices for their products, and record high interest rates have forced ordinary farmers to take matters into their own hands.

Farm driveways have been blocked to stop bailiffs or sheriffs from seizing produce, livestock, and equipment. These farm gate defenses have been combined with other actions such as tractorcades and demonstrations at local banks. Penny auctions have been organized where farmers bid pennies for items worth thousands of dollars to prevent receivers from selling off a farmer's means of livelihood. Wilford himself went on an eight-day hunger strike while in jail.

These actions have been taken to force the banks to back off and to pressure federal and provincial governments to pass legislation giving farmers some relief from the foreclosures. In addition, farmers have demanded financial assistance at an affordable rate to enable them to continue farming.

In a recent interview with *Socialist Voice*, Wilford explained how the current economic crisis is ruining small farmers and accelerating

a takeover of farming by corporate agriculture.

"What we have is a situation where the farmers are bankrupt. The banks won't lend money to them. The only funds available are through Farm Credit [a Crown corporation] and the Canadian government has set that rate at 15 percent for 20-year mortgages, so that doesn't work either.

"So a lot of the farmers are deeding the farms back to the banks. In other words, they've got 600 acres so they give 500 acres to the bank and then they try to buy it back. So the banks are taking over big chunks of land.

"But there are also corporate entities that are buying up land and forming it into large farms. They hire a farm manager. They get rid of the buildings on the pretext of saving taxes, but really just to make sure the people don't come back. And they're assembling large blocks of land.

"Sometimes you get the farmer with his back to the wall and they'll buy the farm from him and lease it back to him for five years at five percent, which looks attractive — until the five years are up and then he's on the road.

"They are also dictating what crops he must plant, that he has to buy the seed from them, that he has to sell the product to them, that sort of thing. It's much like the old company store. The farmers just get to be debt slaves."

Wilford explained how the Survival Association grew out of a struggle in Ontario's Bruce County in June of 1981. At that time "the Bank of Commerce went to foreclose on a young beef farmer in our area. His 72-year-old father

had signed a guarantee six years previous for \$15,000. So they were going to evict the father from his home and take his life savings on the strength of that guarantee.

"The whole neighborhood was in some form of difficulty at that point in time and we had begun to see the injustice of that particular action. . . . And we said, 'No, not in our neighborhood, you're not going to do that.' About 30 of us stood in the driveway in the morning.

"The Bank of Commerce was literally terrified. We shook Bay Street [Toronto's financial district]. And within a week we had a commitment that the bank would not touch his life savings and would not evict him from his home.

"So we gained about \$100,000 by community action, by standing there for about three hours. And it kind of went to our heads. We thought, if we can do that for one we can do that for all. It wasn't until about six months later that we actually formed an organization."

Wilford described the Survival Association's goals as being "to lower interest rates, give the farmers access to some proper legal and financial advice, negotiate just and reasonable settlements between the bankers and the farmers, and most important of all, to fight for a fair price for agricultural products."

The Survival Association's first public action was a demonstration in Port Elgin, Ontario, in December 1981. It was organized to support a farmer whose equipment had been seized by the local branch of the Bank of Commerce. About 250 farmers participated and were joined by members of the United Auto



June 1981 tractorcade in Owen Sound, Ontario, by farmers from Grey and Bruce Counties, a struggle that led to formation of Canadian Farmers' Survival Association.

Workers who came up from the union training school in the area.

Like many farmers, Wilford was at one time an industrial worker, and he views the labor movement as a key ally of working farmers. In *Farm Gate Defense* he explains, "The large corporate monopolies have been trying for years to get the farmer to consider himself a businessman. For if the farmer was in his own mind separated from labor, he would view organized labor as the enemy. In turn, organized labor would oppose the farmer as the 'rich businessman.'"

Wilford explains that after being elected president of the Survival Association in October 1982, "one of the things I set out to do was to work to unify farmers with organized labor." In addition, the Survival Association has sought to forge an alliance with small business. Ranged against farmers are the banks and the provincial and federal governments.

Citing case after case, Wilford's book exposes the ruthless methods used against working farmers by the banks in their quest for profits. He says, "All the farmers are asking for is someone to examine the situation and to make sure they have justice. They certainly don't under our present system. The banks have all the power. Government officials bow to their whims. They believe the banks can do no wrong."

Wilford points out, "The large profits the banks are making are unbelievable. On \$312 million of profit in the second quarter of 1983, the Royal Bank paid no income tax. In fact, it got \$28 million in tax credits, and profits rose 26 percent at the next reporting."

In contrast, Wilford points out how farm bankruptcies jumped a staggering 57 percent between 1981 and 1982. They jumped a further 16 percent in 1983. Wilford refers to a survey that revealed that in the summer of 1982, "seventeen percent, or one in six, of the farmers in the Grey-Bruce area figured on losing their farms that year. It also showed that 45 percent were paying abnormally high interest rates in relation to their net income."

In *Farm Gate Defense*, Wilford argues that the Ontario Conservative government has deliberately adopted policies to drive working farmers off the land, while in Ottawa, the federal Liberal government has continued to stall on legislation demanded by farmers dealing with foreclosures. Based on his experience in dealing with both levels of government, Wilford concluded, "The banks really controlled both the Liberals and the Conservatives. I asked the NDP about bank lobbies and they laughed. The banks don't even talk to them. Remember that, the next time you vote!"

Since its founding in Bruce County, the Survival Association has expanded to other parts of Ontario and into other provinces, such as Manitoba and Alberta. In the Sherbrooke area of Quebec, francophone farmers have formed a chapter of the Association.

In his book, Wilford deals briefly with the situation facing farmers in Quebec. He explains how in Quebec "farmers have been

evicted, and their farms were sitting empty. The Quebec Survivalists said that this was ridiculous, and started putting these people back in their homes. Because of the activities of the Association, a lot of farmers were back on their land, although still in a bankrupt situation. The banks, and particularly the Quebec government, were a big problem."

Wilford adds that "there has been a lot of good action by these people in Quebec. A real problem in Canada is that because of the language barrier, the English press doesn't pick up a lot of the stories that go on in Quebec. And that works both ways. The hunger strike and penny auction, for example, weren't well covered by the French-language press. So we're constantly fighting to get the news around, to give each other encouragement."

Farm Gate Defense also describes the important role women have played in past and current farm struggles. Wilford says, "Women have had a great influence on farm movements through history, and I see it quite often in my work."

As president of the Survival Association, Wilford has made numerous trips to share ex-

perience and work with U.S. farm organizations on issues of common concern. In July 1983, he worked with farmers from the U.S. and Europe to organize an international meeting of farmers in Ottawa.

I asked Wilford what kind of support the Survival Association has received from farmers. He replied, "When we first got into it, we were definitely a minority. There seems to be a lot more support as people begin to realize we're right and as things continue to go downhill. A lot of farmers are still scared to be visibly supportive. If they're seen out there, they're afraid the bank will move on them with a vengeance. . . ."

"The book has been a big icebreaker because a lot of people who didn't know anything about us before are beginning to realize what we're doing."

Farm Gate Defense is of value to all working people. In painting a down-to-earth picture of the desperate situation facing small farmers, it can help build an understanding between working people in the cities and on the land of the common problems they face and the common interests they share. □

FEATURES

'Making the victim the criminal'

An exchange of views on racism and anti-Semitism

Letter to editor

I know that you do not usually print letters to the editor in *Intercontinental Press-Inprecor*, but your article, "Debate on strategy in elections," which appeared in your September 3 issue, requires a reply to one section. Though my comments are directed to you I will address you in the third person here. I hope that at least you will clarify your remarks in print even if you do not publish the response below.

I am a secular Jew and I have been anti-Zionist for many years. I sympathize strongly with the Palestinians' plight and have rallied for them more than once.

When Jesse Jackson called New York "Hymie town" he was not furthering the cause of the Palestinians, he was making a racist slur. Louis Farrakhan's anti-Semitic remarks have nothing to do with the Palestinians' struggle or building socialism here or elsewhere. When Doug Jenness equates Farrakhan's anti-Semitism with anti-Zionism he terrifies Jews. We cannot stand by whilst a double standard is applied. Racism is wrong, whether by the oppressed or by the oppressor.

I am not an apologist for Jesse Jackson or the Democratic Party, but the remarks of Jesse Jackson which you quote in which he tries to lessen the mutual fear and distrust of blacks and Jews should be praised. They are antiracist and not pro-Zionist. Not all Jews are Zionists, but all Jews do live in fear of anti-Semitism.

"Up the Palestinians" should not be equated with "Down with the Jews." Racism is racism. There is only one standard: justice, the right of each man and woman to live in peace and security, benefitting from the fruits of their own labor. Justice does not have two faces.

Richard L. Epstein
Berkeley, California

Editor's reply

Intercontinental Press does not have a regular letters-to-the-editor column as Richard Epstein points out. However, the questions he poses in relation to anti-Semitism are of general interest to *IP* readers throughout the world and warrant the publication of his letter and a reply.

Epstein states that in my article on election strategy, I equated "Louis Farrakhan's anti-Semitism with anti-Zionism," thus terrifying Jews. He says I should have praised, rather than criticized, Jesse Jackson's speech at the Democratic Party convention in which he tried "to lessen the mutual fear and distrust of blacks and Jews."

In my article, I pointed out that Jesse Jackson, who had brought down an avalanche of racist slander for expressing sympathy for the Palestinian struggle at the beginning his Democratic Party election campaign, said not one word about the Palestinians in his nationally

televised speech to the Democratic Party convention in July. Nor did he say anything in defense of Farrakhan, the most prominent leader of the Black nationalist Nation of Islam and a supporter of Jackson's election campaign. In the weeks leading up to the Democratic Party convention, Farrakhan was the target of a particularly savage campaign charging him with anti-Semitism.

I pointed out that *instead*, Jackson made a "groveling apology to the racists."

In the few paragraphs I devoted to Jackson's speech I did not take up the question of anti-Semitism because it was not the issue. The racist campaign against Farrakhan and Jackson, however, was.

To see this more clearly it is necessary to look at the background.

Charges of "Black anti-Semitism" have a long history of use against the struggle of Blacks in the United States. There have been two main elements behind this method of discrediting the Black struggle.

One is the solidarity that millions of Blacks feel for the Palestinian struggle against the Israeli colonial-settler state.

Second is the bitter break between the Black movement and many liberals, including Jewish groups, over the issue of affirmative action for Blacks in education and hiring. Most liberals argue that these demands are contrary to the goal of "integration." Blacks who push for affirmative action and Black self-determination are often accused of anti-Semitism.

More than 20 years ago, the Black revolutionary leader Malcolm X was a victim of this charge.

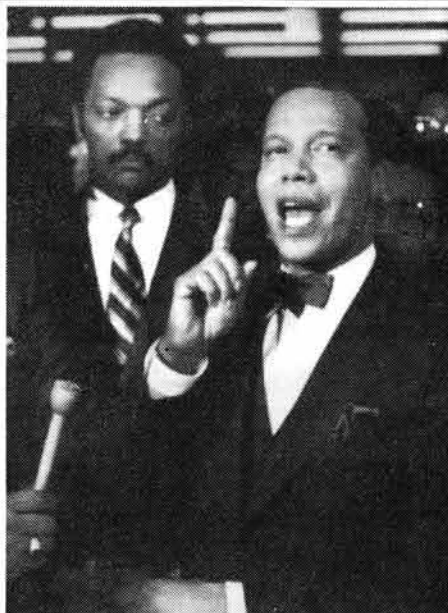
In 1968 Black leaders who opposed a racist teachers' strike in New York City against the Black community's right to have more say over the schools were the targets of a fevered campaign charging them with anti-Semitism.

In 1979, Jesse Jackson and leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a civil rights organization, made trips to the Mideast and met with Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat. They were all branded anti-Semites.

Even Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, when he served as UN ambassador in President James Carter's administration, was subject to these charges following an "unauthorized" meeting he held with a Palestine Liberation Organization official. Young resigned under pressure over this incident.

Last year Jackson again came under fire because the PUSH Foundation, an organization associated with him, received legal financial donations from the Arab League, a confederation of 21 governments.

The anti-Semitic label was pinned on Jackson before he announced his election campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. After his campaign was launched he was repeatedly accused of anti-Semitism. He was hounded and harassed by right-wing thugs who invaded his campaign meetings calling themselves "Jews Against Jackson." These hoodlums are an outgrowth of the racist Jewish De-



Louis Farrakhan (right), with Jesse Jackson.

fense League (JDL) founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane.

The slander campaign against Jackson as an "anti-Semite" was stepped up when Farrakhan, an outspoken opponent of Zionism and the reactionary Israeli government, announced his support for Jackson's Democratic Party election campaign.

The barrage of attacks against Farrakhan and Jackson was not a reaction to an anti-Semitic campaign they were waging. They conducted no such campaign. In fact only two examples of comments that could be deemed anti-Semitic were ever cited. And these came long after the racist smear campaign was under way.

On one highly publicized occasion Jackson used anti-Semitic language in referring to Jews and New York City as "Hymies" and "Hymietown." This was clearly an error, which Jackson conceded by apologizing later.

In a speech on June 24, Farrakhan used a formulation that could be construed to equate Zionism with Judaism.

The formulation he used was an error, as it accepted the myth originated by the imperialists that all opponents of Israel are "anti-Semites."

The errors by Jackson and Farrakhan, while showing something about their procapitalist political orientation, did not make up an anti-Semitic campaign. Yet their remarks were used to accelerate the mammoth racist slander campaign that had already been going on against them for months.

In the weeks just before the Democratic Party's national convention this campaign reached gigantic proportions.

President Reagan issued a statement denouncing Farrakhan. The U.S. Senate unanimously adopted a resolution calling on both the Democratic and Republican party chairmen to repudiate Farrakhan. Democratic presiden-

tial candidates Walter Mondale and Gary Hart chimed in and demanded that Jackson also denounce Farrakhan. Civil rights organizations and Jewish groups denounced Farrakhan. Leaders of the Communist Party also added their voices to the deafening chorus. They all emphasized the same theme: Farrakhan is anti-Semitic because he opposes the "right" of the Israeli state to exist. This more than his remark equating Judaism and Zionism was Farrakhan's capital sin.

Under this mounting pressure, Jackson buckled and also denounced Farrakhan. "I will not permit Minister Farrakhan's words wittingly or unwittingly," he said, "to divide the Democratic Party."

This was the context of my criticisms of Jackson's convention speech.

I pointed out what he did in his speech — apologize to the same racist forces who had been slandering him and Farrakhan — and contrasted it to what he could have done. I also stated that his capitulation to the racist slander campaign flowed from his procapitalist, proimperialist perspective.

Epstein says that I have applied a double standard. But this criticism is misplaced. By accusing Jackson and Farrakhan of anti-Semitism, yet not saying one word about the racist slander campaign against them or the harassment by JDL thugs, he is the one who is guilty of a double standard. And worse, he lets the instigators of the racist campaign off the hook.

Epstein's talk about the racism "by the oppressed or by the oppressor" leads to equating Jackson and Farrakhan's politically incorrect remarks with the savagery of anti-Black racism in the United States. But these are far from being the same. Nor are a couple of comments by Jackson and Farrakhan comparable in any way to the two-decade-long campaign of racist smears against Black leaders and organizations as "anti-Semitic." This campaign was initiated by the capitalist rulers and is energetically supported by an unholy alliance of Social Democrats, labor bureaucrats, Zionists, right-wingers, and liberals.

The real target of such smear tactics is not just a few Black leaders but the millions of Blacks who are revolting against the miserable oppression and exploitation they suffer under capitalism. Their nationalist sentiments and expressions of Black pride are in no way the same as the racism of the oppressors. But by branding Blacks as "antiwhite" and "anti-Semitic," the employers hope to turn potential allies within the working class against each other.

Epstein's homily that "racism is racism is racism" clarifies nothing. More to the point was Malcolm X's answer when the capitalist press accused Blacks who defend their right to self-defense of being "racists in reverse."

"With skillful manipulating of the press," Malcolm explained, "they're able to make the victim look like the criminal and the criminal look like the victim."

That is the trap Epstein has fallen into. □

Australia, NZ dominate meeting

Block action on New Caledonia, fishing rights, nuclear ban

By Rob Gardner

[The following article appeared in the September 7 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.]

* * *

Three issues dominated the discussions at the South Pacific Forum held in Tuvalu over August 25-29: New Caledonian independence; the establishment of a "nuclear-free zone" in the South Pacific; and a fishing dispute between the Solomon Islands and the United States.

The Forum meetings bring together the heads of state of 13 countries in the South Pacific: Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Western Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Nauru and Niue. Of the island nations, Vanuatu is the only one to have joined the Non-Aligned Movement of Third World countries.

Australia and New Zealand, as the only advanced capitalist countries in the South Pacific, totally dominate the region economically, militarily and politically. Both countries form, together with the United States, part of the Anzus military alliance.

From the point of view of big business in New Zealand and Australia, the "stability" and "security" of the region as a source of markets, investment, and cheap labour, is a priority.

Prime Minister David Lange's performance at the Forum showed that there will be no fundamental change in New Zealand's pro-imperialist foreign policy under the new Labour government.

New Caledonia

For instance, the Forum, led by Lange and Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, rejected an appeal by the New Caledonian Independence Front (IF) for the Forum nations to take the issue of New Caledonia's independence to the United Nations committee on decolonisation. A New Zealand proposal to set up a group of ministers from five Forum nations (New Zealand, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa and Vanuatu) to speak to both the French and the IF was adopted instead.

The group's declared aim is to press both parties, particularly the IF, to "keep talking." This plays right into the hands of the French colonial powers, who are blocking independence.



Before the Forum meeting, the New Zealand government had produced a background paper on recent political developments in New Caledonia, containing a "wide range" of opinions, including the French view. After meeting with Lange before the Forum, France's high commissioner in New Caledonia, Jacques Roynette, praised the New Zealand government for its understanding of French plans for New Caledonian autonomy, saying that France and New Zealand differed little on the question.

The French government plans to hold a self-determination referendum in New Caledonia in 1989. This has been rejected by the IF, which intends to boycott the territorial assembly elections this November.

Vanuatu

Vanuatu's prime minister, Walter Lini, who defended the IF's proposals in the Forum meeting, has said that Vanuatu would take the issue of New Caledonian independence to the United Nations alone. He said the failure of the Forum to have the country put on the UN decolonisation list will inevitably lead to increased violence in the French colony.

According to the August 30 *Auckland Star*, Lange responded by saying that "the crude reality" was that Vanuatu would have to take its chances. "The decolonisation committee would recognise that one nation in the South Pacific Forum wanted New Caledonia put on the decolonisation list and the rest did not," he said.

'Nuclear-free zone'?

Much of the publicity around the Forum

meeting focused on the issue of a "nuclear-free zone."

The Forum adopted a proposal put forward by the Hawke Labour government of Australia to establish a working party to draft a nuclear-free zone treaty and report back to the Forum meeting next year.

Lange described this as a "tremendous step forward," but in fact the proposal is similar to a declaration made at the Forum meeting in 1976.

The proposed "nuclear-free zone" will consist only of the things that none of the Forum members is doing anyway: the testing, storage, acquisition and deployment of nuclear weapons within the southwest Pacific region and the dumping of nuclear waste.

It does not seek to prohibit, on the other hand, the transit of nuclear weapons through the region (including the question of port calls of nuclear-armed ships), the sale of uranium, the existence of communication/surveillance installations which are part of the nuclear weapons systems, or the testing of missiles.

In other words, the existing military alliances and agreements between member states and the U.S. will be unaffected by the proposed zone.

Fishing dispute

The Solomon Islands government brought the issue of illegal fishing by United States tuna fishermen to the Forum, calling on member nations to stop issuing licenses and deny port entry to U.S. fishing boats.

The August 29 *Evening Post* also reported that, "Representatives of the Solomon Islands had foreshadowed a position that would have led to the banning of all U.S. ships, including nuclear powered and armed ships, from the region in retaliation for the U.S. proposal to bar its tuna boats from the Solomons' economic zone."

However, the communique issued at the end of the Forum only expressed "continuing concern" at the failure of the U.S. to recognise the Solomon Islands' 200-mile economic zone for tuna fishing, and considered the solution to the dispute lay in the conclusion of a multilateral agreement with the U.S. government.

A Forum Fisheries Agency meeting will be held in Fiji in September to work out a joint approach on the issue. None of the Pacific Island countries has a government-level agreement on fishing rights with the U.S. at present.

The *Evening Post* also reported that "according to Australian reports," Bob Hawke "had intervened to prevent the Forum's final communique from strongly condemning the

U.S. for its support of the *Jeanette Diana* [the U.S. tuna boat seized by the Solomons' coastguard]."

Trade sanctions

The U.S. government has imposed trade sanctions on the Solomon Islands in retaliation for the seizure of the *Jeanette Diana* at the end of June.

The boat was arrested for fishing inside the Solomons' 200-mile economic zone, and has subsequently been confiscated and put up for sale by the Solomon Islands government.

The U.S. does not recognize the 200-mile zone as covering migratory species like tuna and has a law, the Magnuson Act, that requires the U.S. government to bar imports from countries that arrest U.S. boats.

The Solomon Islands government believes that at least 10 other U.S. boats were fishing illegally in Solomon waters at the time the *Jeanette Diana* was arrested. It is worried that high-technology fishing boats are rapidly destroying stocks of tuna, one of its chief resources.

The U.S. trade embargo affects a big part of the Solomon Islands exports — in the first six months of this year about 58 percent of its tuna exports (about a quarter of its total exports) went to the U.S.

The Solomon Islands has banned all U.S. fishing boats from its waters, and has hinted that it may lift a ban on Soviet fishing boats. Papua New Guinea has announced a freeze on issuing fishing licenses to U.S. boats until the issue is resolved. □

Mexico

Guatemalans face new attacks

Refugees deported, harassed, forcibly relocated

By Fred Murphy

The tens of thousands of Guatemalans who since 1981 have fled military terror at home for the relative safety of southern Mexico now face stepped-up harassment and attacks by the Mexican authorities. The coerced transfer in recent months of thousands of refugees to inhospitable areas far from the border has been accompanied by a warming of relations between the Mexican and Guatemalan regimes.

Large numbers of Guatemalans first began fleeing to the southwestern Mexican state of Chiapas three years ago when Guatemala's military rulers launched a prolonged and brutal counterinsurgency campaign against the Indian peasant communities of the highlands. As scorched-earth drives destroyed one village after another, many of those fortunate enough to escape made their way through the mountains and forests into Mexico.

At first, the Mexican authorities responded by rounding up and deporting hundreds of these refugees back to Guatemala, where they faced death or confinement in concentration camps. The deportations led to widespread protests inside Mexico and internationally, and policy soon shifted to the toleration of refugee encampments along the border.

Although the Mexican government never extended formal refugee status to the Guatemalans, it did set up a Mexican Refugees Aid Commission (COMAR) to manage the camps and authorized the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to collaborate in providing and channeling assistance. By the beginning of this year, some 46,000 Guatemalans were living in 90 or more camps along or near the border. An equal or greater number were dispersed throughout the countryside of Chiapas and neighboring states, where they had managed to get small plots of land or find

work as agricultural laborers at wages inferior to those paid to Mexicans.

As the camps' population swelled, the Mexican authorities failed to provide a commensurate increase in aid. Instead, they tightened police controls along the border and sharply curtailed access by voluntary relief workers to the camps. Cross-border attacks by the Guatemalan army and death squads became more frequent and met with only feeble protest by the Mexican government.

The situation imposed in the camps themselves by COMAR officials in 1983 was described as follows by a Mexican filmmaker who had spent considerable time in Chiapas: "The more corruptible refugees are offered double rations, and they are given clubs and assigned to patrol the camps at night, to prevent anyone from going in or out. . . . If an Indian speaks out or becomes a spokesman they try to isolate him from the others and brand him as a dangerous guerrilla; that is the same tactic used by the Guatemalan military" (*Nation*, Nov. 12, 1983).

Local Mexican immigration officials in Chiapas stepped up efforts in late 1983 to find and deport Guatemalans who had entered the country illegally. By this May, some 60 deportations were reportedly taking place daily from southern Chiapas.

On April 30 of this year, 200 Guatemalan soldiers raided the El Chupadero camp, torturing, killing, and mutilating six of its inhabitants and putting the rest to flight. Two days later, the Mexican government announced plans to move the camps to areas in the Yucatán Peninsula, far away from the Guatemalan border.

Representatives of the Guatemalan refugees made it clear they had no objections to moving the camps away from areas directly adjacent to the border and thereby lending them greater

protection from Guatemalan army incursions. But the Mexican government has quite a different aim — to put an end to the refugee camps in Chiapas altogether, thereby removing what it views as a dangerous pole of attraction for the Indian peasants who continue to flee army terror in the neighboring country. By closing off the escape routes from Guatemala, the Mexican authorities are helping the military there with its ongoing counterinsurgency drive.

Relocation of the refugees began in June. What Mexican authorities had asserted would be a "voluntary" process involved the mobilization of army and marine troops and immigration agents. The largest camp, named Puerto Rico, was burned to the ground while most of its inhabitants were forced aboard river launches and transported 225 miles north to rigidly controlled camps in the state of Campeche. While Chiapas resembles northern Guatemala in its cool highland terrain and in the Maya Indian origins and customs of the bulk of its population, Campeche is a torrid, low-lying region in which the refugees feel far less at home.

Thousands of refugees resisted the relocation move and fled into the forests around the old campsites in Chiapas. These "re-refugees" were then surrounded by the Mexican army and blocked from obtaining food or supplies.

By late September, 10,000 refugees were to have been transferred to the Campeche camps.

As the relocation effort got under way, moves were made in Mexico City to intimidate those who spoke out against the harsh treatment given the refugees. In mid-July, Adolfo Aguilar Zinser of the daily *Uno más Uno*, who had written extensively on the refugees' plight, was kidnapped and held for 14 hours. He was interrogated by his captors about his contacts with Central Americans and about solidarity activities in Mexico with Central American struggles.

A dozen or more Guatemalan leftist exiles living in Mexico also fell victim to kidnappings or detention by government agents during the same period.

In his September 1 report to the Mexican parliament on the state of the country, President Miguel de la Madrid for the first time spoke of the refugees in terms similar to those used by the Guatemalan rulers. The latter have long charged that the refugee camps are "guerrilla recreation centers" that serve as bases for armed actions inside Guatemala. This accusation has repeatedly been refuted by United Nations officials, human-rights groups, and even the Mexican authorities themselves. Nonetheless, de la Madrid declared in his speech that Mexico "will not allow its territory to be used for aggression against Guatemala."

A week earlier, the current Guatemalan president, Gen. Oscar Mejía Víctores, had personally thanked the Mexican government for beginning to relocate the refugee camps, a move he asserted would "prevent the insurgent groups . . . from using the camps as training grounds." □

Croatian group stirs debate on left

Does Croatian Movement for Statehood deserve labor's support?

By Nita Keig

BRISBANE — Since the 1960s the activities of Croatian émigré organizations have been an issue in the political life of Australia's labor movement.

According to the 1981 census there are 150,000 people of Yugoslav birth, a big percentage of them Croatian, living in Australia. When families with children born in this country are taken into account, the size of this community is considerably larger.

Within Australia's Croatian community, one of the largest outside of Yugoslavia, several right-wing organizations actively promote the overturn of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the establishment of an "independent and neutral Croatia." Their activities in Australia have included numerous bombings against Yugoslav government targets in which scores have been injured. Yugoslav workers, including Croats, who oppose their activities have been harassed. This includes incidents of intimidation in union elections.

As in other countries where their support is strong, the right-wing Croatian separatists in Australia have had a history of preying upon newly arrived immigrants by offering them initial assistance only to demand money and political favors in return.¹

These terrorist activities and extortion rackets reached such a scope that the Labor Party government conducted an investigation and published a report in 1973 exposing the structure and activities of the most prominent reactionary Croatian organizations. It pointed out that the right-wing organizations cited in the report were not politically representative of most Croatian workers in Australia.

This investigation also exposed the way in which previous Liberal administrations as well as the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), because of their sympathy for the political aims of the Croatian rightists, had turned a blind eye to many of these activities. This included the organization of armed incursions into Yugoslavia in 1963 and 1972.²

1. These extortion rackets were exposed by many of the victims. Documentation of this can be found in the booklet, *Ustasha Under the Southern Cross*, written by Croatian immigrant Marjan Jurjevic in 1973. As a result of his activities to expose the reactionary actions in Australia of the right-wing Croatian nationalist movement Ustasha, his house was bombed by Croatian rightists in April 1972.

2. "Ministerial Statement on Croatian Terrorism" by Attorney General Lionel Murphy, March 27, 1973. Also see April 16, 1973, *Intercontinental*

In the mid-1970s a shake-up occurred among the Croatian separatist organizations internationally. This was due in part to the influx into the émigré communities of young Croats, especially students, who had been involved in a Croatian nationalist upsurge in Yugoslavia in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This movement collapsed as a result of a crackdown by the Yugoslav government, and many of the activists left the country.

One result of this shake-up was the creation of the Croatian National Council (HNV) at a conference in Toronto, Canada, in 1974. This formation represented a certain fusing of older Croatian rightists with the younger emigrants. In 1981 a major breakaway from the HNV established the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP).

Within a short time after it was founded, members of the HDP in Australia, departing from the customary practice of Croatian separatist organizations here, began to appear with banners and literature at May Day marches and peace demonstrations. The HDP intervened in these actions with its own signs calling for the overthrow and dismemberment of Yugoslavia and the establishment of a "free, independent, and sovereign state of Croatia."

When a contingent of HDP members, carrying a banner reading, "Death to the Fascist regime of Tito's Yugoslavia," marched in Melbourne's 1982 May Day march, many unionists, members of various Yugoslav groups, and others called for their expulsion from the march. Subsequently, a debate over the political character and orientation of the HDP broke out in the left press.

What makes the HDP seem a little different from most right-wing Croatian organizations that have existed or continue to exist in Australia is that some of its leading members call themselves socialists and are keen to link the name and aims of their organization with progressive struggles like those of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Irish Republican Army, and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador.

However, most on the left who have taken a close look at the HDP, its origins, and the views it espouses have been singularly unimpressed by HDP leaders' claims to a socialist and anti-imperialist orientation.

In fact, everything, from the HDP's open identification with the traditions of the extreme right-wing Croatian Ustasha movement to its support for terrorism and sabotage in Yugo-

slavia today, points to the HDP as being yet another factional outgrowth of the counterrevolutionary Croatian émigré movement that has existed in a number of countries since the end of the Second World War.

A left voice for the HDP

The only current on the Australian left that has not recognized the reactionary character of the HDP's perspectives is the Socialist Workers Party, the Australian section of the Fourth International. In fact, for nearly two years the SWP has promoted the HDP and its aims. It has produced and distributed leaflets and pamphlets and focused an issue of its magazine, *Socialist Worker*, on the HDP.

The SWP's political support for this organization is based on several contentions. First, it asserts that Croats form an oppressed nation within present-day Yugoslavia.

Secondly, it contends that the HDP, with its aim of creating a separate and "neutral" state of Croatia, represents an authentic and progressive expression of the will of the entire Croatian people. This demand, it says, is connected to the perspective of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Yugoslav workers state.

Finally, it claims that the HDP's professed support for a number of anti-imperialist struggles (and not least its approaches to the Australian SWP itself) constitute sure evidence of a new and rapid evolution to the left.

The SWP summed up its assessment of the HDP in a report by Dave Holmes, adopted by the SWP National Committee in June 1983. The report, published in the August 1983 issue of *Socialist Worker*, states:

In our view, the HDP leaders are revolutionaries. They have a different history to ourselves; they have been formed by the experiences of national oppression in a Stalinised workers state. But we are confident that as a result of their experiences, including in this their collaboration with our party, they are moving in a progressive direction.

The HDP comrades have already registered impressive successes in building an organisation with a weekly paper and extending their influence. We can certainly appreciate that.

As a result of the collaboration between the HDP and the SWP and also through the development of the class struggle in this country, many more Croats will come to see the need to build a revolutionary workers' party here and fight to overthrow capitalism. We hope they will join the SWP. Some will belong to both the HDP and the SWP. In our view there is no contradiction in this, as we are both working for the same end — a world free of class exploitation and national oppression.

Shortly after the SWP National Committee meeting, the July 19, 1983, *Direct Action*, the

Press for report on the Labor Party revelations of right-wing Croatian activity in Australia.



SWP's weekly newspaper, carried a special supplement on the HDP and Croatian nationalism. It included an article stating that the HDP "should be welcomed in the labor movement as a progressive vanguard of the Croatian national movement."

The SWP's favorable view of the HDP has provoked discussion in the left about this organization. It also caught the attention of the editors of the *Australian*, a national, bourgeois daily, which ran a full-page article in its July 12, 1983, issue entitled, "How the ultra-Right may have finally suckered the ultra-Left."

But criticism from left and Labor Party circles of the SWP's support for the HDP seems to have reinforced the SWP's conviction that it must surely be correct. Of their critics, SWP leaders Holmes and Douglas Lorimer wrote in the introduction to the *Direct Action* supplement, "They are worried by the gains made by the SWP in the past year or so, in size and political influence, and a drive against a 'Ustasha front' supported by the SWP seems a conven-

ient opportunity to get at the SWP."

However, discussion of the SWP's relationship to the HDP has extended beyond Australian political circles to areas where fear of the SWP's growth would seem a lesser consideration. For example, an article commenting on the SWP-HDP liaison appeared in the September 1983 issue of *Searchlight*, a left-wing British monthly that concentrates on exposing the far right.

The question is also of interest outside Australia precisely because the HDP is an international organization with branches in at least North America, Sweden, and West Germany. It has an international leadership and its branches conduct common political campaigns.

This year, for example, the HDP organized protests in several countries against the holding of the Winter Olympics in the Yugoslav city of Sarajevo (an event it likened to Nazi Germany's 1936 Berlin Olympics).

It also demonstrated against Yugoslavia's

admission to the European Conference on Disarmament and Security that began in January 1984 in Stockholm. Its appeal to the delegates, many from imperialist countries, was that "the very existence of Yugoslavia is a threat to peace." In other pamphlets, the HDP has described Yugoslavia as "the greatest threat to world peace."

What are the HDP's positions?

The best way to clarify whether the HDP is revolutionary, as the SWP asserts, or reactionary, as most other groups in the labor movement say, is to look at how the HDP presents itself — both its present policies and its history.

The HDP's political program is set out in its "Declaration and Introductory Statement" published in October 1981, four months after the organization was founded.

The principal aim of the HDP is to generate and organize a political force which will support the

present day developments in Croatia, through which the Croatian people seek to establish a free, independent and sovereign state of Croatia. A sovereign State of Croatia, according to the express wishes of the Croatian people and founded on the principles of every nation's right to self-determination, is the only solution to Croatia's present day economic, political and cultural ruin as brought about by the imperialist aspirations of greater-Serbianism.

We therefore urge, in the interests of world peace, that all those who remain dedicated to protecting and preserving the status quo in Yugoslavia reconsider their previous policies and actively support a peaceful solution to the problems of the sensitive Balkan region.

We believe that the formation of independent national states, along the lines of the Scandinavian states, represents the only stable and long term solution for the Balkan region. Certainly such a solution is more than possible through peaceful transition under the auspices of the United Nations.

While stressing its preference for a peaceful break-up of the Yugoslav workers state, the HDP's introductory statement also explains the organization's attitude to armed actions aimed at achieving a "neutral" Croatian state.

We wish to emphasise that the Croatian people cannot and will not forever delay the possibility of using force against force when all hope is lost for the attainment of their rightful goal by more humane means. For this reason HDP recognises and accepts the premise that in a just struggle for national survival, sovereignty and freedom it is justifiable to use all suitable means to achieve such a goal — as endorsed in the UN Charter. It is a historical fact that the methods used by the oppressor in preventing the realisation of a people's legitimate demands ultimately dictate the methods used by that people to attain their goals.

We state categorically, however, that HDP strongly rejects the use of force or any other illegal undertaking of activities on the territory of *other countries*. The idea of the Croatian struggle being fought on foreign lands is not ours but rather the invention of the Yugoslavia propaganda effort. It is in the Yugoslav interests alone to export their problems to other countries. It is in their interest, and indeed it is their policy, to instigate terrorist activities in other countries in the name of Croatian organisations so as to secure the harassment of Croatian activists by foreign security services as well as generating an anti-Croatian public opinion [emphasis added].

While the HDP repeatedly attributes Croatian terrorism to the Yugoslav security forces operating in league with the governments of other countries, it nonetheless conducts vigorous campaigns in defense of Croatian rightists imprisoned for various hijackings, bombings, and assassinations directed at Yugoslav government targets. Some, such as Miro Baresic, in prison in Sweden for the assassination of the Yugoslav ambassador in Stockholm in 1971, are now claimed as HDP members, and all are lauded as "freedom fighters."³

Perhaps the most telling indicator of the thoroughly reactionary character of the Croa-

tian Movement for Statehood, however, is its version of the history of Balkan politics in the twentieth century. This is particularly so in regard to its warm feeling for the extreme right-wing Ustasha movement and pro-Nazi government this movement administered in the Independent State of Croatia between 1941 and 1945.

Leading members of the HDP have publicly described the Ustasha as "a revolutionary brotherhood" and its members as "liberation fighters." They have asserted that "it is a total fallacy to identify it as being a Fascist or Nazi orientated political Movement."⁴

Yet like other right-wing Croatian nationalist organizations, the HDP continues to celebrate April 10, the day the German imperialist army occupied the Croatian capital of Zagreb. As a result of that occupation, Croatia

4. Speech by HDP leader Stipe Suto to a Karl Marx Centenary conference sponsored by the Australian SWP in April 1983. His speech was reprinted in the April 12, 1983, issue of *Hrvatski Tjednik* ("Croatian Weekly"), a Croatian-language paper published in Australia.

was permitted to become an independent state under the rule of the pro-Nazi Ustashi leader, Dr. Ante Pavelic.

This year, for example, the HDP in Australia joined other right-wing Croatian organizations to celebrate April 10 at a meeting at the Ante Pavelic Dom (club or center) in a Melbourne suburb on April 7.

Dinko Dedic, a leader of the HDP and editor of *Hrvatski Tjednik* ("Croatian Weekly"), told the audience of 500 Croats, "The only way to establish an independent state of Croatia is the same way as the way of April 10, the Ustashi way."

He said, "The misery around us is not the result of us having no allies, but this misery is the result of us not following the way of April 10."

He continued: "The question of April 10 is similar to how it was in 1941 — one people, one leadership, one movement and one brave battle to lead to success."⁵

5. Dedic's speech was published in the April 19 issue of *Croatian Weekly*.

A brief history

lished as an independent kingdom. As a result of its victories in the Balkan wars (1912-13), Serbia was ceded Macedonia.

Croatia and Slovenia, until 1918, had been under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Bosnia-Herzegovina, for centuries under Turkish rule, was taken over by Austria-Hungary in 1878.

In 1918, at the end of World War I, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was established. It began as a constitutional monarchy with the Serbs and Slovenes dominating the highly centralized government based in Belgrade. The Croats pressed for a federal structure granting a certain amount of regional and ethnic autonomy.

The political struggle between the Serbs and the Croats erupted violently in 1928, when a Montenegrin Serb stood up in parliament and shot several Croat deputies including the prominent leader, Stjepan Radic. In protest the Croats withdrew from parliament, and King Alexander established a royal dictatorship. The following year the country was named Yugoslavia, the "Land of Southern Slavs."

King Alexander was assassinated in 1934. His successor, the regent Prince Paul, abandoned the king's pro-French foreign policy for one that resulted, on March 25, 1941, in Yugoslavia's adherence to the German-Italian-Japanese tripartite pact. This provoked massive protests in which the Communist Party played a significant role.

Pro-Allied Serb military forces staged a successful coup and replaced Prince Paul

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is made up of six republics and two autonomous provinces. The republics include: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The autonomous provinces are Vojvodina and Kosovo. Each republic has its own government with considerable autonomy.

According to 1982 estimates, Yugoslavia's 22.6 million people are distributed as follows: 36 percent Serbs, 19 percent Croats, 8 percent Slovenes, 8 percent Albanians, 6 percent Macedonians, 3 percent Montenegrin Serbs, and 2 percent Hungarians. In addition there are about 750,000 Turks, Romanians, Gypsies, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Germans, Ruthenians, Czechs, and Italians.

The majority of the Serbs are Eastern Orthodox, and the majority of Croats are Roman Catholic. About 10 percent of the population are Muslims.

There are three officially recognized languages: Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Slovenian. Hungarian and Albanian are also spoken. While most Croats, Serbs, and Slovenians speak the same language, the Croats and Slovenians use the Latin alphabet and the Serbs use the Cyrillic alphabet.

Before 1918, there was no Yugoslavia. The peoples that make up that country had been dominated by stronger powers for centuries. Serbia for more than 500 years had been a vassal principality of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. In 1878 it was estab-

3. See April 26, 1971, article in *IP*, "Rightist exiles shoot Yugoslav ambassador." This article reported, "According to witnesses, they [the two Croatian exiles] shouted, 'Long Live Free Croatia! We belong to the Ustashi! Thousands of Croats sympathize with us. We regret nothing.'"

It must be kept in mind that the HDP, which the Australian SWP says is the "vanguard of the Croatian national movement," constituted the "left wing" at this meeting. Speakers from the more openly right-wing HNV and the Croatian National Movement (HOP) also appeared on the platform.

What was the Ustasha?

In order to appreciate the full significance of the HDP celebrating April 10 and praising the Ustasha-led Independent State of Croatia, it is necessary to look at the origin, character, and deeds of this pro-fascist outfit.

Before World War I there was no Yugoslavia. Serbia was an independent monarchy and Croatia and Slovenia were part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Following the war, the imperialist victors tried to create a stable national state in the Balkans that they could dominate. This resulted in the formation in 1918 of the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes."

Supported by the main political forces of each of these South Slav nations at the time,

the new state supposedly was to guarantee the autonomy of each national grouping within the new kingdom. However, it was set up in such a way that national antagonisms would make it easier for the imperialists to dominate. Serbian hegemony over the other national groupings was the reality of the bourgeois monarchy in Yugoslavia, as the country was named in 1929.

The years between World War I and World War II were marked by harsh repression, not only of national resistance by Croats and others opposed to the measures and methods of the Belgrade government, but also of workers' struggles throughout Yugoslavia. By the time World War II began, the national divisions and extreme weakness of the central government made the Nazi invasion and occupation of Yugoslavia relatively swift.

The Axis powers appointed the Italian Duke of Spoleto to become King Tomislav II of "independent" Croatia. Pavelic became head of the new government. In the 1920s Pavelic had been active in the right-wing Croatian separatist movement. In 1929 he left the coun-

try in order to organize his Ustasha movement.

Pavelic and his collaborators sought and gained the support of the Italian and Hungarian governments of Benito Mussolini and Miklos Horthy, both of which had territorial designs on Yugoslavia. The Ustasha modelled itself on the fascist movements in these countries as well as on the Nazis. It had similar organizational structures and trappings, and it put forth a "pure race" ideology. It stressed the superiority of the Croatian people and their Catholic religion to Orthodox Serbs, Muslims, Jews, and others.

Pavelic himself took on the title *poglavnik* or single leader, corresponding to the German *führer* or Italian *duce*. The Ustasha received financial and military assistance from the Italian fascists to carry out sabotage and terrorism inside Yugoslavia.

After Pavelic was installed as the head of the "independent" state, the Ustasha carried out a reign of terror against all who opposed the new government. Concentration camps and mass extermination by horrendous means were part of its rule.

Among its victims were Serbs, Orthodox Croats (whom the Ustasha considered to be Serbs), Muslims, Jews, Gypsies, communists, and any others who resisted the regime. The estimates of the number killed vary, but the lowest are in the vicinity of 200,000.

This clerical-fascist movement had no mass support among the Croatian peasants and workers. It ruled ruthlessly against the interests of working people and was maintained only by sheer terror and the backing of the Axis powers.

'Forced by events'

The HDP apologizes for the actions of the Ustasha by contending that these were forced upon it by the circumstances of the time. HDP leader Stipe Suto, for example, draws a parallel with the period of the 1848 revolutions in Europe.

In a speech at a Karl Marx Centenary Conference sponsored by the SWP in April 1983, Suto stated, "It was precisely the strong national consciousness which made Croats react against Hungarian Imperialist aspirations in 1848. Although it meant that Croats had to side with the Conservative Austrian establishment, this was thought at the time to be a lesser threat to the Croatian national existence. 1941 proved to be a repeat of 1848 in that respect. The Croatian liberation movement was forced by the events to side with the Axis Powers."⁶

6. In 1848 a wave of democratic revolutions swept across Europe. Among them was the revolution in Hungary where the Magyars, for years oppressed by the Austrian Habsburg dynasty, established a revolutionary government. This government began a social revolution by adopting a number of antifeudal measures — abolition of all political privileges, introduction of universal suffrage, and elimination of all feudal obligations, labor services, and tithes. It took steps toward emancipating the Jews and permitted the Croats and Slovenians, two Slavic minorities in

of Yugoslavia

with the 17-year-old King Peter. Beginning April 6, 1941, the armed forces of Germany, Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria invaded Yugoslavia.

They forced the royal family and the government into exile and partitioned the country among themselves. The Independent State of Croatia was permitted to be set up. It was hemmed in on all sides by Axis-occupied territory and was itself partitioned into German and Italian zones of influence. Besides the Axis powers, the dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain, the Vatican, and the Swiss government extended it diplomatic recognition.

Historian Fred Singleton in *Twentieth-Century Yugoslavia* (Columbia University Press, 1976), pointed out that this formation "was not independent, it was hardly a state, and it was only 50 per cent Croat."

During the war, the resistance forces in Yugoslavia were split into the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland (Chetniks), which had close ties to the exiled monarch, and the National Liberation Army (the Partisans), headed by Josip Broz Tito.

The Partisans, based among the workers and peasants, not only had to fight the imperialist occupation armies, but the bourgeois Chetnik forces as well. During the war close to 2 million Yugoslavs were killed.

The Partisans, with their policy of uniting working people from the various nationalities, won mass support. By 1945 they were the dominant force in the country. Pressure from the Kremlin and the Al-

lied imperialist powers induced the communist leadership of the Partisans to form a coalition government in March 1945 with the representatives of the royal government in exile, headed by Ivan Subasic.

The CP, as the principal force among the Partisans, dominated the coalition government. The coalition began to fall apart, however, when a radical land reform was launched in mid-1945 and the properties of collaborators were expropriated. These measures led the bourgeois-landlord members of the coalition to resign. The bourgeois parties boycotted the elections on Nov. 11, 1945, and the Federal People's Republic was inaugurated on November 29.

In the latter part of 1945 and throughout 1946 the workers and peasants government widened its control over the economy and moved toward establishing a workers state. The nationalization law of 1946 prepared the ground for taking over all of industry, and a five-year plan was begun in April 1947.

Tito remained head of the government until his death in 1980. In the first period after his death the presidency rotated in one-year terms among the members of the Supreme Executive, which includes one representative from each of the republics and autonomous provinces. In May 1984 a nine-member collective presidency was established, made up of one representative from each republic and autonomous province plus the president of the CP's Central Committee.

Elsewhere in the same speech Suto explained, "The Right-wing label of this Movement [the Ustasha] came about mainly because the turn of events forced it to accept the inevitability of the Axis powers in Europe at that time and did what it deemed necessary to establish a separate Croatian state. The only possible way at that time seemed to be by collaborating with the Germans and Italians. The lack of understanding by the Allies toward the need for the Croatian people to establish their own state forced this unnatural alliance."

That being the victims of "misunderstanding" has "forced" a section of the Croatian people into the service of various reactionary and counterrevolutionary movements is a line of argument that has at least impressed the leaders of the Australian SWP, who have set themselves the task of winning this movement to socialism by being the most understanding organization on the Australian left towards the HDP.

Partisan movement

Against the occupation of Yugoslavia and the Pavelic regime, a broad resistance grew up, led by the Communist Party. This movement began in the form of small and scattered guerrilla groups but rapidly gathered mass support. It fused into a single National Liberation Army, known as the Partisans, under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito, himself a Croatian.

The Partisans sought to work with everyone who was willing to fight the Nazis. Their program was based on supporting the rights and the unity of all the nationalities inside Yugoslavia. By opposing the reimposition of a Serbian chauvinist regime that ruled at the expense of other nationalities, the Partisan movement won the loyalty of workers, not only of the smaller national groupings, but also of Serbia.

The Partisans' program undercut support for the promonarchist, procapitalist, Serbochauvinist Chetnik movement led by Draza Mihajlovic. In the fight against German occu-

Hungary, to use their own language in governmental bodies.

The Magyars waged a war of national liberation against the Austrian government that was finally crushed in August 1849 only when the reactionary Tsarist regime in Russia intervened with thousands of troops. A massive counterrevolutionary campaign was unleashed against the Magyars.

The Austrian Slavs, including the Croats and Slovenians, sided with the counterrevolution. They provided troop contingents that fought in the front lines of Austria's military struggle to crush the revolution.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were active participants in the 1848 revolution in Germany and followed closely the revolutionary developments throughout Europe. They vigorously supported the Hungarian revolution and explained the counterrevolutionary role of the Croats and other Austrian Slavs. (See "Democratic Pan-Slavism," by Engels, *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 362-78 and "Hungary," by Engels, *MECW*, Vol. 9, pp. 455-63.)

pation the Chetniks were favored by British and U.S. imperialism over the Partisans. They soon came to concentrate more energy on fighting the Partisans than the Nazi occupiers, and in this even collaborated with Pavelic's Ustasha forces.

The war against German imperialist occupation more and more grew into a civil war of the exploited classes against the capitalists and landlords. As soon as the revolutionary army liberated a locality, it established a People's Liberation Committee that assumed the functions of civil authority and became the basis of a new revolutionary government.

In November 1942, the Partisans set up an Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) which, a year later, established a provisional government. This body proclaimed its intention of forming a federated multinational state.

The workers and peasants waged their revolutionary struggle against incredible odds, with little or no material assistance from the Allied powers, including the Soviet Union, until the final stages of the war. Their losses were massive, but their struggle was tenacious. By the end of the war they had driven the Nazis as well as the Ustasha puppet regime out of the entire country and established their own government, a workers and peasants government.

This government smashed the landlord class and distributed land to the peasants. It abolished the monarchy and undercut the powerful role of the church hierarchy. It expropriated the capitalists, established a national economic plan, and united the various national groupings into one federated workers state.

The HDP, despite the socialist pretensions of some of its members, does not hail these revolutionary conquests of Yugoslav, including Croatian, workers and peasants. To the contrary, it sees them as a setback to its goal of creating an "independent and neutral Croatia."

The HDP leaders put it clearly in an interview they prepared in July 1982. They stated, "The oppression continued until 1941 when the Croatian people used the opportunity brought about by the war situation and proclaimed the Independent State of Croatia. This was short-lived, however, because Yugoslavia was again established in 1945. . . ."

The capitalist regime brought to power by the Nazi occupation put an end to oppression! But the revolutionary government established by the workers and peasants restored it!

With this view, the HDP's struggle to resurrect an "independent" Croatia "the Ustasha way," can only be one thing: counterrevolutionary. It aims to overthrow the conquests of the most sweeping revolution in Europe since the Russian Revolution in October 1917.

The HDP's heroes

In keeping with the HDP's opinion that the Pavelic regime brought four years of liberation for Croatia is its glorification of various wartime Ustasha leaders.

In its April 19, 1983, issue, the *Croatian Weekly* ran a laudatory article on Ustasha

leader Col. Jure Francetic, the commander of the Ustasha regiment known as the Black Legion, an SS-type formation that ran the concentration camps in Croatia. The article described Francetic as "a symbol of the Croatian will for freedom liberated from all ideologies and collaboration."

In the same month the *Croatian Weekly* published an interview by HDP member Durdica Ruskac with Professor Danijel Crljen. The introduction by the editors clearly shows the HDP's attitude to the Ustasha butchers:

Professor Danijel Crljen was born in Sibernik in 1914 and there he finished at the grammar school for ancient languages. He graduated at the Philosophy faculty at Zagreb University. As a student he was the president of the French language Students' Society, then the Secretary of the Association for the Liberation of Zagreb during the time of the Aleksandr Karadjordjevic dictatorship. He took part in organizing the Ustasha movement in Varazdin, Split, Gospic and Derventi and after he had been dismissed from the job by the ban Subasic, he became a member of the leadership of the movement.

Being greatly talented, he was during the Croatian Independent State the representative for education at the Ustasha's main centre, and became one of the most important Croatian political orators. At the beginning of 1945 he was promoted to the role of Ustasha colonel. After the collapse of the Independent State of Croatia in 1945 he spent a short time in Italy and then moved to Argentina where he lives today.

Giving speeches, lectures and writing booklets and articles in newspapers, he keeps on helping the idea of the struggle for liberation and of establishing the Croatian state. He takes an active part in the life of Croatian emigrants in Buenos Aires.

Professor Danijel Crljen took part in the work of the Croatian National Council and was a member of the Parliament of the HNV and the president of the Court of Honor of the HNV.

Mr. Artukovic (USA) and Professor D. Crljen are the only men in the emigration who belonged to the leadership of Ustasha's movement before April 10, 1941. To mark 50 years of Professor Crljen's political work, the Croatian Movement for Statehood is of the opinion that it is their duty to dedicate this page to this great son of the Croats so his words will be written in the *Weekly*.

The editors of the *Croatian Weekly* begin a series of dialogues with honorable Croatian politicians, in order to present their contribution to better informing Croats about the decisive days in the struggle for the Croatian state.

SWP sets us straight

In case anyone should gain the impression from such an introduction that the leaders of the HDP sympathize with such former Ustasha members, SWP leaders Holmes and Lorimer are quick to reassure us that this is not the case.

In the July 19, 1983, *Direct Action*, they wrote:

The HDP works in a community where many people come from the Ustasha tradition, or have been influenced by it, or have illusions in it.

Hence the HDP, correctly, discusses and debates the Ustasha tradition or aspects of it. This is essential to mobilise support for the HDP program.

This may mean interviews with former Ustasha leaders who for many in the Croatian community represent a militant nationalist tradition and who may be changing politically. This is certainly going

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Croatian nationalism and the fight for socialism

USA is protector of the most brutal regimes: Turkey Yugoslavia & El Salvador



Issues facing the peace movement

Cover of August 1983 "Socialist Worker," published by the Socialist Workers Party of Australia.

to be the case in the framework of a paper like *Croatian Weekly*, which is the largest circulation Croatian-language paper in the country [Australia] and which reflects to some extent the spectrum of the nationalist aspirations of the Croat people.

This does *not* mean that the HDP supports all the ideas in *Croatian Weekly* or that it supports the Pavelic regime or what it did during the war. In fact, the HDP has made it crystal clear, for those who are capable of understanding, that it does *not* support Pavelic's crimes but condemns them.

What is the influence of war criminals in the HDP? Zero.

This assertion is somewhat fantastic after the editors of the *Croatian Weekly* have declared that a Ustasha butcher like Crljen is a "great son of the Croats." An HDP member interviewed Crljen, and the interview, with an introduction praising him, was published in a

newspaper that an HDP member edits. One can only conclude that the HDP thinks that Crljen's views are laudable and that publishing them will help advance its own political perspectives.

Organizational origins

As already stated, the HDP was formed from a split in the organized right-wing Croatian movement. It is worth briefly outlining the history of the organizations the HDP comes from in order to better understand its perspectives today.

In May 1945, Pavelic, along with many of his followers, fled Zagreb just before the Partisan forces entered the city. He made his way via Austria and Italy to Argentina. There he immediately began to reorganize his forces in

exile with the aim of conducting military actions against the Yugoslav revolution. In 1956 he launched the counterrevolutionary Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP).

Pavelic's second-in-command, Andrija Artukovic, ended up in the United States, successfully fighting extradition to Yugoslavia where the Belgrade government wanted to try him as a war criminal.

Max Luburic, the Ustasha general in charge of concentration camps in Croatia during the war, made his base in Spain under the protection of Francisco Franco's military dictatorship. After falling out with Pavelic, he established an organization called the Croatian National Resistance (HNO). Both the HOP and the HNO organized secret military wings.

While these were not the only right-wing separatist organizations in the Croatian émigré communities, they were the chief ones contending for leadership. Their common aim was the overthrow of the Yugoslav workers state and the establishment of an "independent and neutral Croatia."

In order to win backing from capitalist governments in Europe and elsewhere, the Croatian separatist organizations found it prudent to shed some of the fascist trappings of the Ustasha and present themselves as persecuted democrats fighting for self-determination.

British historian and diplomat Stephen Clissold, in an article published in 1979 by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, explained that as far back as the 1950s,

Separatist propaganda sought to appeal to the Western Allies by stressing the following themes:

(a) Croatia had traditionally been the bastion of Christendom against the Turks and would play a similar role against the new infidels of the East;

(b) the excesses of the Pavelic regime had been much exaggerated by its enemies and were largely reprisals against the Chetniks and Partisans who had committed far greater atrocities. . . .

(c) the post-war Separatists were not to be equated with the Ustashe — they were merely anti-Communist refugees, persecuted dissidents and sound democrats who wanted to exercise the right to self-determination to achieve their own independent Croat state.

The HDP's practice today of celebrating Ustasha traditions and glorifying its leaders, while at the same time attempting to present itself as something more progressive, has been part of the general tradition of the post-war separatist movement.

For example, in Australia the HNO made overtures to both the Australian Labor Party and the Communist Party of Australia in 1972. They offered various forms of political support and announced their adherence to "socialism." Neither the CP nor the Labor Party, however, took this sucker bait.

Several right-wing separatist groups also carried a certain amount of pro-Soviet material from the Kremlin critical of the Yugoslav government. The rift between Moscow and Belgrade that began in 1948 created a context in which some Croatian separatists thought they might obtain Soviet assistance.

In 1981, when the HDP broke from the



Yugoslav Partisans in 1943. Partisans conducted struggle for national liberation against imperialist occupation and waged a successful civil war against Yugoslav landlords and capitalists.

HNV — the umbrella group of right-wing Croatian organizations set up in the mid-1970s — it placed particular emphasis on shaking off the “Ustasha image” of its movement. The HDP brought with it the bulk of Luburic’s HNO; the Croatian Republican Party, which had earlier attempted to win Moscow’s support; and many of those who had been active in the 1971 protests in Yugoslavia, a few of whom had fought with the Partisans during the war. With an organization made up of groups of such diverse origins, the HDP stressed unity — ex-Ustashi and ex-Partisan united in one movement for a separate Croatian state.

The version of history presented in HDP publications is tailored to serve this perspective. Any and every popular political or cultural figure in Croatian history is linked with the goal of an “independent Croatian state,” regardless of whether, in fact, these figures were connected with separatist politics or not.

Similarly, the HDP approaches current politics with this method. It tries to link the goals of counterrevolutionary Croatian organizations today, including Croatian terrorists who are waging attacks against the Yugoslav government, with a range of revolutionary anti-imperialist fighters from the Palestine Liberation Organization to the FMLN in El Salvador. It claims that these are in some way parallel political struggles.

But the HDP’s “anti-imperialism” is grafted

onto a totally reactionary political perspective. Hence it pays tribute to wartime fascists and reports favorably on the sabotage of Yugoslav industry alongside full-page articles on the liberation struggle in El Salvador and the Grenada revolution.

Suto in his speech at the Karl Marx Centenary Conference explained, “Besides the Ustasha Movement there have been and still are a host of other cultural and political forces in Croatia as well as many prominent figures who are, it could be said, ahead of their time in promoting Leftist or Socialist ideas, and at the same time, incorporating those ideas into the idea of a struggle for an independent Croatia.”

Right-wing movements have often tried to dress up their ideas with left-sounding, populist-type verbiage. They have found it advantageous sometimes to describe themselves as “socialist” or “workers” organizations, or even to express support for various progressive causes. But to accept such claims at face value or to see these as fundamental to the politics of the HDP can lead to serious errors.

The HDP seeks to overthrow the Yugoslav workers state and establish a new “neutral” Croatian state. It aims to unite all Croatians, including those of openly fascist persuasion, to achieve this goal.

Is Croatian separatist fight progressive?

The SWP in Australia contends that the

struggle of Croats in Yugoslavia for a separate state today is progressive. In an article reporting favorably on the protests by the HDP and other Croatian organizations against Yugoslav Foreign Minister Lazar Mojsov’s visit to Australia last February, *Direct Action* stated, “As poverty and repression worsens and the Yugoslav state crumbles, [and as] the struggles of the Albanians, Croats and other non-Serbian nationalities for their national rights have deepened, it is time that Australians took a stand in support of these peoples and against the U.S.-backed Yugoslav state.”

The SWP makes an erroneous assertion when it says that the U.S. capitalists back the Yugoslav workers state. The historical record shows that Washington was hostile to the Partisan movement and strongly opposed its expropriation of the capitalists and landlords in Yugoslavia. Whatever conjunctural relations the U.S. government establishes with the regime in Belgrade, it maintains its unceasing enmity to the new property relations and the workers state based on them.

But putting this question aside, what is the nature of the struggles that Croats have waged in recent years in Yugoslavia that the SWP contends deserve the support of Australians? Are they progressive or reactionary?

In the 1960s there was a revival of Croatian separatist activity. By 1966 this had reached a point that for the first time in 20 years, Ustashi leaflets began to appear at the University of Zagreb. This reflected a broader dissatisfaction with many aspects of economic, political, and cultural life in Croatia.

The source of this growth of nationalist sentiment is the uneven economic development of the Yugoslav republics. Croatia and Slovenia are more economically developed than the republics of Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro.

For example, the per capita income in Slovenia and Croatia in 1963 was 401.9 dinars and 257.8 dinars respectively compared with 132.7 dinars for Montenegro and 131.8 for Macedonia. More significantly the percentage growth in per capita income between 1947 and 1963 was: Slovenia (282), Croatia (272), Macedonia (220), and Montenegro (212).

The nationalists in Croatia demanded a radical revision of the foreign currency system whereby each republic would keep the foreign currency it earned rather than remitting it to the federal bank for exchange and distribution throughout the country.

This would greatly favor Croatia, since it is the biggest exporter of industrial goods and has the country’s main ports and coastal tourist resorts within its borders, as well as a high proportion of workers sending money home from jobs abroad.

The nationalists argued for the retention of a greater proportion of the wealth generated in Croatia, rather than redistributing it to help reduce the economic gap between the more industrialized and the less developed republics.

Advocates of Croatia keeping the bulk of its income argued, for example, that it was sense-

less to invest money in Macedonia or Kosovo when this could not bring as high a rate of return as investment in Croatia. In essence, such arguments represented advocacy of a continuation of the privileged economic position of Croatia within the country.

It was among students and petty-bourgeois elements such as small traders, exporters, and hotel owners that these arguments found their logical expression in the articulation of calls by a minority for a separate Croatian state with its own seat in the United Nations. The separate state they envisioned would incorporate large areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This nationalist sentiment also penetrated other layers of the Croatian population that were responding to a range of economic hardships and political injustices, not all of them peculiar to Croatia. Among these were rising inflation and growing unemployment. There was also resentment over the underrepresentation of Croats in many aspects of Yugoslav economic and political life.

Associated with the nationalist fervor generated by the leadership of this movement was a growing chauvinism aimed against workers of minority nationalities within Croatia. For example, surveys and headcounts, which tended to point to nationality as the source of problems, were introduced. These pitted worker against worker on the grounds of national origin.

The Communist Party leadership in Croatia, rather than taking on this challenge, adapted to it. There were many in the Communist Party bureaucracy who had their own stake in fighting for a greater share of the economic cake and greater political autonomy for Croatia.

When the federal government cracked down on this separatist revolt in Croatia at the end of 1971 the top Croatian communist leaders were forced to resign. Thousands of Croatian nationalists left the country, some of whom joined one or another counterrevolutionary organization.

'Socialism in one country'

At the root of most of these problems were the policies of the Yugoslav government under the leadership of the CP, known officially as the League of Yugoslav Communists.

Despite the assertion of national independence against the Soviet government in 1948, the Tito leadership was fundamentally forged in the Stalinist mold. Its policies were those of a privileged bureaucratic caste that lived at the expense of the working class. It had a narrow, national conception of building socialism in Yugoslavia, a perspective reflected in its lack of an internationalist foreign policy in the years after it came to power. And it kept all oppositionists under close surveillance, imprisoning large numbers of them.

In the economic field the government instituted a system of "workers self-management" in the 1950s whereby the factories were to be owned by the workers, who ran them through elected councils in each plant. These were intended to operate in competition with other en-

terprises and with an emphasis on profitability. There was to be greater freedom of market relations, greater autonomy for each factory, and greater decentralization of the economy as a whole.

The main contradiction of this scheme, however, was that while it gave workers in individual industries and plants greater control over production and conditions of production, they had no say in the bigger economic or political decisions affecting the entire country.

The opening up of the economy to greater pressure from world market forces as a result of the decentralizing policies of the regime brought with it all the problems associated with a market economy in all its cycles of production: inflation and a rising cost of living, unemployment, and greater differentiations in wage levels from one factory and one region to another. The years 1968 and 1969 were marked by a strike wave that affected all parts of the country.

These economic problems became major contributing factors aggravating existing national tensions and aiding the development of those tendencies favoring a restoration of capitalism.

Tito's government did not have an orientation of developing internationalist and anti-imperialist consciousness among the workers of the country. Rather its policies reinforced chauvinist sentiments between various national groups at home.

Its call for neutrality during the imperialist invasion of Korea in the early 1950s and its lack of solidarity with the Vietnamese liberation fighters in the 1960s are just two examples of the regime's grave default in relation to the international class struggle.

Death of a Yugoslav unionist

On April 20, Yugoslav federal security police raided an apartment in Belgrade and detained 28 people who had turned out to hear an address by Milovan Djilas, a prominent dissident.

One of those detained was Radomir Radovic, a young worker, trade unionist, and professed communist. He was soon released, rearrested for further questioning, and then released again, on April 23. Shortly after his second release, he disappeared. His body was found a week later in the cottage of his aunt.

The Yugoslav authorities claimed Radovic had committed suicide. But his family has contested this, and numerous questions remain about the real cause of his death. The authorities' version has been inconsistent, at first claiming he killed himself by swallowing weed killer, and then later saying it was through an overdose of sedatives. When Radovic's body was found by family members, there was a bruise or scratch on the forehead, a fact the authorities did not explain. Moreover, the family lawyer was barred from the official autopsy.

Radovic, who was 33 years old at the time

Its failure to denounce U.S. aggression in Vietnam was answered by tens of thousands of students and young workers in Yugoslavia who demonstrated their solidarity with revolutionary fighters in Vietnam.

Proletarian internationalism

The removal of the privileged bureaucratic caste in Yugoslavia will require a movement that strives to deepen the socialist revolution begun in Yugoslavia by linking it to the struggle to extend the socialist revolution internationally. Such an internationalist course will serve to weld together the workers of the various national groups in Yugoslavia like the revolutionary war of liberation did in the 1940s.

The Croatian counterrevolutionary groups like the HDP offer an opposing perspective. Rather than building on and deepening the social conquests won by the revolution, they aim to overthrow them. Rather than projecting a proletarian internationalist course that could unite workers — Croatian and Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian — they favor defending and extending Croatian privileges at the expense of other nationalities. Their call for an independent Croatia that would be "neutral," that is, with an unspecified class character, is simply a formula for an independent capitalist Croatia. And how independent would it be with the imperialist powers ready to reassert their domination over it?

The SWP makes a grave error by characterizing the HDP as revolutionary and urging Australian workers to support its struggle for an independent Croatian state. The HDP's perspective is thoroughly counterrevolutionary and should be rejected by all class-conscious workers. □

of his death, had a history of trade union activism, first as a construction worker and later as a technician. He helped prepare petitions against corrupt managers and officials, but was fired from jobs and suffered other harassment as a result.

During the Ninth Congress of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia in October 1982, Radovic, as a member of the union, publicly made a series of proposals. Among other things, he called for unions independent of government control, legalization of the right to strike, press freedom, the abolition of all bureaucratic privileges and the confiscation of all private property acquired by officials at the expense of society, a "campaign against the monopoly of power by the bureaucracy," and the establishment of a political system based on workers councils.

Despite the presence of several dozen plainclothes security police, several hundred people turned out for Radovic's funeral in Belgrade. They laid a wreath on his grave with a large red star in the center. □

An assessment of the defeat in Grenada

Position of the Working People's Alliance of Guyana

[The following documents present the views of the Working People's Alliance (WPA) of Guyana on the overthrow of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Grenada, headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, in October 1983. That overthrow, in which Bishop and other Grenadian revolutionaries were murdered on October 19 by supporters of Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, preceded the October 25 U.S. invasion of Grenada.

[The WPA is one of the major left organizations in Guyana and is also a consultative party of the Socialist International. It long had close ties with the Grenadian New Jewel Movement (NJM). One of its leaders, Rupert Roopnaraine, went to Grenada just two days before Bishop's murder.

[Since then, the WPA has taken part in the wide-ranging discussion in the Caribbean on

the meaning of the Grenada revolution's defeat.¹ It did not, however, participate in either of the two major conferences of Caribbean revolutionary, progressive, and anti-imperialist parties held so far this year, in Guyana on March 2-4 and in Cuba on June 11-13.

[The first of the following documents is a major excerpt from a pamphlet entitled, *Grenada and the Caribbean*, issued by the WPA to mark the fifth anniversary of the March 13, 1979, victory of the Grenada revolution. The second is the concluding portion of a speech by WPA leader Clive Thomas, who is also head of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Guyana, given at Queen's University in Ontario, Canada; it is taken from the September issue of *Caribbean Contact*, a monthly newspaper published in Barbados by the Caribbean Conference of Churches. Footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*].

of internationalism in crucial areas, the high-minded principles it defended and abused at the same time, its making the majority within the vanguard a fetish and ignoring the majority among the masses: this is an act of depoliticisation of the peoples of the region which cradled it. Disenchantment is the chief resulting emotion.

The WPA always saw the Grenada revolution, and described it so at the time, as a democratic revolution aimed at the backward personal dictatorship of [Eric] Gairy with his chosen fascist alliances. Gairy was generally regarded as an enemy of the Caribbean rebirth and enlightenment, since the intention of his personal dictatorship was to promote myths about himself and to batter and subjugate the popular forces which he himself had represented decades before.

It does not seem to the WPA that the NJM leadership was in error to accept a Marxist-Leninist ideology. The failing was, for many in the leadership, to make this narrow, rather than widen, the possibilities and choices. This was compounded by the belief that such an outlook committed it to the foreign policy concerns of the socialist bloc and to a vanguard position on those issues.

The posture of small nations in the present international climate should be one of unwavering self-respect, dignity and modesty. They should prevent themselves from being corrupted by imperialist countries and their intelligence agencies, their mighty corporations and their social glitter. Unless subject to threat and aggression, they should resist becoming champions or leaders against imperialism, while developing a culture of liberation based on the defence of human rights, non-racialism, solidarity with the world's oppressed, cultural and political sovereignty. All of this should be based on their own historical culture and social surroundings. If they are non-socialist, they should avoid becoming front-runners in the crusade against socialism.

In our view, it has been a frequent mistake to suppose that, provided the majority of members in a party's leadership share the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the time is ripe to advance to the construction of socialism, regardless of the level of development and the fulfillment of other pre-conditions. This error is being repeated and re-enacted again and again in the Third World, in some cases even before trade unions achieve freedom and authority.

Basing itself on its growing popularity, on its achievements in terms of economic, social and democratic advances, on the fact that it could demonstrate that it had brought joy and purpose to the population of Grenada and to

'Grenada and the Caribbean'

March 13 is here again, the day of the festival of the Grenada Revolution. This year there is not the accustomed joy because the revolution died in an explosion of inhumanity.

In its first statement of foreign policy, the Working People's Alliance concerned itself mainly with Caribbean and hemispheric affairs. This is still our emphasis.

The party declared at that time that the foreign policy task of Caribbean revolutionaries was to defend the national independence of the Caribbean. This simple task has turned out to be one riddled with unexpected difficulties and challenges.

The WPA remains convinced that the USA's Cuban fixation, which determines its foreign policy today, has resulted historically from diplomatic blunders of the U.S. administration. That country has failed so far to accommodate the Cuban revolution, which

was more self-reliant during its actual course to victory than the American revolution of 1776.

Until new sections of the ruling class and labour forces win more authority in the North American state, our party is under no illusion that this great power will change its outlook. It still remains our view that democratic nations in the Western Hemisphere should be the first to support revolutions which aim at sovereignty, national dignity and political and economic democracy.

The blockade of Cuba, depriving that island of normal and civilised contact with the USA, thus making it overdependent on exchanges with the COMECON,² continues to impress us as a failing. The USA was not too proud to correct a similar error in relation to the People's Republic of China in 1972 during President Nixon's time. This opinion does not alter our view that a democratic Guyana must seek normal and beneficial relations on the basis of mutual respect with the U.S. government and the U.S. community, as with other countries in the Americas.

Since this statement is being made in honour of March 13, a brief assessment of the historical significance of the March 13, 1979 Grenada revolution will be attempted.

The explosion of the Grenada revolution onto the streets in October 1983, its self-exposure, its unconscious injustices, its over-rating, even to the very end, of its capacity to protect its reputation, its beautiful and attractive advocacy of internationalism and its rejection

1. For other contributions to this discussion available in *Intercontinental Press*, see: Fidel Castro's Nov. 14, 1983, speech, reprinted in the Dec. 12, 1983, issue, as well as other Cuban statements in the November 7 and November 28 issues; interviews with Don Rojas, George Louison, and Kendrick Radix — all surviving supporters of Bishop within the NJM — in the Dec. 26, 1983, April 16, 1984, and April 30, 1984, issues; an interview with leaders of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad in the May 28 issue; a speech by Workers Party of Jamaica leader Trevor Munroe in the May 28 issue; a speech by Dominica Liberation Movement leader Bill Riviere in the June 11 issue; and editorial statements by the United People's Movement of St. Vincent and the Grenadines in the July 9 issue.

2. Council for Mutual Economic Assistance — includes the Soviet Union and other workers states.

the anti-dictatorial movement of all tendencies in the Caribbean, the leadership of the Grenada revolution for too long set its face against its early commitment to constitutional government. Against the private advice of some of its friends, and the open abuse of its enemies, the PRG delayed until 1983 the first moves in that direction.

In this delay it was partly influenced by the many tributes paid to its consultative institutions, not only by supporters of the revolution but by formal democrats visiting the country. It was strongly influenced by the experiences of the elected governments of Popular Unity in Chile and, closer home, of the PNP [People's National Party] in Jamaica.

The very real external threat to the revolution gave rise to a siege mentality inside it and led the NJM to insist on the tightest secrecy concerning its internal differences. Ultimately, it turned out that it was unhelpful that the NJM concealed from its fraternal parties in the region the split in its leadership and the nature of that split which, contrary to what the WPA thought at first, did include elements of a power struggle, or did become a power struggle. More unfortunately, the rank and file membership of the NJM itself was kept in the dark until the eleventh hour.

It is instructive to note that the conflict began on the basis of rules of discipline which the entire party had previously accepted. There then developed the arrogance of righteousness against Maurice Bishop who was cast in the role of chief sinner against the rules. At the moment when some means should have been found for involving the masses in the debate, since the Central Committee was the government of the party as well as of the country, the arrogance of righteousness moved to sever what the Central Committee itself had agreed was the party's most vital link with the masses: the leader of the revolution, Maurice Bishop.

What began as mistakes of capacity and perception ended in a violent and inhuman crime, the execution in cold blood of Maurice Bishop and his colleagues. When the guns were turned on the makers of the revolution, the masses of patriotic Grenadians, the revolution that had fired the imagination of the Caribbean people, was itself assassinated.

On the other hand, the NJM and the PRG helped to spread the spirit of unity and liberation throughout the Caribbean. For the first time in this generation in the English-speaking Caribbean there was a ceaseless stream of activity and propaganda in favour of Caribbean unity and dignity sponsored by a government and involving the people. Never in the ex-British Caribbean was a population so ready to defend itself against attack from outsiders as the population of Grenada during the life of the revolution. All of this accomplished a separate historic task: the abolition of the "small island" complex.

More than any other activist since Bolivar, Maurice Bishop by his work helped to cement ties between the Latin American masses and those of the ex-British and ex-colonial Carib-

bean. This aspect of the Grenada revolution, though intangible, is very necessary for the future survival of all our islands in this hemisphere. Downtrodden people everywhere lost a creative and dedicated frontline fighter when Maurice Bishop was killed. The masses of our Caribbean, with their long and deep acquaintance with politicians of the old culture, saw in Maurice Bishop a statesman and leader of a new type. He was, in our view, a shield around the Caribbean.

As careful as the Grenada revolution was not to engage in hair-raising economic declarations, it nonetheless fell foul of Reagan. It fell foul of Reagan because it believed that it could at least hold him up to one of the basic rules of international common law — that nations are free to choose their friends. If the friend is Cuba, Reagan objects, regarding it as a challenge to the U.S. blockade. If the country at variance is a developing country, he sees a certainty of contamination, and sooner or later, by a variety of methods, will move to liquidate the relationship.

The revolution of March 13, 1979 started out under cover of foreday morning and ended in the broad sunlight of October 19, 1983. What flowered and began to grow strong in Free Grenada proved too much for those who see the assertion of Caribbean dignity as presumptuous. But it would not be enough for these to simply cut down the revolution. They wished it to lose its special place in the hearts and minds of all the people. Before and after the Rangers and the Marines, the intelligence agencies and the units of psychological warfare had their sick campaigns to wage: the fomenting of division, the poisoning of the political culture, the smearing and vilification of the revolution.

The whole Grenada crisis has caused the WPA to be more sensitive to the question of a strict regime of human rights under any social system. Our party serves notice that while fully honouring its commitment to the defence of the region against external aggression, it will exercise its right and duty to examine the actions even of friends who claim to be pursuing revolution, especially when those friends have state power. When the denial of basic rights takes place under cover of left intent, it opens up the floodgates for rulers with other political intentions to suppress their opposition.

Human rights standards cannot be imposed on governments of only one outlook. In most modern societies, taking into account economic and social development in the twentieth century, there should be no difficulty in harmonising the rule of law with revolutionary needs. Revolutionaries must not be seen as inconsistent in the defence of fundamental civil, political, cultural and economic rights. To demand strict adherence to legality is in keeping with our aims of ideological pluralism in the region.

Conflict should only arise where the basic laws or intentions of a given country are at variance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It appears fitting at this point to refer to the place of religious thought and action in Caribbean life. We go further than to welcome the activity of "liberation theology." It is our considered opinion that religious thought of various faiths is making a constructive effort to grapple with existing problems. Our own experience has taught us that regardless of the positions they take up, religious and non-party research and thought on social issues and the areas of human relations, conflicts, peace, the family, the various forms of alienation, among others, is making and should be encouraged to make a rich contribution to the humanisation of life now and in the future.

Speech by Clive Thomas

The events surrounding the self-destruction of the revolutionary process in Grenada bear directly on the organisation and future development of political formations among the popular forces of the region.

The first of these is that events which led up to the execution of Maurice Bishop and others clearly indicate the importance which must be attached to constitutionality, legality and due process, in the legitimisation of political action within the region.

The success of the New Jewel Movement and the Maurice Bishop Government in gathering support to overthrow the Gairy regime and subsequently capturing the imagination and minds of the West Indian peoples most in favour of the revolutionary process rested largely on their systematic exposure, when in opposition, of Gairy's methods of dictatorial rule and his gross violations of regionally accepted norms of constitutionality, legality and due process.

Their subsequent failure to hold "free and fair elections, and elections free from fear" had always, therefore, tarnished their reputation in the eyes of large sections of the popular forces. This was particularly so because immediately after the successful overthrow of Gairy a pledge was made to hold free and fair elections, to uphold due process and to protect the human rights of citizens which Gairy had so grossly and savagely violated.

It was only fear of splitting ranks in the face of threats of imminent invasion by the USA, as well as what appeared to sympathetic outsiders to be serious efforts to develop alternative forms of so-called direct democracy, which had stayed the hands of critics.

The immediate consequence of this (and hopefully it will be an everlasting one) is that no regime, no matter how popular it may initially be, will be able to sustain the support of the popular forces of the region if its political rule is not grounded in constitutionality, legality and due legal process. This, to my mind, can be a lasting, positive gain for the masses of the West Indian peoples. The only regret is that the price paid for achieving it has been so high.

I would like to sum up my position on this matter by generalising it into a proposition, which is that after Grenada no social project

carried out in the name of the masses of the Caribbean peoples, whether by government or opposition, will receive widespread support from the popular forces and their organisations if it does not clearly embrace political democracy as its norms of political conduct.

The naive vanguardism adopted in the political debates of the New Jewel Movement prior to Bishop's overthrow has served the process of continued de-politicisation of the peoples of the region and the rise of "left-wing" authoritarianism. Here, in effect, what we had was a political party of less than one hundred members (including members and applicant members) discussing the future of Grenadian society which despite its size was exceedingly complex, as if the important decisions to be made were their sole prerogative. What was worse, is that it was clear that regardless of where the debates took place in the party, effective power lay in the hands of the "majority" in the much smaller political bureau.

When the masses intervened against Bishop's detention and freed him, it was this vanguardism that inexorably led them to summarily execute the head of the government, leader of the revolutionary process, and commander-in-chief without any pretense whatsoever at due process. In retrospect this development might well have been a foregone conclusion from the moment that he was put under house arrest on the basis of a "decision" of a political bureau acting as if its decisions automatically became part and parcel of the law of the land.

Is it any wonder that many rightly ask: if the party could have treated its own in such a manner what then was the position of all the others who did not make up the chosen hundred? The legacies of the savagery and contempt for life inherent in these actions will always live on and be pointed to time and again in the region as the particular "lunacy of the left." The deserving distrust which this has generated will for a long time dampen the incorporation of socialist ideology into the struggles of the popular forces throughout the region.

My third proposition refers to the organic Caribbean intellectuals who have contributed so much to the undermining of the previous hegemony of colonial and metropolitan ideas in the region. For them as a group important lessons can be drawn from the Grenadian tragedy.

Many of the progressive intellectuals (like their counterparts in Western Europe and North America) have been demonstrably uncritical of political processes initiated in the name of the "left." The practice has been to operate as "cheerleaders," applauding actions by the left, rather than as constructive and creative critics. While this is seen as "giving solidarity," in reality it indicates an important weakness of this social stratum.

The weakness referred to stems from the failure of this group to grasp, intellectually and in practice, the distinction between recognising a process of social development which is objectively progressive, and giving direct, un-

critical political support to the class or group which is in control of state power at the time this takes place.

In the Third World and elsewhere what we find is that intellectuals identify objective social advances (for example, the spread of political independence in the colonies, their subsequent nationalisation of transnational resources, and so on) and accept these as enough to give unquestioned political support to those political groups which are leading these developments and which are in control of state power. Thereafter, loyalty to the regime in power is substituted for a constructively critical attitude. In this substitution, intellectuals as a group negate what is to my mind their single most important social attribute, namely, the fact that by their high levels of education and training they develop, on the whole, a striking capacity for creativity and the exercise of independent critical power.

One can perhaps understand the temptations which permit the taking of this attitude: fear of giving ammunition to the imperialist enemy; the need to maintain morale among the revolutionary leaders; the fear of creating doubts about one's own revolutionary credentials. Succumbing to these, however, as occurred in the case of Grenada does not do the long-term project of social transformation and the end to all forms of exploitation any good at all. In practice those who hold state power sense this weakness, and the process of corruptibility inherent in all situations where too much power is concentrated in the hands of too few persons, leads them to exploit the weakness for their own ends.

In retrospect, events in Grenada show that this had in fact occurred on a wide basis, and a serious process of self-criticism among intellectuals who side with the popular forces is called for. Many examples of what I refer to can be found in our failure to respond to major issues generated by the Grenadian revolutionary process. Consider the following four examples:

i) Was the burden of geo-political realities which revolutionary goals must carry in a micro-state located in the strategic backyard of the USA compatible with playing a leading rhetorical role in the global ideological struggles between imperialism and socialism? To what extent does such rhetoric unnecessarily raise the profile of the micro-state and in so doing increase the dangers of directly embroiling it in the heightened overt and covert activities of the two major military blocs?

Does the same consideration raise its head when the small state is under "rightist" conservative political control as in the case of Jamaica where [Prime Minister Edward] Seaga plays a leading role in the global ideological debates between imperialism and socialism? Or is it simply, as some argue after Grenada, that there is no political or national space available to a small state in the highly polarised international arena of today to operate independently, when it is bent on a process of radical transformation? To what extent do such issues

affect the search for consensus among the popular forces?

ii) What problems are created when political rhetoric and strong policy positions on matters of global significance to the major powers outstrip the internal economic transformation of the country?

iii) Could the power vacuum created by the departure of the British have been filled in ways which did not require the ascendancy of one of the two major military blocs in the region?

iv) Could the Grenadian experiments with direct democracy constitute an authentic alternative to representative democracy?

Issues such as these had to be confronted daily during the existence of the Grenadian revolutionary process. Yet, apart from the last of them (where in any case the disputes were in whispered tones and the issues raised obliquely) little real debate took place and little creativity was evidenced. It is therefore not so surprising, how easy it was for those at the center of political events to accept the profoundly anti-democratic theses advanced during the inner party disputes which immediately preceded the tragedy of October 1983.

Thus no one challenged the implicit assumption of the leading protagonists in the dispute that if the majority of the party's leadership moved to a "scientific" embrace of Marxist-Leninist ideology, *ipso facto*, the time was ripe for a Leninist or Soviet-type model of social transformation. The rich regional history of inner party struggles as revealed in the history of the People's National Party of Jamaica, and the PPP [People's Progressive Party] of Guyana during the 1940s and 1950s was never once referred to in the course of these developments. Instead, what we had was the arrogance of raising political theory to a level of truth above the wishes of the masses.

It is for reasons such as these that I have advanced the argument that the events preceding the invasion of Grenada, as revealed in the disintegration of the NJM and the imploding of the revolutionary process, have a significance for the popular forces and left political organisations in the region, which can hardly be underestimated.

Ultimately it seems to me as if this significance centers on the relationship between the project of building socialism and the pursuit of a democratic political practice which builds on representative democratic institutions, constitutionality, legality and so forth rather than moving to discard these in the name of an as yet unproven "higher form of direct democracy" as expressed in soviets, workers' assemblies and so on. This issue, while addressed in the context of the Caribbean, has to my mind a significance that is far wider, a significance that is in many ways universal.

For wherever people seek to transform a social order and are not prepared to build on the achievements of the old, they are bound to confound their own efforts and produce tragedies such as those we have witnessed in Grenada. □