

## Zionist Provocations Point to War

# Begin-Carter Rift Over West Bank

U.S. imperialist chief Jimmy Carter must wonder if Israel is America's Frankenstein monster. Even before the electoral victory of the rabidly anti-Arab Likud government the U.S. bourgeoisie was demanding a more flexible attitude from its Zionist client state in negotiating with the Arab regimes. By electing the butcher of Deir Yassin, former Irgun terrorist and Likud boss Menahem Begin, as prime minister Israel has entered on a confrontationist course with at least the stated Near East policy of its imperialist godfather in Washington.

### Flattery and Nose Thumbing Between Racists

The post-election pilgrimage of Begin to the White House was greeted with foreboding by the American bourgeois press. Even the *New York Times*, published in the world headquarters of the international Zionist movement and generally pro-Israel, ran on the cover of its 17 July *Sunday Magazine* a color photo of Begin which captured his maniacal, genocidal zeal with the ominous headline "The New Face of Israel: Can Begin and Carter Work Together on Mid-East Peace."

Carter, the product of Georgia Klan land, greeted this imperial wizard of the Zionist KKK, the Irgun, who is reviled throughout the world as a racist murderer, as "a man who has demonstrated a willingness to suffer for principle, a man who had shown a superlative personal courage in the face of trial, challenge, disappointment, but who has ultimately prevailed because of the depth of commitment and his own personal characteristics." And Begin presented himself to the born-again Baptist president as though he had just stepped out of the Old Testament as the "spokesman for an ancient people and a young nation."

But Begin's Bible babble is not mere ritual, for he claims as Eretz Israel the land which Yahweh gave to the children of Abram "from the great river of Egypt

unto the river Euphrates." Based on this tribal mythology Begin claims that the territories Israel occupied during the 1967 war are "liberated" portions of what rightfully belongs to the Zionists.

All of Carter's flattery could not budge Begin from the Likud's Near East platform, dubbed the "three no's": "No" to negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), whom the Zionist gangsters hypocritically denounce as genocidal terrorists bent on the destruction of the Jewish people. No withdrawals from the territories occupied during the 1967 war, especially the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. And "no" to a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank and Gaza.

Carter's stated position is the complete withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories with only "minor adjustments"; "secure and recognized borders," aimed at the Arab regimes recognizing Israel in its pre-1967 borders; and a Palestinian "national home" linked to Jordan. Carter is also willing to negotiate with the PLO if the PLO will recognize the sovereignty of Zionism in their pre-1967 borders. All the flattery exchanged between these two racist heads of state did not disguise the gulf between their respective proposals for a Near East "peace settlement."

Begin could not come before his benefactors in Washington entirely empty-handed so he unveiled his own "peace plan." It demanded from Israel's neighboring Arab regimes a complete peace settlement including ending the state of war which has existed since 1949; full diplomatic and commercial relations; recognition of Israel's ever-expanding "boundaries" in return for a few kilometers of sand in the Sinai, and "minor adjustments" on the Golan Heights. If former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy "salami tactics" had brokered a "slice of peace for a slice of land," Begin demanded complete and unconditional surrender for a "slice of land."



William Karel/Sygma

### Zionist leader Begin visiting Israeli settlement on the West Bank.

Carter, who often runs affairs of state as he ran his own election campaign, that is, by promising everything to everybody, promised that based on Begin's visit he was optimistic that "barring some unforeseen difficulties" an Arab-Israeli peace conference after a hiatus of four years would be reconvened in Geneva. In addition, Carter promised Begin more military largess in case all the peace plans and conferences came to naught and "recognized borders" needed to be secured by the more classical means of military might. This largess included 150 of the world's most advanced fighter planes, the F-16, financial assistance to develop a new tank and the sale of high-speed hydrofoil planes.

As if to thumb his nose at the imperialist Goliath in Washington and remind him of "unforeseen difficulties" to a Geneva conference, upon his return to Jerusalem Begin gave official approval to three "legal" settlements in the West Bank. They were the notorious Camp Kadum near Nablus, to which Begin made an emotional trek immediately following his electoral triumph; the Ofra settlement near Ramallah, inhabited by the fanatical Zionist clerical-fascist sect Gush Emunim (Block of the Faithful) and the Maale Adumim which is seen as an eventual

industrial site as well as settlement.

The "Labor Alignment" government refused to grant the settlements official approval and consider them "legal" because they were situated in densely populated Arab areas reserved for transfer to Jordanian administration under the so-called "Allon Plan." Under the "Allon Plan," named after a Labor Party leader and former foreign minister, settlements were to be concentrated along the River Jordan which is the eastern boundary of the West Bank and a second border 12 to 15 miles west of the River Jordan. The settlement along these borders under the "Allon Plan" served more the function of military security than colonization of the West Bank. Begin's slogan for the West Bank is to give up "not an inch," and for him the settlements served both colonization and the eventual integration of the West Bank into a greater Israel as well as their more immediate "security" functions.

Carter, however, responded mildly to Begin's nose-thumbing. In a news conference on July 28 he agreed that "any move towards making permanent settlements in the occupied territories or the establishment of new settlements obviously increased the difficulties in ultimate peace." But, Carter insisted, "I think it's not fair to overly criticize

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## Behind Bandaranaike Rout in Sri Lanka Elections ..... 4

by Edmund Samarakkody

## Maoists Campaign with Wallaceites

# CP Fake Opposition Loses in ILWU Local 6

OAKLAND—Since the April convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) which set the retirement of longtime union leaders Harry Bridges and Lou Goldblatt, the ILWU officialdom has been preoccupied by squabbling over the succession at the helm and the consequent reshuffling of positions down the bureaucratic line. Recognizing the restiveness of the ILWU ranks over massive job losses, ambitious union politicians have tried to cash in on the dissatisfaction without breaking from the Bridges regime's policy of class collaboration and capitulation before employer attacks. But for the membership these clique fights will simply mean the same defeatist policies dished up with slightly new rhetoric.

This point was driven home by the just-concluded election in warehouse Local 6, the single largest ILWU local on the mainland. Called to fill the vacancy in the Local presidency created when Curtis McClain was elevated to International secretary-treasurer, the August 25 balloting drew a turnout twice the normal amount for recent years. For the first time in the Local's history, four candidates entered the running for the top slot. Notably, the election was marked by a failed bid for power by supporters of the Communist Party (CP), who ran Business Agent Joe Figueiredo as their candidate. Maoists also got into the act by campaigning together with a bunch of George Wallace supporters for General Executive Board member Bob Camara.

The winner was Keith Eickman, the former secretary-treasurer of Local 6 and McClain's long-time junior partner. But, significantly, Eickman received only 51 percent of the vote, far below what the McClain/Eickman bureaucra-

cy had received in previous years. The upswing in membership interest clearly reflects alarm over savage management attacks. Thus in the last six months alone, formal charges have been filed against four of the union's business agents in the East Bay. Although charges against three have been bureaucratically suppressed, this provides a dramatic demonstration of growing membership unrest.

The past year has been one of snowballing defeats for Local 6 which have produced a crisis atmosphere. There has been growing unemployment in the Local, including at least 700 additional jobs lost in three key warehouse closings. In addition, a sprouting of runaway shops, heavily concentrated just across the state line in open-shop Nevada; a record number of disciplinary firings; decertification of ILWU warehouses; and the defeat suffered in the 1976 master contract strike, resulting in the mass conviction of ILWU members for strike activities for the first time in decades.

But if Eickman has nothing to boast about, his hardly impressive victory was certainly facilitated by the record of his reformist opponents. Their attempt to strike an oppositional stance was heavily compromised by their thorough complicity with that regime. For years the Stalinists have been loyal supporters of the Bridges bureaucracy. The CP has touted McClain widely in the pages of *People's World (PW)* as a model "progressive" trade unionist. It was with reluctance that the Stalinists entered the race, and *PW* didn't even mention the campaign.

Initially, Figueiredo echoed Eickman in praising the 1976 Teamster-ILWU northern California warehouse con-

tract, hailing it as "the best in the history of both unions," and claiming that massive firings during the current year were in retaliation for the union's supposed victory the previous June. This patent absurdity did not wash, however, and when Camara began picking up support with demagogic attacks, Figueiredo was forced to change tack in mid-campaign, timidly complaining about an absence of leadership.

Figueiredo's vacillation was not surprising. The Stalinists were faced with the unenviable task of reconciling their new-found "opposition" with their previous enthusiasm over the administration's policies—none of which they repudiated—a point which Eickman exploited to great effect. During the Teamster-ILWU strike, the Stalinists had bitterly attacked the class-struggle Militant Caucus for demanding that the union undertake serious strike preparations, including the building of mass picket lines and hot-cargoing of scab goods by Teamster drivers and ILWU longshoremen. CP supporters ardently defended the bureaucracy's policy of leaky picket lines and impotent appeals to Democratic Party politicians to pass anti-scab ordinances. In a leaflet hypocritically entitled "Unity, Unity, Unity" the Stalinists attacked those who dared criticize the local leaders as "ultraleftists."

But "unity" with the bureaucrats did not pay off. That the Stalinists today are forced to distance themselves from Eickman & Co. is in itself compelling testimony that the bureaucracy's policies led to defeat and not to victory, and constitutes an equally damning condemnation of the Stalinists' own criminal complicity in that wretchedly conducted strike.

But their attempt to pass themselves off as oppositionists did not go smoothly. ILWU militants have ample firsthand experience with the CP supporters' treacherous leadership. For example, Stalinist Abba Ramos was one of the four business agents against whom charges were filed; Ramos was also forced out as business agent at Thrifty's because of widespread anger at his role in squashing a strike there. While Figueiredo got 25 percent of the vote, he did not do well where the Stalinists have prominent leadership posts. He lost both San Francisco, where he has been a top individual vote-getter, and the Oakland division, where the Stalinists have stewards in a number of important houses. In Oakland and San Jose he even tailed Bob Camara, who finished third with 20 percent.

Camara's campaign was as unprincipled as Figueiredo's. He attacked the administration liberally for the union's defeats, although he himself has never voted against the leadership on a single major policy. Camara offered nothing but a return to the "old days" of Harry Bridges. Camara was endorsed by a clot around executive board members Jim Allen and Rose Sumter, who had supported racist George Wallace's presidential campaign in 1972 and 1976.

Spicing up the Camara camp was Warehouse United to Fight, a group backed by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). The presence of the rudderless and addled "Marxists" of the RCP in an alliance with the Wallaceites is on a par with their bloc with racist, anti-busing forces in Boston and Louisville, the logical outcome of their prostration before workerism and simple trade-union militancy.

A leaflet by the Militant Caucus

## Letters

Comrades:

In your 27 May 1977 issue ["Butcher of Deir Yassin Takes Israeli Elections," *WV* No. 159] you have a statement that:

"Mussolini remarked to Rome's chief rabbi in 1935, 'For Zionism to succeed you need to have a Jewish state with a Jewish flag and a Jewish language. The man who understands this is your fascist, Jabotinsky'."

Where is this quote from? I know that

Jabotinsky had a naval training station at Civitavecchia, etc. But where does he call Jabotinsky "...your fascist..."

I'm putting together a book on Zionism and its relationships with the Nazis and the fascists, and would appreciate a citation for the quote.

Yours for socialism,  
Lenny Glaser

*WV* replies: The reference for the quote is *History of Israel* by Howard M. Sachar (New York, 1976), p. 187.

To the Editor:

In *WV* No. 159 the article on Israel contains what I think are factual inaccuracies about the Zionist terrorist activities of the Stern Gang and Irgun.

Page 10, last paragraph: "The majority of the Irgunists led by Abraham Stern." This is incorrect. Stern broke from the Irgun as a small minority and remained that way until they reunited with the Irgun.

Same paragraph: "Those terrorists who remained in the Irgun worked closely with the British occupation forces...devoting most of their resources to aiding the British in hunting down Stern gang members." The underlined portion seems very unlikely. Even after Stern broke with the Irgun, they still worked together on specific raids, etc. The closest statement to *WV*'s comes from *The Modern History of Israel* by Noah Lucas who only says:

"During this period the Irgun even established close rapport with the Criminal Investigation Dept. to the detriment especially of Stern followers" (page 213). That's all Lucas says on that subject and that is pretty vague. All other texts I've checked say nothing at all.

Yishud in *WV* for Israeli Jewry should be Yishuv.  
A.B.

*WV* replies: On the split by Abraham Stern from the Irgun, Yehuda Bauer, an important Zionist and fairly reliable source, states in his book, *From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine from 1939 to 1945* (1970): "Stern's view like that of his fellows in Poland—Dr. Israel Scheib, Menahem Begin and Nathan Yellin (Mor)—was that the political orientation focused on Britain should not be continued. Over against Jabotinsky's pro-British line he posited enmity for Britain on the basis of his policy. But in contrast to Begin he concluded that allies must be sought in the camp hostile to Britain, that is to say in Berlin and Rome. In June 1940 Stern and four other comrades were let out of prison and a bitter quarrel broke out between him and Raziell [military commander of the Irgun] against this ideological background. Stern forced Raziell to resign. Jabotinsky intervened and put Raziell back in his post. Stern, however, did not obey the instructions and Etzel

[the Irgun] was split. At first most of the members of Etzel joined Stern's group (Etzel in Israel). But when Stern tried to translate his program into reality many left him and his organization shrank drastically in contrast to the Revisionist 'Etzel in the Land of Israel' [Irgun]."

Many sources confirm that the Irgun worked together with the British CID [Civil Intelligence Department] to get the Stern Gang. An article by Y.S. Brenner, "The Stern Gang 1940-48" published in *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 2 No. 1, October 1965, states: "Even the Irgun which now partially collaborated with the British did all in its power to prevent its former associates [the Stern Gang] from carrying out acts of sabotage. The Irgun had at that time a special branch to combat communism (formed after the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of August 1939) which had established some connection with the British CID. This branch was now also activated against Stern's splinter group, although of course they were right-wing and not left-wing extremists."

Another source is Yehuda Bauer's book, which states: "The tie between Etzel and [the British] army intelligence grew faster during the months of severe British defeats at the beginning of 1941. During the period the Stern people were informed on and some Etzel members received CID documents as anti-fifth column fighters" (page 135).

### WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Feds Invade the Coal Fields

entitled "Local 6 Election: No Choice" emphasized that all the candidates, including Figueiredo, had capitulated to Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. The leaflet noted that at this spring's International Convention, when the Democratic administration banned an official Soviet delegation to the convention, only the Militant Caucus insisted on the union's right to have the Soviet delegation present.

Capitulation to the imperialists' anti-Sovietism inevitably breeds red-baiting. It is not surprising that Eickman, who has adamantly opposed translation of union documents into Spanish and who has willingly accepted the support of outright chauvinists, engaged in substantial red-baiting. The Eickman camp mounted an extensive whispering campaign in which it accused Figueiredo of running simply on "party" orders.

Militants must demand a repudiation of this filthy tactic. Certainly, the history of the ILWU—notably the government's repeated attempts to deport Harry Bridges as a purported Communist in an effort to cripple a then-powerful and militant union—demonstrates the organic connection between red-baiting and union-busting.

But Figueiredo & Co. only facilitate red-baiting. The policies of the Stalinists—support to liberal Democrats, reliance on the bourgeois state, opposition to militant, mass strike action, as well as capitulation to Carter's "human rights" campaign—are identical to those of the McClains and the Eickmans. Of necessity, their occasional oppositional posturing appears as unprincipled maneuvering, and they are thus easy targets for the anti-Communist bureaucrats they conciliate.

Warehouse members of the ILWU, like those in the longshore and Hawaiian divisions, face the threat of the real disintegration of their union. The answer is neither McClain nor Eickman nor Figueiredo, none of whom have repudiated their past policies, but a leadership irreconcilably opposed to all varieties of reformism. In calling on ILWU members to join their principled struggle, the Militant Caucus concluded:

"The lessons of the past should be clear. There is no middle ground. Either the union members will turn to militant class struggle in defense of our jobs or see our union torn to pieces by the bosses and their government through the McClain/Eickman/Figueiredo school of labor sellouts." ■

Since the beginning of the coal miners' wildcat strike against medical benefit cutbacks nine weeks ago, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Arnold Miller has threatened and cajoled, pleaded and promised, in a still unsuccessful effort to sabotage and end the walkout. Last week, Miller's strike-breaking tactics reached a new low. The UMWA president dispatched a special squad of burly union "organizers" and armed strikebreakers to Cabin Creek hollow near Charleston to disperse militant picket lines and usher miners back to work. In a booming industry where union coal has fallen to just over 50 percent of the U.S. total and where union organizing drives have virtually ground to a halt, Miller uses his organizers as strikebreaking goons.

To coal miners, the picket line is sacred and the officially organized scabherding has met bitter resistance. The confrontation in Cabin Creek resulted in gunfire. As word of the shooting spread, nearly 30,000 miners in the Charleston area and eastern Kentucky stayed off the job and roving pickets were prepared to deal with bureaucratic scabherding. "We heard Arnold Miller's thugs were here," one miner said. "We're not going to give him 60 days so the coal companies can build up stockpiles and rob us of a contract," said another, referring to the UMWA's International Executive Board (IEB) order last week to return to work for at least 60 days (*Charleston Gazette*, 26 August).

State and county police, who normally prefer to keep a safe distance, have beefed up patrols in the Cabin Creek area. FBI agents have been dispatched, according to West Virginia governor John D. Rockefeller 4th, to enforce federal laws which prohibit crossing state lines with the intent to commit crimes. This means that federal agents are in the coal fields to prevent roving pickets, some of them from Kentucky, from closing working pits. Miners must demand: cops, FBI, goons, out of the coal fields!

There is widespread skepticism among UMWA members over the discredited Miller's threats to reopen the contract in 60 days and to strike the Bituminous Coal Operators Associa-

tion (BCOA) before the contract's December 6 expiration. But lacking a cohesive leadership to organize the massive hostility to the cutbacks, miners in most striking districts did return to work following the IEB meeting. Of the 80,000 UMWA members on strike at the peak of the wildcat, reportedly 24,000 are still out. But the strike is not necessarily over. Its ranks have swelled and receded several times over the last two months and could well grow again in response to further bureaucratic treachery or direct state attacks.

The IEB, which includes both of Miller's challengers in the recent presidential election, Lee Roy Patterson and Harry Patrick, is ordinarily a hornet's nest of bureaucratic in-fighting. The board has been unanimous, however, in repeatedly ordering the miners back to work without any pledge from the BCOA to restore full medical protection. In District 17, the center of the wildcat, Miller has lashed out at District president Jack Perry and vice-president Cecil Roberts, charging that they "have not done much down there to get the men back to work." In fact, Miller blamed Roberts for the shooting incident at Cabin Creek and the continuing walkout, stating that Roberts "was in the middle of it" (*New York Times*, 27 August).

It is true that some local bureaucrats, feeling more immediate pressure from the ranks, have been reluctant to denounce the strike openly. But Perry and Roberts have never openly endorsed the strike against the cutbacks, and both top District 17 officers were on the radio last weekend to call the miners back to work. Smarting under Miller's criticism and disillusioned by his inability to control a situation that continually puts them on the hot seat, Perry and Roberts have denounced Miller's "weak, ineffective and incorrect leadership" and called on the UMWA president to resign.

In addition to all their other enemies, the UMWA strikers have faced a growing barrage of anti-strike propaganda from the bourgeois media. Liberal dailies from the *Charleston Gazette* to the *New York Times* have portrayed UMWA militants as a strike-crazy, violence-prone minority hell-bent

on walking off the job over any and every grievance.

Coal-mining man days lost to unauthorized strikes are up 50 percent from a year ago and resulted in a downward revision of 32 million tons in the 1977 production forecast. But UMWA militants know full well the cost of their struggles to themselves and their families. At the height of the wildcat, \$17 million per week in wages were sacrificed to protect the health cards. But still they held out.

"No card, no coal" has become the miners' slogan. More than in any other industry, medical insurance is not a "fringe benefit" for coal miners. Explosions, poisonous gas, flash fires, cave-ins, flooding, Black Lung and dangerous machinery constitute everyday threats underground. The UMWA health card is the chief insurance for miners whose lives and livelihoods are risked with every trip through the portals.

In addition to this being literally a life and death issue, a victory over the BCOA's attempt to slash health benefits would strengthen the union's hand in negotiations over the upcoming contract. A defeat now will fuel the employer's offensive to break the miners' militancy and shackle the union to the Carter administration's coal-oriented energy policy, which demands labor peace. ■

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## Stop Transit Cutbacks in NYC!

The quality of life in New York City grows ever more brutal, and last week for the millions of subway riders it got even worse. On August 28, late-night runs on four lines—the AA, N, B and GG—were eliminated, a change which brings enormous hardship to the working population of Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens which these lines served. To compensate for the cuts the A train and the F will run as locals at night, thus doubling travel time for many riders and making the already filthy, deafening and dangerous trip even more perilous. In addition, another 207 bus runs were ordered slashed by the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) on top of the 875 bus and more than 100 subway runs which have disappeared since 1974.

Thousands of jobs in the 35,000-member Transport Workers Union (TWU) have been lost in the past three years due to the cuts, and safety hazards from deteriorating equipment have also increased. Yet TWU International president Matthew Guinan had the gall to tell *WV* last week: "We're not fighting for more jobs. That's not the important issue"! But while the TWU bureaucracy is determined at all costs to head off the mobilization of the union's enormous social power, all its best efforts may not be enough to check the widespread anger now felt by the ranks.

At an August 25 union rally both Guinan and Local 100 President John Lawe were repeatedly booed when they counterposed appeals to Albany to the members' demand for strike action against the cuts. And while Guinan's lackeys had handed out hundreds of whistles to allow the ranks to blow off steam (literally), this gimmick backfired as members used the whistles, along with catcalls and jeers, to run the bureaucrats off the speakers platform!

As the TWU proved in 1966, transit workers have the power to instantly shut down New York City. Moreover the union has long had a paper position demanding free public transportation. This demand backed up by a solid strike for restoration of full transit service would find massive support among the population and quickly bring the bloodsucking EFCB to its knees!



# Behind Bandaranaike Rout in Sri Lanka Elections

by Edmund Samarakkody

We are pleased to present to our readers the following article by Edmund Samarakkody, the veteran Ceylonese Trotskyist and leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP), analyzing the significance of the July 21 parliamentary elections in Sri Lanka. Together with Comrade Samarakkody's article we are reprinting excerpts from the election statement of Meryl Fernando, the RWP candidate in these elections.

It is significant, as Comrade Samarakkody reports in his article, that Meryl Fernando received a higher vote than all other candidates of groups to the left of the CP/LSSP and received as well a higher total than the last time he contested the seat. This good showing can be ascribed to the RWP's sharp attack on bourgeois coalitionism and to the working masses' disgust with the betrayals of the LSSP and CP class traitors.

Despite continuing political differences between the RWP and the international Spartacist tendency, we strongly support the candidacy of the Revolutionary Workers Party in the recent Sri Lanka elections. The election statement's uncompromising declaration that "It is a lie if anyone says that a government of the workers and peasants can be formed in parliament" is a model of firm Bolshevik principle and an antidote to the LSSP's sorry history of pseudo-Trotskyist parliamentary cretinism.

The article refers to a wave of violence following the elections in which the UNP victors attacked their opponents, causing 34 deaths. Since then there

has been a serious outbreak of communal violence in which 100 persons have been killed. The vast majority of the victims were members of the Tamil national minority. As we go to press the murderous pogroms are continuing and threaten to cause a mass flight of Tamils from majority Sinhalese areas, at a cost of tremendous hardship and bloodshed and with the predictable rise of separatist demands.

While the leaders of the reactionary UNP share heavily in the responsibility for the oppression of the Tamils (for example, passage of the 1948 Citizenship Act which made "stateless persons" of roughly one million Tamils on the island), it was the "progressive," "anti-imperialist" Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Sirimavo Bandaranaike which made arrogant Sinhalese chauvinism its trademark. By participating in the coalition government of "Madame B," the shameful LSSP and CP reformists took upon themselves joint responsibility for such oppressive measures as the institution of Sinhala as the sole official language, as well as for the monstrous crime represented by the government's brutal suppression of the 1971 uprising of unemployed youth.

Comrade Samarakkody and the RWP have also championed the democratic rights of the Tamils and defended the imprisoned youth rebels even at the height of Bandaranaike's witchhunt, when other supposed leftists such as the contemptible Bela Tampoe fell on their knees supplicating the blood-soaked prime minister.

COLOMBO, 12 August—Capitalist reaction in Sri Lanka has been dangerously strengthened through the unprecedented and resounding victory of the UNP [United National Party] in the recent State Assembly Elections.

Perhaps it is not incorrect to state that rarely in the history of parliamentary elections in a capitalist country has a reactionary bourgeois party won so much as 86 percent of the total number of seats, as was the case in regard to the victory of the UNP. And perhaps, it is also equally rare for reformist left parties, which have had parliamentary representation previously, to be electorally wiped out, as happened to the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party (CP) in this election.

Of a total of 166 seats, the UNP won 139, the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front—Tamil bourgeois party) 17, and the SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom Party—the party of Bandaranaike] 8 seats. The ULF (United Left Front constituted by the LSSP, CP and PDP [People's Democratic Party—an SLFP splitaway group]) contested 133 seats and registered zero. The LSSP held 18 and the CP 6 seats in the previous parliament. What is especially significant is that of the 81 candidates who contested, as many as 64 lost deposits, many obtaining less than 500 votes.

And it is not without significance that of the other left groups (Bala Tampoe group, Healy group and the Rohana Wijewera-led JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front]) it was the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP), Meryl Fernando, that obtained the largest number of votes—2,800. Also,

he was the only candidate of all left parties or groups to obtain more votes than on the previous occasion when he contested the same seat.

The question what happened and why in regard to the outcome of this election is by no means a mystery. The history of coalition governments of the so-called liberal bourgeoisie and reformist working-class parties has shown that, as night follows day, far from pushing back reaction through such coalition governments, the opposite happens. Such governments only open wide the door for the forces of reaction to come in an avalanche, and invariably through military/police dictatorships accompanied by bloodbaths for the working class and the left movement. This was precisely the lesson of Indonesia's NASOKOM (Sukarno-Communist Party coalition government in 1964) and Allende's UP in Chile (1973). Perhaps it is fortunate that it is only a sweeping parliamentary victory, and not the military/police coup and the bloodbath, through which the forces of reaction in Sri Lanka have been strengthened.

However, it may be that Sri Lanka escaped the rightist coup and bloodbath of Indonesia and Chile only because this was partially accomplished by the coalition government itself, through the 1971 youth massacre, and because the virtual shackling of the trade-union and the left movement was the reality through a five-year Emergency Rule. Nor is it unimportant that during this period there were real indications that Sirima Bandaranaike was contemplating the desirability of not holding elections and continuing her regime by tearing up the Constitution.

And it is not altogether irrelevant to



B.H.S. Jayewardene  
Junius Jayewardene



Sirima Bandaranaike

Brodie/Times (London)

note that the UNP leader Jayewardene (now prime minister) was parleying with Sirima Bandaranaike (about 1973) in the perspective of realising the "strong government" of the capitalist class under her leadership. Jayewardene abandoned the idea when he saw the signs of a possibility of an election victory for the UNP. He opted for elections, and was proved right. Without the risky operation of a Sirima Bandaranaike/Jayewardene coup, he won control of state power.

## Rejection of Bandaranaike Regime

In regard to the sweeping victory of the UNP, it was basically and unmistakably a negative vote. It had hardly any relevance to the false promises of the UNP to bring down living costs and to solve the unemployment problem, or to bring about a "just and righteous society."

The seven-year regime under SLFP leader Sirima Bandaranaike was unprecedented in the oppression and the sufferings that the workers, toilers and the middle classes had to endure through the failures, the misdeeds and corruption of this government.

In the interests of the capitalist class, it was correct for SLFP leader Bandaranaike to decide to pull up the capitalist economy of Sri Lanka by its bootstraps. Her policies were by no means madness without method. For its survival, the capitalist class had the need for drastic steps which could well bring about unpopularity. The crisis of capitalism in Sri Lanka in the context of

the world crisis of capitalism was such that all welfare aspects introduced by all previous regimes had to cease. Subsidising of food and essential commodities had to be drastically pruned. Foreign exchange had to be conserved at any cost. This called for drastic cuts and even a ban on the import of a large number of consumer goods. All this and the frequent price increases of food, increase of train fares, bus fares, postal fares and of products of state corporations received the unqualified approval of the imperialist International Monetary Fund (IMF) and also of the capitalist class and vested interests in Sri Lanka, including the capitalist political parties, UNP and FP (Federal Party).

The other aspect of these oppressive

measures was the need to suppress the masses. Hence the Emergency Rule for six years; hence the massacre of the youth; hence the illegalisation and break-up of strikes and victimisation of workers who resorted to strike action; and hence the continued oppression of the Tamil-speaking people who were severely discriminated against.

In this context, the clear rejection of the SLFP and the other partners of the coalition government was inevitable. Large sections of the masses—workers, peasants, youth, lower middle classes—consciously rejected the partners of this misrule. The rejection of these parties was of course justifiable and correct. The thinking behind this rejection was: "Down with the SLFP devil and its ex-partners the LSSP and CP." But the further thinking of the masses, "Let any devil come," was of course wrong and catastrophic.

## Electoral Disaster for the "Left"

But what calls for explanation is why the SLFP, though it suffered severely, nevertheless managed to maintain a small base in the State Assembly, whilst the "left" parties the LSSP and CP were electorally wiped out. Forty-year parliamentarians like N.M. Perera, Wickremasinghe and P. Keuneman of the LSSP and CP were defeated by large majorities, and by comparatively newcomers of the UNP. While the SLFP obtained about 1.5 million votes, the ULF got only 500,000 votes. It is further relevant to note that from as far back as 1936 left parties were continuously represented in parliament.

This, too, is no mystery. Faith in a coalition government with the SLFP came through the presence of the two working-class-based parties, the LSSP and CP. This was the case in regard to a large section of politically conscious workers and toilers, and also sections of the middle classes. In any event, the LSSP and CP were looked upon as their watchdogs, if not the champion of the interests of the oppressed sections of the masses.

However, the LSSP and CP, the "left" parties in the coalition were soon unmasked. While all three parties were equally responsible for the oppressive policies of the government, the LSSP and CP leaders in the cabinet and the coalition were not only acting as the devil's advocate, but gave their fullest co-operation for all the oppressive measures of the government. Thus, while the SLFP was of course seen as an oppressor, the LSSP and CP were in addition seen as betrayers of the workers and toilers.

The part played by the LSSP and CP in the massacre of the youth and the breaking of strikes could not be easily forgotten. It became clear to large sections of the masses that were staunch supporters of the coalition government at the beginning of the regime that it was the presence of the LSSP and CP in the government that helped the capitalist coalition government to strike such blows at the masses as no other capitalist government did, nor dared to contemplate.

Thus, the role of the LSSP and CP as oppressors and betrayers of the masses was prominently silhouetted in the electoral sky. This meant, not merely loss of confidence in the LSSP and CP, but even mass hatred and hostility to some of the leaders of these parties. In the view of large sections of the masses, the "left" and what they knew as the "left movement" has failed. Thus, whilst the hard core of the supporters of the left movement remained with the LSSP and CP and other left groups, it is a fact that large sections of the working class were not supporting the LSSP and CP and other left groups. While a section of the workers who had moved away from the left parties went consciously into the camp of a party they previously knew as a capitalist party—the UNP—the other section that decided to support the SLFP did so in the belief that the SLFP was a left party, which had a greater chance of defeating the UNP.

It was not at all a surprise that a considerable section of workers and toilers who were supporters of the LSSP and CP and who considered themselves as being in the left, decided to support the SLFP. This was the outcome of the policies followed by the LSSP and CP, especially from the 1960's. Having decided on coalition with the SLFP, the LSSP began to give this party a left or progressive coloration. For the CP, this was no new policy decision. This was indeed their political line from the time the CP was founded in 1940.

Thus it was that large sections of those who still considered themselves in the left, and part of the left movement that wanted to see the UNP defeated, rallied round the SLFP when it appeared to them that in the country as a whole the fight was between two parties—the UNP and SLFP. It thus followed that when votes were counted the LSSP and CP were, with exceptions, at the bottom of the list.

### Tamil Separatists Strengthened

Another factor that calls for explanation in regard to the outcome of the elections is the unprecedented reality that the party of the Tamil bourgeoisie, the TULF, is the largest opposition party with its 17 seats. This has meant that the leader of the Tamil bourgeoisie is the Leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly.

The Tamil-speaking people of the two provinces, Northern and Eastern, and the plantation workers totalling about 2

million have remained an oppressed minority for several decades. They have been denied their language rights and discriminated against in numerous ways by all past governments, and in regard to the Tamil plantation workers, a large section are still denied their citizenship rights and remain in the category of "stateless" persons.

The SLFP/LSSP/CP coalition government not only failed to take any steps



Far Eastern Economic Review

Pieter Keuneman

to grant any real relief to the Tamil people in regard to their pressing problems, but even intensified their state of oppression through the implementation of anti-Tamil discriminatory policies, especially in regard to employment, education and land distribution. These anti-Tamil policies of the coalition government, of which the LSSP and CP were a part, helped to drive the Tamil masses into the camp of the Tamil bourgeois communalists (Tamil Congress and Federal Party) despite their record of betrayal of the Tamil masses.

In the desperate situation of the Tamil people they have been driven to demand

a separate Tamil State, which is not at all a solution to their problems. It is in this context that the Tamil people registered their total loss of confidence in the Sinhalese-dominated bourgeois parties and governments, and what is more, in all left parties and the left movement. It is thus that the Tamil people rejected the parties of the previous coalition government, and also the UNP, and rallied round the TULF,



Far Eastern Economic Review

N.M. Perera

strengthening the forces of capitalism within parliament and outside.

The absence of a single representative of a left party in the State Assembly reveals a position of extraordinary strength to the capitalist class and vested interests. In any event, the new UNP government has greater parliamentary strength than any other previous bourgeois government.

All sections of the capitalist class and vested interests—industrialists, estate owners, importers, traders, hoteliers—and privileged sections like lawyers and doctors are overjoyed over the election to office of a UNP government. Bour-

geois newspapers displayed screaming headlines: "Red Menace Eradicated!"

### Post-Election Violence Fomented by UNP Victors

An indication of what the working class, the left movement and opponents of the UNP may well expect at the hands of the government became manifest during the first week after the victory of this party. Within a few hours after the formation of his government, Prime Minister Jayewardene resorted to the use of the Public Security Act to meet a situation of widespread violence created by the supporters of the UNP.

Known supporters of the UNP obtained control of public roads, commandeered government busses and other motor vehicles and went on a rampage, armed with death-dealing weapons—swords, bombs and firearms. These armed bands of UNP supporters struck at their opponents—cutting, maiming, raping and killing known opponents of the UNP and those associated with them during the elections. Widespread looting, destruction of dwelling houses, business establishments, motor vehicles, the destruction of farms and the killing of farm animals was a part of the reign of terror that was unleashed by the supporters of the UNP, lasting for nearly two weeks. It is estimated that there were over 200 deaths and that damage to property, which included the property and dwelling houses of thousands of poor people, can be well over a million rupees.

According to a press report during the pre-election period, Jayewardene had stated that if he became prime minister the first thing he would do was to send the police on holiday. It appeared as if

*continued on page 10*

### RWP ELECTION STATEMENT:

## Vote for Meryl Fernando!

The Revolutionary Workers Party has put forward Comrade Meryl Fernando to contest the Moratuwa seat in this National State Assembly elections.

Comrade Meryl Fernando was twice member of parliament for Moratuwa—1956-60, and 1960-64—which he contested as a candidate of the Lanka Samasamaja Party....

Comrade Meryl, together with comrade Edmund Samarakkody and others split from the LSSP in June 1964, when the N.M. Pereras, Colvin Silvas and Leslie Goonewardenas decided to betray the program of the party, and take it along the road of coalition (collaboration) with the capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Since then, comrade Meryl functioned within the LSSP(R), and subsequently, within the Revolutionary Workers Party of which he is a leading member....

The United National Party and Sri Lanka Freedom Party, whose respective candidates are among the contestants in this seat, are both capitalist parties that represent the interests of capitalists-imperialists in this country. The so-called United Left Front of the three parties, LSSP, CP and the PDP (People's Democratic Party, split-away group from SLFP), have been a part of the out-going capitalist coalition government led by Sirima Bandaranaike. All three parties are equally responsible for the oppressive regime of the last seven years, which brought so much misery to the people.

... It was the participation of the

LSSP and CP in the coalition government that made it possible for the capitalist government to strike frontal blows at the living standards and democratic rights of the people....

In the days following April 5th, 1971 the government murdered in cold blood thousands of the youth when they revolted against government oppression. About 18,000 youths were kept in prison for several years. The regulations under the notorious Public Security Act brought about a virtual police state....

The right to hold public meetings, to issue publications and print newspapers, the functioning of trade-unions and other democratic liberties were severely curtailed, and the Tamils, including the Tamil plantation labourers were seriously discriminated against. The Tamil speaking people remain an oppressed minority....

The LSSP-CP-PDP United Left Front is not a left alternative to the SLFP and UNP. As was the case of the former SLFP-LSSP-CP front, this is another bourgeois coalition to form a capitalist government in parliament, which will serve the interests of the capitalist class. The program of the ULF has openly promised to give the fullest scope for the capitalist class to grow. It has promised to continue the use of the hated Public Security Act, and keep in tact the police-army repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state....

The only way out for the workers and toilers is the ending of capitalist class rule and capitalism itself, and the realisation of socialism. This objective can become a reality only

by establishing a workers and peasants government. Such a government cannot be realised within the framework of parliament, but only outside it, and through the smashing of the capitalist state and all its institutions, including the capitalist parliament itself.

Whatever government that is formed in parliament after the election, SLFP, UNP or ULF, will remain a capitalist government. It is a lie if anyone says that a government of the workers and peasants can be formed in parliament. History of parliamentary elections in Sri Lanka as well as in all other capitalist countries, have amply proved this truth. And this is why comrade Meryl Fernando, if he is elected will not link up with any party or group to form a government in parliament....

Comrade Meryl Fernando does not seek to deceive the people about forming governments. If elected he will utilise the parliament to carry on a struggle against the oppressive policies of whatever capitalist government that happens to hold office, and against the oppression of capitalist class rule. Comrade Meryl Fernando will seek to link the struggle within parliament with the mass struggle outside. In this way, comrade Meryl Fernando will seek to show the way forward for the building of the new revolutionary leadership for the left movement, in the perspective of the struggle for the workers and peasants government and the achievement of socialism.

Revolutionary Workers Party  
10 July 1977

# Israeli Torture Exposed

The Israeli government and international Zionist lobby were stung by a major article in the 19 June *Sunday Times* [London] exposing the torture of Palestinian prisoners. The extensively researched "Insight Inquiry" struck at the root of Israeli pretensions to a "democratic" state resting on "civilized Western values." The testimony of 44 Arab victims of Israeli "justice" and of their lawyers, doctors, friends and families shows a regime which, for the Palestinians, is one of terror disguised but not mitigated by the trappings of bourgeois parliamentary rule and democratic jurisprudence.

Consider the case of Omar Abdel-Karim. He was arrested on 3 October 1976 on the Allenby Bridge, the main crossing point from the Israeli-occupied West Bank to the East Bank of Jordan. Accused of belonging to the Palestinian resistance, *fedayeen*, he was held for four months before the military authorities allowed Red Cross officials to conduct him to Jordan. At the time of his arrest he was 35 years old and generally healthy, and worked as a carpenter in a West Bank village near Bethlehem. This February he was carried into Jordan on a stretcher, a broken man who looked years older.

During those four months of horror, Abdel-Karim was methodically beaten and tortured to extract a confession of "terrorist" activities. He was held at two special interrogation centers and the prison at Hebron on the West Bank. At the detention center in Jerusalem known as the Russian Compound, his interrogators brutally beat him and hung him by his wrists. After a week, he was transferred to a secret location (probably the ten-square-mile army ordinance and supply depot at Sarafand near Tel Aviv) where he was kept hooded except when undergoing "questioning." There he was tortured eight or nine times with electric shock.

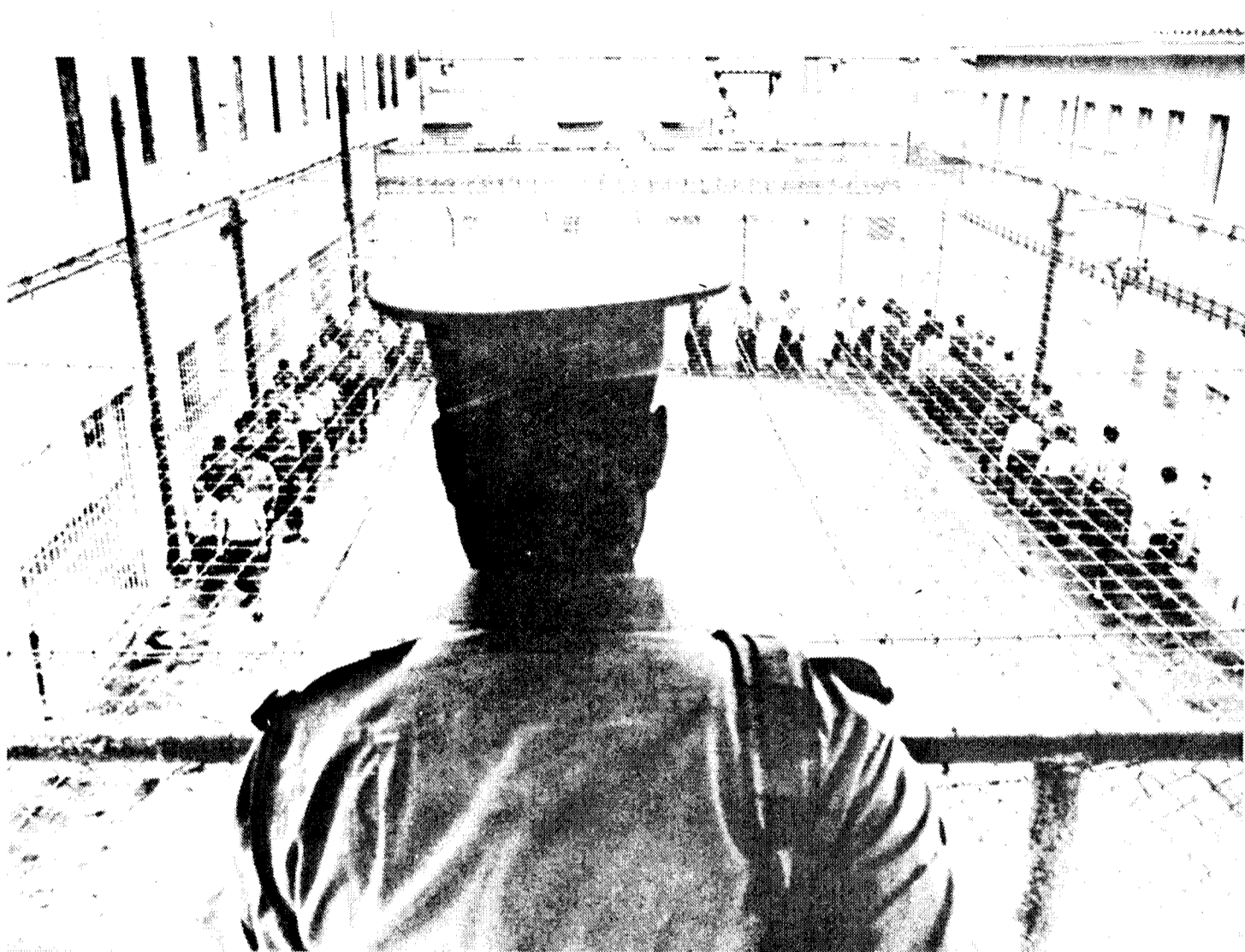
At Hebron prison he was again beaten and humiliated, forced to lick his own blood off one torturer's boots. A bottle was forced up his rectum. He was suspended by his wrists from a pulley and beaten unconscious. His ribs were fractured. He was kept under a cold shower and jammed into a barrel of freezing water. Interrogators squeezed his genitals. His wife was brought to the prison and beaten in front of him. He was shut in a tiny cell and tear-gassed.

As the *Sunday Times* "Insight" team chillingly notes, Abdel-Karim's case is "typical" of the fate of many Palestinian prisoners. Forty-three others told the reporters of similar treatment at the hands of the Israeli military and border police. Half of them agreed to be publicly named although they still live in the occupied areas and are potentially exposed to reprisals. The British newsmen attempted to corroborate their accounts whenever possible. They also documented the pattern of superficial lies and haughty dismissal with which Zionist officials routinely respond to such charges. Only nine days before publication of the report, an Israeli press counsellor in London claimed: "Every case of alleged torture or mistreatment is investigated very thoroughly by the police and the courts." He made a *pro forma* admission that some police may employ what he termed "excessive zeal in interrogation."

The *Sunday Times* report blasted away this tissue of lies. It concluded, in part:

"Torture is organized so methodically that it cannot be dismissed as a handful of 'rogue cops' exceeding orders. It is systematic. It appears to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy."

Mouthpieces for the Begin regime screamed "slander" and "Arab propaganda." In particular, they rushed to



Prisoners at Kfar Yona near Tel Aviv.

Arab Red Cross and Red Crescent



**June 19 London Times article documented cases of torture against Arabs by Israeli military.**

prisoners after they have been physically broken on the wheel of Israeli "justice." The price the agency pays for these small concessions is total public silence about its extensive knowledge of the inhuman practices in Israeli jails.

The prisoners' lawyers can do little more than plea bargain in an attempt to secure lighter sentences. Two of the lawyers interviewed by *Sunday Times* reporters subsequently sent letters to the paper, which were published in the 10 July issue. Felicia Langer, a member of Rakah, the Israeli Communist Party, described a typical inquiry into complaints of torture:

"I saw wounds on the bodies of my clients on July 2, 1974 in Yagur Prison. I asked for an immediate medical examination. The examination was not done until a considerable time later, after the marks and wounds were healed.

"The two police officers who were assigned by Police Minister Hillel to investigate our complaints were hostile and biased. One of them told me that he believed that the wounds were inflicted by my clients with their own hands.

"I submitted these facts to the High Court, but in vain. The result of the investigation was a complete acquittal of those accused of torturing my clients.

"All my other complaints—there have been hundreds—have been described by the police as baseless, or as products of oriental fantasy....

"The only reaction to my allegations has been the recent revocation of my licence to appear in courts martial and some other courts in Israel if the Minister of Defence decides that a certain trial is secret."

Another lawyer, Lea Tsemel, explained that she is forced to dissuade her clients from entering torture charges because "this could expose him to severer punishment." Lighter sentences are meted out to prisoners who are said to have "co-operated with the interrogators."

## Journalistic Double Standard

The *Sunday Times* revelations are not really new. In the decade following the 1967 war and Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and Golan Heights, numerous accounts of terror against the Palestinian population of these areas have been available to the Western

defend the security courts. The Israeli embassy in London called the report "as vicious a slander as it is insulting to the only democracy and independent judiciary in the area." The Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem attacked the "slur on the courts" as "perhaps one of the more reprehensible aspects of the article."

## "Due Process of Law"

Israel has (according to its own reports) only 37 prisoners specifically detained for political offenses. The government and its apologists around the world point with pride to this "evidence" of the open and democratic nature of Israeli society in contrast to the despotic, bloodthirsty regimes in neighboring Arab countries whose gallows, torture chambers and dungeons overflow with political prisoners. But nearly 60 percent of all prisoners in jail (3,200 out of 5,800) in Israel or the occupied areas are Arabs found guilty of security offenses.

The "Insight" team talked with six lawyers who regularly defend these suspected "terrorists" and reported:

"Their unanimous opinion is that the military courts [which try all security

cases] collude in and knowingly conceal the use of torture by Israel's intelligence and security services.... Most convictions in those courts are based on confessions by the accused; most of those confessions, the lawyers are convinced, are extracted by ill-treatment or torture; almost without exception the courts reject that contention."

Last November Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, Jacob Doron, asked rhetorically: "What is wrong with the holding of trials and the conviction of those found guilty after due process of law?" "Due process of law" in the occupied territories begins with arrest by soldiers or border police, usually accompanied by military intelligence or Shin Beth, Israel's equivalent of the CIA. The suspect can be held up to 18 days before being taken into a military court. During that time he has no access to legal counsel. He can then be detained another six months, during which he is interrogated. At the end of this period, the prosecution is almost invariably equipped with a signed confession, which is sufficient for conviction.

In a handful of cases (such as Abdel-Karim's), the Red Cross succeeds in winning the release and deportation of

press. Reports from various UN agencies, the Arab Red Cross and Red Crescent societies, Amnesty International, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the highly respected Israel League for Human and Civil Rights have all documented the forced deportations, indiscriminate army brutality, collective reprisals, destruction of homes, mass round-ups, subhuman prison conditions and torture designed to grind the Palestinian population into submission.

What is new is the very fact that a major Western bourgeois newspaper should prominently cover and verify these long-standing charges. In certain respects, it is analogous to the official *imprimatur* which U.S. congressional committees have recently given to reports of the long-notorious assassination, "destabilization" and domestic spying programs of the CIA. The *Sunday Times* article tore a gaping hole in the curtain of silence shrouding Israel's treatment of the 1.7 million Palestinians under its rule.

While the Israeli government suppresses local information about its atrocious treatment of the Arabs through domestic press censorship, the Western press *censors itself* in deference to the Zionists. Its pages are always open to accounts of torture and mass executions in Arab states but it maintains a rigid double standard with regard to Israel. The *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, for example, chose not to carry the *Sunday Times* report when it was first made available in this country. Instead the *New York Times* of 3 July highlighted Israel's flimsy counterattack, which criticized the reporters for not consulting "any authoritative Israeli source whatsoever," for not supplying "medical evidence" and for not mentioning that torture is a crime in Israel.

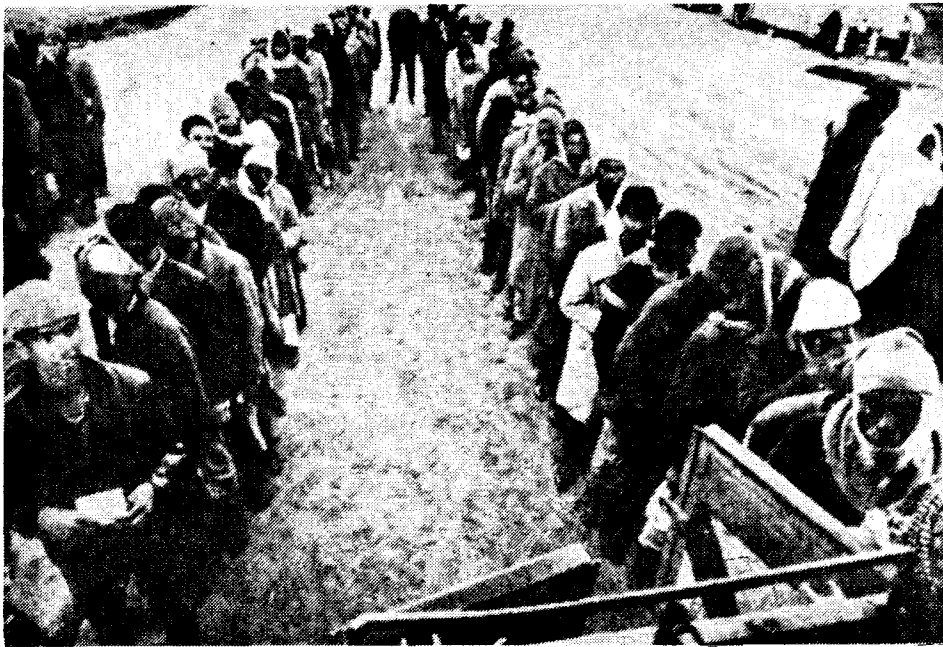
A fact-finding delegation of National Lawyers Guild (NLG) members who returned from Israel on July 29 was given a taste of the media's double standard during a press conference on August 1. Gunnar Sievert, a member of the delegation, recounted to *WV* how a Channel 5 television reporter demanded that they produce "material evidence" rather than the "hearsay testimony" of former Arab prisoners. But with the prisoners held incommunicado during interrogation, medical "evidence" dependent on the testimony of Zionist doctors and official inquiries in the hands of the military prosecutors, "material evidence" can be found only in the shattered lives and scarred bodies of the Palestinian prisoners, evidence which is reinforced by the very structure and methods of the security courts which hear the cases.

Sievert described the atmosphere of the military trials to *WV*:

"The entire proceedings go on in Hebrew.... Neither the Arab prisoners nor their lawyers are permitted to be present when the charges are read or when the evidence against them is given....

"The military courts are staffed by soldiers primarily... a minority of whom have legal experience. They're soldiers first and foremost.

"Practically every confession in the military courts reads almost the same.



Bar-Am/New York Times

#### Arab refugees in occupied territory board trucks for work inside Israel.

It's as if the government were printing up forms for them to sign.... The confessions themselves are written in Hebrew.... Very seldom is there any acquittal."

He related how the Israelis use the British Emergency Regulations to detain suspects for renewable six-month periods, citing the case of a faculty member from Birzeit University, who has been held for 36 months without charges. The NLG investigation bore out the conclusions reached by the *Sunday Times* reporters. When they questioned Likud official and cabinet secretary Aryeh Naor about the "Insight Inquiry," Sievert recalled, he contemptuously dismissed it saying that the sole source was Felicia Langer, "acting on orders from Moscow."

#### Torture and the Zionist State

The existence of a substantial minority of non-Jews under the rule of "the sovereign state of the Jewish people" (as the Israeli courts characterized their state) is a standing challenge to the ideology of Zionism. As Noam Chomsky points out in his introduction to Sabri Jiryis' *The Arabs in Israel*:

"Israel makes no pretense to being a secular state. Nor is it committed to equal rights for citizens. There is no such thing as 'Israeli nationality' in the state of Israel. There is a 'Jewish nation' but no 'Israeli nation.' Citizens are Jews, Christians or Muslims; their lives are governed by religious authority and religious law. In this respect, Israel is not unlike its neighbors, which no one would dream of calling secular states."

He describes the awesome power of the Orthodox rabbinate, which imposes its interpretation of religious law on the entire Jewish community while justifying the segregation and oppression of the non-Jews:

"Where one can live or work, even the opportunity to play in the Israeli basketball league, depends on the decision of the Orthodox rabbinate as to who is a Jew, by the criteria that they have established, which require either conversion or a proper genealogy going back four generations."

While the bourgeois *Sunday Times* views Israeli torture as an aberration by a nation "with claims to Western values" and wants to pressure the Zionists to call off their most blatant atrocities, torture and brutality are part of a broader policy necessary to pacify the whole Arab population.

The Zionist colonizers of Palestine intended not to exploit Arab labor but to exclude it from a homogeneous Jewish society and economy. For a time they were remarkably successful. Of the approximately one million Palestinian

Arabs who were present at the start of 1947 in the territory that became Israel, only 150,000 were left shortly after the consolidation of the Zionist state in 1948. Genocidal atrocities like the Deir Yassin massacre perpetrated by Begin's Irgun drove the Palestinian Arabs from their homes. Their lands were confiscated and taken over by the state or the Jewish National Fund (JNF).

While a high birth rate led to explosive growth among the remaining Arab population of Israel, they remained a largely passive minority until 1967. For 18 years (until 1966) the majority Arab state of the Galilee was an internal "occupied area." Long before the clerical-fascist Gush Emunim began its settlements on the West Bank, the Galilee was subject to a policy of "Judaization" through land restriction and Jewish settlement. Certain areas were closed to Arabs while they were prevented from leaving other areas without a military permit. By channeling development funds through semi-governmental Zionist bodies like the JNF and the Jewish Agency, the new rulers ensured that the Arabs would remain the poorest, least educated and worst housed section of the population.

With the massive land grab following the 1967 war, the Arab population under Israeli rule jumped from half a million to 1.7 million, and the government sharply escalated its attacks on the Palestinians. Even the blatantly pro-Zionist Western press could no longer ignore Israel's "Arab problem," although it chose largely to portray the Palestinian struggle as little more than the racist frenzy of maddened "terrorists." Thus, indefensible acts of terror against innocent Jewish civilians were equated with battles against the occupying Israeli army.

The Palestinian guerrilla groups have been ground to pieces by Israeli massacres, the "Black September" bloodbath carried out by the Jordanian army in 1970, the internecine civil war in Lebanon and the betrayals of their misleaders. But the population of the occupied territories remains desperately explosive, as evidenced by the continued strikes and demonstrations on the West Bank.

The barbarous abuse of Arab prisoners serves first to gather information on organized resistance to the occupation, secondly to extract the confessions needed to legitimize the pre-emptive arrest of suspected militants and finally and most importantly for the Zionist rulers, to terrorize the entire Palestinian population into passivity. The latter goal has become particularly important in recent years as Arabs in the occupied areas have become a more significant part (about eight percent) of Israel's labor supply. They are picked up early in the morning on a day-labor basis, trucked into Israel proper where they perform the dirtiest, most menial tasks at a fraction of official wage scales, and then returned to their homes at night.

While this super-exploited migrant labor force remains marginal to the overall economy, it symbolizes the greater weight of the Palestinian presence in Israel. This drives the clerical-fascist land grabbers like Gush Emunim to heighten their efforts to drive the Arabs out altogether while reinforcing the government's determination to use any means necessary to keep the Palestinians under heel.

Substantial sectors of the Jewish population in Israel are very disenchanting with the clerical nature of Zionism, especially since this clericalism has been accentuated with the Begin victory. The Begin government is a coalition of Likud and the Orthodox Jewish religious parties, including the fanatical Agudat Yisrael, which had refused to serve in previous Zionist governments because it considered them too secular. Recently, encouraged by the Begin victory, ultra-Orthodox Jews in Bnei Braq near Tel Aviv attempted to close off a busy thoroughfare, Rehov Hashomer, on the sabbath. After a passenger was killed and a driver badly injured attempting to crash through the chained-off thoroughfare, huge demonstrations took place, including a rally of Orthodox men numbering 10,000 and a counter-rally on a Friday just before a sundown led by Hashomer Hatzair, replete with red flags and placards protesting religious coercion.

The clerical and racist character of Israel is very much tied to the agrarian question. Despite the aggressive purchasing policies of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund, on the eve of Israeli independence Jews, who constituted 33 percent of the population, owned only nine percent of the land. According to the United Nations partition of Palestine, the Jewish state was to receive 55 percent of the land, and even though this was expanded to 80 percent by the 1948 war, Jewish land ownership remained officially only nine percent. The rest of the land was confiscated through a variety of regulations, including the Emergency Regulations, which date from the British suppression of the Arab revolt in Palestine in 1938-39. These regulations provide for the imposition of martial law administered by military courts from which there is no appeal. They also provide for indefinite detention, restriction of movement, *destruction* of homes and other private property (whole villages have been leveled under the Emergency Regulations) and the confiscation of land. Galilee was ruled by the Emergency Regulations until 1966. Today they are used to govern the occupied territories, but they can still be imposed anywhere in Israel at any time by ministerial decree.

Marxists must demand the abolition of the Emergency Regulations and the "Law of Return." Only the Palestinian Arabs have a legitimate "right of return" - a right to full repatriation and compensation, not merely with regard to the land "occupied" by Israel in the 1967 war but with regard to all the land confiscated by Zionism since its inception. The Palestinian "right of return" cannot be resolved through the creation of a Palestinian mini-state but only through the destruction of Zionism. Those (like Noam Chomsky) who despair of a proletarian perspective, yet seek a consistently democratic and binational solution to the Palestinian question, end up endorsing the mini-state "solution." This is because they equate the destruction of Zionism with the destruction of the Hebrew nation. They cannot conceive of the Israeli working class participating in the socialist revolution which destroys *both* Zionism and the Hashemites and opens the road to the democratic resolution of the conflicting national claims within the framework of the proletarian dictatorship. Stop the torture! Abolish the Emergency Regulations! Free all Palestinians imprisoned under the Emergency Regulations! ■

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# Begin-Carter...

(continued from page 1)

Prime Minister Begin. The fact is that under the previous Mapai coalition, the Labor Government, that settlements have been built there—a fairly large number." Indeed, the Labor Alignment coalition not only endorsed 70 settlements in the occupied territories, including 40 in the West Bank, but provided financial support, construction materials and services to the so-called "illegal" settlement while calling for the Arabs' eventual removal.

With the cynicism befitting a small-town political shyster running for sheriff, Carter said of his fellow bourgeois politician fresh from elections in Jerusalem: "...he, like myself, has run on campaign commitments and I think he's trying to accommodate the interests of peace as best he can." And finally, while Carter claims to formally stand for Israeli withdrawal from most of the occupied territories, he told the news conference that he told Begin, "It would be easier for us to accept an increase in the population of existing settlements than it would be to accept the establishment of new settlements!"

But Begin's commitment to incorporating the West Bank and Gaza Strip are

ship military supplies across to Maronite militias fighting Palestinian commandos.

The offer of social services to the West Bank is not one that Israel can pay for out of her own coffers. The Israeli economy is still ravaged by its onerous military budget, inflation and unemployment (see "Crisis in the Zionist Bunker," *WV* No. 153, 15 April 1977). Right-wing economist Milton Friedman, fresh from instructing the bloody Pinochet junta in Chile in the arts of economic terror, is now advising the Likud finance minister Simcha Erlich, apparently a precocious student of Friedman's "shock treatment," on July 17 announced a 25-percent increase in the prices of fuel, electrical power, public transport, water, telephone service and basic foodstuffs.

Israel expects to raise the funds for social services on West Bank residents by extending its taxes, the most burdensome in the world, to West Bank Arabs. Until now, West Bank Palestinian Arabs have rebelled from paying taxes to Israel which they rightly see as paying tribute to provide for their own military and political subjugation. Indeed, although not explicitly stated, West Bank residents will be taxed not only for social services but also for the "security



Israeli encroachment (top) near Arab city of Hebron in the occupied West Bank.

not mere campaign promises. He fanatically believes in and dedicates his life to the conquest of a racist Jewish "greater Israel." As if to add insult to injury, on August 14 Begin announced that social services provided to Israeli citizens would be extended to the more than one million Arabs in Gaza and the West Bank. And three days later Begin's cabinet spokesman, Aryeh Naor, announced that three more settlements would be authorized in the West Bank.

## Ten Years of "Creeping Annexation"

Begin claimed that his plan to extend social services to Gaza and the West Bank "has no political significance. It is not the beginning of annexation. It is grounded in humanitarian considerations." Amazingly this hypocritical "humanitarian" eyewash was echoed by a usually more sophisticated liberal bourgeois paper, the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (21 August). But even the Israeli Labor Party charged that this proposal was "creeping annexation," a charge justifiably leveled against many policies of the Labor Alignment government during the ten years that they administered the occupied territories.

The proposal to extend social services to the West Bank is no more "humanitarian" than Israel's "open fences" policy along the Lebanese border. The latter—the offer of medical services and jobs to Christian Maronites fleeing the still-smoldering communal war in southern Lebanon—is a "two-way" fence which permits Israel to

services" of Israel's brutal military occupation.

## West Bank/Gaza: Zionist Economic Colonies

Israel has become dependent upon further integrating the West Bank as an economic colony. Prior to the 1967 war Israel was experiencing an economic depression as severe as the one she is currently going through. Inflation skyrocketed, unemployment shot over 10 percent and emigration exceeded immigration—the latter being a potentially lethal threat to this fragile colonial-settler state. The 1967 war and the economic benefits of the occupied territories rejuvenated the Israeli economy, as Jamil Hilal states in "Class Transformation in the West Bank and Gaza" (in *MERIP Reports*, No. 53):

"During the period from June 1967 to June 1974 Israel acquired a huge trade surplus with the West Bank and Gaza totaling Israeli pounds 2,155 billion [or \$513 million]. ... The number of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza working in Israel has increased every year from 9,000 in 1969 to 70,000 in 1974."

Hilal goes on to report that they are concentrated in heavily unskilled work and receive on the average only half the wage that an Israeli worker receives for the same work. He also points out that: "discrimination against Palestinian workers from the occupied territories is not limited to wages. It extends to social and medical insurance as well. The Israeli state deducts up to 40 percent of the Palestinian worker's wages for these insurance funds, considerably more than the proportion deducted from an



Carter with Syrian president Hafez al-Assad in Geneva.

Israeli worker's wage. While the Israeli worker enjoys many benefits such as paid holidays, medical insurance and retirement benefits, the Palestinian worker has no right to any benefits at all. The Palestinian worker is thus forced to pay a large tribute to the Israeli state over and above the surplus value extracted by Israeli capital. Israeli sources suggest that the total of this tribute exacted by the Israeli treasury in the period 1968 to 1974 is no less than Israeli pounds 1.09 billion [\$260 million]."

Neither Begin nor his Likud government will correct this gross injustice and official state thievery of Palestinian workers from the occupied territories.

Likud and the Labor Alignment are both committed to the economic subjugation of the West Bank and Gaza as colonies. However, their direct integration into Israel confronts the Zionist state with (1) the Palestinian Arab residents of the West Bank and Gaza, and (2) the opposition of U.S. imperialism. Both Likud and "Labor" are united behind the racist Zionist policy of building a "Jewish state." Neither intends to add to the already large 400,000 Arab minority in Israel one million more Palestinian Arabs. Further, the slender resources of this Israeli state, even when augmented by U.S. imperialism and generously supplied from its military arsenal, cannot permanently suppress the escalating hostility and rebellion of Arabs in the occupied territories.

The "Allon Plan" attempts to get around this position by granting the densely populated areas of the West Bank extremely circumscribed political autonomy linked to the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan while Israel retains a monopoly of military and police powers and unfettered economic access to the West Bank. The "Begin Plan" is even more sinister. He hopes to exploit the new settlements, especially those by the more fanatical right-wing clerical sects in the densely populated areas, to both colonize a Jewish population and terrorize and drive out at least a part of the Arab population. Each settlement, especially those inhabited by the Gush Emunim, becomes a reduplication of the Irgun.

## Imperialist Clients in Four Wars

Vicarious "Third Worlders" who cheered for the Arab side in the 1967 and 1973 wars justify their support to the reactionary sheiks and colonels by claiming Israel is the direct extension of U.S. imperialism. Consequently any war against Israel is equal to directly fighting U.S. imperialism itself and is therefore necessarily "anti-imperialist." Evidence for this position is said to exist in Israel's dependency on American imperialism for direct financial subsidy and military hardware. But Jordan is even more dependent on Washington

for direct financial subsidy, often channeled through the CIA, and for U.S. military hardware. Without the British and (since 1950) American support, Jordan, this artificial creation of British imperialism carved out of the Palestine mandate and based on Bedouin nomadic tribesmen, could not support its advanced air force and army.

Hilal notes in his introduction to "Class Transformation..." that Jordan, which annexed the West Bank in the 1948 war, also treated the West Bank as an economic colony and fostered its underdevelopment. Emigration was encouraged. Palestinian political movements including Baathists, Arab nationalists and the Communist Party were crushed. "After this repression, the Israelis encountered relatively little difficulty in establishing their control over the West Bank."

The 1967 war between Jordan and Israel was fought not for the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people but over who would be their masters and oppressors, the Hashemites or the Zionists. Clearly no support could be given to the Zionists who fought to turn the West Bank into their colony. But those who supported the Arab side supported not a war against Zionism but the continued unjust oppression of the Palestinians by the Hashemites.

The Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1967 and 1973 were not "anti-imperialist" on either side. They were not wars for national liberation. Instead, on all sides, they were wars for territorial expansion and economic subjugation. The policy of Marxists should have been revolutionary defeatism toward all the combatants in the 1948, 1967 and 1973 wars, where neither the cause of national liberation nor proletarian revolution would have been served by the victory of any side. On the other hand, Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 was a genuine blow against British imperialism; in that instance revolutionaries were duty bound to defend Egypt against the British/French/Israeli onslaught.

Then how is it that these client states of U.S. imperialism, Israel and Jordan, came to blows against each other? Was the 1967 war masterminded by a giant conspiracy in the basement of the Pentagon? In reality, although both Israel and Jordan were created, subsidized and sustained by imperialism, they both aspire to consolidate independent state powers. Proponents and opponents of the Palestinian mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza query whether it would be economically viable, but in fact neither Jordan nor Israel are economically viable without the West Bank, even as poor agricultural countries.

Their efforts to pursue their own



interests can at times clash with one or another imperialist power. Thus, President Eisenhower forced Israel out of the Sinai after its 1956 campaign because U.S. inter-imperialist rivalry with Britain and France in the struggle to control Near East oil stood higher than support to the military adventure of the Zionist state. Similarly, the U.S. probably opposed the 1967 war and certainly opposed the results—the Israeli occupation.

Even though the U.S. equipped and subsidized two of the adversaries, Israel and Jordan, it pours arms and money into such client states not to encourage Near East wars but in order to maintain "a stable balance of power" of reactionary regimes and the pursuit of and control over raw materials in the colonial world. The 1967 war and its aftermath introduced enormous instability in the Near East, resulting in the 1973 war where U.S. access to petroleum was actually threatened. American policy has been, while not abandoning military and economic support to its Zionist client state, to put pressure of varying degrees on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, a policy articulated most forthrightly by the so-called "Rogers Plan."

### U.S. Rulers Discover Palestinian Question

The Jordanian civil war and "Black September," when King Hussein struggled to crush the Palestinian resistance and almost brought down his throne, forced a re-evaluation of Palestinian nationalism on the part of those academic-ideological apologists for U.S. imperialism who loiter in the antechambers of power waiting for some Pentagon aide or State Department official to beckon. In 1973 the Rand Corporation, the notorious CIA think-tank which sponsors "studies" on how to "pacify" Vietnamese villages and "destabilize" South American regimes, published *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism*. Among the three contributors was William B. Quandt. The research for his contribution was sponsored by the Office of the Assistant

Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

Though paid for by the Pentagon, Quandt's study is objective and sympathetic. For example, he writes of the two most left-wing of the petty-bourgeois Palestinian resistance groups: "Like many radical movements, the PFLP [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] and the PDFLP [Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine] may count less for their armed strength than for the few well argued and courageous ideas that they have managed to introduce into the political arena." Quandt concludes that, the "real issue is whether the changes in attitude already apparent in the younger generation of Palestinians can lead to a viable bargaining position that could capitalize on the widespread effort in finding an acceptable solution to one of the issues in the Arab-Israeli dispute."

Quandt, a close associate of none other than that notorious anti-communist Kremlinologist Zbigniew Brzezinski, co-authored an article entitled "Peace in an International Framework," appearing in the Summer of 1975 issue of *Foreign Policy*. The article bluntly states: "... to assume that time is on one's side is always hubris, and in Israel's present case, a particularly dangerous gamble. The power and prestige of the Arabs have grown as a consequence of the new symbolic relationship created by the industrial world's dependence on oil. ... the U.S. is also keenly aware that its relations with the Arab world impinge on its status as a superpower, and its support of Israel cuts across American *raison d'état*." The article further states that: "Israeli policy should aim at trading the occupied territories for Arab acceptance of the old Palestinian mandate territory partitioned between Israel and what would probably be the PLO dominated state of Palestine on the West Bank in Gaza."

Brzezinski and Quandt collaborated on the Brookings Institute's report, *Toward Peace in the Middle East*, a document which has strongly shaped the Carter administration's Near East policy. Brzezinski is now assistant to the

president for national security affairs and Quandt is on his staff as office director for Middle East and North African affairs. Carter's call for a Palestinian "national home" in the Near East ironically smacks of the language of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which gave official British approval to Zionist colonization.

The difference between Balfour's and Carter's declaration is that the former laid the basis for the Zionist dispossession of the Palestinian people, whereas Carter's "national home" offers the Palestinians a semi-bantustan in a very small portion of their former land. And unlike even the bantustans of South Africa, formal political autonomy would be granted not to them but to their hated Hashemite overlords.

Clearly this Balfour declaration for the Palestinians is an attempt to defuse the Palestinian question, to stabilize the precarious bonapartist regimes in Syria and Egypt and the non-regime in Lebanon, and appease the oil sheikdoms where immigrant Palestinians constitute something of an intellectual and technical elite (making them the "Jews" of the Arab East, who like American Jews constitute a strong and well-organized lobby). Like Zionism, Palestinian nationalism has become a pawn of imperialist domination and inter-imperialist rivalry in the Near East.

### Zionist Deathtrap or Proletarian Dictatorship?

Like British policy in Mandate Palestine, the U.S. at different times "tilts" in a pro-Arab or pro-Zionist direction. Clearly the United States desires to maintain both its Israeli and Arab client states. But there is no question that U.S. policy, especially since the October 1973 oil boycott, is currently evidencing a "pro-Arab tilt."

The "Labor" Party, which in various coalitions and combinations governed Israel for 29 years, had as an essential part of its platform warm and close relations with its imperialist patrons in Washington. "Labor" was brought down not only by the stench of its own corruption as well as the "harvest" of its political line for the Hebrew peoples—war, insecurity, impoverishment—but also by the recent pressure of the pro-Arab U.S. tilt. Begin, while even more wedded to the capitalist system without the "Labor"-Zionist "socialist" pretense, and ever willing to accept from the imperialists whatever the imperialists are willing to give, nonetheless represents a distinct current of thinking within the Zionist movement.

Begin, who threw bombs at the British as an Irgun terrorist, will subordinate any alliance with imperialism to his Bible-based fantasy of conquering a "greater Israel" through the deportation and exploitation of the Arab masses. He believes, like many Zionist leaders, that the U.S. is an unreliable ally in any case. Zionists, both left-wing "Labor" and right-wing "revisionists," pursue a reactionary foreign policy. Israel supported U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and Korea, Portuguese colonialism in Africa, apartheid in South Africa and the French in Algeria because they view themselves as the Portuguese settlers in Angola, the French colons in Algeria, the Boers in South Africa, the Syngman Rhee's and Marshall Thieu's of Asia.

One by one a weakened American imperialism abandons its clients to disaster. But unlike the Portuguese or French in Africa, the Hebrew people have no formal imperial power in which to find shelter. Thus Israel is one of the few countries today offering asylum to Vietnamese refugees. For these refugees the Zionist rulers feel real empathy. Israel developed a submachine gun called the Uzi; they are now developing a gun for the Rhodesians under the name Ruzi.

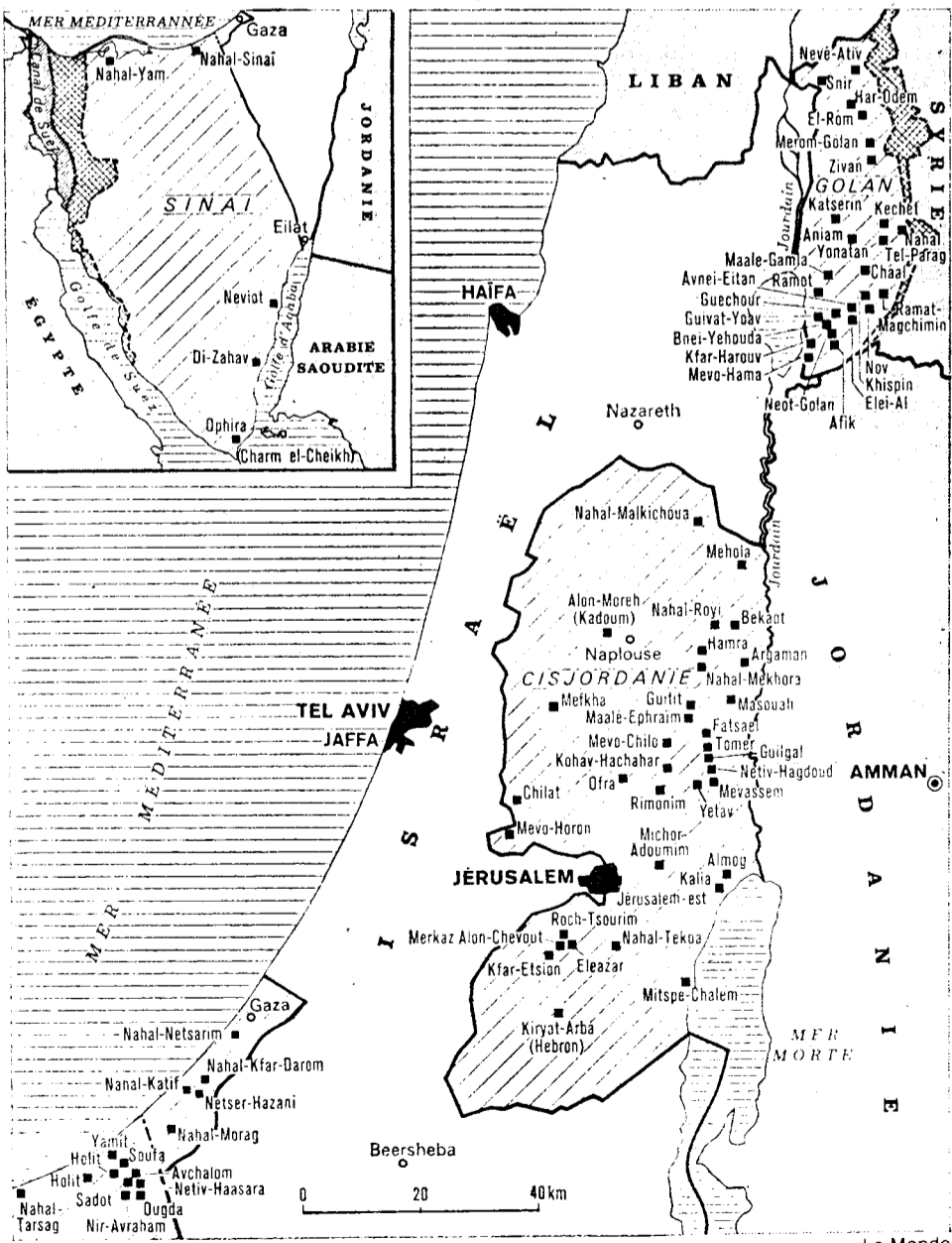
In spite of the Boers' fascistic ideology, the Zionist rulers admire them for compacting their own sub-imperialist

power in defiance of their original imperialist sponsors. South Africa differs from Israel in that the white-supremacist economy is based upon the super-exploitation of black labor, while the super-exploitation of Palestinian labor, while increasingly important, is still a subordinate part of the Zionist economy.

As against moralistic Third Worldism, we thus recognize a fundamental distinction between the Hebrew-speaking *nation* in Israel, whose bourgeoisie primarily exploits its own proletariat, and the white *caste* in South Africa which represents 20 percent of the population and enjoys a living standard twenty times that of the black toiling masses. This difference has a decisive effect on our program in the Near East and in South Africa. In South Africa we call for a black-centered workers and peasants government. In the case of Israel/Palestine we recognize the right of self-determination for both the Hebrew and Palestine Arab nations, which can be democratically achieved only within a socialist federation of the Near East. We would defend any black African country or nationalist movement in a military conflict with the South African imperialist state. By contrast, we take a defeatist position on both sides in the wars between Zionist Israel and the surrounding bourgeois-nationalist Arab states.

Despite a very different social and economic basis, Zionism has the same aspirations as the Afrikaner nationalists, as both racist regimes rapidly develop a nuclear arsenal. Nevertheless, Israel is immensely more vulnerable relative to the Arab East than South Africa is to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. In this respect, its strategic military position more resembles Rhodesia. Indeed time is running out for the Hebrew working people of Israel. If they do not break with the racist and genocidal ideology of Zionism, whose most fanatical exponent is now "their" prime minister, it will be they who will become its victim. The only hope for the national survival of the Hebrew people—that they do not meet yet another holocaust, this time in the "promised land" itself—is to find the road to proletarian internationalism with their Palestinian/Arab class brothers and workers throughout the world.

Israel out of the occupied territories! Down with reactionary Zionist and Hashemite states! For the right to self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew people, which can only be democratically realized through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East! ■



Israeli settlements in territories occupied since the 1967 war (diagonal shading). Large map shows Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Box shows Sinai Peninsula.

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# Bandaranaike...

(continued from page 5)

Jayewardene fulfilled his promise! It is the fact that when these UNP bands were on rampage, armed with deadly weapons, the police were invariably on-lookers, and the reports were that police did not entertain complaints, and in most cases had chased away victims or others who called to make such complaints against UNP supporters during these days. The serious nature of the violence unleashed could be gauged by the fact that the curfew that was imposed in several areas continued for about three days, and in some parts, there were 14-hour curfews.

## Jayewardene Promises "Strong State" Anti-Working-Class Regime

The stage is now set for the realising of the "strong state" of the capitalist class, that is, the dictatorial rule of the capitalist class and the smashing of the trade unions and the left movement. In keeping with the manifesto of his party, Prime Minister Jayewardene has, through his policy statement officially announced his plans for the change of the constitution, to make the president the all-powerful executive head of state, who will have power to keep parliament suppressed, and to govern as a dictator backed by the armed forces.

In this same statement Jayewardene announced his decision to smash the trade-union movement under cover of seeking to democratise trade unions and to protect the workers from outsiders. And it is this role of destroyer of the trade unions and the left movement that the capitalist class and vested interests, especially, expect Jayewardene to undertake with speed.

In regard to "economic development," as expected Prime Minister Jayewardene lost no time in announcing that it will basically be the private sector that will be entrusted with the task. And in this regard the capitalists need not entertain any fear that the state will make any encroachments in this sphere. Nationalised enterprises which were anathema to the UNP will, where necessary, be dismantled and handed back to the private sector. This has already taken place in regard to four nationalised enterprises, and a start has been made to return land taken over under the land reform law to the former



Tamil plantation workers

owners, under cover of setting right injustices and revengeful acts of the former regime.

The UNP government's aim of sustaining the Sri Lanka capitalist economy and class rule through a close link-up with foreign capitalists and imperialists is unconcealed. Meaningful steps to bring about the economic dominance of imperialism have already been announced. The notorious device of opening the doors to foreign capital through so-called Free Trade Zone areas is to be shortly undertaken. Under cover of providing job opportunities to the unemployed, foreign capitalists/imperialists will be allowed in selected areas, to establish industries under special privileges, such as freedom from export or import duties, and with rights of unrestricted export of profits and capital, and of course with guarantees against nationalisations. Incidentally, for the foreign capitalists/imperialists, Sri Lanka is at present the cheapest labour market in the whole of South and Southeast Asia.

It is not without significance that the day after he assumed office as prime minister, Jayewardene, in answer to foreign newspaper correspondents, stated that there were no objections to Sri Lanka joining "ASEAN," the notorious anti-communist bloc (Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore). This political-cum-economic combine with the backing of U.S. imperialism was set up ten years ago to replace the then-notorious imperialist/military alliance SEATO, for aggression against Vietnam, other countries of Indochina and against Red China itself.

The new government's promise to bring down living costs is seen as empty of content in the light of the negligible price reductions in flour and bread (- 20 cts. per pound of flour and - 15 cts. per pound of bread). And as for the government's claim that it has fulfilled its promise to give eight pounds of cereals per week per person by its announcement of making available for purchase on the ration four pounds of flour and four pounds of rice, it is a fraud. While four pounds of rice was already available for each person on the ration under the outgoing regime, flour was freely available, though at a higher price.

In any event, it is already possible to discern the limitation to the government's exercise in reducing living costs through the reality that the meagre price reductions and the liberalisation of imports of a few essential commodities have called for release of additional foreign exchange of Rs. 700 million [ca. \$100 million].

The truth in regard to the foreign-exchange problem is that it remains acute as ever before, and with the continuing crisis of Sri Lanka's economy, in the context of the continuation of the crisis of the world capitalist economy, it must necessarily become more acute in the period ahead. This means that Sri Lanka's capitalist economy could be bolstered up only through the more thorough exploitation of the workers and toilers for the increase of capitalist profits and for capital accumulation, and through drastic cuts in regard to mass consumption and social services.

And if the "strong government" of the capitalist class has been realised through the election of the Jayewardene-led UNP government, it means above all that it is a government of deepening crisis of the capitalist economy and rule. In other words, it is a government that from the outset is called upon to adopt more and more unpopular measures against the masses, to strike more severely at the living standards of the masses, whilst taking drastic steps to suppress the working class and toilers through dictatorial rule.

## Crisis of Leadership in the Workers Movement

Undoubtedly, it is the gravest situation ever for the worker and toilers generally, and for the organised trade-union and left movement and for all other oppressed sections of the people. The question of defending the trade unions from the blows the government is striking, is even now sharply posed.

The quality of the traditional leadership of the trade-union and left movement, and the role played by these leaderships in the extraordinary strengthening of the forces of reaction, is now not altogether unknown to the masses.

While these parties need, for their own survival, to maintain a show of an oppositional stance in regard to a government which they characterised in advance, in the pre-election period as "fascist," yet the treacherous character of this leadership is already manifest. LSSP leader N. M. Perera started by seeking to become the constitutional advisor of Prime Minister Jayewardene by stupidly saying that the advancing of the day of summoning of the State Assembly was unconstitutional. Perera took the opportunity to sympathise with Prime Minister Jayewardene in his predicament, caused by the action of the previous prime minister, Sirima Bandaranaike.

In the same context, the LSSP daily paper *Jana Dina* in its editorial categorically stated that neither the UNP nor the UNP government was responsible for the pre-election violence and atrocities that were unleashed by the UNP supporters and often under the leadership of well-known UNP men! And it is not without significance that, as in the period of "responsive co-operation" [1960-64] Prime Minister Jayewardene publicly invited LSSP secretary Bernard Soysa to be a member of the commission he intended to appoint to probe into post-election violence! The LSSP has not made any comment on this invitation so far.

The LSSP/CP reformist leadership is totally incapable of mobilising the masses for any struggle, defensive or offensive, against the UNP government and the capitalist class. On the contrary, these parties and their camp followers, the "Vama (Left)-Samasamajists" (Vasudeva Nanayakara, etc.), are preparing to once again fool the workers and toilers. They have already commenced to keep the working class disarmed by talk of the need of an "anti-UNP struggle." They are seeking to continue the parliamentarist election front—the United Left Front—to prepare for the next elections. Opportunistically, these ULF leaders will protest at the wrongs of individual ministers and bureaucrats in the government. In any event, these reformists will seek to block the development of any anti-government, anti-capitalist struggle. Tailing the ULF reformists, the Vama-Samasamajists (Vasudeva/Wickremabahu) have already called for the transforming of the ULF into a "fighting front"!

Although the LSSP/CP coalitionists have been wiped out at the parliamentary elections, they will not disappear politically. They will continue their parliamentarist politics from outside. This means that the urgent task of mobilising the working class and toilers for struggle to defend their hard-won trade-union and other rights, and for struggle against the Jayewardene-led capitalist dictatorship, is beset with serious difficulties arising out of the class-collaborationist politics of the LSSP and CP. It is however inescapable that the real mobilisation of the workers and toilers for struggle in the period ahead can never become a reality except to the extent that the more politically alerted and advanced sections of the working class succeed in developing the struggle to drive out of their positions of leadership the LSSP/CP reformists and in the process succeed in forging the new revolutionary leadership, i.e., the building of the Revolutionary-Leninist-Trotskyist Party which is the condition for success in struggle against the UNP government and the capitalist class in the perspective of overthrowing capitalism and the realisation of socialism. ■

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# SL, RFU Fuse...

(continued from page 12)

they should be the natural inheritors of the RFU. "One of the groups that courted the L&RU," he added, "was the SWP, and it took diligent efforts on our part to convince them that we were in fact their opponents." He went on to describe the impact the fusion would have on other groups who had similarly expected that flattery and claims that the gay question was "strategic" would recruit the RFU: "We dealt a significant blow to those rather faltering efforts to set up an IMT [International Majority Tendency] franchise in this country. We helped insure that the FSP will never leave Seattle, and we put another nail in the coffin of the RSL."

Another SL speaker drew a parallel with the fusion between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile (OTR). The OTR fusion was similarly a victory for program. When the SL took the position of principled opposition to Allende's popular-front government, we acted on the most basic principles of Leninist class independence. We did not know, when we counterposed ourselves to the opportunist left "mainstream" which tailed the Chilean masses' illusions in Allende, that there was an OTR which would live through that experience also opposed to the popular front.

RFU spokesman Gene Shofner added that "in talking to comrades of the OTR I learned what a principled commitment to program really means. Because the gay question is a harder question in Latin America." Comrade Foster also stressed the importance of the OTR's eager acceptance of the RFU fusion: "If you have a test of a Marxist in the Latin countries—whether someone is a genuine communist—it is the woman question, the family question, the gay question."

## "Built Through Fusions"

The fusion conference compared the RFU's evolution with other fusions through which the SL has been built, finding similar characteristics of revolutionary will, critical intelligence, political honesty and emphasis on programmatic clarity. For the RFU, the Communist Working Collective, the Buffalo Marxist Collective—groups which emerged from a Stalinist or New Left milieu—there was a moment when they had to face the question of Stalin vs. Trotsky. In these milieus it was suspect even to read Trotsky. The comrades did not particularly want to become Trotskyists, least of all Trotskyists like the most orthodox and intransigent SL. But they wanted to be Marxists and knew that revolutionaries do not shrink from political struggle. A documentary history of the L&RU/RFU's evolution is planned as part of the SL's *Marxist Bulletin* series.

It is more than two years since the SL first confronted the L&RU. And even when the political differences were far-reaching, the collective did not back away from political struggle. One member of the SL delegation noted that these comrades, unlike most of the New Left, came to grips with the key questions facing Marxists: "The permanent revolution, the Russian question, the party question, democratic centralism. Is there a specific program for gay liberation?... The very basic question of divisions in the class and how Leninists deal with them. These are the key questions. And it is because the RFU took these questions on and tried to solve them—didn't go around them—that you were able to come to Trotskyism."

When the RFU comrades through their study decided that Trotsky was correct on the Russian question, they considered themselves Trotskyists. But they had not yet absorbed fully an understanding of program. It was only

when the group recognized that it could not maintain a democratic-centralist organization without a solid programmatic foundation that the comrades made the connection between the primacy of program and the subjective desire to build a Leninist vanguard, in which disciplined political functioning proceeds from essential programmatic unity.

"This party has been built through fusions," Foster noted. The RFU fusion is more than the recruitment of a dozen talented and dedicated individual cadres, for the RFU is more than the sum of its parts. With this fusion the party acquires the collective experience, history and leadership of another organization. The RFU fought its way out of the New Left/gay milieu with demonstrated commitment and a leadership of proven capacity. The SL as a fused organization will include that leadership on our leading bodies.

## The Proletarian Party Is the Tribune of the People

The history of the L&RU/RFU was a struggle to transcend a central political contradiction. Its cadres were sectoralists committed to a gay "constituency" who also believed it was necessary to build a revolutionary vanguard party. How that contradiction was resolved in favor of Leninism was an important focus of the fusion conference.

Comrade Shofner explained that "the real break for people who have suffered from a sectoralist worldview comes over the question of who are our people, who we are struggling for." From its earliest encounters with the L&RU, the SL insisted that only through the instrument of the proletarian vanguard party could the oppressed win their liberation. Comrade Foster told the conference participants, "Communists stand for the historic interests of the proletariat as a whole." A Leninist party is not a federation of special interest groups who come together to figure out a program. The party must contain elements from all sectors of the oppressed, but they come together around the program of proletarian revolution. The SL rejects the polyvanguardist notion that the party imitates the divisions of capitalist society within

itself. One speaker noted that constituencies are "infinitely sub-dividable," recalling the "Stonewall 77" Conference where the exasperated FSP wailed: the reason you guys are going with the monstrous, bigoted Spartacist League is because you're *male* homosexuals, and only we lesbian mothers, who are the most oppressed, can really be revolutionaries.

Foster summed up: "It's only because we're communists that we can be tribes of the people. Because all the fake-lefts have their own little sector which comes first. The trap is to become a tribune of *your* people and nobody else's."

The fusion conference was a dramatic confirmation of how the living Leninist organization transcends the divisions of capitalist society in struggle against it. The discussions of personnel allocations and organizational priorities demonstrated concretely that the RFU fusion would enable the party to better address its most pressing tasks, not only through directly utilizing RFU comrades to strengthen many aspects of party work but particularly by releasing other party cadres to sink roots in the black industrial proletariat.

It is not an irony, but the logic of Leninism that the fusion enriches not only our struggle against the special oppression of homosexuals but also our capacity to take up the fight against the special oppression of blacks. The RFU has become part of the proletarian tribune of the people and a force for revolution internationally. Comrade Foster's closing remarks stated simply what the fusion means to the combined future of the SL and RFU:

"Comrades: I think it has been evident for some time, and reaffirmed this weekend, that this will be a very good fusion. The comrades of the RFU are exceptionally good comrades. They represent an enrichment of the Spartacist League, and it will enable us to pursue very important tasks. More than that, however, I think the party will be acquiring a banner of decency. It will be a statement not simply to homosexuals but to all the oppressed as to the nature of our party and what it stands for. It is also a statement of our intention in the future under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Friedrich Engels said, 'Freedom is the recognition of necessity,' and the necessity is a revolutionary party. So we have a job at hand; let's get on with it." ■

## Building the Leninist Vanguard—

# From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

Spartacist League/  
Red Flag Union  
Fusion Forum

**T**he Red Flag Union, formerly the Lavender & Red Union, and the Spartacist League U.S. announce the principled Leninist fusion of their respective tendencies behind the program of revolutionary Trotskyism.

For the RFU fusion is the culmination of two years of political struggle and reorientation which brought it from being a "gay liberation communist" organization sympathetic to Maoism to a definitive break

both with sectoralism and with the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country."

The fusion exemplifies the process by which the vanguard communist party will be built

- Permanent Revolution vs. Socialism in One Country
- The "Russian Question" and Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" Crusade
- A Marxist Analysis of the Struggle for Democratic Rights for Homosexuals
- The Leninist Party & the Specially Oppressed

and underscores the role of the party as the tribune of all the oppressed.

As one RFU spokesman stated, "I am a communist who happens to be a homosexual. I have one and only one political identity—as a fighter for the proletarian revolution."

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# Fusion Declaration...

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the party and program they represent. The sexual identity or personal characteristics of the individual are not the concern of others. By being a representative of the communist vanguard one makes oneself a walking target for the bourgeoisie, one invites harassment even above and beyond that suffered by the oppressed masses. Therefore, it is the obligation of the party to do everything in its power to shield its supporters from such victimization."

—"Closet Rule Frame-Up," *Red Flag* No. 2, July 1977

\* \* \*

"The SL and the RFU...seek to intercept the left wing of the gay liberation milieu in order to win the most advanced elements to the program of Trotskyism. At the same time, revolutionaries do not seek to build the gay 'movement'..."

"The SL won the RFU not by tailing its polyvanguardism, but through a sharp struggle to break the group from sectoralism and to win it to a defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism."

—"Gay Liberation and the Left," *WV* No. 168, 29 July 1977

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III. The SL-RFU fusion demonstrates the power and correctness of the Trotskyist analysis in drawing the class line on the Russian question, against which a small minority broke from the RFU to anti-Soviet Shachtmanism:

"The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 was a monumental historic advance; all opponents of capitalist exploitation and oppression must learn its lessons.... An important revolutionary act, guided by the principle that the state has no business interfering in private consensual sexual relations, was the abolition of reactionary anti-homosexual legislation. The revolution laid the material basis for replacing the stultifying enslavement of women in the nuclear family with personal relations freed from economic coercion and philistine moralism. Thus, the Bolshevik program held the key to ending the oppression of homosexuals."

—"Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals," *WV* No. 169, 12 August 1977

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"To briefly summarize, our position is that of Trotsky's Fourth International supplemented by the correct extension of Marxism to the understanding of the other so-called socialist countries which is the unique contribution of the international Spartacist tendency. We call for the unconditional military defense of the gains of the October Revolution—the elimination of the bourgeoisie as a class, the creation of nationalized planned economies and the monopoly of foreign trade in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers' states—against imperialist attack and against capitalist-restorationist counterrevolution. But we stand in uncompromising opposition to Stalinism in all its nationalist varieties. We call for workers' political revolution to overthrow the ruling bureaucracies, to regenerate Soviet democracy (the democratic rule of the working class through freely elected workers' councils, or 'soviets') and to give birth again to proletarian internationalism. This revolution, we believe, can only succeed under the leadership of Trotskyist parties of the working class, united in a revolutionary international."

—*Red Flag* No. 2, July 1977

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The SL and the RFU, having arrived at agreement concerning the essential programmatic elements necessary for the early construction of a party capable of leading a socialist revolution, resolve to merge their human and technical resources and create a common leadership of a common organization.

14 August 1977

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Spartacist League, Red Flag Union Fuse

The Red Flag Union (RFU, formerly Lavender & Red Union [L&RU]) and the Spartacist League merged their organizations and political futures at a two-day fusion conference held in August outside Los Angeles. The conference was the culmination of several months of intense organization-to-organization discussion and collaborative political work. For the RFU comrades, the conference symbolized the final step in their march from the gay liberation milieu to the nucleus of the international Trotskyist vanguard.

At the fusion conference, formal and informal discussions reviewed the RFU's evolution and examined the tasks which would face the fused organization. The relaxed atmosphere testified to the rich political process which had brought the two groups to the conference with determination and mutual political trust. Even before the sessions opened, it was clear that the decisive political fusion had already been accomplished. Thus, the document (published in this issue of *WV*) adopted by the conference as the codification of

way to foresee the explosive protests that brought hundreds of thousands of demonstrators into the streets to protest Anita Bryant's reactionary anti-homosexual crusade. The two groups' aggressive efforts to develop jointly an effective communist intervention into that episodic burst of outrage in the gay communities provided an unexpected testing process for the programmatic agreement emerging in the discussions. Together the SL and RFU wrote leaflets, gave forums, participated in demonstrations—forging the bonds of the future fusion in the heat of living political struggle.

This collaboration was a real test for a group shaped in the New Left/Maoist gay left, a petty-bourgeois milieu characterized by polyvanguardism and lifestylism. Any who wanted to cling to the gay milieu as a "sector" for a polyvanguard (an amalgam of separate interest groups based on sectoral "transitional" programs) would logically have found on the streets of San Francisco—where well over 100,000 marched against the Dade County initiative—a confirmation of a gays-first orientation. But the SL and RFU closed ranks around the Trotskyist program. As part of the fight for homosexuals' democratic rights, the two organizations waged a hard political battle against a panoply of opponents: from the "lifestylism" radicals and their opportunist tails, like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), to the philistine anti-homosexual Stalinists.

As the fusion discussions progressed, a few members of the RFU pulled back from the road to Trotskyism, hiding behind the Stalinophobic RSL's refusal to defend the USSR against imperialism. The RSL capitulated to this small minority's lifestylism by making a principle out of gays' "coming out" (this from an organization which does not defend busing or the Equal Rights Amendment!). The insistence of the SL and RFU majority that revolutionists must seek to be known by their program, not by their sexual orientation or any other personal or secondary attribute, was the subject of heated debate at the RFU's "Stonewall 77" Conference, where the political lines were definitively drawn. On one side stood a rotten bloc of the lifestyl radicals, the "Trotskyist" apologists for "Third World" Stalinism like the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) and the RFU's Shachtmanite minority; on the other, the RFU majority and the SL. The real political fusion had occurred with the RFU's principled fight against its own right wing.

### "Who Would Have Thought...?"

All who attended the fusion conference the SL delegation as well as the RFU and its invited friends—understood that the fusion was a victory for revolutionary program and Leninist

principle. "Who would have thought six years ago that we would be fusing with a group of male homosexuals?" asked George Foster in his opening remarks. He noted that there was a firm programmatic reason: the SL's consistent rejection of the workerist opportunism which tailors its politics to the backward consciousness of the working class as it exists under capitalism. "We opposed this," he noted, "not because we knew that some time in the future we'd find an RFU... but because it is anti-Marxist and wrong."

The SL's principled approach stood

in sharp contrast to the patronizing cynicism of the other groups which attempted to recruit the RFU, clearly the most advanced and politically serious of the gay left collectives in the U.S. "It must seem as if this fusion (and the existence of the SL in general) violates what to the reformists must seem a law of nature," said Foster. "Our opponents must feel there is no justice in the world."

RFU spokesman Michael Weinstein noted that all the opportunist groups tailing the gay left milieu had assumed

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## FUSION DECLARATION

The Spartacist League/U.S. and the Red Flag Union (formerly Lavender & Red Union), a collective which developed out of the gay liberation/Maoist/New Left milieu have reached programmatic convergence on essential questions facing revolutionary Marxists:

I. Trotskyism is the revolutionary Marxism of our epoch, today embodied in the program of the international Spartacist tendency. The urgent task is the construction of the Trotskyist vanguard party to resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

A brief summary of a programmatic model for a principled internationalist regroupment was recently presented in *Workers Vanguard*:

1. No political or electoral support to popular fronts; for conditional opposition to workers parties in open or implicit class collaborationist coalitions;
2. Uphold the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution; for proletarian leadership of the national-social struggle;
3. For military support to petty-bourgeois nationalist forces fighting imperialism, but absolutely no political support to such forces; for Trotskyist parties in every country;
4. For unconditional defense of all deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism; for political revolution against the bureaucracies; no political support to competing Stalinist cliques and factions;
5. Against violence within the workers movement;
6. For communist fractions in the unions, based on the transitional program;
7. For the communist tactic of the united front from above; for the tactic of regroupment to unite subjective revolutionists in the vanguard party; for intransigent exposure of centrism;
8. Rejection of the claims of ostensibly Trotskyist internationals to speak for the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloism in 1951-1953;
9. For the reforging of a democratic-

centralist Fourth International which will stop at nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

II. In particular, the principled Trotskyist fusion of the SL-RFU affirms the Leninist position on special oppression, democratic rights and the vanguard party. The special oppression of homosexuals, unlike that of blacks in the United States, is not a strategic question for the proletarian revolution. At the same time, the defense of democratic rights—which are indivisible and include full democratic rights for homosexuals—is essential to the intervention of revolutionaries in the class struggle.

These positions were codified during the fusion process in the press of both organizations:

"The oppressed of society are generally painfully aware of their own special oppression; in fact, the radicalism of the 1960's made a principle out of the separate organization of strata of the oppressed: blacks, women, homosexuals, for example. But it is only when consciousness of oppression transcends the subjective and partial and becomes class consciousness that an effective fight against the common enemy—the capitalist system—can be waged on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed...."

"The vanguard party of the working class is the force which integrates the will to resist all forms of degradation by the capitalist system. The vanguard party must be the 'tribune of the people,' championing the rights and aspirations of all the working people and specially oppressed...."

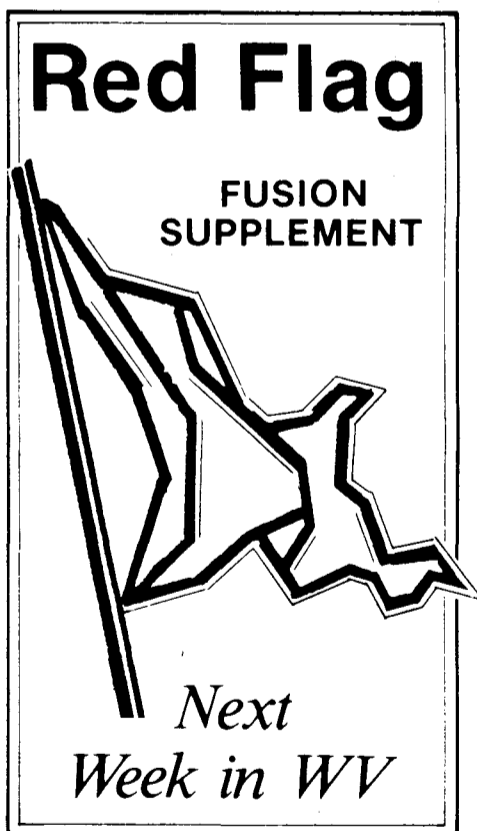
"Unity of the opponents of social oppression can be achieved only on a clear class program, which has no place for Stalinist conciliationism of backward prejudices or for the comforting illusion of 'personal liberation' within this viciously racist and sexist capitalist society."

"Stop Anita Bryant," *WV* No. 162, 17 June 1977

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"A communist, who is homosexual, or any communist, does not for the most part have the luxury of 'coming out'. A communist seeks to be identified exclusively in people's minds in terms of

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the programmatic basis for fusion was drawn from the public press of the two groups.

For months, the RFU increasingly had been baited with the accusation, "You guys sound just like those damn Spartacists!" And indeed they did. By the time of the fusion conference, after months of intensive and productive collaboration with the SL, the opportunists' charge had begun to sound comfortable as well as correct to the RFU.

The RFU's commitment to serious fusion discussions with the SL proceeded from the recognition of the centrality of program. But when these discussions were begun, there was no