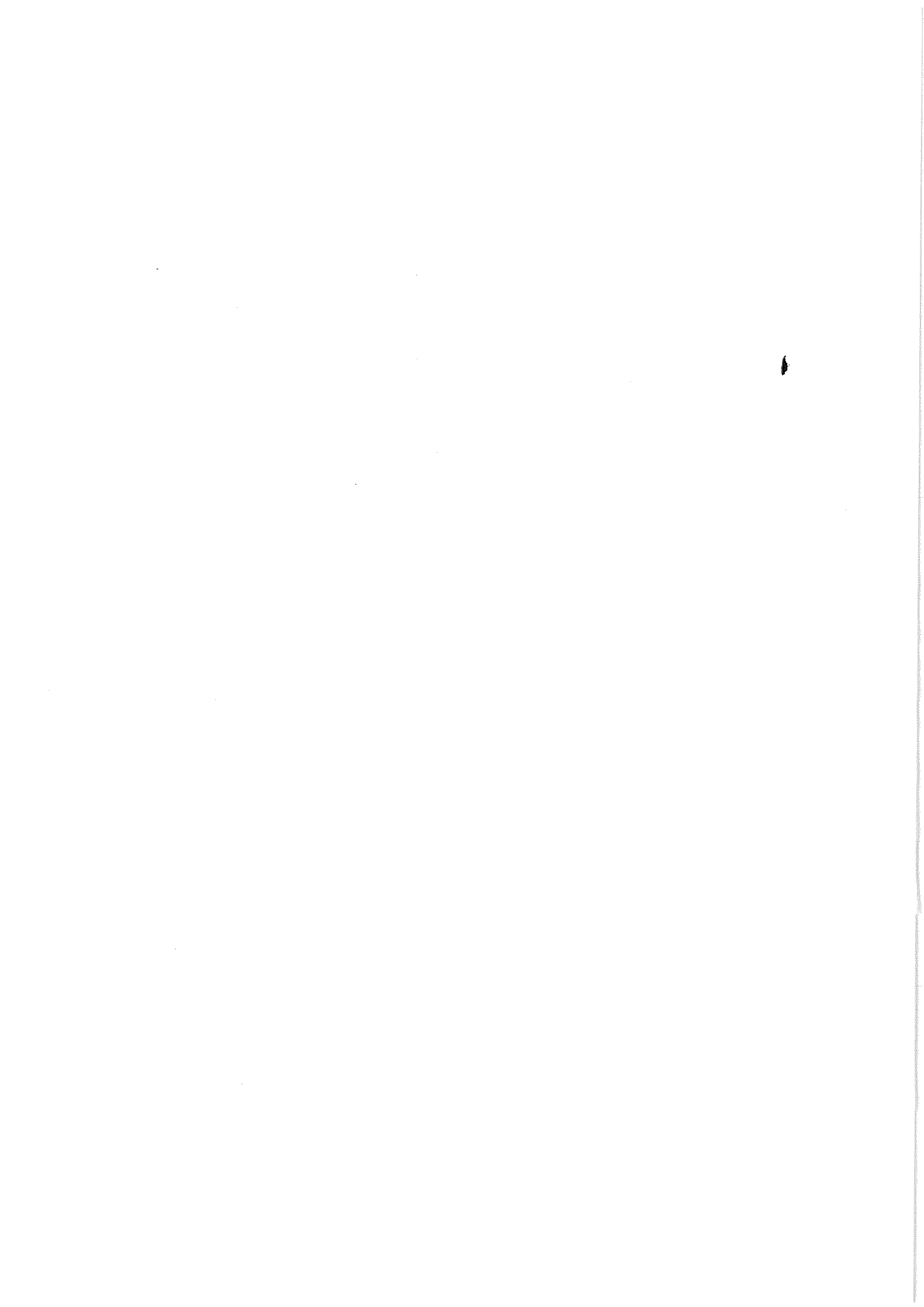


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**ONE, TWO, THREE, MANY NEW INTERNATIONALISMS!**  
On a new Third World labour  
internationalism and its relationship  
to those of the West and the East

Peter Waterman  
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On a new Third World labour internationalism and its  
relationship to those of the West and the East

Peter Waterman

**Abstract:** This paper responds to a number of recent projects for a new Third World labour internationalism. It considers that they can potentially revive the old institutionalised union internationalisms. But it also argues the necessity for examining the existing proposals critically and for surpassing any 'thirdworldist' project. The negative and positive lessons of Second World internationalism for a Third World labour one are considered. A number of criteria are suggested for a new labour internationalism in general, and a number of principles and issues are urged for a Third World one in particular. The possible Western responses to the new unionism and a new internationalism in the Third World are considered.

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## Preface

This paper was inspired by a union invitation to comment on the idea of a conference of three of the major new radical trade unions in the third world. This would, to my knowledge, be the first tricontinental meeting of what radical Asians call 'genuine trade unions' and Latin Americans 'autonomous and class' union centres. It seems to me that this project could not only offer an alternative to the strategies the dominant internationals preach or practice in the Third World. It might also offer an attractive alternative orientation to the international trade union movement as a whole.

Although prompted by this specific invitation, the paper has evidently become much more general. I have elsewhere written or edited numerous papers on both the old and the new internationalisms. But, whilst recognising multiple varieties levels and directions of the phenomenon, I have not had to consider the regional specificity of the new internationalisms. In thinking about a new Third World labour internationalism, I feel it necessary to consider its relationship to others. This means not only the relationship between First, Second and Third World contributions, but also that between labour internationalism in particular and internationalism as a more general phenomenon.

This will not be a theoretical paper, even if it does argue the necessity to reconceptualise. I want it to be accessible to those who originally asked me to write the piece. It is for similar reasons that I present numerous examples and quotations. Some of these are from the Philippines, taking advantage of a short research trip to Manila in October-November 1989. Presenting examples and quotations is another way of making a case, and they at the same time present evidence that readers can themselves judge, or follow up to examine in greater detail. Those who find the item long on information but thin on theory can consult other papers of mine in which the reverse may be the case. If, in some instances, I concentrate on trade union declarations, or forms of expression, this is because my current research is precisely on the inter-relationship between a new international communications model and a new internationalism.

Acknowledgements for comments help with this paper must be expressed to the reader appointed by the ISS Publications Committee, to a couple of Filipino friends and to Pierre Rousset. Particular appreciation must be expressed to the KMU, which issued the original invitation, whilst knowing I had a position quite distinct from its own. Special thanks to Kim Scipes for a forcefully stated reaction which seemed to have trouble remaining under the length of the original! It goes almost without saying that I have responded only to the suggestions I could agree with. I do also feel these commentators have considerably improved the tone of the original.

## 1. Introduction: a new alternative for union internationalism?

This paper follows less from a theoretical logic than a political one. It is an attempt to respond to Third World proposals for a new kind of labour internationalism, in both a positive and critical spirit. Such an exercise requires that we first recognise the continued domination of labour internationalism by a number of hierarchical and bureaucratic union organisations based in Brussels, Geneva, Washington and Prague. It also requires noting that the first challenge to the old internationalism more generally has come from the industrialised capitalist West, and that it may be limited by this place of origin. The question then arises of whether the new Third World projects and proposals are merely 'thirdworldist' internationalisms or represent a more general challenge to the old ones. I believe that they have this latter potential. But I also believe that the release of this potential requires that the new projects come to terms with not only the Western internationalisms (old and new) but also those of the East (old and new). The above argument leads to the assertion of a number of criteria for a new labour internationalism in general and to that of the Third World in particular. Given, however, the continued domination of labour internationalism by the Northern-based unions, the question must then be asked of how these, or other Western organisations, will respond to the new phenomenon.

The paper thus begins with a brief institutional orientation to trade union internationalism (Part 2). It then deals in turn with the new eurocentred internationalisms (Part 3), proposals for a new Third World labour internationalism (Part 4) and the Second World contribution (Part 5). In Part 6 we find the criteria for a new global labour internationalism. In Part 7 I propose a number of possible principles and issues for a new Third World labour internationalism. In Part 8 I consider the possible response from the First World. The Conclusion pleads for research and debate on internationalism. And a partially annotated bibliography covers both the material referred to and much else besides (e.g. the item

listed as PP21 1989, which arrived too late to get the attention it deserves).

This paper starts from a distinct position. This had better be made clear at the beginning. I do not believe that there is one privileged subject of emancipation (such as the proletariat), nor one privileged site for transformation of the world (such as the First or Third World). Such beliefs are being increasingly revealed as both ideological and instrumental. They have been used by those interested neither in the self-emancipation of workers nor the democratisation of society. Those who have had the power to put such beliefs into state practice end up on our television screens, gassing ethnic minorities, shooting down peaceful protesters - or being shot as a token to an enraged citizenry. In the best cases, old leaders develop an ambiguous relationship with the 'parliament of the streets', alternating appeals and condemnations. There is - evidently - hope despite the carnage and confusion. Workers are standing for themselves instead of allowing ideologues to tell them what their proletarian consciousness is (Aronowitz 1989:57-61). Civil society (for which see Keane 1989a, b) is imposing itself against the state, speaking for itself instead of allowing statesmen to express the 'national interest'. In discussing international solidarity, it is becoming increasingly possible to see it in terms of creating an international civil society (for the European case, see Sikoska 1989). In discussing international labour solidarity, it is becoming increasingly possible to see it neither as leading this process, nor as subordinated to it, but as making a distinct and essential contribution to a new internationalism. In discussing Third World solidarity the same holds. This is why I find it both useful and necessary to move back and forth between labour and other internationalisms, and between Third, Second and First World ones.

One last point, related to this last sentence. I use here the terminology of First, Second and Third World in the conventional and descriptive sense of the Western media and academia. I do not consider the conceptualisation holds up theoretically. Indeed, in



the case of the Second (Communist) World, it does not seem to be holding up empirically either! This is not irrelevant to the subject of the paper. The latest stage in capitalism's repeated, if irregular and uneven, international divisions of labour (for which see Southall 1988:1-34) is undermining such reality as this model ever had. The current crisis of the nation-state and state-bloc systems is equally undermining the model. The original aspiration of labour internationalism was to reshape the world order in a humane and democratic manner - i.e. one surpassing the logics of both capital and the nation-state system. Whilst continuing to use the old terminology, this paper is evidently concerned to further the theoretical and political task of surpassing a model that has obstructed international solidarity between workers, peoples and people.

## 2. Background: the old union internationals and the new unionism

For many decades the international trade union movement has been dominated by a small number of organisations - not all of them international (for an Asian perspective on these, see Spooner 1989). The best known are the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in Prague, the social-reformist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in Brussels, the ex-Social Christian World Confederation of Labour (WCL), also in Brussels. But a major role has been played by the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO). This is not only a major influence within the ICFTU, it also acts internationally through its agencies for each of the three Third World continents - not to speak of its past or present clandestine activities in West and East Europe and the Third World. (for the AFL-CIO's international operations, see NILS 1989a, and the contribution to this of Kim Scipes (1989)).

Despite their considerable mutual differences, these organisations share a number of common characteristics. They are distant from workers on the shopfloor, who, indeed, are usually unaware of their existence (this holds for its Third World agencies, if not the AFL-CIO itself). They are still deeply marked by their participation in the cold war. They tend to reproduce the structure and behaviour of the nation state and inter-state agencies. They are Northern-based and Northern-staffed. The internationals are inspired by 19th or early-20th century Euro-US labour ideologies - Social Democracy, Communism, Business Unionism, Social Christianity. They tend to reduce the complex reality of working people worldwide to the model of the unionised (or unionisable) male worker in lifetime employment in large-scale capitalist or state enterprise. Where they have adapted this model to allow for the Third World, they have generally adopted the developmentalist ideologies current in the North (Pieterse 1990) - ideologies which themselves assume the possibility of reproducing Northern experience. Even the 'free' Western ones are heavily

dependent on state funding for their 'development' activities, here taking on the role of state-funded development agencies.

Where Third World regional organisations, such as the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU) or the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) have been set up, this has been on the initiative of states or groups of states. And such new organisations have - like the Third World states and inter-state agencies themselves - reproduced rather than challenged the traditional model. Where state-approved and/or state-oriented Third World union conferences do occur, as in Belgrade in 1986, they tend to produce little more than thirdworldist rhetoric. This customarily forgets any conflict between workers and their viciously labour-repressive regimes. The practical implications tend to be...the holding of more meetings (CTUY 1986:96)!

We have, however, seen over recent years the development of a phenomenon which has been called 'social-movement unionism' (Lambert 1989, Waterman 1990). Reference here is to new union movements, primarily in the Third World, which 1) go beyond the classical 'economic' (collective bargaining) or 'political' (party-dominated or state-oriented) activity, 2) address themselves to all social problems and all democratic and popular forces, and 3) favour shopfloor democracy and shopfloor internationalism. Since around 1980 we have seen a number of new, or revived, national union centres in the Third World, which have many of the above characteristics. In a number of significant cases they have been obliged, or chosen, to remain independent of the traditionally dominant internationals. They have tended to develop international relations from the bottom up, or to prefer bilateral relations, or to develop a variety of international relations - with unions, with solidarity groups, or with non-governmental development organisations. It is from these unions rather than any others that new ideas about labour internationalism are coming. Their proposals are not, however, the first such and are not, thus, being presented in a political or theoretical vacuum. There are already squatters on this site. And it is as well to consider whether the Euro-US

internationalists are monopolising the area or allowing space for others.

### 3. New eurocentric, or eurocentred, internationalisms?

I am not here concerned with the shortcomings of the traditional internationalisms criticised above. I am concerned with those of the new internationalisms, such as the ecological and human rights movement. There has not as yet been explicit criticism from the South of the new labour internationalism, possibly because of its marginal existence. But there has been both such criticism of, and debate on, the new peace and women's movements. Since I will later look critically at Third World internationalism, it is just as well to be aware of criticism of eurocentrism in the new internationalism. Eqbal Ahmad - who expresses much appreciation of the Western peace movements - nonetheless feels it necessary to make the following criticism:

The anti-nuclear is one of the rare Western movements to have had no influence in the Third World - intellectually, politically, or morally. An explanation for it is to be found in its own limitations. It is, in effect, a woefully narrow and parochial response to a universal challenge...The disarmament movement in Western Europe, and in the United States is, by and large, ahistorical, technocentric, nukocentric, ethnocentric and phobocentric. [...] Undoubtedly, there are groups and individuals in the American and European peace movement who...have spoken out on issues relating to militarism, intervention, and denial of people's right to self-determination. Yet, by and large, the disarmament movement...has chosen to stay within the boundaries of its eurocentric and technocentric bias. (Ahmad 1987:50, 57. Original stress.)

In her criticism of one predominant notion of the international women's movement, Chilla Bulbeck is able to draw a relevant parallel with the classical model of labour internationalism:

The scenario...of a homogeneous women's movement, perhaps accords most nearly with the project of international socialism. Marx urged the workers of the world to unite because, he argued, they had more in common with each other in their exploitation through capitalist relations, than they had with national compatriots who were capitalists. However, just as Third World women accuse First World women of benefiting from the oppression of their sisters - as consumers of cheaper goods, as beneficiaries of higher wages or better jobs - so did such divisions emerge among the brotherhood of working men...In the First World War, working men of the world did not unite but rather enlisted in national armies to kill each other. (Bulbeck 1988:149)

The internationalist credentials of progressive or Marxist intellectuals have been forcefully questioned by such African academics as Ibbo Mandaza (1987) and Mahmood Mamdani (1989). Referring approvingly to one philosopher's statement to an African research conference, Mamdani (1989:437) says:

Paulin Hountondji remarked that the process of ideological production bears a marked resemblance to the process of material production in much of the continent: it is customary for thinking about African reality to be exported in its raw sense-data form to centres of intellectual production in 'the North', where it is subjected to a process of selection, reorganisation and re-packaging, only to be re-exported to Africa...[T]he meeting generally agreed that, while each case would have to be analysed concretely, Hountondji's call was indeed of relevance; the commitment to internationalism cannot be allowed to mask concrete instances of interventionism.

And this is an Indian writing on the 'Eurocentric Peace Movement' (GPD 1987-8):23

One almost begins to suspect that the problems of jazz in Prague appear greater to the END [European Nuclear Disarmament] Journal than the problems of people killed in the gas tragedy in Bhopal because the latter were coloured people. The Bhopal victims are just an example. Nicaragua and El Salvador would be other examples. In fact there is no dearth of examples. But the white man's right to music is more important, more relevant to world peace than a yellow or a brown or a black man's right to life. This is what the anti-marxist and anti-communist section of the peace movement finally tells us.

The issue here is not whether the criticism above is justified or not: Many Western internationalists who favoured the right to play music under socialism were also as deeply involved with Bhopal and Nicaragua. The point is to recognise that a new eurocentred labour internationalism could also be a eurocentric one. And that we cannot speak for the Third World before it has spoken for itself. Having made this point, let us now consider what contribution to such a new labour internationalism has already been made from the Third World.

#### 4. A new Third World labour internationalism takes shape

##### 4.1. For an autonomous international policy

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) may be the fastest-growing union in the world today. It has grown independently of the African National Congress (ANC). And of its trade union affiliate, the South African Trade Union Congress (SACTU), itself long-affiliated to the WFTU in Prague. It has also grown independently of the AFL-CIO, the ICFTU and the International Trade Secretariats (ITSSs) associated with it (for a case study, see Webster 1984). Whilst COSATU, however, seems to have had no problem with the SACTU, ANC or WFTU, it has had to struggle against the paternalist, colonial or neo-colonial traditions that continue within the Western internationals. At its Third National Congress in 1989, COSATU therefore passed a resolution, worth quoting at length. COSATU notes its failure to develop a consistent international policy, as well as the lack of relations with unions in 'the socialist bloc', the third world and the frontline states. It criticises the cold war spirit that motivates the intervention within the South African movement of the ICFTU and certain ITSSs. It argues that they are using their financial resources to split unions, or to promote them as a "third force" alternative to the ANC and SACTU'. It finally resolves:

1. To reaffirm our policy of non-affiliation to either the WFTU, ICFTU or WCL.
2. To build effective worker to worker solidarity with progressive trade union centres in other countries.
3. To mandate the CEC to investigate or consider the need for a fulltime international secretary.
4. To develop a systematic programme of travel, study, research and activity aimed at broadening the



education and perspective of our leadership and membership.

5. To ensure that representatives of both the federation and its affiliates are properly briefed prior to international visits and that the federation is well informed of the outcome of all international visits so that consistent and coherent practices develop on an ongoing basis.
6. That neither the federation, nor its affiliates, shall receive money secretly from any outside sources, and that all affiliates shall report from time to time to the CEC on all outside funding received.
7. To reaffirm our policy of reducing dependence on outside funding by both the federation and its affiliates and to ensure that such policy is being practised. To ensure that where funding is essential that it not be used to exert pressure on either the federation or its affiliates.
8. To recommend to affiliates that they maintain links with both the ITSS and TUIs [WFTU trade sections] operating in their sectors. To monitor, on an ongoing basis, the activities of all ITS and TUI activities relating to South Africa.
9. That all major international decisions of the affiliates, such as affiliation, disaffiliation, funding and establishment of local operations by trade secretariats, should be subject to discussion by the federation structures as a whole to ensure that our international activities are consistent, coherent and coordinated.

10. To establish from all ITSS with which COSATU affiliates have links, their attitude to the continuing funding of splinter unions by the ICFTU's South African Coordinating Committee. To assess the responses in detail at the CEC, and to seriously consider disaffiliation from all ITSS if the response is not satisfactory.
11. To instruct the CEC to consider the viability of a locally-based and union-controlled committee on funding which will be required to approve or reject all funding requests of all unions (COSATU or non-COSATU) and union-related organisations in South Africa.
12. To ensure that the federation and all affiliates are conducting education on international trade union matters so that understanding of these issues is not limited to the top leadership. (COSATU 1989)

This resolution has been reproduced at length because of the manner in which it reveals the desires and discontents of a Third World union that is beginning to assert itself against the traditional internationals with which it is confronted.

#### 4.2. For a Latin American internationalism

Joseph Giguere and Denis Sulmont are a couple of expatriates long resident in Peru and having a long-standing relationship with its unions. In 1984 they produced a background paper for a three-country meeting of Latin American mineworkers. This went much further than the conference itself (see Giguere and Sulmont 1984, 1988). After criticising the past subordination of the Latin American union movement to local capitalist and political elites, nationally and internationally, they propose the necessity for a labour and popular internationalism based on the following principles (Giguere and Sulmont 1988:46-8):

1. Defence of class independence and union democracy: that international activity must be based on the autonomous interests of the unions, independent of the bourgeoisie and state, and that the unions must themselves express the interests of the workers at the base.

2. Complementarity of nationalism and internationalism: that there can be no real national development without a new international economic, social and political order, and that confrontation with imperialism demands international solidarity of the peoples.

3. Non-alignment and Latin American identity: fighting for a working-class and popular position on these matters, inside and outside state or inter-state fora; solidarity with workers and peoples of the US and Western Europe, against the cold war, union repression and imperialist intervention in Latin America.

They also identify distinct areas of activity for international solidarity. These are:

4. On immediate issues: concrete matters around which it is possible to mobilise international trade union organisations and public opinion.

5. Political and union rights: this speaks for itself.

6. Defence of natural resources: includes international union participation in interstate bodies like OPEC.

7. Action against TNCs: includes imposition of Codes of Conduct, strengthening World Concern Councils and collaboration between unions in the same TNC.

8. Action in relation to regional and international organisations: using bodies like the Andean Pact for struggle against the IMF and debt.

9. Action against imperialist ideological domination:  
includes development of new kinds of national and international union educational materials, as well as the of the unions' own means of documentation and communication.

Sulmont has developed his ideas in contributing to debate on the debt problem (Sulmont 1988a,b). Whilst endorsing earlier Latin American declarations by the traditional national and international unions concerning the debt, Sulmont also proposes an international campaign on the right to work and the reduction of the working day (i.e. the sharing of available work). Referring back to the historical struggle for the 8-hour day, Sulmont argues that this is a demand meeting the interests of workers in both industrialised and industrialising countries, and that it is a positive and progressive demand, not a defensive one (Sulmont 1988b:57).

#### 4.3. For an independent Third World labour internationalism

The Latin-American perspective is in general accord with that of the new unions in South Korea (for which see Asia Labour Monitor 1988). But the Koreans certainly have elements to add. This is evident from the document produced for an international solidarity conference with the new unions in South Korea (International Conference 1988; Spooner 1989:58). This document identifies the following common interests amongst Third World workers: improved living and working conditions, exchange of information on union organisation, safety, etc., international publicity for joint action, solidarity strikes, etc. It prioritises solidarity relations within the Third World, particularly with neighbouring countries:

In the aspects of the fight against imperialist exploitation and dictatorial suppression, the international solidarity among the new-colonial [sic] countries can become something very special. The support of the conscientious and progressive labour unions from within

the First World imperialist [countries] will also be very valuable. (International Conference 1988:5)

And:

The best form of solidarity relationship at this point is a nation-to-nation relationship between the free and democratic labour unions. Many favourable conditions exist in South [South-East? - PW] Asia for this kind of arrangement. The South Asian countries have many similarities with Korea, in terms of social structures, cultures, political systems, and labour control policies, and their geographical proximity is yet another advantage. (International Conference 1988:11)

Finally:

[W]e should maintain the independence of the Third World in the international solidarity network...The Third World workers are at the bottom of the capitalist structures and are the most exploited. In addition to this, they are often forced to be at the forefront of the fight to reclaim independence and democracy in their countries. The true potential of the labour movement lies in the struggle to improve their lives and to realise democracy. Workers in Europe, America, and Japan are fighting for the welfare of their society. They however need to fight in solidarity with Asian, African, and Latin American workers for peace of the world. (9)

The Koreans also favour a certain style of work:

The kind of solidarity relationship will have to take the bottom-up approach. That is, it should start from simple things like the exchange of information and discussions and updates on the plans and strategies of the labour union movement for the exchange of educational program-

mes, the cooperative execution of common tasks, sympathy strikes, etc. (11)

#### 4.4. For a tricontinental labour dialogue

The Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement) is the most dynamic union centre in the Philippines. Set up under martial law in 1980, it rapidly established itself as a militant, mass-based and nationalist union, intimately associated with the 'national-democratic' project of total opposition to the present regime and for a revolutionary transformation of society. The KMU is internationally unaffiliated and has sought international solidarity much in the manner of other new labour and other social movements in the Third World. Its ideology and declarations so far, however, have placed it clearly in the state-socialist tradition.

Recently, however, the KMU has produced a proposal for a trilateral conference of major new and internationally-autonomous union centres from South Africa, Asia and Latin America (KMU 1990). This proposal is broadly consistent with the Peruvian and Korean documents mentioned above. The KMU paper begins with an analysis of the conditions that gave rise to the new unionism in the Third World. They see this in terms of the new international division of labour that is relocating labour-intensive manufacturing to certain Third World countries, this itself implying cheap labour, labour-repressive regimes, indebtedness, massive worker, nationalist and democratic struggles, and finally the tendency to replace dictatorships with limited democracies.

The document innovates at two places. First of all, it makes a major issue of developments (though not of present mass struggles) in Eastern Europe, which it sees as having major implications for global capitalism:

Certainly we can expect much available capital to be sucked into Eastern Europe. These new economic relations will also be reflected in a new political military

strategy for imperialism. May we assume that the reduction in the nuclear arms race and the priority given to developing pro-capitalist conditions in Eastern Europe will further raise the status of Low Intensity Conflict as the central US military strategy...When popular unrest turns against new non-communist governments in Eastern Europe all the US experience in manipulating democracy in the Philippines and elsewhere will clearly find new use. (3)

The suggestion here, although it is not spelled out, would seem to be that East Europe is going to become some kind of new Third World. However, the political implications of this for Third World or international labour struggles are not spelled out either.

The second point at which the KMU innovates is in its address to the future of the traditional trade union internationals. It sees the old cold war division as crumbling:

The ICFTU and the International Trade Secretariats...are already making their presence felt in East European countries, especially Poland (Solidarnosc is a member of the ICFTU [and the WCL - PW]). The ICFTU clearly intends to become the strongest global organisation of unions.

If official communist unions disappear in some East European countries or new autonomy is granted to others, we must certainly question what future there will be for the WFTU in its present form. Where will unions such as those of Nicaragua and Vietnam [current WFTU members - PW] decide to place themselves? (3)

The purpose of the planned conference is evidently to discuss such matters, as well as to consider common aims, common interests and forms of future collaboration. As possible topics for discussion, the KMU proposes: 1) the new union movements themselves; 2) the state, including repression, 'democratic space' and options

confronting legal unions; 3) union relations with parties, national, community, peasant, women's and tribal struggles; 4) 'The future role of independent unions in a progressive socialist state. Visions of the future'; 5) TNCs; 6) debt; 7) international union relations and their 'implications for independent anti-imperialist union centres', 8) a 'Joint Statement of Accord'.

#### 4.5. A critique

It would not be difficult to synthesise such positions, and even to include in such a synthesis the latest contribution I have been able to identify but not deal with here (PP21 1989). They overlap to a degree that is remarkable given the limited mutual contact or even knowledge. I feel, however, that it is necessary to make some criticism of the documents before attempting such a synthesis. The critique will not go into detail on each document but will rather pick out a few major issues for commentary. The implication of even such limited criticism is that it is necessary to not simply synthesise current positions but to draw from them, reflect on them, and also to surpass them in a number of ways.

1. Understanding the old internationals. Whilst the COSATU document represents a forceful rejection of interference by rich and powerful outsiders, I do not think its understanding of the nature of such forces is in any way adequate. The problem is not simply that they are rich and powerful, or their cold war involvement. It is also a number of other fundamental characteristics, briefly sketched in Part 2 above. A failure to take these into account leads the COSATU to favour relations with the unions of 'socialist' countries, and the WFTU, at a time when their political bankruptcy has been already exposed (Poland, China) and they are either in crisis or, possibly, about to disappear. Without a more profound and extensive analysis, there is a danger of constructing a thirdworldist international, or of favouring some kind of trade union United Nations, that will reproduce the state-like characteristics of the old internationals.



2. Analysis of the world situation. The KMU's background analysis covers a number of relevant issues but in an unstructured and untheorised way. This means it is difficult to see where the analysis is coming from or what the relationship between the different elements could possibly be. Thus, the analysis of industrial restructuring is based on a 'cheap labour' argument that has been much questioned - for example by those who ask whether it is not possible to move from 'peripheral Taylorism' to 'peripheral Fordism' (Lipietz 1987). This is not an academic issue, since the latter model implies the possibility and necessity of liberal democracy. There has, similarly, been considerable discussion on possible varieties of democracy in the Third World, in one case proposing a spectrum ranging from the kind of restricted or militarised liberal regime we are now familiar with to a radical, but not socialist, form (Mainwaring and Viola 1984). And whilst it is necessary to think about the implications of East European developments, surely this requires 1) a settlement of accounts with past myths, and 2) a consideration of the possible positive implications of Gorbachov's policies, and the mass movements, for the Third World.

There is no way that it is here possible to sketch even the areas that such a background document would need to cover. A starting point might be provided by the recent collection of Southall (1988) and the synthesis of Munck (1988). But what is probably needed is the submission of a number of alternative analyses, the commissioning or collection of which could be part of the preparation for the planned conference.

3. Proposing old international union strategies. If I can attempt to compress to a minimum the often repeated criticism of the traditional union internationals (NILS passim, Waterman passim) it would be the following: 1) that their declarations are either rhetorical, or reactive and defensive, and/or addressed to action by state or interstate organs (rather than mobilising workers or the general public); 2) that their structures reproduce those of capital and state (competition, centralisation, hierarchy); and

3) that their strategies in face of the MNCs fail to recognise that these cannot be successfully fought from within the factory and from the union office. (On the shortcomings of both union and 'shopfloor' strategies against MNCs, see Haworth and Ramsay 1984, 1988). All this does not mean one can write off, or ignore, these 'traditional spaces'. (See Vargas 1989, on the significance of 'traditional', 'feminist' and 'popular' spaces for the Peruvian women's movement). What it does mean is that new and dynamic forces have to approach these traditional spaces from a similarly new and autonomous position.

4. Beyond a thirdworldist internationalism. Mires (1989) presents a radical critique of the 'Third World Internationalism' that came out of decolonisation in Africa and Asia and anti-imperialist movements and revolutions in Latin America. He recognises that Third World internationalism, in both its Chinese and Cuban forms, was a relationship between states rather than peoples. He sees it as reproducing, rather than surpassing, the logic of blocs and the 'bloc internationalism' of the Soviet Union:

Regimes such as those reigning in Ethiopia, Libya or Afghanistan are not exactly the most adequate for the creation of international solidarity. Due to the existence of such regimes, rather, the idea of anti-imperialist struggle and that of social emancipation (which during the period of proletarian internationalism formed an indissoluble part of the same discourse) have ended up in disassociating themselves, to the point that they today represent not only different ideas but, in many cases, antagonistic ones. (Mires 1989:19)

Mires also criticises the reductionism of the old internationalisms, the practice of either ignoring all international contradictions but one, or of subordinating them to one 'totalising antagonism' (proletarians/capitalists, Third World/First World). He nonetheless expresses the hope that 1) the crisis of thirdworldism:

will create the possibility for raising anti-imperialist positions on the basis of real and concrete antagonisms and not the reverse as is the general case. (20)

He further hopes, 2) that the crisis of internationalism

in all its varieties, may open up possibilities for the rise of forms of international cooperation free of determinist [finalista] utopias and based not only on respect for similarities, which is very easy, but...on respect for differences, which is much more difficult. (ibid)

5. The significance of First World struggles. Some of the Third World documents seem to be interested in First World labour struggles only in so far as they seem to serve immediately perceived Third World union interests (anti-imperialism, peace). A more positive attitude toward general social movements in the First World can be found in Burbach and Nunez (1988), a work originally published in Spanish in Managua (Nunez and Burbach 1986). (Although this work will certainly require re-evaluation in the light of the Sandinista election defeat, I think its basic inspiration holds). Representing the joint effort of a Central and North American socialist, this book proposes nothing less than a democratic and socialist project for the whole Western hemisphere (i.e., both South and West)! The work is based on the experience of the Nicaraguan revolution and of solidarity with it. It implicitly understands the Nicaraguan revolution as both a class and national project, simultaneously a Nicaraguan, Latin American and international phenomenon. Rejecting the ideologies of traditional socialism and thirdworldism, it is an attempt to come to terms with the increasing mutual interpenetration of capitalist core and periphery. Thus, whilst it begins where the others do, it ends somewhere else.

To the three forces for social transformation identified by the Nicaraguan Revolution (workers, peasants, middle sectors and

movements), Burbach and Nunez add a fourth. They first present their third force as also existing within the USA:

Today, the third force, in conjunction with the new impoverished sectors of the working class, has the potential to wage a much more sophisticated and effective battle within civil society, not only to open up new vistas and to generate new values, but also to resist the new forms of social and economic oppression. (78)

They then identify the anti-imperialist movement in the First World as a specific fourth force. They see this as not simply assisting Third World revolutions but also as transforming the capitalist core itself:

[A]nti-imperialism will have a critical impact on the US political system and become a major force in challenging the established party-political order. The extent and depth of this movement are new phenomena in the development of imperialist societies. It is the domestic antithesis of imperialism, and it is no accident that the most developed fourth force exists in the bowels of the leading imperialist power, the United States. (94)

I would here myself add that there are other historical achievements of the First World working class, and new global issues being recognised and raised by socialists and new social movements, in the capitalist core. These represent valuable contributions to struggles for transformation internationally. I am thinking of the practice and theory of socially-useful production, struggles for limiting the working day, the women's and peace movements themselves, struggles against state intervention and for citizen access to state and commercially-monopolised information.

I also believe it necessary for the left in the Third World (and not only there!) to fundamentally re-evaluate both liberal democratic society and the social democratic tradition. It seems

increasingly likely that this state form and socialist tradition are the most popular internationally. Even in the Philippines, with its rather miserable experience of liberal democracy, this seems to be the most popular state form. And both East European Communist Parties and the democratic oppositions to them seem to be struggling for the right to the social democratic title. It seems to me, finally, that the concept of 'free trade unionism', which during the cold war years meant pro-NATO unions, has been given a different connotation since it became the slogan of Solidarnosc. Whilst it will be evident, at least to liberal and social democrats, that I am neither the one nor the other, it does seem to me that these political forms provide workers, labour and social movements with the most space in which to fight for alternatives to capitalism and statism.

6. The invisibility of the Communist world. A common, if not universal, blindspot in Third World internationalism (and this applies to Burbach and Nunez as well as the South African, Filipino and South Korean documents) is labour and democratic protest in the Communist world. Only the Peruvian document even mentions Solidarnosc. In the early 1980s, the new unions in Brazil and South Africa came out in public solidarity with Solidarnosc. But my impression is that, as they have become increasingly involved with nationalist or socialist politics, the radical Third World unions have found it also increasingly 'politic' to ignore the rebellious labour and popular movements in the officially 'anti-imperialist' world.

The extreme case is that of the KMU in the Philippines, which has never recognised these movements, and which has in recent years been involved in negotiations with the state-controlled national and international trade union organisations of the Communist world. The clearest expression of its statism was at the time of the bloody suppression of the democracy movement in Beijing. The KMU first expressed its 'full support to the Chinese people under the able leadership of the Chinese Communist Party'. It stated its belief that the CCP had 'been able to moderate the conflict' and

was 'moving towards the resolution of the underlying issues' (KMU 1989a). Partly under pressure from its international supporters (see Part 8 below), the KMU later reversed its position, whilst still declaring it 'our proletarian internationalist duty to...support the Chinese people and their socialist system' (KMU 1989b). Even in its third and final statement, in it did condemn the massacre, it was still suggesting a common identity between the regime, socialism and the people in China:

We...hope that the Chinese people will be successful in fending off imperialist meddling in China's affairs. The Chinese people, especially the workers, have a big task ahead in defending and pushing forward the gains of socialism and democracy in China, which the KMU wholeheartedly supports. (KMU 1989c)

It is noteworthy that even where the KMU's trilateral conference document does refer to Eastern Europe, it only mentions hypothetical social protest against future non-Communist governments.

A radically different position toward at least China was, ironically, taken by an affiliate of the KMU, the National Federation of Labour (NFL). This produced a statement of unconditional denunciation which finally:

- affirms the inviolability of human rights and human dignity in all socio-economic systems, whether socialist states such as China or underdeveloped countries such as the Philippines; and
- demands the release of all political prisoners in China, the institution of fundamental reforms to enhance political democracy, and the recognition of basic rights such as the freedoms of expression and association and the other trade union rights. (NFL Bulletin 1989)

Whilst I have no other evidence of the major new autonomous Third World unions identifying themselves with the democratic worker movements in the Communist world, such a position has been taken by labour-support groups in, for example, South Africa. The South African Labour Bulletin has given detailed and measured coverage to the movements in China (e.g. SALB 1989a, b). And the new magazine of the International Labour Research and Information Group (ILRIG) in South Africa devoted a considerable part of its first issue to Chinese workers and unions, and to the repression. It also dealt with the Soviet miners' strike of July 1989. Concerning the latter it concluded:

The strike of the coal miners is against much of the hardship they have suffered in the past. And it is also a message to the leaders who are trying to bring reform - the workers must be given control over the changes that are made. The struggle of the Soviet miners is not against socialism like the media wants us to believe. It is a struggle by workers for control over their lives in a socialist country. It is a struggle to rebuild the democracy that workers fought for in 1917. (Workers' World, No.1:11-19, 27)

There are numerous reasons for Third World labour internationalists to come to terms with the struggles of the workers and peoples of the Communist world. These are the following: 1) a failure to do so means reproduction of the double-standard internationalism that has previously marked US, social-reformist and Communist internationalism; 2) the East-European states are being reintegrated into the world capitalist system, meaning that their workers can and, indeed, will be used to compete more directly with their opposite numbers in the South as well as the West; 3) organisations like Solidarnosc may be a) more nationalist than internationalist in orientation and b) being incorporated into the dominant Western internationals, thus requiring a specific address from workers in the South (with whom they have much in common); 4) radical or revolutionary unions in the Third World have much to

learn from the long and bitter experience of labour movement subordination - or self-subordination - to 'proletarian' parties and 'socialist' states, as well as from the attempts to overcome this subordination. If, further, as the KMU proposes, the relation of unions to future socialist regimes is to be on the conference agenda, it seems essential to make an analysis of the socialist countries - and of whether they are (were?) workers' states in any sense of meaning to workers.



## 5. A new internationalism in Eastern Europe

I intend to deal with this matter at length. This is partly because no one, to my knowledge, has written anything specifically on the topic. But it is also because, as suggested above, the experience of Eastern Europe may be as important to the Third World as knowledge about it.

### 5.1. The proletarian internationalism of anti-proletarian dictators

Since some radical labour unions in the Third World still persist in the belief that the officially socialist states are - or were - true to 'proletarian internationalism' in their foreign policies, we cannot avoid at least brief treatment of this matter. We may consider the case of the Ceaucescus - the Marcoses of East Europe. This regime, sat on a high proletarian internationalist wall and recently suffered the greatest national fall. Steve Askin (1990) details the shabby dealings of Ceaucescu who, under the international protection of his friend Ronald Reagan, was apparently a valued collaborator of the CIA in the Third World, as well as of the World Bank in the Second. Of the opposed Rumanian and Soviet line-up with competing liberation movements in colonial Rhodesia, Askin says:

These alignments had more to do with Northern Hemisphere perceptions than real ideological differences, as the deep-rooted nationalism of both movements - rather than their thin veneer of Marxism - set the tone for the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. (Askin 1990:9)

After independence, the Ceaucescus became the second and third persons, after Robert Mugabe himself, to have the title of freeman of Harare bestowed upon them:

In explaining this honour, the semi-official Harare Herald deemed it 'important for our people never to

forget the crucial role played by Ceaucescu and the people of Romania in assisting our armed struggle for freedom'. (ibid. My stress - PW)

In dealing below with popular East-European attitudes towards other peoples we must bear in mind the impact which such cynical real-politiking under the flag of internationalism must have had on their minds.

## 5.2. The internationalism of actually-existing Soviet proletarians

If we dismiss the internationalist pretensions of Communist regimes, we still have to deal with that of their repressed workers and peoples. It appears, from the history of Solidarnosc, that any sense of solidarity between the Soviet and the Polish masses was largely non-existent. The depth of suspicion, hostility, or envy towards foreigners existing amongst ordinary people in the Soviet Union should not be underestimated. The manner in which misery, powerlessness, isolation and ignorance express themselves in xenophobia is dramatically presented in this conversation, reported by the Soviet feminist, Ekaterina Alexandrova (1984:257):

While riding in a tram I happened to hear a conversation between two half-drunk workers....Their rather incoherent remarks boiled down to the following three sentiments: 1) the imperialists want to unleash another world war and to seize power over the world; 2) the Poles are letting themselves be led around by the nose by world capitalism. Those bastards! 3) Therefore, justice itself demands that those Poles be taught a good lesson [...] And to top it all off, they were obviously unhappy with the system. The second half of their conversation focused on their personal dissatisfactions. In essence, they complained, 'Here we've been saving up all our lives and don't have a fucking thing to show for it, but the bosses, they're living well'.

This impressionistic account is confirmed by more systematic ones. Summing up and commenting on a number of Western surveys of popular Soviet attitudes towards Solidarnosc in 1981-2, Teague (1988:153) comments:

The opinion samples...suggest that the attempts made by the Soviet authorities to discredit Poland's free trade union movement were successful in playing on Soviet citizens' inherent distrust of disorder, anarchy and chaos; on their deep, if latent, anti-Polish sentiments; and on their simple human envy of Poles who, even though materially better off than Soviet citizens, could still demand more.

Even at this deep point in the mid-80s, however, Teague was able to record the less negative attitude toward Solidarnosc of the more educated Russians, the friendly attitudes of the Baltic and Transcaucasian peoples (evidently a nationalist rather than a labour internationalism!), and the support for Solidarnosc of the Soviet underground press. And she provides us with a prophetic statement by a Russian industrial worker, interviewed in the West:

'The Polish people have awoken to an awareness of their rights; hence the current agitation in Poland. Eventually the same thing will happen in our country; But it will take time, for the consciousness of our people is impregnated with fear born of the tragic fate that has always been Russia's.' (155)

Xenophobia, of course, is not confined to foreigners, nor is it concentrated in the proletariat. Surely the most damaging evidence of the failure of Communism in power is the resurgence of anti-semitism in the Soviet Union, where it is not only publicly expressed by intellectuals, but has led to the beating up of members of the Moscow Writer's Club under the benevolent eye of plainclothes police (Vasilyev 1990). It is evident from the above that internationalism has no natural home in the Soviet Union, nor

in its proletariat. It seems, rather, that it is something that will have to be constructed, beginning with the democratic intelligentsia, advanced workers and democratic elements among national-ethnic minorities.

### 5.3. The interlocked fate of democracy internationally

The rediscovery of internationalism in Eastern Europe has grown out of the needs and capacities of their human rights, women's, ecological and labour movements. It has further developed through negotiations and dialogue between the new Eastern left and Western left (the title of a book by Feher and Heller (1987)).

We must, however, firstly recognise that if the internationalism of Russians has left much to be desired, so, apparently, has that with Russians. The exiled Russian feminist, Tatyana Mamanova, reports her disappointment in 1985 at the failure of US feminists to support her project for a Russian-language feminist press. She felt that she was being seen as a dissident, an exile, and a celebrity, rather than as a representative of a movement needing solidarity:

Many American newspapers have published interviews with me, and although they know my name very well, they for some reason always run headlines that say: 'Emigree Talks about Feminism in the Soviet Union'. I have never felt like, or considered myself, an emigree. I see myself as a citizen of the world, but this concept does not penetrate the heads of journalists [...] If we do not unite our efforts in a spirit of true solidarity, then the prospects are that we will lose not only the feminist movement in Russia, but also in other countries...It is dangerous to lock ourselves into local problems - it is essential that we learn from each other's experiences so that we may jointly strive for the development of American and Russian feminist movements. (Mamanova 1988:166-7: Original emphasis.)

Secondly, and appropriately, a case from the experience of Solidarnosc. Writing in 1982, just after the illegalisation of Solidarnosc, a Polish activist wrote that

The victory of Solidarnosc...would be...an enormous success for the European left. It would prove the strength and capacity for resistance of the working class. It would strengthen the hope of political cooperation among the European labour movement, which is the only hope of political independence for our continent, where today politics is a function of the global strategy of two powers. In the short term this victory would reanimate the theory and practice of the workers' movement [...]. On the other side it would be good that in the West one remembers, in the left and the milieus to which it is close, that the struggle 'to be or not to be' is today taking place on the banks of the Vistula. Because in these circles we are beginning to feel there is a certain lassitude about Poland while activity in support of the victims of the Turkish or Salvadorean juntas - of which moreover they have great need - appears as a political alternative to support for Solidarnosc... (Warszawski 1984:173-4)

The cases above can be read as both prophecy and warning. The last prophecy has been already realised in part - to the amazement, no doubt, of its author as well as its readers. The warning seems to be that a meaningful and effective international solidarity cannot exist solely on one axis, nor be only unidirectional.

#### 5.4. From no nukes (in Europe?) to no tanks (anywhere?)

From the East European human rights and democratic movements have come a whole series of exciting documents and arguments concerning the surpassing of the East/West opposition and the creation of a new human and democratic European identity. Arguing

with West European socialists and peace activists, the Czechoslovak Jiri Dienstbier insisted (when he was an isolated dissident rather than a popular Foreign Minister) that one cannot overcome the East/West conflict by a 'Western' (EEC) approach to the 'East' (Moscow):

The goal is the demolition of the Berlin Wall, first in our heads and then in reality. (Dienstbier 1987:52)

Since this was achieved within two years of its having been written, we can turn to his not-yet-achieved proposal for a post-anti-nuclear peace movement. The new slogan would seem to be 'Ban the Tank!':

[L]et us stop counting who has which weapon and let us make enemy number one one weapon of attack in particular: the tank...The abolition of tanks and armoured cars, whose modern variants have long ago developed beyond traditional ideas of conventional weapons, would cripple the offensive potential without affecting the defensive capabilities of any country and would exert pressure towards a defensive military doctrine [...] The removal of tanks would have exceptional economic and ecological [and] psychological-political consequences. When people think of war they always call to the mind the image of a tank. For the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Europe, the tank is the symbol of Berlin 1953, Budapest 1956, Prague 1968 and Warsaw 1981. If the possibility that 'the tanks will come' is excluded, this will not only increase confidence, it will provide it with a solid foundation...The demand for the abolition of the tank is straightforward and comprehens[ible] to everyone. It would be hard to justify opposing it... (Dienstbier 1987:56-7)

5.5. The global civilisational crisis needs a global civil response

When he was still a less-likely President than Mrs Chamorro, Vaclav Havel refused her cold war interpretation of the state-socialist experience. He saw it as an advanced and extreme expression of a civilisational crisis, and one that required a global response independent of states (Havel 1989). The totalitarian systems, he said,

warn of something far more serious than Western rationalism is willing to admit. They are, most of all, a convex mirror of the inevitable consequences of rationalism, a grotesquely magnified image of its own deep tendencies, an extreme outcropping of its own development and an ominous product of its own expansion. They are a deeply informative reflection of its own crisis. Totalitarian regimes are not merely dangerous neighbours and, even less, some kind of an avantgarde of world progress. Alas, just the opposite; they are the avantgarde of a global crisis of this civilisation, one which is European, then Euroamerican, and ultimately global. (390)

Havel then went on to question those Westerners who, with all good intentions and much valuable effect, asked what they could do for the Czechoslovaks:

[S]omewhere deep within the question, there is a built-in misunderstanding. After all, in the last instance the point is not to help us, a handful of 'dissidents', to keep out of jail a bit more of the time...We need first and foremost to help ourselves. We have waited for the help of others far too often, depended on it far too much, and far too many times come to grief: either the promised help was withdrawn at the last moment or it turned into the very opposite of our expectations. In the deepest sense, something else is at stake: the

salvation of us all, of myself and my interlocutors equally. (391-2)

Havel then showed that solidarity is not simply a matter of what I would call 'the free helping the unfree' but also the contrary:

When I was tried and then serving my sentence, I experienced directly the impo[r]tance and beneficial force of international solidarity. I shall never cease to be grateful for all its expressions. Still, I do not think that we who seek the truth under our conditions find ourselves in an asymmetrical position, or that it should be we alone who ask for help and expect it, without being able to offer help in the direction from which it comes [...W]e, too have a certain opportunity to help them in our deeply shared interest, in the interest of humankind. (397)

Finally, he proposed the necessity of an 'anti-political' internationalism:

Does not the perspective of a better future depend on something like an international community of the shaken which, ignoring state boundaries, political systems and power blocs, standing outside the high game of traditional politics, aspiring to no titles and appointments, will seek to make a real political force out of a phenomenon so ridiculed by the technicians of power - the phenomenon of human conscience? (398)

Even should Havel retain his title and appointment, it would seem to me that his words have a profound and original message for a new internationalism. (This is despite his somewhat self-contradictory performance since he entered the high game, sneering at earlier-generation dissident Karl Marx and flattering US Congressmen - technicians of power whose overweening egos had recently been further bloated by the Showdown at the OK Canal). There is here,



therefore, a further message, and not only for Third World internationalists. States and inter-state agencies may well be civilised by the Dienstbiers and Havel. But we simply cannot depend on statesmen (men of state, after all) to have the same insights into, and motives for, internationalism as those marginal to or oppressed by the state.

#### 5.6. The changing view of the South from the East

The last items would seem to imply eurocentred proposals as relevant to the Third World as to the First and Second. Internationally relevant East European proposals, however, are clearly not enough. The Yugoslav writer, Radmila Nakarada, makes the point. Negatively:

Solidarity with the Third World is insufficiently present...in Eastern Europe where, besides a lack of sensitivity for the drama of the Third World due to understandable self-preoccupation, ideological reasons intervene as well. (Michnik's evaluation of Allende's programme as unrealistic and dangerous, and Gaspar's attitude towards South Africa's movements as only a question of 'exchanging one terrible regime for another no less terrible', are illustrations of this kind of ideological intervention). (Nakarada 1989:398)

Positively:

the democratic potential of the movements can be furthered by the development of instruments of self-reflection and self-correction. The major instrument here would be an improvement in the quality of dialogue between movements, particularly between the two halves of Europe and between the Europeans and non-Europeans. This would legitimise the principles of mutual criticism: refraining from mutual appeasement, taking time to reconsider

one's actions, and devising innovative answers to one's own failures and limitations. (407)

It is unnecessary to further comment on the above materials, except to note the numerous Western proposals for East-West fora open to the South (e.g. ENEWD 1986, CEDRI 1989, Kaldor and Soper 1990). I think that the documents reveal the difficult history of internationalism in East Europe, the rich recent experience in creating a new one, and the intellectual sophistication of those East Europeans reflecting on the matter. The good news from that part of the world is, evidently, not all to be found on the TV screen.

#### 5.7. AFL-CIO-CIA-Solidarnosc?

Third World labour and socialist activists may give less weight to the thinking of the democratic intelligentsia than to the behaviour of union leaders. Both in Peru, in 1986, and in South Korea, in 1989, I have heard union activists express the suspicion that Solidarnosc was some kind of US or Vatican puppet. In South Korea they were expecting a visit from Lech Walesa - but not to support the struggles of their own new, independent movement. In early 1990 the news (FLW 1990) was that Walesa was due to visit Chile (where he had already intervened for the release of union leaders), Japan (where he would visit government as well as unions) and the Soviet Union (host unspecified). Around the same time, Solidarnosc was being welcomed by those Romanians who were not so much the Freeman of Harare as the Wage-Slaves of Bucharest (Frasyniuk 1990). So, the foreign relations of Solidarnosc are more complex than they might seem to be. It is as well to discuss this matter here, since I think that an evaluation of Solidarnosc's international relations has implications for the new labour internationalism in the Third World also.

The case I want to comment on (documented in NILS 1987-8) is the following. On August 31, 1987, Solidarnosc announced to the world that it was gratefully receiving \$1 million in aid from the

US Congress. It further recorded receiving, over a five-year period, an average of \$450,000 per annum, mostly from state funds channeled through Western unions, with most of this coming from the American AFL-CIO (\$1,325,000 in 1983-7). A major intermediary in both US union and US Congress aid is the secretive National Endowment for Democracy (NED) - a Reagan-created agency that had supported pro-Marcos unions in the Philippines. In expressing its thanks to the Western trade union internationals, Solidarnosc referred to them as 'democratic trade union organisations of worldwide stature'. And, in expressing its gratitude to the US Congress, its leader spoke of the US aid as expressing 'profound and traditional bonds of friendship between our people'. It could have been some state-sponsored, authoritarian, subservient and unrepresentative Third World union speaking rather than the almost-mythical Solidarnosc and the legendary Lech Walesa.

We either have to deal with this case using such colourful but uninformative labels as 'proletarian internationalism' and 'trade union imperialism' or to develop a more adequate understanding. I propose, of course, the latter. Solidarnosc, we may first note, was the representative, independent, democratic (till illegalisation) voice of not only the vast majority of Poland's workers but also its people. This requires us to recognise a number of features differentiating it from the typical client of Western union funding.

1. Principles. Solidarnosc claimed that it accepted 'only such aid that is not tied by any conditions dictated by the donor, whether of an ideological, programatic or structural nature'. This would seem to be the language not of a client but of an equal - if one in need.

2. Purposes. The \$1 million from the US Congress was to be used for such national and social purposes as medical care in hospitals and workplaces, rather than for organisational ends. The regular income of Solidarnosc was itself used at this time not only

for organisational purposes but also for assistance to victims of repression and to other opposition organisations in Poland.

3. Openness. Solidarnosc reported publicly on its sources of income, at least for the main heads of expenditure, and the proportions to be used for each purpose. In the secretive world of international union funding this is rare, if not unique.

4. Procedures. Solidarnosc also reported on the handling and controlling of the finance, both before and after it reached the organisation. The accounts were checked not by itself or a Polish accountant but by the ICFTU and WCL jointly. This, again, is either a rare or a unique procedure.

This does not mean that there are no traditional - and traditionally problematic - elements in this case. We could consider the explicit or implicit relationship of Solidarnosc here with the following:

1. Foreign states. In becoming financially dependent on Western states in general and the USA in particular, Solidarnosc became inevitably incorporated into 'inter-state relations'. To claim that the aid 'neither influences the selection of goals nor changes the nature of our organisation' is disingenuous. What would have happened to the US state aid if Solidarnosc had condemned US support to the Chilean, South African and South Korean regimes? Or if it had proposed that the US Congress give matching funds to COSATU in South Africa? And, in proposing either collectivist or individualist solutions to Poland's economic problems, the leaders of Solidarnosc could hardly but take into account the effect of the one or other option on the USA's 'traditional bonds of friendship'.

2. National and international trade unions. Here Solidarity was equally inevitably incorporated into 'international trade union relations'. These are largely structured on grounds that have little relationship with the needs of ordinary workers. The

'democratic' nature and 'worldwide stature' of the WCL and ICFTU have frequently been put into question in the Third World. Here they have sometimes backed the wrong trade union horse, only abandoning it when it lay dead on the ground, exposed to international public opinion by the mass media. How would the WCL have reacted to Solidarnosc supporting Solidarnosc-type unions in El Salvador? Or the ICFTU to it supporting opponents of the ICFTU's Jaruzelski-type affiliate in South Korea?

3. Polish workers. As was becoming apparent at this time, the popular base of Solidarnosc was somewhat distanced from its national and international organs. There was criticism of the leadership for being 'political' - i.e. being more interested in negotiating with the regime than relating to worker interests and capacities. Questions had been raised specifically about the leadership's use of funds. Polish workers did not necessarily see the Brussels office of Solidarnosc as adequately serving their needs internationally. The leadership at that time controlled considerable foreign funds, with possibly \$300,000 (having five or seven times the purchasing power in Poland) available for organisational purposes in 1987 alone. Such external funding inevitably decreases leadership dependence on membership. Solidarnosc could make popular financial gestures in the direction of the masses in Poland and thus disarm any criticism from lower levels of the organisation. It is also difficult to see what real control such levels had to influence decisions on funding under conditions of at best semi-legality.

4. Workers internationally. In its form of funding at that time it appears that Solidarnosc had no direct relationship to workers or the public internationally. The foreign union funding was actually union-channelled state funding. Solidarnosc itself implicitly compared this situation with one, just after the 1981 military takeover, when there was a public collection in France that realised (in 1987 terms) some \$1.3 million. By relying on the union-channelled funds, Solidarnosc was inevitably distancing itself from the workers and public in the West. These have no

effective control over such state funding and they do not usually know of the existence of the WCL and ICFTU. So far we have been talking about the public in industrialised capitalist countries, which is at least well-disposed towards Solidarnosc. As for workers in - for example - Latin America, their experiences with the US state and AFL-CIO-backed union leaders may have led them to interpret Solidarnosc's ties with the West in less sympathetic terms.

I said above that Solidarnosc could be considered at that time not as a client but as an equal, if needy, partner. Perhaps the 'equal' needs to be demonstrated even today. The US Congress, the NED, the State Department, the AFL-CIO, the ICFTU and WCL all have policies on foreign affairs in general and Poland in particular. Even today, with Solidarnosc free and sharing state power, one has seen no evidence that it has its own explicit international policy, discussed with its members and supporters in Poland, and presented for debate to the trade union movement internationally. Until it does so it is likely to be treated with considerable scepticism by the new unions in the Third World. Maybe it has something to learn from COSATU about the public discussion and formulation of foreign policy principles. And something to teach it about relations with funders?

## 6. 12 criteria for a new labour internationalism

My understanding of the new labour internationalism comes 1) out of analysis of the new economic and political situation of labour in a period of world economic crisis, and of the fundamental restructuring of the labour force nationally and internationally; 2) out of a critique of the response of the state and inter-state organs to these crises; 3) from a critique of the serious inadequacy of the dominant traditional union, labour and socialist organisations and ideologies in confronting this situation. It comes, more positively 4) from reflection on the successes booked by the internationalism of the 'new social movements' such as the peace, human rights, women's and environmental movements (NILS passim, Waterman passim). Rejecting much of the form, content and procedures of the traditional labour internationals, I would argue that a new labour internationalism implies:

1. Moving from the international relations of union or other officials towards face-to-face relations of concerned labouring people at the shopfloor, community or grassroots level;
2. Surpassing dependence on the power-alienating, centralised, bureaucratic and rigid model of the pyramidal international organisation by stimulating the self-empowering, decentralised, horizontal, democratic and flexible model of the international information network;
3. Moving from an 'aid model' (one-way flows of money and material from the 'rich, powerful, free' unions, workers or others), to a 'solidarity model' (two-way or multi-directional flow of political support, information and ideas);
4. Moving from verbal declarations, appeals and conferences to political activity, creative work,

visits, or direct financial contributions (which will continue to be necessary) by the working people concerned;

5. Surpassing an 'export solidarity' model by practising 'international solidarity at home', combatting the local causes/effects of international exploitation and repression;
6. Generalising the solidarity ethic by combatting national, racial, political, religious, ideological and gender discrimination amongst working people locally);
7. Basing international solidarity on the expressed daily needs, values and capacities of ordinary working people, not simply on those of their representatives;
8. Linking up with other democratic internationalisms, so as to reinforce wage-labour struggles and surpass a workerist internationalism;
9. Overcoming ideological, political and financial dependency in international solidarity work by financing internationalist activities from worker or publicly-collected funds, and carrying out independent research and policy formulation;
10. Replacing the political/financial coercion, the private collusion and public silences of the traditional internationalisms, with a frank, friendly, constructive and public discourse of equals, made available to interested workers.
11. Requiring of involved intellectuals, professionals and officials that they are open about their own



interests, motives and roles, that they dialogue with workers and take on a service and training role, rather than that of political leaders or official ideologists;

12. Recognising that there is no single site or level of international struggle and that, whilst the shopfloor, grassroots and community may be the base, the traditional formal terrains can be used and can also be influenced.

Implicit in these propositions is the following understanding: that the development of a new internationalism requires contributions 1) from West, East and South, and a dialogue between worker movements in each of these areas; 2) that a new internationalism requires contributions from many international movements (women, peace, ecological, etc.); 3) that whilst labour is not the privileged bearer of the new internationalisms it is essential to it.

## 7. Principles and issues for a new internationalism

I would here like to propose two major principles, the necessity for which comes out of the analysis above. The first is that a new third world labour internationalism should be practical rather than ideological in nature. The second is that it should be simultaneously addressed to the Third, First and Second worlds.

By suggesting it should be practical, I mean it should be drawn from worker practice rather than traditional socialist, nationalist or any other theory. We have surely had enough of the ideological internationalisms, which ended as the internationalisms of ideologues. An internationalism based on workers' interests, capacities and aspirations will surely have more meaning and be longer lasting. Being non-ideological in origin does not mean that it will be without values - particularly those of democracy, equality and solidarity (to slightly update the secular trinity of the French Revolution). Nor does it mean that it will not result in a new programme - i.e. in a set of proposals to guide social action and for further discussion. But 'being practical rather than ideological' also means proposing activities that can be achieved - rather than calling for an apocalyptic transformation ('Workers of the World Unite...', etc.) that cannot be achieved in this lifetime, and that some will in any case reject.

By suggesting that it be simultaneously addressed to the Third, First and Second Worlds, I mean it should incorporate an understanding of the increasing interpenetration of social processes and the increasing identity, or similarity, of worker struggles. It does not mean ignoring or repressing Third World worker 'interests, capacities and aspirations', but of seeing and expressing these in a way that maximises their relevance to workers elsewhere.

If there is a contradiction between an internationalism that is both locally-specific and practical, and one that is internationally oriented, then this should be made explicit and seen as

a difference that must itself be part of international dialogue. Following from the above, and drawing freely and extensively from the earlier Third World documents, I would suggest the following list of possible issues for discussion and action. They are presented in no particular order of priority:

1. Struggle against, and alternatives to, multinationalisation. This expresses recognition of TNCs as the most dynamic force for exploitation, repression and alienation in the world today. The alternatives proposed need to be primarily addressed to positive self-activity by the workers and popular movements, not to the state or local capitalists.

2. Struggle against and alternatives to indebtedness. This issue not only unites workers with other popular forces in the Third World but can appeal to workers in indebted Eastern countries and to un- and underemployed workers in the West. The 'alternatives', however, need to be addressed also to specific activities that can be carried out by the labour and popular movements themselves, not simply by the states - or even the unions - 'on behalf of' the workers or the poor (for a proposal in this spirit, see Cleaver 1989).

3. Non-unionisable labour. The greater part of Third World labourers, even in urban areas, is non-unionisable despite being involved in petty- or semi-capitalist relations. This is also true of a considerable - and growing - part of the working population in the industrialised capitalist countries. They are, however, often organised or organisable in residents' associations, urban and rural cooperatives, peasants' associations, etc. These are, or have been, or could be, internationally organised. The point is to consider ways that they could be organised, nationally and internationally, not under the unions but in fruitful association with them.

4. Women's rights. This is not only in recognition of the centrality of women's labour (waged, semi-waged, unwaged) to the

accumulation of capital nationally and internationally. It is also in recognising the way in which the self-emancipation of women can undermine relations of super- and subordination both within society in general and the labour movement in particular. Whilst this issue may not have much resonance at present in the East, it will appeal to and reinforce international women's and feminist movements in the West that often address themselves specifically to waged women in the South.

5. Democracy. This is based on recognition of the limitations of the liberal, Communist and populist concepts of democracy given 1) the increased threat of concentrated capitalist or state power in contemporary world conditions and 2) the necessity of an expanded and powerful civil society if workers are to surpass their proletarian condition. This demand has particular pertinency under authoritarian or semi-authoritarian rule in the Third World but should have great appeal also to mass movements in the East, and to democratic forces in the West. The question of democracy evidently extends to the struggle against capitalist and managerial authoritarianism at work, or workers' control (Bayat 1989).

6. Ecological issues. The relationship between ecology, land rights, labour struggles and internationalism in the Third World has been symbolised in the figure of Chico Mendes. Both in the West and the East the advanced part of the labour and democratic movements increasingly recognise that production and development must be understood in an ecological manner if they are not to be self-defeating, or even life-threatening

7. Militarism. The Third World masses are particularly subject to military repression, both external and internal. With the decline of nuclear confrontation between East and West, the issue of militaristic domination of Third World societies may gain more priority in the Western peace movement. But the democratic movement in the East also has a major interest in demilitarisation, expressed in the proposed campaign to ban the tank. 'Por la Vida' (For Life) movements in Latin America have expressed the popular

opposition to militaristic coercion of the masses and their organisations by the fundamentalist left (Sendero Luminoso in Peru), as well as by the right. Opposition to militarism, it should be said, does not mean opposition to all and any armed movement. But it does when - as in the Peruvian case - the movement is militaristic and is experienced by the masses as a terrorist one.

8. The autonomy of culture and communication. This is more a matter of creating alternative labour and popular forms of communication, nationally and internationally, than of rhetorically and ritualistically denouncing cultural imperialism. Third World labour movements are the most advanced in developing their own forms of cultural expression. The new movements have often innovated in forms of international communication (the KMU's International Solidarity Affair, the use of electronic communications by the new Korean Labour News, South Africa's International Labour Research and Information Group).

9. Trade union autonomy and worker democracy. The traditional national and international union organisations of the West and East come out of labour movements that long ago accepted a subordinate (if oppositional) status both within the nation state and with reference to the dominant international agencies and ideologies. The new unions have generally had to overcome such subordination and have done so by appealing to the collective self-activity of the workers. A stress on autonomy and democracy nationally, regionally and internationally, will not only appeal to progressive forces within unions internationally but may also help guarantee the new unions against 'bureaucratic degeneration'.

10. An internationalism of the shopfloor and of networks. The new unions have usually come to international recognition by creating direct linkages at worker, enterprise or city level, and by using the networking principle rather than the institutional one. Shopfloor internationalism guarantees that international linkages express the interests of workers rather than officials.

Networking implies direct, informal, horizontal and flexible relations, based on matters of current common interest. Whereas the traditional international labour organisation tends to reproduce the characteristics of the inter-state organisation, the international network relates to the dynamic, informal, egalitarian and autonomous relations that the new social movements develop with each other. Whilst some radical Third World unions may decide to join the ICFTU or the ITSSs, they may also consider that international networking at shopfloor, grassroots or community level provides the only guarantee of dynamism in the formal international bodies.

11. An internationalism that begins at home. Whilst it may be that the new internationalism in the Third World began on the West-South axis, it is essential for a Third World internationalism to prioritise solidarity with those workers closest to hand. This is in order to make internationalism both comprehensible and accessible. A relationship with workers in neighbouring countries (who may also be immigrants in one's own) can be built on commonalities of culture and language. Out of such relations will come understandings and demands that can be fed into other international dialogues and relationships, thus avoiding creation of an abstract internationalism of interest only to bureaucrats or ideologues.

12. Relations with richer partners. Here we come to the most material face of aid, yet the one which is usually the last to be confronted. Some radical Third World unions may be satisfied if the flow is shifted from the 'yellow' unions to the 'genuine' ones. The South African document and the case of Solidarnosc case show both the dangers and the possibilities of relations between donor and recipient organisations internationally. There are, no doubt, other unpublished experiences that can be drawn on. Rather than 'playing the market' in petty-capitalist style, it should be possible to draw up a Code of Conduct for relations between donors and recipients. In so far as the donors wish to move from an aid to a solidarity model in their international relations, they should

be responsive to such codes - which do exist for some donor-recipient relations on the North-South axis.

13. Trade unions and socialism. The value of a discussion on this issue resides not only in its relevance to Third World unions, in a part of the world where the word may still resonate positively amongst workers. It lies also in the possibility of demonstrating internationally that trade unions can have a positive, attractive, holistic, alternative vision of society and the world. Whilst this might have little immediate appeal to the mass of workers in the North, it could certainly appeal to socialists in the labour movements of West and East and contribute to the rethinking of socialism that will inevitably be taking place internationally.

## 8. Western solidarity with the new unionism in the Third World

It is possible to identify at least three significant Western contributors to solidarity with the new unionism in - or a new labour internationalism from - the Third World (I am here summarising from Waterman Forthcoming). These are 1) the traditional social-reformist unions, national and international; 2) the development funding agencies (DFAs); and 3) the labour and other support or solidarity committees (SCs). I propose to consider their present or potential contribution in the light of the 12 criteria set out in Section 6 above. I will give more space to the DFAs and SCs because of my earlier treatment of the unions.

### 8.1. The social-reformist unions

It seems to me that the national and international unions associated with the Brussels-based ICFTU and WCL have been responding to the new unionism in the Third World, particularly where they have no traditional ally, or where such allies have been totally marginalised by the creation of united labour centres that clearly dominate the field, or where social-reformist unions in the Third World have either sponsored or joined in such unification processes. The ICFTU however, would rather shore up a traditional Third World member, even when it has been discredited and is in crisis (for the South Korean case, see ICFTU 1988). In yet other cases, the Western unions may have been courting the new autonomous radical unions, particularly if these can demonstrate their independence from Communism. Western unions, which sometimes recognise the loss of their historical role and socialist vision, in some sense need the aura of heroism and social engagement that has surrounded the CUT in Brazil, the KMU in the Philippines, the UNTS in El Salvador or the COSATU in South Africa.

The question remains of the extent to which they are willing to recognise, and to abandon, their traditionally privileged position with respect to Third World unions. And, along with this, the customary behaviour of the rich and powerful. The general



collapse of the Communist project may have the opposite effect, reinforcing feelings of self-satisfaction and self-righteousness. As with the industrialised capitalist states, the ICFTU may feel not that the cold war has been defeated by its spiraling costs and by popular sentiment and struggle, but that it has been Won by the West. They may now feel that all they have to do is to wait around for the fresh and independent union apples to fall from the decaying Communist trees. (For social reformist responses that are either more 'Western' or more 'democratic', see, respectively, Vanderveken 1990 and White 1990). What seems least likely is that they will recognise and welcome the development of a new, collective, independent and radical labour voice from the Third World.

The acid test for a positive Western response to the new unionism has surely been provided by the KMU. Whereas it was easy for the ICFTU and its friends to welcome Solidarnosc into the social-reformist fold, and may become so with COSATU and certain united Latin American centres, the Marxism-Leninism of the KMU eventually provoked the traditional Western social-reformist reaction. The crisis, however, reveals more general characteristics of the relationship between the old Euro-US internationals and the new unionism in the Third World. These have, thus, expressed themselves also in the South African case, giving rise to the forceful COSATU reaction.

My initial analysis of the Filipino case suggests that even the most progressive Western social-reformist unions tend to 1) consider themselves as 'developed' and Third World ones as 'under-developed', 2) see international solidarity as something they represent and which others may join or benefit from, 3) use their wealth and power to reward and punish, 4) apply different standards of behaviour to themselves than to Third World unions. In sum, there is here a reproduction of common Western bourgeois liberal attitudes and behaviour. This does not necessarily at all mean that they can only play a negative role in the Third World, or even that they will necessarily respond negatively to any new Third World international initiative. This is for several reasons. The

first is that Unconscious Bourgeois Liberalism is evidently much more open to debate than Conscious Bourgeois Illiberalism (AFL-CIO). The second is that the response to the Third World does not take place solely, or even primarily, in ideological terms (conscious or not); it also takes place in terms of practical interest, and in those of human emotion. There are both practical (anti-MNC, anti-IMF) and humanitarian interests at play here. Indeed, a spontaneous emotional response of union leaders to the statement of the pro-Communist KMT (in a negative sense), or to the release of the pro-Communist Mandela (in a positive one), may themselves weigh off against ideological considerations that are either unconscious or contradictory. Moreover, the social reformist unions are themselves open to pressure from outside and below in a way that the secretive and authoritarian AFL-CIO is not (yet?).

## 8.2. The development funding agencies

Numerous development funding agencies (DFAs) in the First World are providing financial support to trade unions in the Third World, or to non-government educational, publishing, research or legal services associated with them. Some of these are directly associated with political parties, such as the German Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Christian Democratic) and Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Social Democratic, known by its German initials as the FES). Others are associated with churches, such as the Dutch CEBEMO (Catholic) and ICCO (Protestant). Others originate in charity work, such as the UK-based Oxfam, or have a certain preference for mass self-organisation, such as the UK-based War on Want. Yet others are publicly sympathetic to armed liberation movements, such as the Dutch X-Y. These bodies have been seen as part of an internationally expanding 'citizen' alternative to a world dominated by 'princes' (states) and 'merchants' (capital) (Nerfin 1986). They must, however, be considered in their complex relationship to capitalism, the state, civil society and mass movements, nationally and internationally. Some, of course, are directly subservient to particular states, or financed by the World

Bank and other such agencies. But I am less concerned with this type - which the Americans significantly dub PVAs (private voluntary associations) than with the 'consciousness-raising' European type.

Whilst the latter organisations may have quite different ideologies, as well as different areas and types of activity in the Third World, they also share certain common characteristics. These would seem to be the following: 1) they are non-state organisations and therefore comparatively open to influence from civil society; 2) they are dependent to differing degrees on state finance, or tax-exemption, and to that extent limited in their freedom; 3) they are not usually themselves mass-membership bodies; 4) they are staffed by university-educated professionals. And, as a result of all the above, they tend to be 5) involved in the discourse of 'Third World aid' rather than that of 'international solidarity'. Whilst the above characteristics might seem to disqualify them from developing a positive relationship with the new unions in the Third World, this is not necessarily the case. In so far as they favour democratic grassroots organisation and action, and in so far as they have no institutional or ideological stake in a particular labour movement tradition, they may be more sympathetic to the new unionism than the old internationals.

Many different kinds of DFA have been active with the new unions of such countries as South Africa, Brazil and the Philippines. In the latter case, we could possibly distinguish between the German FES and such Dutch agencies as the ICCO, NOVIB and CEBEMO. The FES is closely related to the German Social Democratic Party. In the Philippines it seems to have switched its allegiance from the Marcos regime and the TUCP to the Aquino regime and the Lakas Manggagawa Labour Centre (LMLC). The Dutch agencies have, since the Marcos period, been associated in different ways with the KMU and its service bodies. Whilst this may suggest a distinction between the 'right' FES and the 'left' Dutch - and similar differences between Germany and Dutch states and societies - the matter is more complex. In the first place, the

FES is also a major funder of the University of the Philippines School of Labour and Industrial Relations (SOLAIR). This has been making itself increasingly open to all unions in the Philippines, and the facilities have been used by the KMU as well as the LMLC. (The TUCP does not exploit the opportunities offered, possibly because it has its own heavily US financed facilities, possibly because it is not yet used to trade union pluralism). Secondly, the Dutch agencies have been increasingly uneasy about the relationship between the KMU and the 'national-democratic' movement in the Philippines. This is because it is publicly linked with a revolutionary project against an at-least semi-liberal regime, which can literally demonstrate mass support. It may also be because of the KMU's self-identification with statist socialism (as shown by the Tienanmen affair).

The question I wanted to raise here, however, was not simply who is financing whom, under what understanding and for how long. It is on the possible contribution of the DFAs to solidarity. If we restrict the issue to the first - highly material - aspect, then we are likely to end up with Tilman Evers' final judgement on the relationship between the FES and its Latin American partners:

In conclusion, it is a game of 'who uses whom', which both sides are consciously playing. Perhaps the basic rule of the game can be summed up as follows: Give me opportunities to think that I am using you and I will give you opportunities to think that you are using me.

(Evers 1982:120)

I think it is useful to conceive of the DFAs as representing neither the acceptable face of imperialism, nor even that of their particular state, but their different national civil societies (thus the difference between German and Dutch social reformists). Since they are not usually under very direct party or church control, and since the different DFAs share much in common, they are less likely to represent different party/religious affiliations than notes on the same instrument. What they seem to do is to

represent liberal democratic society 'in', whilst their states represent it 'to', the Third World. This means they create a certain internal space for the development of mass movements and new ideas which otherwise would not exist. And this suggests that they might be able to support new labour movement initiatives in the Third World that the union movements from the same countries may not.

What, however, of solidarity? There has been increasing consciousness, particularly in the Netherlands, of the necessity to develop 'dialogue' or 'partnership' with their Third World counterparts (Beulink 1988). This has led to major initiatives, involving trade unions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on an international basis. One could also consider the longterm North-South and South-South cooperation project, involving the Dutch NOVIB and five or six of the Latin American women's or feminist centres it supports (Entre Mujeres 1989). Whilst this North-South relationship may still be between unequals and unalikes (DFAs on the one hand, NGOs on the other), the South-South type would seem to be between equals and alike. In the case of the women's project it suggests a Latin-American solidarity relationship between grassroots-oriented feminist centres of a generally leftwing nature. And, if the North-South relationship does not as yet allow direct relationships between women's centres or movements North-South, the possibility would seem to be hanging in the air. We cannot draw direct parallels between women's and labour internationalism because of the domination of formal union space in the North by the traditional unions. The DFAs however, could facilitate relations at new levels (factory, community) and in new spaces (labour-support centres). And such contacts would be tolerated or even welcomed by modern-minded and democratic unions.

### 8.3. Solidarity Committees

By support, or solidarity, committees (SCs) I mean those voluntary organisations set up with the purpose of providing publicity, political support and financial assistance to foreign

peoples, organisations or even states. These committees are a traditional part of the democratic and socialist movement, going back to at least the early 19th century in Europe. In the contemporary Western world, they have been particularly associated with struggles against imperialism, and imperially-supported authoritarian regimes. Such committees range along a spectrum running from fronts of Leninist political parties to reformist development agencies. In the case of the Netherlands, for example, they are semi-institutionalised as 'country committees' and benefit from considerable state subsidies for development education work (Rahman 1988). In the spectrum of voluntary organisations that runs from the semi-state bodies to the social movements, however, these are evidently closer to the latter.

We are here again concentrating on the union-oriented bodies and the case of the Philippines. The US committee, for example, is an independent, self-financed organisation called the Philippine Workers Support Committee (PWSC). This has its own bulletin, Philippine Labour Alert (PLA). In the UK, the SC is the Trade Union Committee of the Philippine Support Group (TUCPSG). This committee does not have its own bulletin, but it has close political and personal links with the UK-based independent labour magazine, International Labour Reports (ILR). This has given the Philippines and the KMU more attention than any other country or organisation, after South Africa and the COSATU. In the Netherlands there is no separate union support committee, but the Netherlands Philippines Group (known as the FGN) does have special union-oriented activities and publications, such as its Worker Information Folder (FGN 1990). There is a European network of Philippines support committees, and there have been European-level labour-support activities.

The Philippine worker support committees differ considerably in their composition, financial sources, staffing and material resources, their relations to general Philippine SCs and to their local labour and socialist movements. They do, however, have a number of characteristics in common.

In the first place, they would at least implicitly endorse the general principles of the new labour internationalism as set out earlier. This is because the founders or leaders of the SCs tend to be radical labour, church, socialist or anti-imperialist activists who are deeply critical of the foreign policies of their respective labour movements. It is also because they have mostly come to Third World solidarity activity at the time of the new social movements and therefore themselves move easily between the labour, socialist, anti-imperialist, peace, human rights, feminist and ecological issues and movements.

In the second place, they would explicitly endorse the principle of a shopfloor internationalism. They sponsor and take part in direct exchanges at shopfloor level, many of them having intimate relations both with local unions or workplaces in the Philippines and with local-level union activists at home.

In the third place, these tiny volunteer committees with their meager finances have had rather impressive effects on labour and progressive public opinion in their respective countries. This must be because they address that latent need in First World unions referred to earlier. They have managed to get the KMU recognised as either 'a' or 'the' representative of the Philippine working class by local, industrial and even national trade union centres (New Zealand, Australia, Ireland). An indication of the impact might be that AFL-CIO in the USA has gone to the extent of training union officers, through role-playing exercises, in how to confront PWSC initiatives in the unions (Interview with John Witeck, PWSC Coordinator, December 1989). In the USA, Australia, New Zealand and Europe, cold-war warriors, church and lay, have put considerable energy into attacking the efforts of the labour SCs, along with the work of the general Philippines SCs.

In the fourth place, however, these are actually KMU support committees. Whilst the US one speaks of support to the KMU and 'others', the very terminology it uses for the others is that of

the KMU - i.e. 'genuine' (PLA 1989:12). As for the British one, in 1990 it apparently discussed but rejected a proposal that it should address itself to Philippine labour generally rather than the KMU specifically (Conversation with TUCPSG member, October 1989).

Whilst the SCs might generally endorse the criteria for a new internationalism set out above, they might also have difficulty in meeting criteria 10 and 11. These, it may be recalled, have to do with the necessity for 'a frank, friendly and public discourse... available to interested workers' and taking on 'a service and training role, rather than that of political leaders or official ideologists'. The Tienanmen case (to be detailed in my forthcoming paper) suggests that the SCs have avoided public debate with the KMU, and that they have not provided their members/readers with full information about the case. This would seem to mean that they are reproducing certain characteristics of the old internationalisms. This is all the more regrettable given the fact that the universal confidential protests of the SCs were admitted by the KMU to have been a factor in changing its position. It is further regrettable because the issues of principle raised by the affair and by the protests have not, apparently, been further aired in the Philippines labour movement or abroad.

The attitude of the SCs can hardly be put down to ignorance or naivety. It seems to rather be due to 'a total and continuing commitment and belief' in the KMU (PSGTUC 1989) which they would be unlikely to show to any body of people, or organisation, in their own countries. This is what I would call 'self-subordination to the victim' - the idea that because Third World workers are being starved, imprisoned and killed, one must subordinate one's own ('petty-bourgeois'? 'Western'?) standards and judgement to theirs. What is here taking place, however, is not so much identification with the workers as with a particular leadership claiming to best represent these workers. This is, again, not something the same people would show with respect to their own unions - or to the leadership of Solidarnosc in Poland (see two



items on Solidarnosc in ILR, No.37, 1989 by Kilminster and Holland). The relationship involves, therefore, a further element, the prioritisation of one particular Third World union organisation over others, nationally and internationally. A loyalty relationship with the KMU seems to be being prioritised over a trust and respect relationship with, for example, either the NFL or the LMLC or the Labour Advisory and Consultative Committee (the LACC brings them and others together) - or the unions in one's own country. Indeed, the immediate problem faced by the SCs was precisely that of continuing to assure disturbed or angry local unionists that the KMU was not 'little more than a front for the Philippines' Communist Party' (ILR, No.34-5, 1989:2). A final element must, surely, be a lack of confidence in the organisation being identified with: a feeling that it is not capable of understanding or confronting frank public criticism. None of these attitudes seem healthy, for either partner. Nor would they seem to be consistent with the construction of a new internationalism, however defined. A healthier relationship would seem to be indicated by this statement by Moises Hassan (former Sandinista leader and ex-Mayor of Managua), when commenting on a new book on Nicaragua:

Foreign observers who support the revolution tend to uncritically echo the policy positions of the Sandinista leadership, thereby doing a disservice to the revolution itself. Benjamin has avoided this pitfall. He is not afraid to approach the problems confronting the revolution and to offer an alternative solution to the crisis facing Nicaragua. (Guardian (New York), January 10, 1990:7)

Of the three types of Western bodies I have listed, the SCs would seem to be those most able and willing to respond to the new labour initiatives from the Third World. But I think this does require that they spell out to themselves their understanding of international labour solidarity - or at least debate it publicly with their own members and their Third World partners.

## 9. Conclusion: a plea for debate

Here I would like to return to the beginning of my argument (if not my paper), and to Mamdani's insistence that 'the commitment to internationalism cannot be allowed to mask concrete instances of interventionism' (p.10 above). Since this remark is addressed to Western academics it represents a challenge also to myself.

I am quite aware of having made a specific intervention but would like to hope that this does not represent interventionism. It would seem to me, firstly, that the principle of internationalism involves either the invitation or obligation to 'intervene in the internal affairs of others'! Internationalism either assumes or urges the need for a global community, if not instead of then alongside those of particular world areas, nations and localities.

My intervention, however, is not simply from 'outside' it is also from 'above', as in the case cited by Mamdani. So the second question is whether we are not here also involved in the export, processing and re-export of Third World material. I would like to hope not. Yet I have to recognise that I have the possibility of reflecting on the Third World experiences and materials that those there simply do not have (I even get well paid to do this). For me, this privilege entails a responsibility, which I have tried in this paper to fulfil. That is to treat my subject with all due seriousness and respect, to make clear where I am speaking from, where and why I disagree. And to invite a response.

This still leaves open the possible charge of agenda-setting - of imposing terms of debate, shaping a discourse - before others have been able to formulate their own. This is, of course, the power given the First Speaker. In this case, fortunately, the First Speakers have been the Third World organisations and individuals I have quoted. They are themselves, moreover, at least implicitly drawing from such eurocentred (and eurocentric) proponents of labour internationalism as Marx and Lenin. Internationalism is, par excellence, the subject for international debate.

The above does not mean that the paper is cleared of any possible charges. Nor, evidently, that it provides all answers,

or even asks the right questions. What is important is that it should be read as one contribution to what must be an international debate. This means that Third World unions and their intellectual supporters should get involved. It is evident from items I have quoted that there are people in and around the labour movements in the Third World who are well qualified to write on the topic. Indeed, it seems to me that such contributions are essential to the success of any project for a new Third World labour internationalism.

At the beginning of this paper I said that the particular Third World proposal that provoked its writing might itself offer an attractive alternative project to the labour movement internationally. It now occurs to me that it might actually lead to the continuing international debate on internationalism that is so sorely needed.

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Aronowitz, Stanley. 1989. 'Postmodernism and Politics', in Andrew Ross (ed.), Universal Abandon? The Politics of Postmodernism. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp.46-61.

Argues that the new unions in East Europe and the Third World represent a new phenomenon, rejecting the traditional communist or social-democratic self-subordination and oriented toward radical democracy. Such new unions are not instruments for the achievement of something defined by intellectuals, they are 'the name given to their communities' and, therefore, a new cultural phenomenon also.

Asia Labour Monitor. 1988. Min-ju No-jo: South Korea's New Trade Unions. Hong Kong: Asia Labour Monitor. 120pp.

Includes treatment of the international relations of both the old and the new unions in South Korea.

Askin, Steve. 1990. 'Romania's Nicolae Ceaucescu: a Liberator in Africa, a Dictator at Home', In These Times, January 17-23.1990:9).

Ceaucescu was honoured for his assistance to ZANU, but he collaborated with Mobutu, the South Africans and the CIA in arming Holden Roberto in Angola, and was considered a model client by the IMF.

Bayat, Assef. 1989. 'Workers' Control at the Capitalist Periphery: An Overview of Approaches and Practices', in Newsletter of International Labour Studies, Nos.42-3, pp.3-46.

Beltran, Crispin. 1988. 'National Democracy: Dawn of the Total International Proletarian Victory. (Speech of Crispin B. Beltran, KMU Chairman, on the Occasion of the Opening of the International Solidarity Affair '88, April 24, 1988, Pope Pius Center, Manila'. Manila: Kilusang Mayo Uno. 4pp.

A traditional Marxist-Leninist view of international working-class solidarity, in terms of an alliance between: 1) the anti-imperialist struggles led by workers in the 'colonies and semi-colonies': 2) the struggles of workers 'trapped in capitalist slave-wage', under 'labour aristocrats who have taken grip of their major unions', in the capitalist countries; and 3) the working class 'organised as ruling class in control of state power' in the 'socialist states'.

Beulink, A-M. 1988. 'Changing Patterns in the Relationship between NGOs from the North and the South', Paper to Society for International Development Conference, New Delhi. 2pp.

Burbach, Roger and Orlando Nunez. 1988. 'International Solidarity as a Revolutionary Force', in Fire in the Americas: Forging a Revolutionary Agenda. New York: Verso.

Jointly produced by a US and Nicaraguan socialist, this work represents the first attempt to propose a socialist and democratic transformation of the Americas as a whole. It addresses itself specifically to internationalisation and internationalism.

Bulbeck, Chilla. 1988. One World Women's Movement. London: Pluto. 182pp.

Not so much about its apparent subject as debates between feminist intellectuals, particularly on the white/black, North/South relationships. Last chapter considers different models of a worldwide women's movement.

Caballero, Manuel. 1986. Latin America and the Comintern 1919-1943. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 213pp.

Whilst ignoring trade unions, gives a detailed and critical account of the implications of interwar communist internationalism for the colonial and semi-colonial world.

Cantor, Daniel and Juliet Schor. 1987. Tunnel Vision: Labour, the World Economy and Central America. Boston: South End Press. 87pp.

Critique of the foreign policy of the AFL-CIO, showing its high ideological and economic dependence on the US state, and urging the necessity for a new democratic policy in the mutual interest of US and foreign workers.

CEDAL/DESCO. 1987. Por la Unidad Sindical, la Democratizacion de la Region y la Solucion al Problem de la Deuda Externa (For Trade Union Unity, the Democratisation of the Region and the Solution to the Problem of External Debt). Lima: CEDAL/DESCO. 165pp.

Collection of national papers on unions and labour resource groups in Latin America, prepared in connection with an anti-debt conference in Lima, October 1987.

CEDRI. 1989. 'Manifiesto 89-93 for a European Civic Forum'. Paris: CEDRI. 2pp.

Cleaver, Harry. 1989. 'Close the IMF, Abolish Debt and End Development: A Class Analysis of the International Debt Crisis', Capital and Class, No.39, pp.17-49.

Criticises reformist understandings of international debt and development. Opposes theories which blame the victim. Sees the world economic crisis itself as a product of working class power, and debt as a weapon against it. Proposes solutions based on worker self-activity in ways that do not contribute to capital accumulation nationally and internationally.

Chini, Ulrike. 1989. 'Development Education between Statement and Practice: The Case of Female Imagery in "Onze Wereld"'. Master's Dissertation, Politics of Development Strategies Programme, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

Content analysis of the illustrated monthly magazine of the major Dutch development funding agency, NOVIB. Argues that its coverage of women in the Third World reveals not only sexism but also eurocentricity and a middle-class professional bias.

COSATU. 1989. 'Resolution on International Policy Passed at the Third National Congress. Johannesburg: Congress of South African Trade Unions. 2pp.

Criticises interference of the ICFTU and its allies in South Africa, notes shortcomings in its own international relations work, and urges both the necessary organisational improvements and the development of contacts with unions of 'socialist countries', the Third World and the frontline states.

CTUY. 1986. International Trade Union Meeting South-South. Belgrade: Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. 101pp.

Collection of speeches and the final joint declaration of a meeting of 55 national and regional union organisations, meeting in Belgrade, June 1-2 1986. Much of the

final declaration concerns the value of holding more meetings.

Dienstbier, Jiri. 1988. 'A Strategy for Europe - Through Central European Eyes', Bulletin of the European Network for East-West Dialogue, No.1-2, pp.45-57.

As a leading activist in the Czechoslovak Charta 77 movement, Dienstbier here contributes to the dialogue between West and East European socialists and peace activists. As an alternative to Western concentration on nuclear disarmament, and the Eastern one on human rights, he proposes a campaign to ban the tank.

van Dijk. M.P. 1988. 'Competition and Complementarity between GOs and NGOs'. Paper to Society for International Development Conference, New Delhi. 2pp.

ENEWD. 1986. 'Giving Real Life to the Helsinki Accords: A Memorandum to Citizens, Groups and Governments of all CSCE Countries'. Berlin: European Network for East-West Dialogue. 18pp.

An appeal for a new understanding of Europe, based on the peace and other grassroots movements, and their dialogue with each other. Argues that European civilisation, in a humanistic sense, developed historically on the basis of intimate mutual exchange with Africa and Asia, and should therefore enhance this.

Entre Mujeres. 1989. 'Entre Mujeres: Un Proyecto de Cooperacion Sur-Norte' (Between Women: A South-North Project of Cooperation between Women). Boletin Entre Mujeres, September [No.1?]. 12pp.

Detailed description of a project involving the major Dutch development agency, NOVIB, and five of its Latin American feminist partner agencies. The programme proposes not only the more direct and positive projection of Third World women within the Netherlands, but also collaboration on the South-South axis.

Evers, Tilman. 1982. 'European Social Democracy in Latin America: The Case of West Germany', in Jenny Pearce (ed.), The European Challenge: Europe's New Role in Latin America. London: Latin America Bureau. Pp.80-129.

Whilst not dealing directly with unions, gives a detailed and critical account of the intent and impact of such agencies as the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in the Third World.

Feher, Ferenc and Agnes Heller. 1987. Eastern Left: Western Left: Totalitarianism, Freedom and Democracy. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Introduction traces historical relationship between these two lefts and considers present differences and misunderstandings.

FES. 1983. 'II. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung', Philippine Journal of Industrial Relations. Vol.5, Nos.1-2, pp.132-6.

FES. 1987. Sindicalismo Internacional (International Trade Unionism). Santo Domingo: Friedrich Ebert Foundation. 34pp.

Propagates the social-reformist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its associates.

FES. 1989. Get up, Stand up for Your Right. Manila: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. 52pp.

FGN. 1989. De Filipijnen: Infomap Arbeiders (The Philippines: Worker Information Folder). Utrecht: Netherlands Philippines Solidarity Committee. 37pp.

FLW 1990. 'ICFTU Gives Promise of Assistance to Newly-Established Trade Unions. After the Downfall of the Ceaucescu Clan: What Happens Next in Romania?', Free Labour World, No.1, 1990. P.1.

Report on past ICFTU denunciation of the Romanian regime, and present efforts to assist creation of new autonomous unions there.

FNV. 1989. (Letter to Chairman, Kilusang Mayo Uno, Manila, 5.7.89). Amsterdam: Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging. 2pp.

Announcement of intention to break of relations on grounds of KMU's failure to clearly condemn the Beijing massacre.

Frasyniuk. Wladyslaw. 1990. 'Helping Romania and Ourselves: An Interview...', Solidarnosc News, No.148, p.4.

Gallin, Dan. 1989. Anatomy of a Lie: A Reply to the KMU. Geneva: International Union of Foodworkers. 34pp.

Detailed answer, in highly polemical style, to a letter in which the IUF's KMU-affiliated members announce their reasons for disaffiliating.

Gatehouse, Mike and Miguel Angel Reyes. 1987. Soft Drink, Hard Labour: Guatemalan Workers Take on Coca-Cola. London: Latin American Bureau. 38pp.

Account of the national and international struggle against the Coca-Cola company, in which an important role was played by the International Union of Food and Allied Workers.



Giguere, Joseph and Denis Sulmont. 1984. 'Construir la Solidaridad Sindical Internacional' (Build International Trade Union Solidarity), Lima: Asociacion Trabajo y Cultura. 20pp.

Preparatory document for a three-country meeting of Latin American miners in 1984. The authors are of Quebecois and French origin but resident in Peru and working with labour support groups there. One of the earliest expressions of a new third world labour internationalism.

Giguere, J and D. Sulmont. 1988. 'Outline for a Strategy of International Trade Union Solidarity in Latin America', in P. Waterman (ed.), The Old Internationalism and the New. The Hague: ILERI Foundation. Pp.44-50.

Translation of part of Giguere and Sulmont 1984.

GPD. 1987. 'Eurocentric Peace Movement', Economic and Political Weekly (Bombay), February 3.

Bitter attack on the European peace movement, and more particularly on END Journal and E.P. Thompson.

Havel, Vaclav. 'Anti-Political Politics', in John Keane (ed.), Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives. London: Verso. Pp.381-98.

Argues that East European totalitarian regimes represent a concentrated reflection of modern industrial and bureaucratic societies. As such they are a warning to the world. Against such a threat urges a cross-border alliance of people prepared to stand for moral principles and respect for nature.

Haworth, Nigel and Harvie Ramsay. 1984. 'Grasping the Nettle: Problems with the Theory of International Trade Union Solidarity', in Peter Waterman (ed.), For a New Labour Internationalism. The Hague: ILERI Foundation. pp.60-85.

On the basis of Marxist value theory, of sociology and political experience, argues that even a shopfloor internationalism of MNC workers cannot be effective. Suggests struggles have to go beyond the factory gate and the union office.

Haworth, Nigel and Harvie Ramsay. 1988. 'Workers of the World Untied: International Capital and Some Dilemmas in Industrial Democracy', in Roger Southall (ed.), Trade Unions and the New Industrialisation of the Third World. London: Zed. Pp.306-331.

Updated version of Haworth and Ramsay 1984.

Holland, David. 1990. 'Solidarity with Whom?', International Labour Reports. No.37, pp.12-14.

Deals with the internal developments and tensions within and around Solidarnosc in Poland since the movement has come to lead a government coalition.

ICFTU. 1988. 'Agenda Item 8(d) (ii): Report of the ICFTU/APRO Mission to the Republic of Korea' [ICFTU Executive Board Meeting, Madrid, December 14-16]. Brussels: International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Expresses some criticism of the state-approved Federation of Korean Trade Unions, notes its attempt to hold on to its legal monopoly of representation, but does not insist this should be abandoned.

ILRIG. 1984. Solidarity of Labour: The Story of International Workers' Organisations. Cape Town: International Labour Research and Information Group. 69pp.

The first attempt to produce a popular educational text on the topic from outside the dominant labour internationals and the North. Notable for its presentation of information and images ignored or suppressed in comparable traditional texts.

International Conference. 1988. 'The Need and Reality of International Solidarity in the Labour Movement'. Paper to the International Conference for the Korean Workers' Union Movement, Seoul. 12pp.

Kaimowitz, David. 1986. 'El Papel de la Solidaridad y la Opinion Publica Norteamericana en el Conflicto Estados Unidos-Nicaragua' (The Role of North American Solidarity and Public Opinion in the US-Nicaraguan Conflict), Revista Nicaraguense de Ciencias Sociales. Vol.1, No.1, pp.36-41.

Mentions, as reasons for the influence of the US movement, the nature of the Sandinista revolution, its exceptional address to US public opinion, the possibility for visits, the experience of Vietnam, the role of US churches, and the maturity of the solidarity movement itself (avoidance of rhetoric and dogmatism).

Kaldor, Mary and Kate Soper. 1990. 'The New END Initiative: Working Title "European Forum"'. London: European Nuclear Disarmament. 6pp.

Keane, John. 1989a. Democracy and Civil Society: On the Predicaments of European Socialism, the Prospects for Democracy, and the Problem of Controlling Social and Political Power. London: Verso. 253pp.

Series of essays on such topics as sovereignty, revolution, ideology, 'invisible' state power, the erosion of party politics and growth of new social movements.

Keane, John (ed.). 1989b. Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives. London: Verso. 426pp.

Collection of contributions from West and East European writers, including Bobbio, Pateman, Heller, Offe, Melucci, Vajda and Havel.

Kilminster, Andrew. 1990. 'Courting Western Capital', International Labour Reports. No.37, pp.15-15.

On the activities of the Solidarnosc-led coalition government in Poland to privatise and attract foreign capital.

KMU. 1989a. 'Press Statement, June 11, 1989'. Manila: Kilusang Mayo Uno. 1p.

First statement on Tienanmen massacre, identifying with the regime and suggesting that the crisis was caused by reactionary and imperialist forces, and exaggerated by 'aggressive media hype'.

KMU. 1989b. 'Clarification of the KMU Position on the Beijing Incident' (June 30, 1989). Manila: Kilusang Mayo Uno. 1p.

Defence of original statement against the 'distorted interpretation' in the Filipino and Western press, denying it had condoned the deaths, and again identifying with the 'Chinese people and their socialist system'.

KMU. 1989c. 'Kilusang Mayo Uno. July 26, 1989'. Manila: Kilusang Mayo Uno. 2pp.

Qualification of original statement, 'disagreeing' with the manner of repression, denouncing the killings of 'workers, students and soldiers', but still identifying - and identifying with - the Chinese state, people and socialism.

KMU. 1989d. 'On KMU-COSATU-CUT Summit Conference: Intitial Draft'. Manila: Kilusang Mayo Uno. 3pp.

First draft of conference proposal.

KMU. 1989e. (Letter to Trade Union Support Committee Members). Manila: Kilusang Mayo Uno. August 29.

Deals in part with reaction of the foreign KMU support groups to its first statement on the Beijing massacre. Says it 'was strongly questioned by all of you'.

KMU. 1990. 'Draft Document - KMU-COSATU-CUT Trilateral Conference'. Manila: Kilusang Mayo Uno. 6pp.

Second draft of conference proposal.

KMU-IUF Affiliates. 1988. 'Re: Disaffiliation' [letter to Administrative Committee of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations, Geneva]. Manila: Kilusang Mayo Uno-International Union of Food and Allied Workers Associations Affiliates. December 5. 14pp.

Letter of resignation, attacking the IUF for political interference in some cases and failure to act in solidarity in others.

Lambert, Rob. 'Social Movement Unionism: The Urgent Task of Definition'. Perth: Department of Sociology, University of Western Australia. 11pp.

Lipietz, Alan. 1987. Mirages and Miracles: The Crisis of Global Fordism. London: Verso.

Mainwaring, Scott and Eduardo Viola. 1984. 'New Social Movements, Political Culture and Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s', Telos, No.61, pp.17-54.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1989. 'How not to Intervene in Internal Conflicts', Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol.20, No.4, pp.437-40.

Mandaza, I. 1987. 'Relationship of Third World Intellectuals and Progressive Western Scholars: An African Critique', Seminar on Intellectuals, The State and Imperialism, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, October 20-22.

Critique of the paternalism of Western socialist Africanists with respect to radical African ones.

Mires, Fernando. 1989. 'La Crisis del Internacionalismo' (The Crisis of Internationalism), Servicio Mensual de Informacion y Documentacion, No.113. Quito: ALAI. Pp.17-20.

Criticises 'third world internationalism' for reproducing the model of the 'internationalism of blocs' and for reducing all international antagonisms to that of Third World and imperialism. Appreciates the liberating effect on the Third World of Gorbachov's policies. Hopeful that the failure of this project might lead to a new one, independent of states and based on the real and varied needs of the masses.

Nakarada, Radmila. 1989. 'The Democratic Potential of the New Detente', in Mary Kaldor, Gerard Holden and Richard Falk (eds.), The New Detente: Rethinking East-West Relations. London: Verso. 420pp.

Includes a critique of both Western and Eastern movements, among other reasons for blindnesses towards each other's realities -as well as those of the Third World.

Nerfin, Marc. 1986. 'Neither Prince nor Merchant: Citizen - An Introduction to the Third System', IFDA Dossier, No.56, pp.3-29.

Argues that the non-governmental and voluntary organisations represent a third system, alternative to those of capital and state.

NFL Bulletin. 1989. 'NFL's Statement on China', NFL Bulletin, Vol.3, No.1, p.2.

Condemnation, by an affiliate of the Kilusang Mayo Uno, of the Tienanmen massacre, demanding fundamental reforms and recognition of basic trade union and human rights. Appeared two days before the KMU's final statement on the matter.

NILS. 1986. 'Internationalisation and Internationalism', Newsletter of International Labour Studies, Nos.30-31 (Special Double Issue). 48pp.

Documents from Marx and Engels and Mariategui, articles on the new international division of labour, labour internationalism, fighting MNCs.

NILS. 1987-8. 'Solidarnosc and International Solidarity', Newsletter of International Labour Studies, No.35-6 (Double Issue). Pp.1-43.

Reports, documents, reprints and analyses on the internal and international activities of Solidarnosc.

NILS. 1988. 'The New Internationalism and the New International Labour Studies', Newsletter of International Labour Studies, No.39. 32pp.

Debate on the new labour internationalism and communication, reviews.

NILS. 1989. 'USA: Beyond Trade Union Imperialism', Newsletter of International Labour Studies, Nos.40-41, pp.1-53.

Nunez, Orlando and Roger Burbach. 1986. Democracia y Revolucion en las Americas (Democracy and Revolution in the Americas). Managua: Vanguardia. 180pp.

Earlier, Spanish-language version, of Burbach and Nunez 1988.

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. 1990. 'Post-Development, or The Crisis of Developmentalism and the Comparative Method'. Amsterdam. 19pp.

PJIR. 1983a. 'New Dimension in Industrial Relations', Philippine Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol.5, Nos.1-2, pp.1-136.

PJIR. 1983b. 'Friedrich Ebert Stiftung', Philippine Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol.5, Nos.1-2, pp.132-6.

PJIR. 1984. 'National Conference on Philippine Industrial Relations', '1984 UP IIR-FES Symposium Series', Philippine Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol.6, Nos.1-2, pp.1-172.

PJIR. 1985. '1985 UP IIR-FES Symposium Series', Philippine Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol.7, Nos.1-2, pp.1-195.

PLA. 1990. 'KMU Retracts Position on China Events', Philippine Labour Alert, No.18, p.10.

Brief note with quotes from KMU's third statement on the matter, July 26, document.

PP21. 1989. 'For an Alternative Labour Movement Resolution of International Workers Conference', AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly Review, Vol.21, Nos.2-3, pp.106-10.

Materials from Peoples' Plan 21, a major international event hosted by AMPO in 1989. The proposals come out of meetings involving 300 Japanese labour activists and the General Meeting of the Asian Workers Solidarity Link network.

Rahman, R. 1988. 'Third World Solidarity Movement'. Paper to Society for International Development Conference, New Delhi, 1p.

Reyes, Miguel Angel. 1988. 'The Revolutionary Process in Central America and the New Internationalism', in P. Waterman (ed.), The Old Internationalism and the New. The Hague: ILERI Foundation. Pp.102-3.

A Guatemalan labour lawyer's view of the improved possibilities of solidarity with Latin America, based on the Central American experience in the 1980s.

Rousset, Pierre. 'Internationalism and Anti-Imperialist Solidarity', in Peter Waterman (ed), The Old Internationalism and the New. The Hague: ILERI Foundation. Pp.106-18.

Analysis, by a leading Trotskyist educator/researcher, of the European movement of solidarity with Vietnam, particularly the role and understanding of the French section of the Fourth International.

SALB. 1989a. 'China, the Democracy Movement and Reform', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.14, No.2, pp.107-112.

On divisions within the Chinese leadership, demands of the democracy movement and prospects for socialism.

SALB. 1989b. 'Chinese Workers Fought for an Independent Labour Movement in Tienanmen Square'. South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.14, No.3, pp.110-13.

Article by Trini Leung of the Hongkong Trade Union Education Centre, reprinted from the US Labour Notes, and dealing with the role of workers and the new independent unions in the democracy movement.

Scipes, Kim. 1989. 'Trade Union Imperialism in the USA Yesterday: Business Unionism, Samuel Gompers and the AFL Foreign Policy', Newsletter of International Labour Studies, Nos.40-41, pp.4-20.

Scipes, Kim. 1990. 'Acquino's Total War and the KMU', Zeta Magazine, January, pp.116-21.

An overview by a US unionist supporter of the KMU. Boxes on 'AFL-CIO and its Allies in the Philippines' and 'Who Controls the KMU?' (which denies it is either communist or a front for the Communist Party of the Philippines).

Sikoska, Tatjana. 1989. 'Internationalisation of Civil Society: A Case for Overcoming the European Division'. MA Research Paper, Politics of Development Strategies Programme, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. 73pp.

Southall, Roger. 1988. 'Introduction', Trade Unions and the New Industrialisation of the Third World. London: Zed. Pp.1-34.

Spooner, Dave. 1989. Partners or Predators: International Trade Unionism and Asia. Hongkong: Asia Labour Monitor. 108pp.

After an overview of the situation, deals with three major debates: the cold war in the union movement, North-South tensions, and the option between 'global unionism' and the 'new workers internationalism'.

Sulmont, Denis. 1988a. Deuda y Trabajadores: Un Reto para la Solidaridad (Debt and Workers: A Challenge for Solidarity). Lima: ADEC/ATC.

Booklet on the debt problem, prepared for an international conference of non-governmental organisations. Takes up the question of third-world and international union solidarity on the issue.

Sulmont, D. 1988b. 'Un Reto para la Solidaridad' (A Challenge for Solidarity), Quadernos Laborales (Lima), No.45, p.28.

Summarises argument of Sulmont 1988a.

Tan, Leonidas. 1977. The Trade Union Movement in the Philippines. Bangkok: Friedrich Ebert Foundation. 37pp.

An overview, giving priority attention to, and a favourable evaluation of, the Marcos regime and the trade union centred it sponsored, the TUCP.

Teague, Elizabeth. Solidarity and the Soviet Worker: The Impact of the Polish Events of 1980 on Soviet Internal Politics, London: Croom Helm. 368pp.

Except in the Baltic fringes of the Soviet Union, where it was understood as a nationalist protest, the public reaction to Solidarnosc tended to be hostile. The Soviet dissident publications, however, revealed interest in and sympathy for Solidarnosc.

Thompson, E.P. 1987-8. 'Eurocentrism, Indocentrism and Internationalism', END Bulletin, No.31, pp.22-5.

Article by a leading British socialist intellectual and peace activist, accompanying and responding to criticism of the Western peace movement by the traditional Indian left.

TUCPSG. 1989. 'Criticism of the June 11th KMU Statement on Events in China' [Letter to KMU, Manila]. London: Trade Union Committee, Philippine Support Group, UK. 4pp.

Expression of 'deep concern', criticising the KMU on grounds of both principle and tactics, but assuring the organisation of its 'total and continuing commitment and belief'.

Vargas, Virginia. 1990. 'The Women's Social Movements in Peru: Rebellion into Action'. Paper to Social Movements Seminar, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. 52pp.

Argues that the movement consists of three parts, that of liberal women, of feminists, and of poor women (in urban squatter settlements). Proposes the necessity of each to the movement, and the value of their interaction, the use of traditional institutional spaces and the creation of new ones.

Vanderveken. John. 1990. 'Looking Ahead to the Next Decade' [Interview], Free Labour World, No.1, pp.2,4.

The General Secretary of the ICFTU welcomes democratisation in East Europe and the Third World, and talks of the possibilities and challenges this implies for the ICFTU. He suggests that rather than it being considered interference in internal affairs to help workers in China, it should be an international offence to fail to assist people in such cases. Ends by declaring, 'We can't make heaven on earth. What we can do is prevent hell on earth'.



Vasilyev, Vitaly. 1990. 'Seeds of a Racist Disaster', The Guardian, February 20.

The rise of open anti-semitism in the Soviet Union, the attack on members of the Moscow Writers' Club, and the apparent collusion of the police with the attackers.

Waarts, A. 1988. 'NGOs and the Public (Public Opinion)'. Paper to Society for International Development Conference, New Delhi. 2pp.

Warszawski, David. 1984. '"The Left and Us": From a Solidarnosc Militant', in Peter Waterman (ed.), For a New Labour Internationalism. The Hague: ILERI Foundation. Pp.172-4.

Takes up the problematic relationship between the Western left and Solidarnosc. Written just after the crushing of Solidarnosc, in 1982, it argues that the prospects of both parties are bound together, and that a victory for Solidarnosc would 'reanimate the theory and practice of the workers' movement'.

Waterman, Peter (ed.). 1984. For a New Labour Internationalism. The Hague, ILERI Foundation. 270pp.

First collection on the topic. Items on trade union imperialism, the new international division of labour, MNC worker internationalism, women workers in S.E. Asia, alternative international communication, etc.

Waterman, Peter (ed.). 1988. The Old Internationalism and the New: A Reader on Labour, New Social Movements and Internationalism. The Hague: ILERI Foundation. 180pp.

Sections on traditional labour internationalism, internationalisation, contemporary labour internationalism, women, solidarity with the third world, anti-militarism, ecology and consumption.

Waterman, Peter (comp.). 1989a. Trade Unions, Movementism and Internationalism/Sindicatos, Movimientismo e Internacionalismo. A One-Day Workshop Organised at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, Sunday, February 12, 1989. Session 1: Trade Unions and Internationalism. 66pp.

Includes items by Sulmont on debt struggles, Scipes on US longshoremen, Nunez and Burbach on the Americas, Cantor and Schor on US union foreign policy, Hensman on a view from India, etc.

Waterman, Peter. 1989b. 'Towards 2000: A New Labour and Democratic Internationalism', IFDA Bulletin, No.69, pp.55-61.

Brief summary of the author's writings on the topic, arguing that any new labour internationalism must be combined with the democratic internationalism of the women's, human rights, environmental and other such movements.

Waterman, Peter. 1989c. 'The Real Movement Bibliography: A Cumulative Bibliography on Labour and New Social Movements, Democratisation, Alternative International Communications and Relations'. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies. 60pp.

Includes extensive bibliography on internationalisation and internationalism.

Waterman, Peter. 1990. '"Social Movement Unionism" : A Model and its Application'. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies. 15pp.

Proposes the concept as both useful for analysis and valuable as a goal relevant to new union tendencies in the Third World and internationally.

Waterman, Peter. Forthcoming. 'The New Labour Internationalism on the West-South Axis'.

Examines critically the nature and activities of the Western social reformist trade unions, development funding agencies and labour solidarity committees.

Waterman, Peter and Nebiur Arellano. 1987. 'The Nervous System of Internationalism and Solidarity: Transmission and Reception of International Labour Information in Peru'. Working Paper, No.32. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies. 58pp.

Study of what, and how much, international labour information the labour-oriented media in Peru communicates, and how this is received by labour officers and activists.

Webster, Eddie. 1984. 'The International Metalworkers Federation in South Africa (1974-80)', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.9, No.6, pp.72-94.

The IMF continued relations with white racist unions until pressure from the black non-racist ones obliged it to opt for them.

White, Aidan. 1990. 'Glasnost Breaks the Ice: The Revolution that is Shaking European Journalism', Free Labour World, No.290, p.2.

All European journalists, East and West, are now faced with the challenge to create a new model, able to resist both state and big capital and ensure a really free flow of information. Glasnost has allowed Eastern unions to

join the International Federation of Journalists and improved collaboration with the Prague-based International Organisation of Journalists.

Witeck, John. 1990. 'Editorial: We Condemn the Chinese Government's Actions against Workers and Students', Philippine Labour Alert, No.18, p.11.

Forthright condemnation, declaring that the 'workers, students and people of China advocated goals which were just and necessary'.

WTUM. 1989. 'Trade Unions of Africa and Latin America in Historic Meeting', World Trade Union Movement, No.11, pp.6-12.

Report of a conference on external debt, attended by a number of national union bodies plus the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and the Standing Congress of Trade Union Unity of the Workers of Latin America (CPUSTAL).

