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Salem Looking to Slash Wages

by Michael C. Marino

The Oregon legislature is considering several bills that will reduce the minimum wage in Oregon. Proposals include various schemes such as a "two-tier" wage and an "opportunity wage" for new hires, plus other bills that simply cut back on section of the existing law enacted by the people of Oregon, such as the annual increase based on the consumer price index.

So far, none of these bills have gotten much attention. Given that Salem is a Republican-dominated arena, it is almost certain that some form of one of the bills will come to pass; the Socialist Party of Oregon will be fighting any minimum wage cut enacted by the legislature, possibly through a referendum petition. The service industry is particularly targeted, and the way we see it, if we get just one petition to each and every waiter in Oregon...

Well, we just don't think Oregonians will take a pay cut without a fight.

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"When someone steals another's clothes, we call them a thief. Should we not give the same name to one who could clothe the naked and does not? The bread in your cupboard belongs to the hungry; the coat unused in your closet belongs to the one who needs it; the shoes rotting in your closet belong to the one who has no shoes; the money which you hoard up belongs to the poor."
-Basil the Great

Working for peace and cooperation, Rearranging Our Economic System(s)

By Mike Morin
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In light of the coming shortages in oil (www.peakoil.net) and the destruction of our natural environment, ecosystems, and habitats, that are caused by the current paradigm of corporate conglomerate capitalism (www.davidkorten.org), we are facing the dire need to restructure our socio-economic systems to a strategy of global relocalization (www.postcarbon.org) of our production and distribution systems.

So much has been written about our environmental predicament and strategies to avoid environmental and economic collapse that I can only present a cursory overview of the situation. I offer my apologies to all those who have done and/or are doing great work whom I have not included. In my adult lifetime (approximately thirty years), many people have been working to develop paradigms for community re-development and ecological evolution. A pioneering work was, of course, *Small is Beautiful* by E.F. Schumacher. Other initiatives sprung up such as the Institute for Local Self-Reliance (www.ilsr.org), RAIN, and Eco-City Berkeley (www.ecocitybuilders.org) among others. The interest, formation, and participation in eco-villages and intentional communities has been growing (www.ecovillages.org). New urbanism has become a popular mantra among architects and planners (www.cnu.org).

Still, there is a missing piece to all this. If we are to reorganize our socio-economic systems to live in ecological, lower energy, more self-reliant and self-sufficient local and (bio)regional (i.e. global relocalization), we need a mechanism to change the way that resources are allocated to and within our

communities.

According to Lewis Mumford the word eutopian means good place and outopian means no place. Long ago, so called eutopian socialists such as Fourier, Owen, and St. Simon, among others, formulated and wrote about cooperative community development structures. Such was the beginning of the notion of socialism in western culture. Many intentional communities developed as the result of their efforts. More enduring was the creation of cooperative or mutual business structures. These are often referred to as economic democracies where direction of the organization is set up in a one person, one vote scheme. Probably the most successful effort in recent years has been the worker cooperatives of the Mondragon Society in the Basque region of Spain (www.mondragon.mcc.es). Since its humble beginnings in 1956, this society of workers' cooperatives has grown to a conglomerate cooperative corporation employing and owned by more than 30,000 workers.

Based on the study of the early cooperative communitarians, the anthropological study of indigenous and historical cultures, comparative economic systems, the Mondragon system and other modern cooperatives, and the assessment of our current situation, I have devised somewhat of a new paradigm for the funding of cooperative community development organizations.

At the core of the concept is the Neighborhood Improvement Fund. I can visualize neighbors forming eco-villages and coming together in larger neighborhood cooperatives. The neighborhood cooperatives would then form a union on the regional level and various regional organizations (Unions of Neighborhood Improvement Funds or UNIF) would form an alliance with the other regions in the world. The organization(s) would be based on the following principles:

- ecology
- sustainability
- cooperation (economic democracy)
- equity
- community stewardship
- conservation
- peace and tranquility
- sufficiency
- production and access to essential goods and services
- primacy of the pedestrian/walkability/new urbanism
- economy and humanity of scale
- risk diversification
- life long education

Most discussion and work in the area of community development finance relates to lending and micro-enterprises. The trouble with such strategies is that small businesses have a very high failure rate because they cannot compete with capitalist conglomerates. They are at an acute disadvantage with respect to economy of scale and risk diversification (i.e. conglomerates who are making good profits in one division can afford to forego profits in another endeavor in order to survive a period of intense competition). The problem with the emphasis on lending is that highly leveraging a business is usually a bad strategy since lenders have the first claim on revenues/profits.

What I propose is the formation of equity unions that give community members and workers the opportunity to invest in the ownership of the production and distribution of essential goods and services, and amalgamated/conglomerate cooperatives that would help make the local cooperatives competitive. My proposal is as follows:

As Einstein said, Imagination is more important than knowledge. I would like to think that the following plan has solid grounding in both. It is based on eutopian socialist models and represents a most ethical approach to economic restructuring. The prospects of radically rearranging how resources are allocated to and within communities may be slim yet may be the best hope for the human and non-human communities.

Here it is:

Start in our (and all) neighborhoods, a Neighborhood Improvement Fund.

Each adult resident in the neighborhood would voluntarily invest (e.g. from \$10 to \$100 a year) in a mutual fund to be held in local credit unions. The purpose of the fund would be to create access to necessities (food, housing, household goods, clothing, hardware, building supplies, office products, appropriate transportation and energy and conservation, health items and services, education services, etc.) at the local level (i.e. within walking distance of all residents). The mutual fund would make investments only in community and worker owned (hybrid) cooperatives. All decision making would be democratic with a one-person one-vote system, democratically elected Board, and a referendum system.

There would be an association or union of NIFs and we would encourage more wealthy neighborhoods to donate to poorer neighborhoods (perhaps through a 501(c)(3) vehicle). Through the Union of NIFs (UNIF), the NIFs would cooperate to achieve the benefits of economy of scale, (and) bulk buying. Involvement in many business segments would create the competitive advantage of risk diversification.

Let's UNIFy!!!

May Day

May Day is a day for celebration. Celebrating our lives, our families, our history, and our future. Many countries around the world recognize May 1st as International Worker's Day. While there are numerous debates about some specifics, it is generally regarded as a day to celebrate our collective histories rooted in the struggles of labor unions and anarchists (quite often one and the same) to organize against the tyranny of the ruling class. While this particular Worker's

Holiday has been celebrated for over a hundred years, May 1st has also been a celebrated Pagan holiday, Beltane, observed for centuries. Beltane is a time to celebrate the life of spring and oncoming summer, to bask in the beauty of life with those you love, and to remember those that have come before you.

Recently, May 1st seemed to have been given another meaning and reason for celebration. In 2003, President Bush proclaimed May 1st as Loyalty Day and gave many reasons why it was vitally important that this new holiday be imparted to our youth. Unfortunately for our youth, this was not in fact the birth of a new holiday; Loyalty Day has been presented to the American people on several occasions since its inception as a resolution in the late 1940's, and later being enacted into law in 1958. Moreover, the rallies and marches that resulted in the resolution were a reaction and counter to the 'Communist' celebration of May Day in the early twenties at which point May 1st was dubbed "Americanization Day."

The history of May Day/Beltane/Loyalty Day is undoubtedly more intricate and amazing than most of us would have initially imagined and although these holidays might have some very different origins, they definitely have some strong commonalities. So whatever our reasons for celebrating May 1st this year, let's try to enact a few of the commonalities that these holidays embody:

Learn your history (and someone else's)! Meet your neighbors (and get to know them)! Get out into the Commons and let your voice be heard!!!

For those with Internet and free time:

Original of May Day debate:

<http://portland.indymedia.org/en/2003/04/62676.shtml>

History of Beltane:

<http://www.circlesanctuary.org/pholidays/Beltane.html>

ABOUT JOE HILL

"Joe Hill personifies the tradition of political song. Born in Sweden, he migrated to the US and in 1910 joined the Industrial Workers of the World - the "Wobblies". Over the next five years he campaigned for many working class causes. He became a popular song-writer with a gift for capturing the meaning of these causes in song. In 1914, during bitter struggles over free speech in Utah, Joe Hill was framed on a murder charge. Despite appeals from President Wilson and the Swedish government, Joe Hill was executed on November 19th 1915. His body was taken to Chicago where over 30,000 people attended his funeral procession and eulogies were read in nine languages."

from this website:

<http://www.dcs.shef.ac.uk/~matt/choir/hill.html>

Dear President Bush,

Thank you for the generous 2005 income tax refund. Here is how those dollars helped rebuild our economy:

\$69 Took friends to the Empire Room, a local noodle house owned and operated by three lovely sisters

\$150 Finally joined the local food co-op.

\$98 Two year subscription to Science News magazine, which you may not have heard of as science exists in a parallel universe to yours

\$25 Membership in Socialist Party USA

\$64 To ZBS in Port Edward New York, a non-profit of writers, actors, musicians, producers who create audio books

\$94 Compost

\$35 Planned Parenthood

\$27.97 Two years subscription to Harper's Magazine

\$58.50 Amtrak trip

\$25 Sierra Club

\$38.15 Box of laundry soap from Mt. Hood Chemical

Thanks, George. Hope next year I can help out again!

Quantitative -- And Other Measures -- In Gauging Organizing Success

[The Algonquins at Bennett's Camp] [Hunter Gray/Hunter Bear]

This is a very substantially expanded version of something I posted awhile back on a list where a dispute over success-measured-by-stats flared. This can be a significant -- and volatile -- issue for organizers. It's certainly worth some comment.

Every single "people's struggle" is significant, important -- to the "people of the fewest alternatives" who are involved and affected and to the Great Cause. Numbers are very meaningful, certainly, but there are other dimensions that transcend a purely quantitative measure -- among them, seeds sown and ripples of constructive influence that can travel far beyond the momentary ken of the organizers and their constituency. I've been privileged by History to play a role in a good many grassroots organizing campaigns. One was the historic Jackson Movement -- thousands and thousands and thousands, massive, internationally known, cracked Jackson wide-open and sent deep cracks across the rest of Mississippi and into other parts of the Deep South.

But another was cracking the closed, heavily guarded and extremely exploitative feudal mink ranch of Lester Bennett in Ontario County, New York.

During this period, I was director of the Office of Human Development -- the social justice arm -- of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rochester, New York: 12 up-state counties. During my stormy -- embattled -- tenure as OHD director, we accomplished many solid and genuinely activist community organizing things. Eventually, I was fired by the Bishop for "insubordination" -- stemming from our vigorously pushing socialization of the people-gouging Rochester Gas and Electric whose board chairman was the largest single contributor to the Diocese. Things relating to all of this are on our large website. <http://www.hunterbear.org/rochester.htm>

But back to Bennett and his feudal set-up which exploited a primarily Native migrant work force from Canada [western Quebec and eastern Ontario -- from such poverty-stricken reserves as Maniwaki and Grand Isle Victoria.] This brutal arrangement had gone on for 35 years without protest from any direction. The almost completely non-English speaking Algonquins were brought down each season and virtually held hostage in Bennett's camp. Taken occasionally

to a small town to buy groceries [at a store owned by Bennett], they were always accompanied by armed guards. Their pay was low, they were flagrantly cheated -- and health and safety conditions were hideous.

Among other things, well before the fur season got underway and the bulk of the migrant Indians arrived, I sketched Bennett's massive layout from a wooded ridge far above his plantation -- and, with binoculars, studied all of its basic details. I handled it like a military reconnaissance operation.

I saw the several lines of extraordinarily flimsy cabin-shacks used by the Indians. We knew there had been lethal fires at some -- and frequent pneumonia stemming from the icy winds of the Lake Ontario winters.

We carefully developed The Plan. The Trap.

So then, in due course, as the mink season of 1977 got underway, we pursued some extremely creative techniques. One of these included, using very early on, a friendly cooperative migrant program [to which our OHD office channeled money] to place a key

operative of ours-- an old Winnebago friend of mine fresh from Iowa -- into Bennett's set-up as an "alcohol counselor" at no cost to Bennett. This was a first -- since no outsiders had ever been permitted therein. But alcohol was making its way surreptitiously into the massive compound -- probably via some of Bennett's regular employees -- and the old man was worried about his mink skinner's "steady hands on Monday morning."

Our inside man immediately feigned a love affair with Bennett's "control person" -- an opportunistic [and totally Machiavellian] Algonquin woman, a classic Apple, who was very well paid by Bennett to help manage the captive work force. She fell for my friend's charm and wiles -- and he subsequently gathered invaluable information which we received each evening. My Winnebago buddy [Elliott Ricehill] and his wife, [Muriel] a Sisseton Sioux, were staying at our home at Rochester during their relocation period from Iowa -- so we met literally at our dinner table. Another key member of our team was Tim McGowan, Irish American, and our OHD political action director.

Now, with a growing list of potential Algonquin leaders and with maps to their respective cabin/shacks, I crept onto the plantation via thick woods and under heavily barbed wire at night, again and again -- successfully avoiding the armed guards and dogs. They never even sensed me. A young Algonquin who knew English met me regularly and assisted me in translation.

Much happened.

In due course, very ably assisted by Tim -- certainly one of our most activist young staffers -- and by Elliott -- our very cunning inside agent-- we organized the slightly more than 100 non-English speaking Algonquin Indian workers plus their families into a highly successful short strike. And, subsequently, we initiated substantial related actions involving formal health and labor complaints and court action. And those were also quite successful.

Bennett et al. were taken completely by surprise! The "control woman" was crushed. And, in the middle of this, Bennett's daughter, Rowena, 65, who had long wanted a red convertible car, absconded to Florida with some of his considerable money.

The speed with which this long repressed work force of Canadian migrant Native people developed extremely effective and courageous local leadership -- much of this including their very strong wives -- speaks volumes about the great capabilities of the human grassroots in every setting and in every time.

This cracked and completely opened Bennett's plantation system: one of the three largest mink ranches in the U.S. [more than 60,000 mink.] We then formally met with the other mink ranchers in the region -- who used migrants of various ethnic backgrounds, including some Indians -- and who immediately met our demands.

Back in Canada, following that unexpectedly turbulent season, a number of the Algonquins from the Bennett struggle became very effective labor and Native rights activists in western Quebec and eastern Ontario. Many are still at it today.

The courageous Algonquin struggle at Bennett's had a very significantly inspiring impact on Native people throughout upstate New

York.

[In an interesting postscript, I later gave a long social justice presentation to a large class of incipient priests at St. Bernard's Seminary at Rochester. The class, social theology, was taught by my good friend, Professor Joe Torma [now at Walsh University, Ohio.] The gathering was fascinated by the Bennett account -- but some were disturbed at our deception vis-a-vis the Algonquin control woman. At the end of my presentation, Joe polled the class via secret ballot. About two-thirds felt we were justified under the circumstances.]

For a discussion of the details of the Bennett struggle saga, see our website at http://www.hunterbear.org/great_algonquin_freedom_campaign.htm

The famous Mine-Mill "Salt of the Earth Strike" -- October, 1950 to January, 1952, Hanover, New Mexico, Empire Zinc -- involved 128 workers and their families. Its impact on New Mexico was tremendous and, through the extraordinarily fine film, it affected people all over the world [and still has a significant impact today.] BTW, if you

haven't yet seen the excellent and enduring "Salt of the Earth", do so! It was officially blacklisted for years but widely shown outside of movie houses. Now available on video cassette and DVD, it was recently chosen by the Library of Congress as one of the 100 most important films ever made in the United States.

Every social justice fight -- "big" or "small" -- is well worth it from many rich and enduring perspectives. Not the least of these is what the organizers themselves learn for the battles ahead and beyond.

Fraternally and Sincerely -

HUNTER GRAY
[HUNTER BEAR]

www.hunterbear.org

When you cut to the bone and cut away the college degrees, academic and other titles, published books and articles, ours is essentially a working class and Indian family. We consistently join unions -- and we always support them with the greatest vigor.

It's critical to always keep fighting -- and to always remember that, if one lives with grace, he/she should be prepared to die with grace.

A Thousand Coffins at the U.N.

by David McReynolds

(Originally printed in the April-May 2002 issue of The Socialist.)

Let's see if I can pull the words out at this hour, and write this in one flow.

Today, shortly after 1 p.m., I got to Dag Hamaskold Plaza near the United Nations, to look at the "Coffin Display" arranged by Israeli and Palestinian Bereaved Families for Peace. (Two groups cooperated in this project, the Parents' Circle of 200 families in Israel and National Movement for Change in the Palestinian Authority).

There, in the space where on other occasions thousands have rallied for various causes, were over a thousand coffins. 800 coffins draped with Palestinian flags, 250 with Israeli flags. I am a hardened radical but as soon as I saw the neat rows of coffins my eyes filled with tears. I walked down the rows, looked at the banners posted on all four sides of the square - "Better Have Pains of Peace Than Agonies of War". I met some friends from the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I spoke briefly to a young Israeli woman who had lost her son to a suicide bomber. I thanked her for the action. She apologized for making me cry. I spoke briefly to the Palestinian mother, a relative of hers (perhaps her husband) holding up a photo of their child lost to Israeli fire. And then I walked away from the small crowd, found a

concrete bench and broke down. I thought about why I was weeping, what had "broken through" my political shell. It was both the simplicity of the action, but also because it had "called me back" from my anger against Israel, and that I must explain, both for those of you who are younger and so easily throw around terms like "Zionism", and those of you who are older and may have chosen one side of the other too firmly.

At UCLA I was the co-chair of a Christians and Jews for Israel Committee (1948, probably). In those days all of us in the socialist movement danced the hora, sang Zionist songs, had friends who were going to or had been in a Kibbutz. Israel, essentially a democratic socialist experiment to repair the horror of Hitlerism, was alone in a reactionary Arab Middle East dominated by oil, by feudal regimes, by Arabs who had sided with Hitler. Time passed and reality set in. Israel was weak, one country alone. The American Jewish community was large and strong. It helped shaped US policy toward Israel (ask anyone in Washington DC about AIPAC). The Anti-Defamation League changed its old policies and began to treat anyone who sympathized with the

Palestinians as anti-Semitic. I watched my old friend Irwin Suall, who worked for them, change and harden and drift away from us. Israel opposed the liberation of Algeria - it meant one more Arab state that would be hostile. But it also meant siding with French Colonialism. (Might Algerian policy have been different if Israel sided with the FLN? But the problem was the French were supplying Israel with weapons - a short range imperative).

When Nasser, part of the proud new Arab nationalism that was breaking with the old regimes, took over the

Suez Canal, Great Britain and France and Israel joined in invading Egypt. It was October, 1956. In Hungary workers had risen against the Communist Party. Soviet tanks were moving through the streets. In a way I could forgive Israel - she felt it a matter of life and death - but France and Great Britain chose the exact moment when the attention of the world should have been on Hungary to deflect it with this invasion. (The invasion failed, and like Israel's backing of France in Algeria, it helped leave a permanent hostility to Israel among moderate and secular Arabs).

More years passed, and

Israel made its alliance with South Africa under its old regime, and welcomed the leader of that country - a man who had been sympathetic to Hitler - to Israel. The refugees sweltered, used as political pawns by the Arab states (if you think the Palestinian refugees are fans of the Arab states you haven't had private talks with them), and ignored - simply ignored - by Israel, as if many of them had not been driven out of their homes by terror. (Does one still have to document this?).

I remember Norman Thomas speaking of the problem of the refugees and some in the New York Zionist movement saying he had always been anti-Semitic. Time passed and the settlements began in the Occupied Territory. A very deliberate and careful policy - one for which Sharon bears special responsibility, but Labor also - to make any independent Palestinian State impossible. Time passed and Israel said (I have the clippings from the Times somewhere in my dusty collection) "let us sell the arms to the Central American dictators - it looks bad if you do it, and we can use the money". Time passed and often on key votes in the United Nations the only dissent would be the US and Israel. Never did they disagree. Israel, under

Sharon, invaded Lebanon, was responsible for mass killings by the Christian militia at the Palestinian refugee camps. It had become clear to us that Israel was now an apartheid state. In some ways worse than South Africa had been. The oppression of the Palestinians was largely ignored by Israelis. The Israelis were doing well. And, let's face it, let's not play games, there is a deep thread of racism in Israeli society - not only against the Palestinians but also against the North African Jews - who formed the backbone of Likud. And how was this different from my own country? A nation much of which was built by slaves. How many Americans cared that the Vietnamese lost over two million people? How many Americans have paused to wonder if the Vietnamese might not also grieve for their Missing In Action? How can we ignore that we, as a people, elected Richard Nixon twice.

And Reagan twice. And now Bush. (Except, of course, he wasn't elected - he was anointed by the Supreme Court). How

many Americans care about the children dying in Iraq? It only takes a government spokesperson to say it is really Saddam's fault and our minds are at rest. A half million die and we are not concerned. Iraq is an evil country - probably its children and elderly and weak are evil as well. I have no faith in the majority of Israelis (nor of Americans) to make right choices when the only facts they have are filtered through the mass media. All of this anger, all of this bitterness, dissolved in tears at what parents had done in front of my eyes. Parents - Jews and Arabs, Palestinian and Israeli - sharing only a common terrible grief of children, or sisters, brothers, parents, gone. Gone by Israeli jet attacks. Gone by a suicide bomber. But gone. And I look out at a display of life size (if one can say of a coffin that it is "life size") coffins, 1,050 of them. There in the plaza near the United Nations. On a day not yet quite spring. How dare I give up hope of change within the human heart when here in front of me were these long and

terrible rows of flag draped coffins to remind us all of what stubborn political logic had bought. There is no military way out for Israel. It must negotiate. And we must want those negotiations to succeed. Oh yes, I think every Jewish settlement in the Occupied Territories should be yanked out by the roots. Oh yes, I think every inch of the Occupied Territories must be returned to the Palestinians, and a sovereign Palestinian State emerge there (even though I don't believe in states, I see no other choice now). This dreadful collection of death had been made visible here by the work of both Palestinian and Jewish contacts in this country.

Shortly before I arrived an orthodox Rabbi had gone over to the Palestinian woman and asked if she wanted to talk to her relatives in Palestine, pulled out his cell phone and dialed - a human contact between an Orthodox Rabbi and a Palestinian grieving over her loss. Many Palestinians are weary of

Arafat but Sharon cannot choose the leader of the Palestinians, nor can I choose the leader of Israel, weary as I know many Israelis are with that man, and wicked as I believe his policies to be. What we can do is speak with respect of the saving remnant on both sides who continue to work together, to suffer together, to reach out to one another. How dare I not do the same? How dare any of us on the Left, in the Peace movement, not support these elements of life which exist there? Our politics can be clear, but let our language be touched by the compassion of what both sides are living through. The coffins spoke to me. If I broke down after seeing them, it was because sometimes my anger is so great I forget that the seeds of life are what radicals must nurture - in this case seeds of life glimpsed in a sea of flag draped coffins.

Fraternally, Peace,

David McReynolds (*on the staff of War Resisters League at the time of this writing, Socialist Party candidate for President, 2000*)

SPUSA Convention

by Michael C. Marino

The SPUSA Convention is October 21-23 in Newark, New Jersey. We are hoping to send some ten delegates this year (our usual delegation). If you are interested in going, contact the Socialist Party of Oregon, PO Box 5633, Portland, OR 97228. If you can help out with a

donation, please do; the National Committee, concerning itself with an impressive display of its 'opposition to capitalism' has booked the Hilton for the Convention.

Yes, the *Hilton*. I know, I know: "*What were they thinking?*"

Air fare or train fare is also going to be very high for a trip across the country.

At issue are: an effort by a Trotskyist group to take over the SPUSA, an effort by the faction voted out in 2003 to return to power, deciding between remaining democratic socialist or becoming a centralist party, and the like.

In other words, nothing but the usual.

Tito

by Bob Rossi

May 25 will mark the 25th anniversary of the death of Josip Broz, more commonly known as Tito. Tito and the collective leadership of the Yugoslav Partisans led the primary anti-fascist forces in the Balkans during the Second World War, or Great Patriotic Struggle, and liberated all of Yugoslavia and much of Albania and Bulgaria and parts of Romania and Hungary. In the anti-fascist effort and during the internal national struggle, Yugoslavia lost one out of every nine of its citizens. Most perished in fascist death camps, with Serbs taking the highest losses. No other country took such proportional losses.

Yugoslavia distinguished itself by rebuilding as an independent socialist country and then decentralizing so that production, distribution and some aspects of state power were broadly self-managed by the Yugoslav peoples. Socialist Yugoslavia took the

initiative in helping to found the Non-Aligned Movement and pointed to alternate means of development and progress.

Tito and the collective leadership rebuilt the Yugoslav Communist Party, led the Partisan struggle to its successful conclusion, created an independent path to socialism and international relations and kept peace in a complex and multi-ethnic country while guiding it through decentralized reindustrialization. His chief mistakes were in depending too heavily on arms industry exports and international loans and allowing the Yugoslav Party to decentralize and dissolve prematurely. These errors ultimately helped those who forced the dissolution of Yugoslavia and wanted the civil war of the 1980s.

We celebrate Tito's life in May because he was one of ours: a peasant who became a worker, a worker who became a leader and a leader who expressed the best in the people and redefined socialism for his age and place.

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