

THE MILITANT

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'Triumph is clearly in sight' —
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NATO troops open fire in Yugoslavia

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

NATO forces fired the first shots in their war mission against Yugoslavia, in separate incidents involving Italian and British troops in the first week of January.

On January 4, NATO troops shot several rounds in response to an attack that wounded a soldier guarding an Italian post, in territory held by Belgrade-backed Serb forces. They apparently did not hit the unknown gunman.

The attack occurred in Vogosca, a northern suburb of Sarajevo where 2,500 troops from Italy will be deployed. The soldier was the first NATO casualty from hostile gunfire since NATO forces began their occupation of Bosnia in late December. Four British soldiers and one U.S. GI have been wounded by land mines.

NATO officials reported that British troops came under hostile fire January 6 while on patrol in the northwest Bosnian town of Sanski Most. The soldiers jumped off their Warrior armored vehicle and fired 62 rounds, but were unable to hit or identify their attackers.

Some 29,000 out of an expected 60,000 NATO troops had been deployed as of January 3. All of the forces from NATO member countries are to be in place by the end of the month. The armies of the various warring forces in Bosnia are supposed to pull back 2.5 miles from a 600-mile-long "confrontation line" by January 19, and allow the NATO military force to move in between them. The U.S.-led force took over from United Nations troops December 19.

The Clinton administration and its imperialist rivals in London, Paris, and Bonn aim to overthrow the workers state in Yugoslavia. Their goal — to wipe out the gains of the socialist revolution that tri-

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Activists protest threat to Montreal bookstore

BY BRIGITTE GROUX

MONTREAL — Organizers of the Pathfinder bookstore here made a public appeal against a threat to deface the shop's sign. During the afternoon of January 8, a message was written on the front-door window. It read, "101. Warning. Remove the word bookstore from your sign or we will do it for you. (Signed) Law 101." The message was written in French except for the word "bookstore," which was in English.

The "101" in the scrawled message refers to Quebec Law 101, a French-language affirmative action measure enacted in 1977. One clause of the legislation required all public signs to be in French. It was modified several years ago to permit other languages in addition to French.

The store is located on St. Denis Street, one of the busiest commercial streets in downtown Montreal. Its sign reads "Pathfinder" in large letters, and, in smaller type underneath, "Bookstore" in English, French, and Spanish.

"This is an unacceptable attack against freedom of expression," declared Michel

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'Stop NATO war drive, emulate Cuban road'

Socialists organize campaign to defend Yugoslav workers state

BY STEVE CLARK

Some 560 workers and young people from across North America participated over the New Year's weekend in four regional socialist educational conferences, centered on the theme, "Organize a Working-Class Campaign to Oppose the Imperialist War Drive against Yugoslavia." The gatherings, held in Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, and Seattle December 30-January 1, were sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists.

"During this conference we will be celebrating the 37th anniversary of the Cuban revolution," said Argiris Malapanis in the opening talk in Seattle. "The purpose of this gathering is to further the recruitment to the communist movement of the dangerous men and women — dangerous to the powers that be — who want to follow the Cuban road, to take power out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters and advance the fight for a socialist world."

The events succeeded in advancing this aim. In all, some 15 people asked to join the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialists, or the Communist League in Canada during the



March of 3,000 in Sarajevo, Bosnia, Dec. 11, 1995, demanding unified city where people of all nationalities can live together. Despite brutal "ethnic cleansing," millions throughout Yugoslavia refuse to give up on working-class unity gained through 1945 revolution.

conferences.

The gatherings were a chance to report the political conclusions, and organize to seize the opportunities, decided on by the

National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party at a four-day meeting in New York December 9-12. Leaders of communist leagues in Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom participated in that SWP leadership meeting, as did supporters of the communist movement from France and Iceland.

In addition to discussing the working-class campaign against the NATO war drive at the four public conferences, the SWP is organizing meetings of groups of its members, called national fractions, who belong to one of seven industrial unions: the International Association of Machinists; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; United Auto Workers; Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; United Food and Commercial Workers; United Steel Workers of America; and United Transportation Union.

As communist workers learned during the U.S.-organized assault against Iraq in 1990-91, under the intensifying pressures of an imperialist war drive, there is no more important arena in which to campaign against the capital-

ists' rapacious goals and antilabor course than among co-workers on the job, at plant gates, and elsewhere in the working class

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Gov't workers demand pay as Clinton, Congress prepare to slash social wage

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

As 1996 began, the Clinton administration and leaders of both parties in Congress stepped up their joint campaign for deep cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, and other social gains of working people — all under the banner of "balancing the budget" within the next seven years.

But as capitalist politicians used a partial shutdown of federal offices to try to drive through the cutback plans, their decision to force half a million government employees to work without pay backfired. Federal workers staged protests in the U.S. capital and many other cities January 3. The White House and Congress were forced to back off from the blatant assault on federal workers, but pressed ahead on the overall bipartisan effort to gut entitlements.

After orchestrating a three-week shutdown of numerous federal offices and cutting off pay for 760,000 government employees, White House officials and Congressional leaders announced they were closer to an agreement on cutbacks in social spending.

On January 6 President Bill Clinton announced his latest plan. He proposed slashing Medicare payments for retired people by \$102 billion. The president also called for reductions in Medicaid, a program covering impoverished working



Workers rally outside State Department January 3 demanding pay, end to layoffs.

people, by \$52 billion.

The White House has proposed a series of other attacks on social benefits as well, such as raising monthly Medicare premiums, now \$46, to \$77 over the next seven years.

The Republican Congressional leaders countered with their latest proposal — to

chop Medicare by \$168 billion and Medicaid by \$89 billion.

At the same time, both sides have also called for billions of dollars in tax cuts for the wealthy.

Each round of negotiations has shifted the bipartisan debate toward sharper at-

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Transit strikers win victory in Marseille — page 5



Okinawa governor repeats call for U.S. forces to leave

"I'm determined to work toward establishing a peaceful Okinawa Prefecture [state] without any bases in the 21st century," Okinawa governor Masahide Ota told state government employees January 1. Ota has refused to force local landowners to renew their leases to the U.S. military, as demanded by Tokyo.

Opponents of the U.S. military bases, including Ota, placed an advertisement in the *New York Times* that cited the September 4 rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl by three U.S. GIs, currently on trial. Some 50,000 outraged Okinawans staged a protest against the bases soon after the rape.

Food used against N. Korea

The South Korean government announced December 27 it will no longer send rice to North Korea unless Pyongyang changes its "attitude" toward Seoul. Seoul shipped a miserly 150,000 tons of rice to North Korea, which is facing severe food shortages after floods devastated its summer grain crop. International aid agencies say the country needs almost 4 million tons of rice to prevent widespread famine conditions.

"For additional rice assistance, there must be a change in North Korea's attitude toward us," declared Song Young Dae, Seoul's deputy unification minister. The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* were even more blunt in wielding the shipment of food as a political club. In a January 4 editorial they declare, "If North Korea is to be given rice....donors must be allowed to supervise distribution. More importantly, rice must be tied to demands for policy changes in North Korea."

Palestine elections in January

The Palestinian election commission has declared the campaign open for 1 million voters to elect their first president and legislature on January 20. Palestinian residents in Jerusalem, the West Bank, and Gaza Strip who are 18 years or older and are not Israeli citizens will elect a Palestinian Council of 88 people in 16 districts.



Some 2,500 workers and students, relatives of those killed in Washington's Dec. 20, 1989, invasion of Panama, held a protest march in Panama City on the anniversary of the assault.

Israeli troops pulled out of Ramallah December 27, completing a withdrawal from six West Bank cities. The move ended 28 years of occupation over much of the region, to pave the way for the elections. "Out!", shouted scores of jubilant Palestinian youths who hurled rocks and bottles at the receding Israeli convoy.

UN sanctions remain on Iraq

United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali announced December 28 that economic sanctions against Iraq will remain. The embargo was imposed in 1990 as Washington prepared the Persian Gulf slaughter, in which U.S. forces killed tens of thousands in January-February 1991. "These sanctions cause me pain," Boutros-Ghali stated, referring to the disastrous conditions the embargo has inflicted on the Iraqi people. A recent UN study estimates that as many as 576,000 children in Iraq have died as a result of the economic embargo.

Meanwhile, Moscow shipped 27 tons of food and medical supplies to Baghdad December 28. Russian government officials in Jordan said the shipment was sent by truck via Jordan because UN officials

barred it from being airlifted into Iraq.

S. Africa asks for Cuban doctors

Addressing a graduation ceremony for primary health-care nurse facilitators in mid-December, South African minister of health Nkosazana Zuma spoke about her recent visit to Cuba. On that trip she recruited doctors to come to work in South Africa in 1996. The announcement generated some controversy, which the health minister said "was based on ignorance, prejudice, and propaganda" against Cuba. Zuma said Cuba has one of the best health-care systems, not only among third world nations but in the world.

London to deport Saudi activist

The British government ordered the deportation of Saudi Arabian political activist Mohammed al-Masaari, saying that it wanted to protect relations with the ruling Saudi monarchy. Masaari will be sent to the Caribbean country Dominica. "British interests as a whole do require his removal," Home Office Minister Ann Widdecombe stated. "We have got enormous export considerations."

The government in Riyadh reportedly threatened to stop placing new orders with British companies unless London took measures against Masaari, head of the opposition Committee for Defense of Legitimate Rights, which the Saudi regime has banned. The Saudi government signed a contract eight years ago to purchase \$7.5 billion in arms from British companies, including 48 Tornado fighter-bombers. The deportation came as a bill to tighten asylum procedures was being debated in the British Parliament.

Haiti cops losing support

Popular disenchantment with the U.S.-trained cop force in Haiti has grown in recent months. Since Washington's military invaded Haiti in 1994, U.S. officials have trained 3,000 cops for a supposedly new,

improved police force to replace the hated thugs of the previous military regime. In one example of the changing mood, the new 24-man police unit in Cité Soleil, cheered by residents last June, was driven out of town in November under a hail of rocks by angry citizens who burned down the police station.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government is pressing the government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide to maintain a police force suited to Washington's needs. On December 22 a U.S. congressional subcommittee froze \$5 million in funds earmarked for the U.S.-sponsored cop training program. Rep. Benjamin Gilman, chairman of the committee, charged that Aristide was packing the police force with his political supporters.

Surge in executions

Activists against the death penalty are forecasting a surge in the number of executions, with the annual rate soon to surpass 100. Prison authorities executed 56 people in 1995, the largest number of legalized murders in the United States since 1957. The U.S. government is waging an assault on the rights of inmates by shortening the appeals process and eliminating funding for centers that provide legal representation for working people who land on death row.

Deportations escalated in 1995 Clinton administration officials announced December 27 that the number of undocumented immigrants deported in 1995 was a record 51,600, up 15 percent from 1994 and up almost 75 percent from 1990. The Immigration and Naturalization Service also reported a sharp increase in the number of immigrants rejected at U.S. borders, from 5,669 to 9,400.

Deportations escalated in 1995

Scapegoating of immigrants by big-business politicians is on the rise and "is being exploited by people in the Republican and Democratic parties," said Lucas Guttentag, director of the National Immigrants Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union. Candidates of both parties have made attacks on immigrant workers a campaign theme.

AT&T to lay off 40,000 The AT&T Corp. announced January 2 that it would eliminate 40,000 jobs over the next three years, after offering voluntary buyouts to half the 150,000 employees in managerial positions. With the 8,500 jobs that AT&T already said it would eliminate from its computer company, Global Information Solutions, the total reduction will be almost 50,000.

"AT&T's decision comes when the company is healthy and when almost all segments of its business are profitable and growing," the *New York Times* reported. "Wall Street cheered AT&T's action — the company's shares rose \$6.25 each, to close at \$67.375 on the New York Stock Exchange."

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

Defend immigrant workers

As the working class becomes internationalized, struggles by immigrant workers against government and rightist attacks are a growing feature of the class struggle around the world. Championing equal rights for immigrants is key for the labor movement. The 'Militant' provides firsthand coverage of actions in defense of immigrants. Don't miss an issue!



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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Electric workers in Puerto Rico strike

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Thousands of members of the Electrical and Irrigation Workers Union (UTIER) walked off the job here December 27 and marched on the governor's mansion, La Fortaleza. The 24-hour work stoppage was in response to contract violations by management. UTIER is the largest union at the government-owned Electric Power Authority (AEE).

Workers picketed their workplaces at the 7:00 a.m. shift change and then drove to the central offices of the AEE in cars and chartered buses. By 11:30 a.m., several thousand unionists had gathered. They spent the next several hours marching to the residence of Governor Pedro Rosselló in Old San Juan.

Leonardo Miranda, a lineman in Arecibo, said the most important issue was that the company wanted to change the health plan, from Blue Cross to PCA, without a vote by the union membership as required by the contract.

Proposed changes in work shifts and the use of subcontractors to do the work of UTIER members were also reasons for the

strike, reported Juan Guerra, a heavy equipment operator in the Río Piedras section of San Juan. The AEE wants to change many workers from a Monday-to-Friday schedule to two shifts, one working Sunday to Thursday and another working Tuesday to Saturday.

Unionists passed out leaflets to motorists on the busy Ponce de León Avenue that passes in front of the AEE headquarters. The leaflet cited the contract violations and also warned of the government's intention to privatize the electric utility, that is, to allow capitalist investors to operate privately owned power plants. The union said that private owners of the utility would carry out thousands of layoffs, increase rates by 25 percent, and allow greater pollution by the power plants.

Joining the UTIER workers were family members and several members of the Brotherhood of Non-Teaching Employees at the University of Puerto Rico campus in Bayamón. Workers driving telephone company and propane gas delivery trucks honked in solidarity as they passed by.

Meanwhile, David Noriega, a leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party and



Electrical workers surround Jesús Allende (in suit), labor affairs advisor to the Puerto Rican governor, outside La Fortaleza during demonstration December 27.

member of the island's legislature, expressed support for the UTIER work stoppage and said he would investigate whether the AEE was truthful about its claim that there will be no rate increases in case of privatization.

At a literature table set up in front of the

AEE offices, a supporter of Pathfinder Press sold \$40 worth of books on revolutionary politics to electrical workers and others. The building is on a commercial street that passes through a working-class neighborhood with many immigrants from the Dominican Republic.

Cuban youth leader completes Scandinavian tour

BY CATHARINA TIRSEN

STOCKHOLM — "We want to fight to increase production, whether at workplaces, at the university, or in the army, and win youth to the revolution," said Jonathan Quirós Santos. He was describing the work of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba, of which he is a leader, to members of the Sweden-Cuba Friendship Association here. During a five-week tour of Sweden and Iceland, with short stops in Oslo, Norway, and Copenhagen, Denmark, Quirós spoke to more than 1,000 students in high schools and colleges, and another 500 individuals who attended public meetings organized by the friendship associations in 12 cities.

Quirós spoke of the current efforts by the Cuban people to overcome the effects of the deep economic crisis in his country, which was precipitated six years ago by the end of favorable trade relations with and aid from the Soviet Union.

"Many people have been surprised that a small country like Cuba, a country without coal or oil, has been able to resist for so long," he said. "And we have had to do many things we did not like to do, like legalizing the use of dollars and other things that have increased inequalities in Cuba. We have seen things appear that those of us who are young never experienced before!"

The economic crisis and certain measures taken to earn hard currency, such as the expanded tourist trade, have been accompanied by an increase in crime, black marketeering, prostitution, and other social problems that the Cuban revolution had successfully combated over the past three and a half decades.

Quirós described the debate in Cuba on proposals to tax the workers' income, which had been raised in the country's National Assembly as one way to deal with the financial crisis. "After the discussion in the Assembly, the discussion was taken into every workplace in the country," he said, referring to the "workers parliaments" held in 80,000 factories and offices. "In these workers parliaments, workers could discuss not only this but other measures to take against people engaged in speculation.

"There was a broad consensus among the workers that they [working people] should not be taxed." Following debate, the parliament voted to make wages taxable but not to establish such a tax now.

"Workers and students are part of the solution in Cuba. This cannot be done in other countries because they have a different political system," he concluded.

During his stay in Sweden, Quirós met with representatives of youth groups and Latin American organizations. He visited the Scania truck factory in Södertälje, nurses on strike at South Hospital in Stockholm, and took part in a demonstration of construction workers against un-

employment as well as a November 30 demonstration against racism.

On a visit to the labor court he met with bakery workers from Stockholmsbagarn, who had been sued for an "illegal strike" after a protest earlier this year. One of the victimized workers, María, a member of the Foodworkers Union and originally from Chile, gave Quirós a vivid description of conditions in the bakery that had led to the protest.

BY PETER HEMGREN

MALMÖ, Sweden — Jonathan Quirós visited southern Sweden November 17-18 at the invitation of the Sweden-Cuba Association here. He spoke at colleges here and in Landskrona, at the Department of Economic History of the university in Lund, and at a forum organized by the Cuba association.

Many questions were asked about an Amnesty International report stating that there are 500 political prisoners in Cuba. Quirós said they could be viewed as political prisoners, but that they are prison for committing violent acts and sabotage, not

for holding different political views.

At the main public meeting, a youth asked how far Cuba would go in introducing elements of capitalism in the economy and when would the revolution advance again, if what is happening now is a temporary retreat.

"The most important thing right now is to get the country out of the crisis," Quirós replied. "The joint ventures [with foreign capitalist investors] are limited to 10-15 years, and we have no intention of giving up control of the basic means of production. Once we are out of the crisis and stronger, we will see."

The UJC activist also showed slides and spoke about the International Youth Festival and half-million-strong rally held last August in Havana.

BY SIGURLAUG GUNNLAUGSDÓTTIR AND ÓLÓF ANDRA PROPPÉ

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — During his Scandinavian tour, Jonathan Quirós was invited to speak at seven pre-university and vocational schools in and around this city. In a Spanish class in the Hamrahlíd

pre-university school, a youth said he had seen the Cuban film *Strawberry and Chocolate*, which criticizes antigay prejudice, and asked whether artists are suppressed in that country. "Did you like the film?" Quirós asked. "Me too. In Cuba it is very popular." He picked up a copy of *La Gaceta de Cuba*, the magazine of the Union of Artists and Writers of Cuba, and noted that the director of the film and many others have expressed a range of views on many issues.

Quirós got a taste of the U.S. military presence in Iceland. The Keflavík school, which he visited, is close to a NATO air force base, which has had U.S. troops since 1951. During a conversation with a group of teachers, one told him that at times the F-16 planes flying over the school are so loud they disturb the class. In reply to a question by Quirós, a teacher noted that youth whose families live on the base attend classes at the military facility, and that other local residents also attend classes there. The teacher said this showed how the closeness of the base twisted society in that city.

—YOUNG SOCIALISTS AROUND THE WORLD— Fund drive off to running start in N.Y.C.

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists, an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS, write P.O. Box 2396, New York, NY 10009. Tel: (212) 475-6482, Fax: (212) 388-1659.

BY JACK WILLEY

NEW YORK — The Young Socialists kicked off our national fund drive with a smashing success at the regional socialist educational conferences held in four cities over the New Year's weekend. We raised more than \$3,713 in cash donations and through raffles, and \$6,318 in pledges toward our goal of \$10,000. This puts us in an excellent position for each chapter and area to lay out the battle plans to reach and surpass our goal.

The New York YS met directly after the regional conference in Boston to get the ball rolling on going over our local \$1,500 goal.

On January 12, we are kicking off the fund drive locally with a reportback from the worker and student revolt in France. As part of the evening's events, there will be a dinner and party to raise money, talk politics, and get more contributions toward our goal.

Five YSers visited some of the picket lines of over 30,000 office building workers on January 4, the day they began their strike here. We came to offer our solidar-

ity and talk about the strike wave in France and NATO's war drive against the workers of Yugoslavia. This is how we began building our fund event.

The next evening, we went back to the pickets until about 1 a.m., talking to strikers around Penn Station and the Rockefeller Center. This time we had the opportunity to talk to a group of about 10 strikers blocking an entrance for garbage trucks trying to pick up the building's trash.

While we were there, more than 30 cops arrived, with their billy clubs drawn, to break up the line and allow the trucks through. After standing their ground for another 15 minutes, the pickets reluctantly moved over to the sidewalk.

This spurred a great deal of discussion on the role of the police and on what needs to be done to strengthen the strike. One striker was very interested in the reportback from France.

Our chapter is also linking up with fighters against police brutality at an upcoming protest against the murder of María Rivas by a cop and at a speakout against police brutality. We are producing a YS T-shirt against police brutality as part of our work to raise funds and recruit to the YS. Our goal is to reach out as broadly as possible in our fund drive and draw other fighters into our organization.

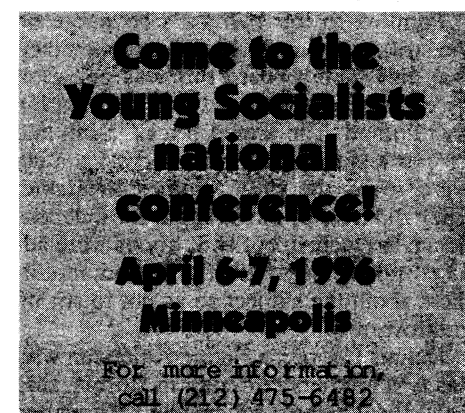
We have begun to put up YS tables with our communist literature every week, in

addition to the joint literature tables we set up on the streets with members of the Socialist Workers Party. Our chapter set a goal of asking at least 30 new people for contributions toward our fund drive.

We are eager to hear what YS members are doing across the country to reach and go over the \$10,000 mark. YSers should e-mail, fax, or write in to the YS office by the Sunday of each week to have their contributions included in the next week's issue of the *Militant*.

As a reminder, membership dues for January should be sent in as well.

Jack Willey is a member of the Young Socialists in New York, Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 6232, and the YS national steering committee.



NATO fires opening shots in Yugoslavia

Continued from front page

umphed there in the mid-1940s and to reestablish capitalism — will require a military confrontation with the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia.

The warring gangs in Bosnia continue to clash with each other and with working people. Two Croatian cops shot and killed a Muslim youth who ran a road block in Mostar December 31. Males between the ages of 16 and 60 are prohibited from crossing a line that divides the city in southwestern Bosnia into Muslim and Croat sections.

Clashes in Mostar

Croatian cops wounded two Muslim policemen January 4 and a Croatian policeman was killed January 6 by gunfire originating in the Muslim area of Mostar. Later that night, Croatian forces launched grenades into the Muslim side of the city.

During the 10-month war that erupted there in 1993-94, Croat forces backed by the Zagreb regime proclaimed a country in a region of Bosnia and called it Herceg-Bosna. They still maintain an army and collect customs duties and taxes there. According to the London *Financial Times*, Croat officials in Mostar have imposed a \$10 tax on every truck delivering relief supplies to central Bosnia.

Under the Dayton agreement imposed by Washington, Herceg-Bosna would dissolve by late January. The territory would become part of the federation that is supposed to be jointly administered by Muslim and Croat forces, while under a central government with its capital in Sarajevo. Mostar is considered to be a crucial part of the so-called Muslim-Croat federation that is to control half of Bosnia.

Taking advantage of the clashes in Mostar, NATO forces increased their armed patrols in that city. Bosnian government authorities have reportedly asked NATO officials to take control of Mostar from the European Union. The European Union assumed control of the city as part of an agreement in 1994 that called for an end to the fighting between Muslim and Croat forces in Bosnia.

While Croatian president Franjo Tudjman stated his support for the Dayton pact, local Croatian authorities in Bosnia would lose considerable power if it were implemented. "Their real problem is they have to give up Herceg-Bosna," a European official told the *New York Times*.

Washington's military forces are gradually expanding their occupation of Bosnia, seeking to establish their right to move



British armored vehicle in Bosnia. Imperialists plan to use massive fire power.

anywhere and challenge anyone in their way. On a January 6 scouting patrol in Vlasenica, a caravan of heavily armed U.S. troops from the 4th Battalion 12th Infantry pulled up in front of the Drina Corps Command, the center of operations for 30,000 Serb troops backed by Belgrade. They confronted a group of Bosnian Serb soldiers carrying machine guns, although no clash took place.

The scouting mission was to help U.S. commanders determine where to establish six base camps of the First Armored Division's Second Brigade. Each camp will hold 600-800 troops.

Two days earlier, a convoy of 13 U.S. Humvees loaded with machine guns and grenade launchers, along with 46 paratroopers from the 3rd Battalion of the 325th Airborne Combat team, swept into the town of Lopare. The operation, also intended to display Washington's military might, passed unchallenged through the Serb checkpoint at Memici on its way to Lopare. A garrison town in Bosnia held by Belgrade-backed forces, Lopare falls in a zone to be patrolled by 1,500 Russian troops. According to the *Washington Post*, the Russian force "has been slow in getting" there.

In yet another incident, NATO forces pressed troops loyal to chauvinist Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to release 16 Bosnians they had detained in Sarajevo suburbs under their control.

Karadzic reappeared on television in early January for the first time in several weeks. "Although we were successful in defending them militarily, we have lost by political means our ancient homes in Sarajevo," he said. "Now we must regain them by a long and uncertain political struggle."

Karadzic was referring to his opposition to a provision of the Dayton agreement under which Vogosca and four other suburbs of Sarajevo controlled by his forces are supposed to return to the control of the Bosnian government by mid-March.

The Dayton accord also requires Karadzic to give up his post on the basis that he was indicted as a war criminal by the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. "I am here, and I will stay here," said a defiant Karadzic, the Associated Press reported.

Another component of the Dayton pact was Washington's agreement to lift its military and economic sanctions against Serbia, which the U.S. government imposed three years ago to increase its influence in the region. On December 28 President Bill Clinton suspended the sanctions.

Meanwhile, the Clinton administration sent Secretary of Defense William Perry to Europe and the Middle East. Perry, accompanied by NATO commander George Joulwan and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. John Shalikashvili, visited U.S. troops in Hungary who were bound for Bosnia. They then went to Sarajevo, Tuzla, and the Croatian town of Zupanja. There they re-entered Bosnia by walking across the newly built pontoon

bridge where the bulk of Washington's 20,000 occupation troops will cross over.

Clinton himself is projecting a visit to Bosnia the weekend of January 13-14.

Perry left the Balkans for the Middle East, another volatile region where Washington maintains a military presence to defend its imperial interests. On January 8, the defense secretary told reporters in Jerusalem that Washington would be willing to include troops in a "peacekeeping" force in the Golan Heights, a piece of Syrian territory occupied by Israeli forces. Since 1979, U.S. GIs have been deployed in the Sinai desert as part of a 2,400-member international force.

Washington's expanded intervention in the Balkans comes at the expense of its imperialist rivals, particularly Paris. Lt. Col. Virginia Pribyla, an Air Force spokeswoman, announced plans on January 5 to launch U-2 spy flights from an airfield in southern France. The Air Force is already flying KC-135 tankers from the French base. This move underscored the French capitalist rulers' weakened position relative to their U.S. competitors.

Chechnya war adds to volatility

In addition to the friction between the imperialist powers, the role of Russian forces in the Yugoslav conflict remains a major source of tension. Moscow has its own interests that diverge from those of Washington and other NATO powers. The Russian government has backed the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic.

Political instability within Russia gives the imperialist governments added headaches. Most recently, the war in Chechnya has again flared up. An estimated 20,000 people have been killed in that 13-month-old conflict, which began after Moscow sent troops to crush a popular independence movement there.

On January 9 a band of Chechen fighters stormed a large hospital in Kizlyar in the autonomous republic of Dagestan — which is part of Russia — and took an estimated 2,000 hostages. They vowed to leave only after Russian troops withdraw from Chechnya. Most of the hostages were released the next day. A few days earlier, 100 prominent Russian writers, actors, composers, and singers published an open letter calling on President Boris Yeltsin to end the "fratricidal war" in Chechnya. The letter was printed on the front page of the *Izvestia* newspaper under the headline "Stop the War in Chechnya."

"The senselessness and unpopularity of this war is obvious to everyone," the letter stated. "How much more evidence is needed to show that a solution by force is hopeless?"

Socialists discuss war drive against Yugoslavia with GIs

BY RONI McCANN

FAIRBORN, Ohio — Opinions about Washington sending troops to Yugoslavia varied among workers and soldiers here, where Wright-Patterson Air Force Base is located. The base was the site of the much-publicized meetings where the U.S. government pushed through the supposed peace agreement that calls for placing 20,000 U.S. troops in Bosnia. Supporters of the *Militant* newspaper spent a day showing the paper around and discussing the war drive now under way.

"If the heads of governments want to fight over Bosnia they should get in a ring and do it themselves," said one former U.S. Army soldier who spent time in the Persian Gulf. His opinion was echoed by a friend who had just returned from a three-month stint in Croatia. "We shouldn't go," she said, "We have enough problems here."

Pointing to the *Militant's* coverage on the strike wave in France, she commented that they hadn't heard this was going on over there because news and information was limited. The armed forces' Stars and Stripes and newspapers in Serbo-Croatian were often the only sources available. They did hear of the struggle for independence in Quebec, but U.S. troops were advised not to talk with the Canadian soldiers about the subject so as not to stir up controversy.

Dennis Cooper, a Native American who has two brothers currently in Bosnia, said he's for Quebec separating. He paged

through the *Militant*. "A woman's choice of abortion is the only choice she can make by herself," he commented on the struggle for abortion rights.

An aircraft mechanic who was recently discharged after three years said intervention into Yugoslavia was a bad idea. "You probably won't like what I have to say about [U.S. president Bill] Clinton but I hate him. He's a self-serving politician just like all the rest of them." He said he would go back to Bosnia if called upon, though, to back the troops.

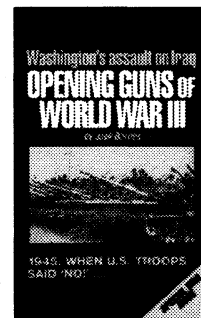
A former U.S. Army reservist who took a few minutes to talk said his views went back and forth. "On the one hand the troops are trained to do a job and they know that when they sign up. But it does bother me that the president himself got out of going to war yet he's sending troops over now."

Some people expressed the view that troops being sent would not resolve much, if anything. "The fighting has been going on for thousands of years and it won't stop now," said one person, echoing a frequent theme in the media. "The government will just send more people to get killed."

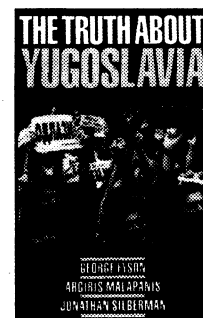
Another woman whose brother was stationed in Georgia and just got deployed to Bosnia was emphatic, "They should not be over there!" She liked the paper's coverage of the struggles of working people, including against the war drive, and bought a copy. All told, the team sold five copies of the *Militant* and one of the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*.

BOOKS FOR WORKING-CLASS CAMPAIGN AGAINST WAR DRIVE

Pathfinder publishes a number of books and pamphlets that are valuable weapons for working people opposed to the imperialists' march toward war in Yugoslavia. Below is a selection of titles documenting earlier opposition to imperialist war, battles to defend unions and democratic rights at home, and the struggle for socialism.



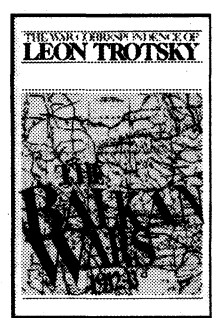
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Marxist magazine finds eager audience in France

BY ROLLANDE GIRARD

PARIS — "This is the war of some Serbs, but it is not our war," said a Serbian now living and working in Paris. He had stopped by a literature table set up by an international team of socialist workers and youth who are on a campaign here to sell hundreds of copies of the Marxist magazine *Nouvelle Internationale*.

A French student gave a different view. "It's too bad you're saying this about Yugoslavia," he said, referring to the sign on the table that read, "No to French and NATO troops in Yugoslavia."

"My brother is over there and I believe he saved a lot of people's lives," the student said.

From December 16 to January 8 the international team of volunteers has sold 269 copies of *Nouvelle Internationale*. The best-seller in this series has been issue no. 5 with the articles "Imperialism's march toward fascism and war" by Jack Barnes and "Defending Cuba, defending Cuba's socialist revolution" by Mary-Alice Waters. Some 165 copies of this issue have been sold.

The volunteer salespeople from abroad came to France during the strikes and mass actions in December against the onslaught on social security by the Alain Juppé government. This mass movement, which forced the government to retreat, ebbed just before the holidays. At the same time, the battles of November and December continue to generate broad political discussions among workers and youth that show working people gained self-confidence through their victorious struggle.

The international team has regularly set up tables with Pathfinder books, the *Militant*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* on campuses and street corners in Paris. The signs on the tables read, "No to the Juppé plan," "France, NATO out of Yugoslavia," and "Defend the socialist revolution in Cuba."

At one of the tables on a busy street corner, a young high school woman came by and asked the socialist workers their opinion about Yugoslavia. After listening carefully, she said, "I agree. I'm Serb. I've lived here for 13 years but I go visit my family. They tell me 'Nobody asked us if we wanted a war,' because they sure didn't want it." Her family had lived together with Muslims and Croats without any problems before, she explained.

At the Jussieu campus, Bauchera, a student opposed to the imperialist war drive

against Yugoslavia, was happy to meet someone who had the same ideas she did. Her friends didn't agree with her, she said.

Differing views on Cuban revolution

The international team has also gotten into ongoing discussions with people who are for and against the Cuban revolution.

One person exclaimed, "Socialist Cuba, you must be crazy!" One rail worker, who is also a member of the French Communist Party (CP), said Cuba had made a "mistake by helping Angola," referring to the participation of hundreds of thousands of Cuban volunteers in the fight against repeated invasions of that country from 1975 to 1988 by the racist army of apartheid South Africa. "They should have kept the resources they had to take care of their own people," the CP member said.

Many workers originally from Africa, however, and many young people of all nationalities interviewed by *Militant* reporters, expressed a different view. Several said the Cuban revolution showed its real internationalism in Angola, and won the respect of many working people for that reason.

"It's very important what you're doing for Cuba because a lot of people here attack it," said a man walking by the socialists' literature table.

Elisabeth, a student from Jussieu University, said she was attracted to the Cuban revolution despite the campaign of the big-business media here to portray the government in Havana as a dictatorship. She emphasized she could "never find anybody who could explain the real situation and why Cuba was different" from the Soviet Union, until she met this group of communists.

Nouvelle Internationale no. 3 has also attracted a lot of attention here. This issue of the Marxist magazine features speeches

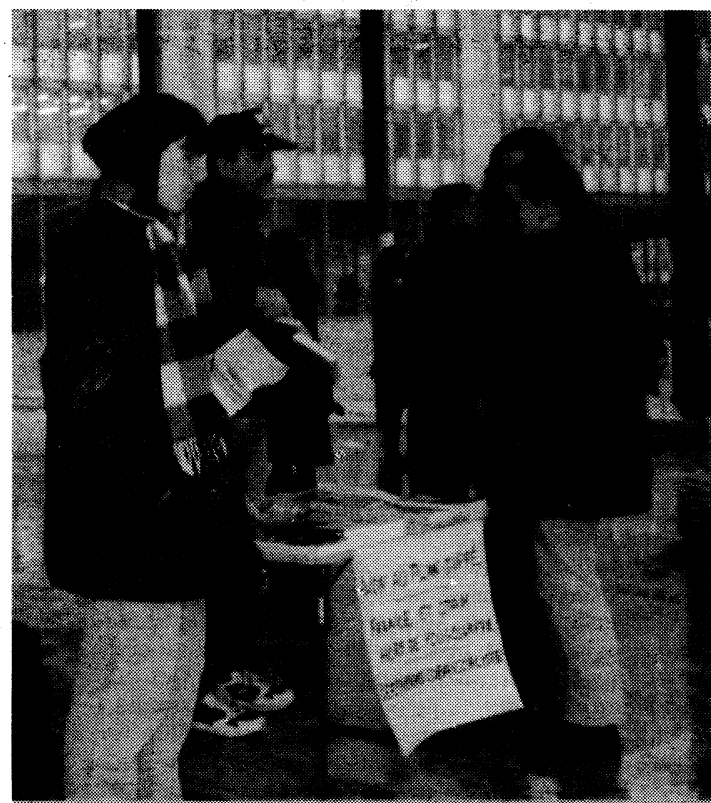
by Thomas Sankara and Fidel Castro and the article "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop" by Steve Clark.

A woman came by one literature table and bought a copy of *Nouvelle Internationale* no. 3. She explained that she really respected Sankara. She said she was one of the organizers of a mass demonstration and rally in Burkina Faso on March 8, 1987, in support of the revolution. That's when Sankara, the former president of that West African country, gave his well-known speech in favor of women's rights. (This talk is available in the Pathfinder pamphlet *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle*.) Sankara was assassinated later that year by a group of counterrevolutionaries in the army, some of whom were Stalinists.

Team members visited rail workers in Paris who remained on strike the first week of January. They were demanding the withdrawal of financial penalties imposed on the workers for their walkout in December. The administration of the state-owned rail company (SNCF) backed down on January 5.

"It's their fault if we had to strike; we shouldn't pay for their mistakes," said Jean-Pierre Seguin, talking about SNCF management.

The strikers were furious about the actions of the CRS riot police against the



Militant/Katy LeRougetel

Hawking *Nouvelle Internationale* at University of Paris

workers in Marseille, forcing them out of the bus depots they occupied (see accompanying article). José López, one of the rail strikers, noted that the government had used a terrorist bombing in a metro last fall "as an excuse to put more cops in the streets."

"There is no future for young people," López stated. "They get less pay" for the same work. The company has sharply reduced the number of rail workers by not hiring new employees as older rail workers retire.

Several strikers pointed out that life expectancy for rail workers in France is 57 years old. That's one of the reasons they fought tooth and nail against raising the rail retirement age from 50 to 55 — and they won.

Rollande Girard is a laid-off garment worker in Miami, Florida.

Framed-up unionist prepares for parole

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — "We received the parole papers for Mark Curtis from the state of Iowa on December 27," Illinois corrections officials told Jed Stone January 4. Stone is a Chicago defense lawyer recently retained by Curtis to aid in finalizing his release from the Iowa State Penitentiary in Fort Madison. Curtis has requested to be paroled to Illinois, in order

to move to Chicago to live with his wife Kate Kaku, get a job, and resume political activity outside prison.

The Illinois state authorities told Stone they intend to conclude their investigation into Curtis's parole plan by the end of January.

Curtis, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union and of the Socialist Workers Party, was imprisoned in Iowa in 1988 on frame-up charges of attempted rape and burglary. His real "crime" was participating in a defense campaign for 17 co-workers from Mexico and El Salvador who were seized by federal agents in an immigration raid on the Monfort packing plant where they worked.

While in custody, the cops beat him bloody and called him "a Mexican lover, just like you love those coloreds."

Curtis has remained politically active behind bars. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee, formed to campaign for his freedom, has publicized his case and fought for his release on parole. On November 21, after seven years of imprisonment, the Iowa State Board of Parole voted to grant Curtis his release. He will be freed on parole after the completion of the investigation by Illinois corrections officials into Curtis's living situation in Chicago and potential job offers.

Curtis backers continue to gather political and financial support. Nearly \$20,000 has been collected toward a \$25,000 fund drive, launched by the committee on the announcement Curtis had won parole, in order to cover ongoing legal expenses.

The political activist will face new political challenges upon his release. They include whatever conditions Illinois parole authorities may impose on him, special restrictions from a law recently enacted in Illinois that attacks the rights of those convicted as "sex offenders," and potential challenges from political supporters of his victimization by the police. That is why Curtis has retained Stone, as well as well-known Chicago civil liberties lawyer Matt Piers, who will serve as his general counsel.

The framed-up unionist continues to receive congratulations from around the world for his parole and for his tenacity in fighting for freedom.

The Committee in Defense of Liberties and the Rights of Man in France and in the World sent such a message December 27, entitled "Mark Curtis is Finally Free." It read in part, "This significant victory — and no one should doubt how this has come about — is the fruit of his courage and the determination he has shown, regardless of what they threw at him he held his head high while imprisoned, and because of the broad support won in the United States and around the world."

"The Committee in Defense of Liberties and the Rights of Man, chaired by George Marchais, is proud to have participated in this struggle, and sees this victory as an advance for the struggles of others in France and in the world against inequality and for justice."

Curtis also received a letter headed "CONGRATULATIONS!" and signed by 11 union and political activists in Athens, Greece.

"You always said 'stay strong' and it is precisely by you staying strong that this victory became possible," they wrote. "We are gathered in Athens for a small celebration in your honor but we will remain vigilant until you walk out of the prison walls and take your rightful place on the front lines of fighting free men and women."

The signers included airline workers, members of the Union of Filipino Immigrant Workers in Greece, garment workers, a member of the Network for Social and Political Rights, and an activist from the African National Congress in South Africa currently living in Greece.

People who have just heard of Curtis's fight also continue to write in. One person wrote from Chicago to say he had seen a note on the Internet on the case and was writing to find out details.

To contribute to the defense committee fund drive, or to get more information, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

Marseille transit strikers win despite vicious attack by cops

BY KATY LEROUGETEL

PARIS, France — After 33 days on strike, transit workers in Marseille, the country's second largest city, forced their employer to abandon two-tier wages and agree to better working conditions. Early on January 9, unionists crammed into that city's four transport depots to vote on the settlement and celebrate their victory.

"We've won, we've won," workers chanted at the La Rose depot. "This is historic," said another worker at the Capelette depot.

The wage difference and longer hours for new hires will be eliminated in two phases: half as of Jan. 1, 1996, and the rest on Jan. 1, 1997. Unionists also won a modest across-the-board wage increase and a monthly bonus of 200 francs (\$1=5 francs) for the lowest paid.

No disciplinary measures will be taken against the strikers.

A manager for the Regional Transit of Marseille (RTM) fumed to the French business daily *Le Figaro*, "We've just gone backwards 15 years. The RTM had begun to operate like a business. Now we are back to being functionaries."

The company had tried to use police violence to break the strike. Club-wielding riot cops (CRS) brutally attacked 100 striking transit workers in

Marseille January 7. André Mattei, a 50-year-old striker handicapped by a recent leg operation, was hospitalized with multiple contusions and a head injury.

"This is outrageous. We're being treated like wrong-doers for the sake of a few eggs [thrown by the strikers]. They used billy clubs shamelessly," said CGT union steward Georges Chahine.

Following a court order issued a few days earlier, hundreds of CRS cops evicted strikers from the four transit depots they had been occupying since December 7.

But these moves failed to break the strike, which nearly crippled bus and tram service in Marseille. Eighty percent of bus drivers remained on strike. Only 20 out of the usual 400 buses ran on January 6. All bus service was suspended after the January 7 assault. Subway lines functioned with heavy police presence.

Hundreds of strikers showed their determination and solidarity in the days after the cop attack, rallying outside disciplinary hearings for co-workers.

After this massive show of solidarity negotiations produced results favorable to the strikers.

Katy LeRougetel is a laid-off garment worker in Montreal, Quebec.

'Rebel triumph is clearly in sight'

Articles by Che Guevara from Sierra Maestra

The following are three articles by Ernesto Che Guevara, one of the central leaders of the Cuban revolution. They were published in *El Cubano Libre* (Free Cuban), the newspaper of the Rebel Army in Cuba, which led the revolutionary war to overthrow the U.S.-backed tyranny of Fulgencio Batista.

El Cubano Libre — also the name of a paper published by Cuban patriots during the independence wars against Spanish colonialism in the 19th century — was established by Guevara in November 1957 in the Sierra Maestra.

"As for the dissemination of our ideas, first we started a small newspaper, *El Cubano Libre*, in memory of those heroes of the jungle," says Guevara in the chapter "One year of armed struggle" of his book *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-58*. "Three or four issues came out under my directorship; it was later edited by Luis Orlando Rodríguez, and subsequently by Carlos Franqui, who gave it new impetus. We had a mimeograph machine brought up to us from the cities, on which the paper was printed."

In February 1996 Pathfinder Press will release a new edition of the *Episodes*. The English-language translation of the articles below, which are not included in the *Episodes*, is copyright © Pathfinder Press. They are reprinted by permission. Footnotes are by the *Militant*.

BY ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA

The article below was published in no. 3 of *El Cubano Libre* in January 1958 under the title "One Year of Combat."

The first year of our struggle in the Sierra Maestra has now been completed. The road has been long and difficult.

On the third day after our landing in Cuba on December 2, 1956, our troop of 82 expeditionaries was taken by surprise, dispersed, and almost annihilated at a place known as "Alegria" [joy].¹

Bitter days of dispersal followed. The defeated rebels — hungry, thirsty, discouraged, in small groups — roamed the woods aimlessly. Some lost faith and turned in their weapons. Then came death at the hands of military killers, as Laurent and other jackals gorged their lust for blood, and great comrades fell victim. Antonio López, Juan Manuel Márquez, José Smith, and Cándido González were among the murdered.

Days passed and finally the dispersed fighters were reunited: fifteen poorly armed men with even less ammunition. What sustained them was a common ideal: Cuba. And they were driven by a faith that could move mountains: that of Fidel.

Few times can it be said so truthfully that one man was the creator of a revolution. Martí² proclaimed that those who march at the head have the obligation of seeing farther. Fidel marched at the head of a tiny guerrilla unit, and saw what no one dared to see; during those days of defeat he saw victory, and his wonderful faith in the power of the people sustained and inspired everyone.

Later came the victories at La Plata and Palma Mocha. Subsequently a traitor whom Casillas introduced in our midst had us in the jaws of the jackal on three occasions; the worst period eventually passed, and we eliminated the internal enemy. Later, when the world had given us up for dead, the interview with Matthews put the lie to our disappearance.³

Thus we can say that the timid stage of the revolution was brought to an end.

Up until then we saw in each peasant a potential informer; we saw in each peasant hut a threat to our security. We ate boiled malanga or yucca, often without salt or lard. We had still not understood the enormous capacity of struggle of the Cuban peasant. In response to the threats, the mistreatment, the burning of homes, and murder, they responded by supporting us with greater enthusiasm, giving us their children as combatants and guides, and

letting us use their houses, all as a contribution to the cause.

Afterward came the battle of Uvero, where we achieved a great though painful triumph, costing us the lives of seven of our comrades.

The subsequent forced evacuation of peasants by the government was the pretext for a thousand crimes, robberies, and abuses against them. Again the peasants responded with renewed support to the cause of the July 26 Movement.

Our fair treatment toward the peasantry — respecting their property, paying for what we consumed, tending their sick, helping those most in need — was the total opposite of the government's bestial policy.

At that point the relationship of forces in the Sierra Maestra began to shift greatly. Four well-armed columns were formed, Estrada Palma and Bueycito were attacked, the enemy was compelled to maintain a defensive posture, and their columns were decimated when they tried to ascend the mountains.

Now the Movement has proposed to obstruct the sugar harvest as long as Batista is in power. We intend to overthrow him: through economic pressure caused by the loss of the sugar harvest, his principal source of income; through the revolutionary general strike, which will be called at the appropriate moment; and through the pressure of our columns, which will repulse every attempt by the enemy to enter the mountains, while preparing to take the struggle down onto the plains once and for all. Now that our triumph is clearly in sight, when a Fidel Castro is not needed to see its approach, the politicians of old, living comfortably in exile, tried to make a pact in which our name was invoked.⁴ Not only did they not consult us, but they boycotted us in a clear attempt to return to the swamp that existed prior to March 1952.

But the blood of the people has not been shed in vain. Each and every one of our dead over these five years of dictatorship constitutes a solemn pledge to carry our revolution forward, far beyond the simple ouster of Batista — as far as necessary to ensure there will be no going back to the status quo of old.

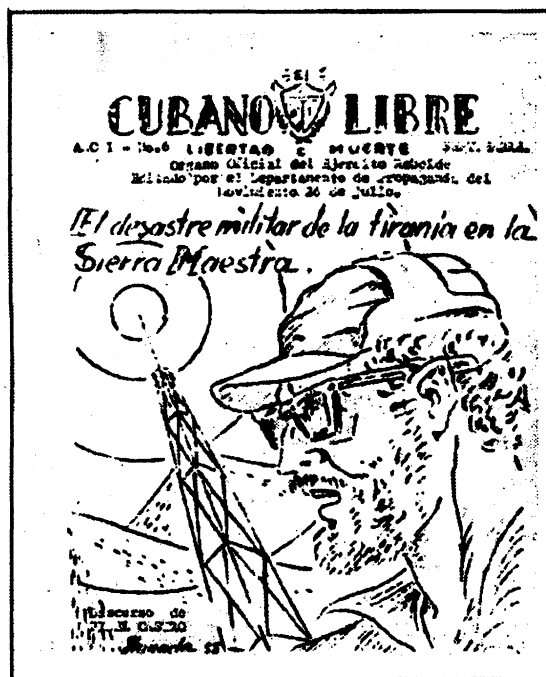
That is why we fight. And neither the latest crimes that drag the army down to the lowest rung of barbarism, nor the betrayal of the pseudo-oppositionist and electoralist groups, will make us change our stance.

This was one of the regular articles Guevara wrote for *El Cubano Libre* under the heading "No Bullet in the Chamber," and signed with the pen name "Sharpshooter." It was published in no. 3 of *El Cubano Libre* in January 1958.

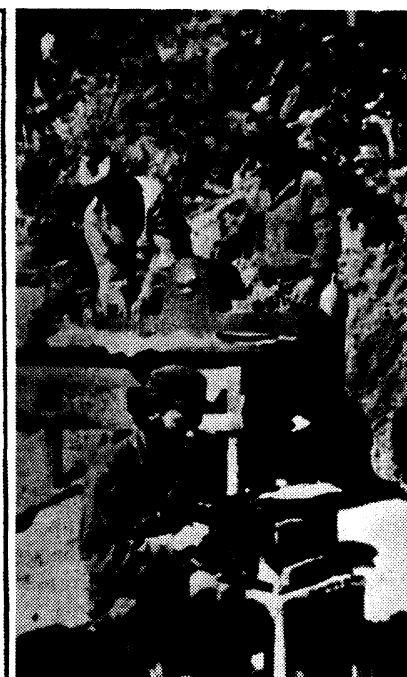
Here in the mountaintops of our Sierra, the voice of a distant world reaches us via the radio and newspapers. The media are more explicit in describing events abroad, because they are unable to mention the crimes committed here on a daily basis.

Thus we learn of the disturbances and deaths in Cyprus, Algeria, Ifni, or Malaya, all of which have common characteristics:

a) The government authorities "have inflicted heavy losses on the rebels." b) There are no prisoners. c) "All



Front page of *El Cubano Libre* no. 6. Right, mimeograph machine and typewriter used to prepare paper, Che's Rebel Army column, Sierra, late 1957 or early 1958.



goes normally" for the government. d) All the revolutionaries, no matter which country or region they are in, are receiving "secret aid from communists."

How much the world resembles Cuba! It is the same everywhere. A group of patriots is murdered, with or without arms, whether or not they are rebels. After a "ferocious struggle," they fall under the guns of the oppressors. No prisoners are taken because all witnesses are killed.

The government never suffers any casualties, which is sometimes true — since murdering defenseless individuals is not particularly dangerous. But sometimes it is also pure lying; the Sierra Maestra gives irrefutable proof of this.

And finally, there is the handy accusation, as always, of "communists." Those who are fed up with so much poverty and pick up a gun, wherever it may be, are "communists." Those who murder the indignant people: men, women, or children, are "democrats."

How much the world resembles Cuba! But everywhere, as in Cuba, the people are standing up to brutal force and injustice. And it is they who will have the last word: that of victory.

The article below was published in no. 4 of *El Cubano Libre* in February 1958. The original article had no title.

There is a notable difference between that tattered and filthy "army" of twelve men (please don't count them) who roamed as isolated inhabitants of the highest peaks of the Sierra Maestra, and our new army of twelve columns and great offensive might. The difference is not only military, although perhaps the military aspect provides the basis; today it is also political. There is a world of difference between the pictures of bearded guerrilla fighters that used to appear on the amusement pages, taken from *Life* and *Coronet* magazines, and the serious declaration by the State Department denying Fidel Castro's comments to Homer Biggart denouncing the pact between that department and Batista. The July 26 Movement

is no longer a bizarre spectacle for the entertainment pages; it has now become an international political factor.

But there is a question on the minds of the Cuban people: Does the pact exist? And if so, what is the United States trying to achieve?

Yes, the pact exists, and the revolutionary general staff knew that Batista would lift the censorship and Prío would be arrested the day before these things occurred. What we cannot answer is what goals are being pursued by the United States of North America, the Great Power defending democracy and the free world, backing a semidefeated dictatorship against the clear will of the people.

It would seem ridiculous for our small forces to attempt to threaten the giant. Threaten them? No, never. We are simply reminding them. Reminding the United States of North America that behind the July 26 Movement's army there is a people in struggle, there is a unanimous civic will. To put them on notice, simply put, that the July 26 Movement is advancing toward its goal, fulfilling the will of the masses. And to put them on notice that our conduct is guided by the battle cry that serves as this publication's motto:

Freedom or death!

1 On Dec. 2, 1956, 82 expeditionaries reached Cuba at Las Coloradas beach in Oriente province aboard the yacht *Granma*. Three days later the rebel combatants were surprised by Batista's troops at Alegria del Pío and dispersed; half the rebels were subsequently murdered or imprisoned.

2 Cuban national hero José Martí (1853-1895) was a noted poet, writer, speaker, and journalist. He founded Cuban Revolutionary Party in 1892 to fight Spanish rule and oppose U.S. designs on Cuba, launched the 1895 independence war, and was killed in battle later that year.

3 *New York Times* correspondent Herbert Matthews (1900-1977) was first journalist to interview and photograph Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra on Feb. 17, 1957.

4 Guevara is referring here to the Miami Pact. It was issued Nov. 1, 1957, by forces including leaders of the Authentic Party, Orthodox Party, Revolutionary Directorate, and others who falsely claimed the document had been signed by authorized representatives of the July 26 Movement. The pact created the Cuban Liberation Junta dominated by Authentic Party leader Carlos Prío; it was denounced by the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement in a letter drafted by Fidel Castro.

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Ernesto Che Guevara
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Ernesto Che Guevara

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With clarity and humor, Guevara describes his own political education. He explains how the struggle transformed the men and women of the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement led by Fidel Castro. And how these combatants forged a political leadership capable of guiding millions of workers and peasants to open the socialist revolution in the Americas.

Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* appears here complete for the first time in English.

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U.S. rivalry with Europe led to world war

Trotsky on Washington's emergence as the chief imperialist power in 1920s

Reprinted below is an excerpt from the 1928 article "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals," by Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Bolshevik-led revolution of October 1917 and of the Communist International in its early years. The entire document appears in *The Third International After Lenin*, published by Pathfinder Press.

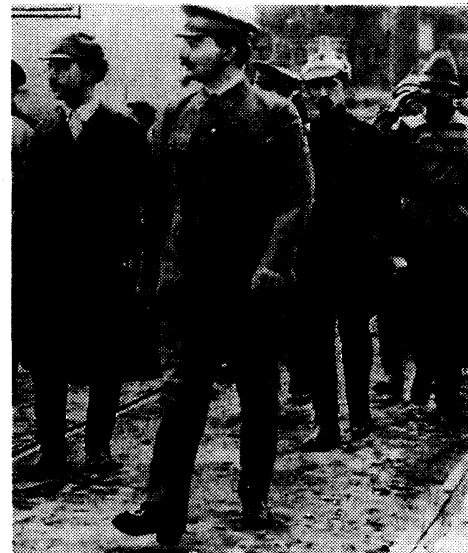
Trotsky directed his article to the delegates at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International (Comintern), held in Moscow in 1928. It presented a communist perspective in response to the anti-internationalist policies of the increasingly Stalinized Comintern.

The excerpted section of this document, describing the growing rivalries in Europe between Washington and other imperialist powers, is titled "The United States of America and Europe." Copyright © Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.



BY LEON TROTSKY

To characterize the first, fortunately discarded draft, it suffices to say that, so far as we recall, the name of the United States of America was not even mentioned in it. The essential problems of the imperialist epoch—which, because of the very character of this epoch, must be examined not only in their abstract and theoretical but also in their concrete and historical cross section—were dissolved in the first draft into a lifeless schema of a capitalistic country "in general." However, the new draft—and this, of course, is a serious step forward—now speaks of "the shift of the economic center of the world to the United



Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky (center)

States of America"; and of "the transformation of the 'Dollar Republic' into a world exploiter"; and finally, that the rivalry (the draft loosely says "conflict") between North American and European capitalism, primarily British capitalism, "is becoming the axis of the world conflicts."

It is already quite obvious today that a program which did not contain a clear and precise definition of these basic facts and factors of the world situation would have nothing in common with the program of the international revolutionary party.

Unfortunately, the essential facts and tendencies of world development in the modern epoch which we have just indicated are merely mentioned by name in the text of the draft, grafted on to it, as it were, by way of theoretical back-writing, without having any internal connection with its entire structure and without leading to any conclusions about perspective or strategy.

Coming economic, military convulsions

America's new role in Europe since the capitulation of the German Communist Party, and the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923, has been left absolutely unevaluated. No attempt at all has been made to explain that the period of the "stabilization," "normalization," and "pacification" of Europe as well as the "regeneration" of the social democracy, has proceeded in close material and ideological connection with the first steps of American intervention in European affairs.

Moreover, it has not been shown that the inevitable further development of American expansion, the contraction of the markets of European capital, including the European market itself, entail the greatest military, economic, and revolutionary convulsions, beside which all those of the past fade into the background.

Again, neither has it been made clear that the further inexorable pressure of the United States will reduce capitalist Europe to constantly more limited rations in world economy; and this, of course, implies not a mitigation, but on the contrary, a monstrous sharpening of interstate relations in Europe accompanied by furious paroxysms of military conflict, for states as well as classes fight even more fiercely for a meager and a diminishing ration than for a lavish and growing one.

The draft does not explain that the internal chaos of the state antagonisms in Europe renders hopeless any sort of serious and successful resistance to the constantly more centralized North American republic; and that the resolution of the European chaos through the Soviet United States of Europe is one of the first tasks of the proletarian revolution. The latter (precisely because of the existence of barriers) is immeasurably closer in Europe than in America and will, therefore, most likely have to defend itself from the North American bourgeoisie.

U.S. hands in every powder keg

On the other hand, no mention at all has been made of the fact (and this is just as important a phase of the same world problem) that it is precisely the international strength of the United States and her irresistible expansion arising from it, that compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure, i.e., all the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggle in Old Europe, the uprisings of the colonial masses, and all wars and revolutions.

On the one hand, this transforms North American capitalism into the basic counterrevolutionary force of the modern epoch, constantly more interested in the maintenance of "order" in every corner of the terrestrial globe; and on the other hand, this prepares the ground for a gigantic revolutionary explosion in this already dominant and still expanding world imperialist power. The logic of world relations indicates that the time of this explosion cannot lag very far behind that of the proletarian revolution in Europe.

Our elucidation of the dialectics of the interrelations between America and Europe have made us the target in recent years of the most diversified accusations, charging us with the pacifist denial of the existence of European contradictions, with the acceptance of Kautsky's theory of ultra-imperialism, and many other sins.

There is no need to dwell here upon these "accusations," which are at best due to a complete ignorance of the real processes and of our attitude toward them. We cannot refrain from observing, however, that it would be hard to waste more effort in confusing and muddling up this most vital world problem than was wasted (incidentally, by the authors of the draft program) in their petty struggle against our formulation of the problem. Our formulation has, however, been entirely confirmed by the course of events.

Even recently, efforts have been made in leading communist organs to minimize—on paper—the significance of American hegemony by alluding to the impending commercial and industrial crisis in the United States. We cannot here enter into an examination of the special problem of the duration of the American crisis and its possible depth. This is a question of conjuncture and not of program.

It goes without saying that in our opinion the inevitability of a crisis is entirely beyond doubt; nor, considering the present world scope of American capitalism, do we think it is out of the question that the very next crisis will attain extremely great depth and sharpness. But there is no



City of Caen, France, bombed into rubble by mid-July 1944. Interimperialist competition over domination of world's markets — between Washington, London, and Paris on one hand and Bonn, Rome, and Tokyo on the other — led to slaughter of World War II, much like World War I.

justification whatsoever for the attempt to conclude from this that the hegemony of North America will be restricted or weakened. Such a conclusion can lead only to the grossest strategic errors.

Just the contrary is the case. *In the period of crisis the hegemony of the United States will operate more completely, more openly, and more ruthlessly than in the period of boom.* The United States will seek to overcome and extricate herself from her difficulties and maladies primarily at the expense of Europe, regardless of whether this occurs in Asia, Canada, South America, Australia, or Europe itself, or whether this takes place peacefully or through war.

Source of revolutionary situations

We must clearly understand that if the first period of American intervention had the effect of stabilization and pacification on Europe, which to a considerable extent still remains in force today, and may even recur episodically and become stronger (particularly in the event of new defeats of the proletariat), the general line of American policy, particularly in time of its own economic difficulties and crisis, will engender the deepest convulsions in Europe as well as over the entire world.

From this we draw the not unimportant conclusion that there will be no more lack of revolutionary situations in the next decade than in the past decade. That is why it is of utmost importance to understand correctly the mainsprings of devel-

opment so that we may not be caught unawares by their action.

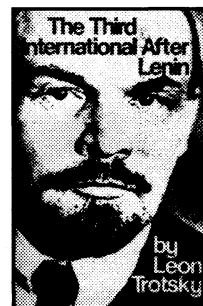
If in the past decade the main source of revolutionary situations lay in the direct consequences of the imperialist war, in the second postwar decade the most important source of revolutionary upheavals will be the interrelations of Europe and America. A major crisis in the United States will strike the tocsin for new wars and revolutions.

We repeat: there will be no lack of revolutionary situations. The entire question hinges upon the international party of the proletariat, the maturity and fighting ability of the Comintern, and the correctness of its strategic position and tactical methods.

In the draft program of the Comintern absolutely no expression is to be found of this trend of thought. A fact of such great importance, it would seem, as "the shifting of the world economic center to the United States," is glossed over by a casual journalistic remark. It is, of course, utterly impossible to justify this on the ground of lack of space, for what should be allowed space in a program if not the fundamental questions?

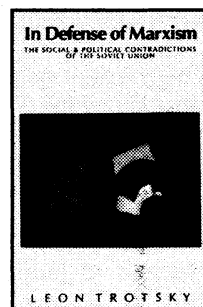
Besides, it should be added that too much space is devoted in the program to questions of secondary and tertiary importance, to say nothing of the general literary looseness and innumerable repetitions by elimination of which the program could be reduced at least one-third.

Writings of Leon Trotsky



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Socialists map working-class campaign

Continued from front page

and unions. That provides the only proletarian political foundation from which to participate along with other workers in any picket lines, speakouts, or other protests that begin to be organized, on however small a scale initially, if the war drive intensifies.

The lessons of that earlier campaign are contained in talks by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes, published under the title "Opening Guns of World War III" in issue no. 7 of the Marxist magazine *New International*. Classes at several of the regional gatherings reviewed these experiences and lessons.

Explaining the stakes in fighting Washington's war drive will be at the center of activity of the Young Socialists too, as they work over the next few months to build their first national conference, to be held in Minneapolis over the Easter weekend, April 6-7.

The regional conferences also marked the public launching of the single largest effort by the communist movement decided by the December National Committee meeting: to increase the sales of revolutionary books and pamphlets by \$100,000 in 1996. Workers and youth will be organizing to expand and regularize the hours of bookstores where communist literature can be bought in more than 30 cities around the world; upgrade the appearance of and political attention to those bookstores; increase the sales of books and pamphlets off SWP and Young Socialists literature tables at political events, on street corners in working-class neighborhoods, and on campuses; and organize to get revolutionary titles onto the shelves of more commercial bookstores.

Not only is such a sales effort necessary to meet a growing political need for revolutionary literature by workers and youth, SWP leaders explained at the four confer-



Partisan fighters during World War II, such as those above, forged a movement that united workers and farmers across national lines to fight the fascists. The movement also led the overthrow of the landlords and capitalists, expropriating land and factories, a history not explained in the big-business press today. The aim of the current NATO occupation is to overturn the Yugoslav workers state.

ences. It is also a precondition to financially sustaining a publishing program that makes it possible for these political weapons to be produced, kept in print, upgraded, and circulated as widely as possible among fighters the world over.

Center of politics is in Europe

Each of the conferences opened with keynote talks on "Fight NATO's War Drive: Emulate the Cuban Revolution!" The talks were presented by members of

the SWP National Committee: Naomi Craine in Atlanta, Thabo Ntweng in Boston, Chris Hoeppner in Detroit, and Argiris Malapanis in Seattle. They were based on the political perspectives discussed and adopted at the party leadership meeting earlier in December.

As Malapanis explained at the Seattle conference, the unfolding of the war in Yugoslavia over the past five years — in the continent of Europe — registers an important shift in the international class

struggle. "The center of world politics is in Europe today," he said. "Right now, under the banner of the 'peace of Dayton,' NATO is actually engaged in a war drive against Yugoslavia, with the goal of overthrowing the workers state established through a workers and peasants revolution in 1945 and reimposing capitalist social relations in that country."

At the same time, Malapanis said, the slaughter in Yugoslavia launched several years ago by rival bureaucratic gangs, who draped themselves in nationalist garb, was from the outset also a proxy war for the competing imperialist powers — a product of the intensifying conflict between the capitalist rulers in Bonn, Paris, London, and Washington.

This intensifying interimperialist conflict, SWP leaders explained at the conferences, is and will remain the most powerful single motor force in a world increasingly marked by deflationary pressures on the rulers' profit rates and narrowing access to markets. The result of such conflicts is sharpening class polarization; assaults on the rights, living standards, and job conditions of working people; the growth of rightist and fascist movements; and ultimately the launching of a world war. The working class has already lived through such conditions twice before in the 20th century, and paid a heavy blood price each time.

In discussing these political facts, participants in the New Year's conferences frequently referred to the article "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War," based on several 1994 talks by Jack Barnes, featured in issue no. 10 of *New International* (as well as in its sister publications in French, Spanish, and Swedish).

The world's leading capitalist powers are battling among themselves for position in the feeding chain of imperialism, Barnes explained in his opening political report to the SWP National Committee meeting in early December. Those capitalist classes highest up in imperialism's feeding chain have the greatest access to ways to buffer the resistance by working people that begins to erupt as class tensions increase.

That's why the U.S. capitalists, in seeking to bolster their competitive position, still have greater flexibility, the SWP leader explained. They are not yet pressed to launch the kinds of direct confrontations that sparked nationwide strikes and massive demonstrations by rail workers and other workers and youth in France in late 1995. The U.S. rulers keep reaching in that direction, nonetheless, and, as they do, begin getting a response.

The NATO war drive against Yugoslavia marks another step by the U.S. ruling class in strengthening its position vis-à-vis its rivals in Europe and Asia. As Barnes explained, "Another historic step is being taken in the process, begun in the first quarter of the 20th century, of the United States of America becoming the premier 'European' imperial power."

This process began at the conclusion of the first interimperialist slaughter of 1914-18. And the U.S. capitalist rulers consolidated their position by emerging from World War II as the unrivaled military and economic victor over both their enemy capitalist competitors in Germany, Japan, and Italy, and their allied capitalist competitors in France, the United Kingdom, and Canada.

In Seattle, Malapanis called attention to the decision by Paris, announced December 5, to rejoin the NATO military chain of command, from which it had withdrawn in 1966 in a conflict with Washington. As a result of this new move, French officers in Yugoslavia are now serving under the direction of the U.S.-dominated NATO command structure, including a U.S. chief of operations.

This recognition by Paris of Washington's hegemony was necessary for the French rulers to continue pursuing a bargain with Bonn to drain surplus value from their common capitalist rivals in London, Madrid, Rome, and elsewhere in Europe. An intensifying battle is under way as to who is going to be in the top tier of capitalist classes in Europe. Who is economically strong enough, and who has

Joining the fight against war and for socialism

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Recruitment to the communist movement was one of the aims of the four regional socialist educational conferences held over the New Year's weekend. The events were a success in this regard. About 15 people asked to join the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, the Communist League in Canada, or the Young Socialists.

The decision of the communist organizations to carry out a working-class campaign in opposition to imperialism's war drive against Yugoslavia had a big impact on many of the people who decided to join.

Ryan Lewis explained that what impressed him about the Young Socialists and members of the Socialist Workers Party at the Detroit conference was the "tough questions" they asked in order to hammer out an effective response to the imperialist war drive. Lewis, a 20-year-old student and bus driver at Kent State University in Ohio, decided to join the Young Socialists.

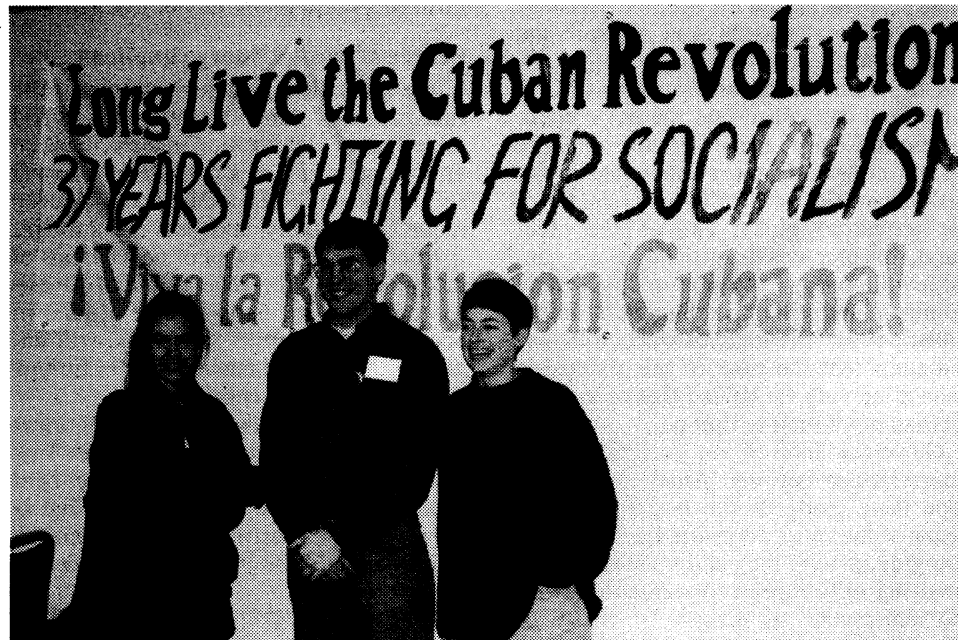
"I see more clearly now why the U.S. military is moving into Yugoslavia," said Lionel Taylor from Dalton, Georgia, who joined the YS at the Atlanta conference. "The real reason is securing the country for investment, not peacekeeping." Taylor, 18, has been reading the *Militant* for about a year. He originally contacted the Socialist Workers Party after finding it listed in a student source book at his high school.

April Holland, 20, from Birmingham, Alabama, also decided in Atlanta to join the YS. She described the conference as a "reality pill about the imperialist persecution of the working class."

Several YS members asked to join the Socialist Workers Party over the weekend.

Like party's working-class perspective

Brian Black and Linda Jarven, both leaders of the Seattle YS chapter, decided to join the party. Black was working in a warehouse as a union organizer for the Teamsters, but had become disillusioned with the bureaucratic misleadership of the labor unions when he met members of the



YS members Joellyn Manville, Brian Black, and Linda Jarven at Seattle conference.

YS and SWP, and was attracted to their working-class perspective. He and Jarven are now trying to get industrial jobs where they can do political work in the unions together with other party members.

The Seattle YS chapter grew from six to eight members during the conference.

Jarven is also part of the Seattle-Cuba Friendship Coalition. She worked with Ty Moore, who joined the Young Socialists, and coalition activist Scott Winn to staff a table and display at the conference to sign people up for a summer youth brigade in Cuba.

Joellyn Manville, a high school student from Salt Lake City, also joined the SWP during the Seattle conference. Manville, who has been leading a young socialists group at her school, attended the Cuba Lives youth festival last August.

Carlos Catalán, a leader of the YS group in Montreal, decided to join the Communist League there. "I like how the Communist League comrades act in an organized, disciplined, and serious manner at an international level," said Catalán, who had just returned from an interna-

tional team selling revolutionary literature in France.

"We are part of building something," He spoke at the Boston conference about the worker and student revolt in France, and about the fight for Quebec independence.

At all four conferences, the Young Socialists organized meetings for young people interested in learning about and joining the communist movement.

In Detroit, YS members organized a "Meet the Young Socialists" panel discussion that was a highlight of the conference. The panel included five YS members from the U.S. Midwest and Canada who have been active in fights against police brutality and supporting the Boeing, Caterpillar, and Detroit newspaper strikes and other struggles.

They outlined the organization's plans to hold a conference in April in Minneapolis. Also speaking on the panel was a student who traveled to Detroit from Paris. She described the explosion that occurred among youth in France following attacks on their education benefits.

Militant/Osborne Hart

to oppose war drive against Yugoslavia

pushed back past gains of the working class enough, to be in the top tier dominated by German capital and its national currency, the mark? Will the rulers in France (and their national currency, the franc) be pushed out of the "mark ring" into the second tier? Is British capital strong enough to remain in that second ring, and can the Italian rulers fight their way in? And how can those in the top tiers keep Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and Greece at the bottom — and even start drawing Turkey into a "common market," to rake off still more of the surplus value produced by the toilers there?

Mounting conflict over this chain of domination is at the heart of politics in capitalist Europe, not the "common currency" talked about so much in the daily press. Amid depression conditions — in which average unemployment in the European Union has been stuck at some 11 percent during an upturn in the business cycle, and at 15-20 percent or more in Belgium, Spain, and elsewhere — other struggles like those in France are sure to come.

Aim is to overturn workers state

Among the liveliest discussions throughout the four weekend gatherings was why Washington and its rival capitalist rulers in NATO are launching a war drive against Yugoslavia. Why are they sending an occupation army of some 60,000 troops — 20,000 of them U.S. troops, backed up by some 12,000 other U.S. soldiers nearby in the region?

The war drive, the SWP leaders explained in the opening talks, is the first massive use of armed forces by the imperialist rulers on the soil of a workers state since the Korean War.

"The big-business media won't tell you about the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia and what it accomplished," said Chris Hoepfner in Detroit. "They won't tell you how workers and peasants of all national origins and beliefs in Yugoslavia organized to throw off German imperialist occupation during World War II, and in the process launched a powerful social revolution." The toilers took political power out of the hands of the landlords and capitalists. By the end of the 1940s they had carried out a radical land reform and expropriated the bourgeoisie's factories, warehouses, and banks. They had established a workers state.

At the opening of the 1990s, the Stalinist regime and Communist Party that dominated the Yugoslav worker state began to crumble, as was happening in the workers states in the Soviet Union and across eastern and central Europe as well. In Yugoslavia, members of the petty-bourgeois social layer that dominated the state apparatus organized along nationalist lines, scrambling to grab turf to consolidate their own parasitic access to wealth produced by the toilers. These rival gangs of Stalinist bureaucrats and wannabe capitalists — first and foremost those based in Serbia and Croatia — launched a bloody war of "ethnic cleansing" in 1991 in an effort to accomplish these goals.

At the December SWP leadership meeting, national secretary Barnes explained that the imperialist ruling classes watched the bloodbath unfold, waiting to see if the Yugoslav workers state could be ripped apart and overturned in the process. At the same time, each of these capitalist powers actively pursued their own interests in the region, fueling the slaughter.

"The German ruling class was initially the most aggressive in pressing this course," Barnes said, encouraging forces within the bureaucracy in Croatia to proclaim independence from Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia and the major city in Serbia. "The French were somewhat slower, but gave de facto support to Belgrade, in a bloc with the Yeltsin regime in Russia. The English capitalists hunted for a policy of national interest but could never unite around one."

"And Wall Street and Washington adopted the slogan 'Let it bleed' for a while, gradually bringing to bear arms shipments and sporadic air power to increase their leverage in the conflict and block the aims of their European rivals."



Council of State Office of Historical Affairs, Havana
Emulating Cuban revolution was central conference theme. Above, Che Guevara addresses people of liberated Fomento in Las Villas province, Dec. 18, 1958.

As the keynote speakers at the conferences explained, however, the effort by imperialism to use an indirect agency among privileged social layers within the workers state to restore capitalism failed in Yugoslavia, as it has in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

The disintegration of the former Stalinist apparatuses has accelerated economic and social dislocation, as well as sharp conflicts within the petty-bourgeois caste. But neither in Yugoslavia nor elsewhere have the crisis-ridden regimes of these deformed workers states succeeded in creating the necessary conditions to restore capitalist social relations: the establishment of a capitalist ruling class and accompanying system of bourgeois values; stable legal and contractual relations; and dominance of privately owned industrial, banking, financial, and commercial capital.

The current war drive, the socialist leaders explained, is the imperialists' effort to exploit the situation that has developed in Yugoslavia since 1991 to use direct force and violence to overturn a workers state — something they have not attempted in Europe since the Axis powers' failure to crush the Soviet Union during World War II. That is what Washington and its capitalist rivals will be driven to try once again in the Soviet Union and eastern European workers states as openings arise.

As elsewhere, it is the working class in Yugoslavia, of the various nationalities, that remains the obstacle to overturning the conquests of the socialist revolution. In face of the murderous assault on the Muslim population of Bosnia by terror gangs backed by self-proclaimed governments in Serbia and Croatia, communist workers support the Bosnians' right to national self-determination, Malapanis explained in Seattle. But the fight against national oppression in Yugoslavia today, as throughout this century, has not taken the form of the fight for independence.

"Despite years of 'ethnic cleansing' by armed terror squads loyal to regimes based in Belgrade and Zagreb," Hoepfner explained in Detroit, "millions of working people in Yugoslavia have not given up on the unity they've conquered. And they don't accept the social conditions that inevitably come with capitalism. Millions of workers and farmers still see themselves as Yugoslavs, whatever their national

backgrounds may be."

So, Washington and its collaborating imperialist powers will not have an easy time accomplishing what they have set out to do in Yugoslavia, even with armed forces on the ground.

"It's wrong to leap to talking about the 'former Yugoslavia' right now," Barnes said at the SWP National Committee meeting. "If it were clearly and truly the 'former Yugoslavia,' then they wouldn't need to send 60,000 troops there in the next several weeks. They could achieve their aim in a much more leisurely way. But that's exactly one of the things they've failed to do."

Discussion on Yugoslavia and the communist understanding of the workers states continued throughout the sessions and free time at the conferences. In Atlanta some 15 Young Socialists and other youth met with Naomi Craine and other party leaders during a meal break to hash out these questions some more.

In addition to encouraging these fighters to read the issues of *New Internationalist* previously cited, the SWP leaders pointed them

to classic revolutionary works such as *The Revolution Betrayed* and *In Defense of Marxism* by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, as well as to several Education for Socialists bulletins on the post-World War II social revolutions and workers and farmers governments by Joseph Hansen and Jack Barnes.

Campaign against war drive

The most important task facing socialist workers and youth is to campaign against the imperialist war drive, the speakers at the four regional conferences explained.

"This must be a working-class campaign," said Craine, speaking in Atlanta. "Everything we've been doing day in and day out to build the communist movement and its proletarian institutions — its branches and its industrial union fractions — becomes more important than ever when the imperialists launch a war drive," she said.

"By campaigning against Washington's war drive," Barnes explained at the December party leadership meeting, "we're not predicting how or when an actual shooting war might be launched by the imperialists in Yugoslavia. Our obligation as workers is to campaign as effectively and energetically as we can against the accelerating imperialist war drive. We can't wait for a war to begin before we start organizing as a working-class organization to fight it."

Throughout this century, the keynote speakers explained at the New Year's conferences, communists have had to confront denial among broad layers of fellow workers as the capitalist rulers crank up a war drive and militarization campaign.

The socialist leaders explained that the U.S. rulers understand that a war will only become "popular" in this country, including in the working class, after the shooting starts and some clear-cut "enemies" are targeted by Washington and its propagandists. That "enemy" will be whichever force, or forces, respond to U.S. firepower and begin killing American GIs.

It's a pacifist illusion, conference speakers emphasized, to think that when body bags start being flown back to the United States, that's when an antiwar movement begins; to the contrary, that's when the war fever begins. That's when the petty-bourgeois pacifists begin dividing and retreating, with the majority rallying behind the war.

That's what the history of the 20th century teaches; there have been no exceptions. It takes time and experience before antiwar attitudes and activity begin in the working class and among the soldiers themselves. And how communist workers and youth use that time to campaign against the war, as part of the working class and its class institutions, can make a decisive difference.

President Bill Clinton publicly announced in a nationally televised address at the end of November how he intends to become a popular war president, Barnes pointed out at the SWP leadership meeting.

Clinton said that U.S. troops would be "heavily armed and thoroughly trained.... Anyone — anyone — who takes on our troops will suffer the consequences," Clinton stressed. "We will fight fire with fire, and then some." And then some, count on it.

Whether Washington's propaganda targets of the moment are "Islamic fundamentalists" in Bosnia, Serbians, or Croatians, Clinton's television message accurately stated the U.S. ruler's intentions: anyone who seeks to resist their domination will pay the consequences. And that will be the pretext for further steps to deepen the drive toward war.

Emulate the Cuban revolution

Speakers at the regional conferences explained that workers and youth who recognize the need to emulate the socialist revolution in Cuba are in the best position to organize effectively to fight the imperialist war drive against Yugoslavia. They understand that only in Cuba today are workers and farmers consciously organizing, guided by a communist leadership, to combat imperialist domination and defend their workers state.

Above all, as Thabo Ntweng pointed out in Boston, the most revolutionary-minded workers and youth in Cuba are proletarian internationalists. They remain committed to doing what they can, whenever the chance presents itself, to advance the struggle for national liberation and socialism around the world.

Ntweng pointed to an interview with Cuban brigadier general Harry Villegas that had recently appeared in the *Militant*. Villegas is a veteran of multiple internationalist aid missions to Angola between 1975 and 1990 — during which he took part in the historic defeat of South Africa's invading forces at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in 1988. That victory opened the road to the fall of the apartheid regime a few years later and the establishment of South Africa's first nonracial government under the leadership of the African National Congress. Using the nom de guerre "Pombo," Villegas had also fought under the command of Ernesto Che Guevara in the Rebel Army in Cuba in 1957-58, in the Congo in 1965, and then in the mountains of Bolivia in 1966 and 1967.

The *Militant* interviewers noted that with the onset of serious economic difficulties in Cuba over the last half decade, some Cubans began to express the view that the resources that went to help Angola would have been better utilized at home. They asked Villegas for his opinion.

"Cuba's aid to Angola was not only worthwhile," he replied, "but if we were capable of doing it again, we would do so."

It is that political consciousness and unflinching determination among a broad layer of Cuban working people and youth, Ntweng told conference participants, that means the revolution is still alive today and remains a weighty factor in any advance of the world class struggle.

"The Cuban working people have shown the only way to put an end to imperialist war — by taking power out of the hands of the capitalist war-makers," said Hoepfner in Detroit.

Hoepfner and other speakers at the regional gatherings urged participants to buy and read Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-58*. The first complete edition of the book in English will be available from Pathfinder

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Conferences set goals to expand socialist

Continued from Page 9

in February. Some 150 advance orders of the book were purchased at the New Year's conferences.

Displays of photographs from the *Episodes* at each conference highlighted the main lesson of the book, and of the Cuban revolution itself: that in the course of organizing to transform political and social conditions along revolutionary lines, workers and farmers have the capacity to begin transforming themselves into disciplined and self-acting makers of history as well.

Workers resist bipartisan assault

By the time of the New Year's conferences, the initial sniping by many Republican politicians at Clinton administration policy was on the wane, and a bipartisan consensus was growing in support of the dispatch of U.S. troops to Yugoslavia.

At the same time, the Democratic administration and Republican majority in Congress were shadowboxing over the 1996 federal budget. Clinton, who pledged during his 1992 campaign to "end welfare as we know it," proclaimed himself the defender of working people, while pushing the entire framework of proposed assaults on health and other social benefits to the right.

In going after entitlements won by labor and the oppressed over decades of struggle, the keynote speakers explained, politicians in both parties are coarsening their rhetoric, aiming to push back attitudes of social solidarity among working people. By targeting immigrants and those they brand as "welfare cheats," the White House and congressional leadership embolden ultrarightists such as Patrick Buchanan. What's more, liberal commentators and spokespersons for the union bureaucracy are more openly embracing Buchanan's chauvinist claims that lowering trade barriers along the Rio Grande and Washington's "bailout of Mexico" are costing "American workers" their jobs.

The employers and their governments in the imperialist countries, however, have not been able to stanch resistance by working people to growing assaults on their rights and living standards. Speakers pointed to examples from the picket lines and mass protests in France, to the striking workers who stood up against union busting by Caterpillar; from unionists employed by Boeing who pushed back company efforts to begin gutting their medical benefits, to workers for Kmart in North Carolina who are fighting for a union contract. Conference participants also pointed to the young rebels fighting against the death penalty and to stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal, as well as for women's equality and against attacks on the right to abortion.

In Detroit and Boston, workers who have been on strike for six months against the *Detroit News* and *Free Press* made presentations and set up tables with literature about their fight and to raise needed funds.

Both the capitalists and trade union officialdom have been misjudging the fighting mood of workers more and more of-



December 30 abortion rights march in Boston. Many attending socialist conference participated. Fight for women's rights is part of working-class resistance today

ten, Ntweng explained at the Boston conference. They are surprised when workers vote down contracts union officials thought they had "sold" to the membership. Union workers remain on the defensive when they enter into struggles, Ntweng said. And strikes often don't end in victories, since the union bureaucracy blocks the kind of class solidarity that is both possible and necessary.

What's most important right now about these skirmishes, Ntweng emphasized, is that workers keep on resisting. Strikes are less about this or that particular demand or grievance than they are about workers' assertion of their dignity as human beings, as producers. In face of repeated failures of the officialdom's class-collaborationist perspectives, workers are increasingly asserting in practice that "We are the union."

Many similar points apply to the Million Man March in October 1995.

"We must not ascribe the reasons for the large turnout for the march to its leadership, to Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan," Barnes explained at the SWP National Committee meeting in December. "It simply underlined once against the overwhelmingly proletarian character of the oppressed Black nationality in this country, the centrality of the fight against white racism and for Black freedom in the coming American revolution, and the disproportionate weight workers from the Black nationality have in the political vanguard of the working class and labor movement."

Barnes pointed out that in the weeks leading up to the Million Man March, much of the big-business press and many bourgeois commentators, including right-wingers, began to make positive noises about the action. They lent some credence to the talk by Farrakhan and other leaders about its message of "family values" and "atonement."

"Blaming Black folks for their own problems — that seemed just fine to these reactionaries," Barnes said. "But then the march occurred, and they saw hundreds of

thousands of Black workers on the streets of Washington. And suddenly all the 'family values' and 'self-blame' gibberish seemed beside the point. They saw a massive outpouring of Afro-Americans, a massive working-class mobilization. And their class instincts told them they hated what they saw."

Classes on the struggle for Black liberation in the United States were held at each of the four conferences.

Reports from France, Quebec

The talks "Reportback from Revolt in France and the Fight for Quebec Independence" were a highlight of the conferences. These were presented by members of the Communist League and Young Socialists in Canada who had recently been to France as part of communist sales teams: Al Cappe in Detroit, Carlos Catalán in Boston, Guy Tremblay in Seattle, and Michel Prairie in Atlanta.

These reports provided vivid, firsthand accounts of the strikes and demonstrations by workers and students against the French government's austerity plan, including its assault on retirement plans for rail workers and other public employees. The talks described the political openness team members found to the communist ideas in *Nouvelle Internationale*. Selling that Marxist magazine was the axis of their activity in France.

At the Boston conference, Catalán, a Young Socialist from Montreal, recounted discussions by team members with rail and factory workers; with young soldiers in France being mobilized to go to Bosnia; and with students and youth. He described prisoners waving to demonstrators from their cells in Paris as the workers marched by. He also described the efforts by the government in Paris to divide and disorient the working class and labor movement by whipping up an anti-immigrant campaign and French national chauvinism around questions ranging from trade policy to the war in Yugoslavia.

The talks in the four cities described the mobilizations in Quebec this fall in support of a "yes" vote in the referendum on Quebec sovereignty and the mass support among workers and youth of the oppressed Quebecois nation for independence from Canada. These mobilizations, the speakers explained, were the most important manifestation of the class struggle in North America in recent years. Their political thrust and character pointed beyond defensive struggles and limited demands, posing the question of state power.

The political scope of this upsurge in Quebec, said Prairie at the Atlanta conference, and the profoundly destabilizing challenge it posed to the imperialist state in Canada, underlined a political conquest of the modern communist movement. Wherever there are nations at this stage in history that are oppressed by imperialism and have a distinct geographical configuration, communist workers and youth are in favor of independence.

Dangerous men and women

Each of the conferences concluded with talks on "Building the Communist Movement Today: Recruiting Dangerous Men and Women." These presentations initi-

ated discussion on the tasks before the communist movement, in light of the political questions discussed throughout the weekend. The talks were presented by SWP leaders James Harris in Atlanta, Angel Lariscy in Boston, Martin Koppel in Detroit, and Maggie Trowe in Seattle.

The description of fighters who can be won to the communist movement as "dangerous men and women" originated with a phrase used by veteran Black rights fighter Edna Griffin in explaining how it was that Mark Curtis, a socialist and union activist, came to be framed up and railroaded to prison seven years ago by Iowa authorities. Curtis was tried and convicted on false charges of attempted rape and burglary in 1988. Given the character of the charges leveled against him, some people asked, what could possibly be behind Curtis's insistence he had been framed? Why should anyone believe him?

At a defense rally just before the opening of Curtis's trial, Griffin presented her answer. The authorities who arrested Curtis, she pointed out, knew he was actively involved in struggles by working people in the Des Moines area, including right then in a fight to defend immigrant co-workers at the Swift packinghouse who were picked up in an immigration raid just days before his arrest. For the powers that be in Iowa, Griffin said, that made Mark Curtis a dangerous man.

Griffin's estimate was confirmed by what the cops told Curtis as they beat him bloody the night he was arrested. They called him a "Mexican lover, just like you love those coloreds."

In November 1995, after holding Curtis in prison well beyond the average time served in Iowa for the sexual assault charge on which he was convicted, state authorities granted him parole.

This was a victory that had been earned by Curtis and those around the world who had joined his defense effort and demanded his release over the past seven years. During that period, Iowa authorities failed in their efforts to break Curtis. He remained actively engaged in politics and continued to talk socialism and carry out political activity behind prison walls. This fall, state officials came to the conclusion they would pay too high a price to continue their prejudicial course of denying Curtis parole.

"Mark wasn't framed up because he or his party got too far out ahead of the rest of the working class," said Lariscy at the Boston conference. "He didn't make a tactical mistake or get involved in some adventure. No, he was part of a vanguard layer of young fighters who the rulers always go after. And they will do so as often as they can, as working-class resistance grows."

When Curtis walks out of the state penitentiary in Fort Madison in early 1996 and moves to Chicago, Lariscy said, he will keep on carrying out the communist political activity he never stopped doing in prison, only once again on much better terrain. He will be able to function as a member of a local unit of his party, begin looking for a unionized job, and help win other fighters much like himself to the communist movement.

As Barnes put it at the SWP leadership meeting earlier in December, "Mark will be the same person, doing the same things he was doing before he was framed and sent to prison." That was the one thing Curtis could promise his supporters on the eve of his trial: that regardless of the outcome, he'd keep on doing what he'd been doing. And he did.

New probe by antilabor group

SWP leaders at the regional conferences pointed out that Curtis's supporters must nonetheless remain vigilant to defend his rights. Reactionary "sexual offenders notification laws" have recently been stiffened in Illinois, as well as in many other cities and states across the United States. The December 18 arson attack on the Des Moines, Iowa, bookstore where the Mark Curtis Defense Committee organized many of its activities is a further indication of the kind of continuing attacks enemies of the workers movement will attempt to direct at Curtis and those who support his fight.

In this regard, both the opening and closing talks at the regional socialist con-

Education for Socialists

Bulletins available from Pathfinder

Class, Party and State and the Eastern European Revolution

How were the capitalist governments in Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia overturned and capitalism abolished? What repercussions did the establishment of these workers states have for imperialism? Contains 1951 report, "The Yugoslav Revolution," adopted by the Third World Congress of the Fourth International.

8 1/2" x 11" format \$7.00

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: 212-741-0690. Fax: 212-727-0150.

Workers and Farmers Governments Since the Second World War

By Robert Chester.

"Following the second world war," writes Chester, "workers and farmers governments emerged in Yugoslavia, China, and other countries that won their independence in national liberation struggles. The establishment of a government in opposition to the bourgeoisie was a decisive step in making possible the measures that overturned capitalism in several instances." Examining the historical background and revolutions in Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, and Algeria, Chester's work is essential for those defending the workers states from an imperialist war drive today.

8 1/2" x 11" format \$6.00

propaganda

ferences pointed to a renewed probe against the communist movement by an antilabor group known as the Workers League. This organization has been in the forefront of those campaigning to keep Mark Curtis in prison, and it has become known among packinghouse workers, coal miners, paper workers, and others in the union movement for its disruptive actions aimed at setting back working people engaged in strikes and other labor battles.

On December 6, just two weeks after Curtis's parole had been announced, an attorney for the Workers League, Daniel J. Kornstein, wrote to SWP national secretary Barnes that it had "come to the attention of our client...that Militant, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, is publicizing meetings and other activities by the 'Young Socialists.'" Kornstein continued that the Workers League had "established the Young Socialists (the 'YS') as its youth organization in December 1971," and he demanded that the SWP "cease and desist from further use of the name 'Young Socialists,' which serves to mislead and confuse the public."

Michael Krinsky, the SWP's attorney, replied to Kornstein on December 22. Krinsky wrote that he had reviewed the letter and found "your client's claim to be lacking for at least the following reasons:

"1. The Socialist Workers Party is not responsible for the actions of the Young Socialists," which is an independent youth organization in political solidarity with the SWP.

"2. The Socialist Workers Party is not responsible for the actions of *The Militant* newspaper," which is a socialist weekly "whose reportage is in any case protected by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

"3. Based on the representations in your letter and our own research, we believe that the Workers League cannot make a valid claim to the right to exclusive use of the term 'young socialist' or 'young socialists'...." Krinsky went on to explain that groups calling themselves "young socialists" have functioned actively in politics across the United States before, during, and after the formation of the Workers League's group, and that a newspaper by that name was published and distributed nationwide from 1957 through the closing years of the 1980s.

Speakers at the conferences urged participants to purchase and read a new Education for Socialists bulletin entitled *A New Probe by the Workers League against the Communist Movement: Record of an Antilabor Outfit, from the Gelfand Harassment Case to the Campaign against Mark Curtis*. Altogether, 290 copies were sold over the New Year's weekend.

In addition to containing the correspondence quoted above, the bulletin reprints an article documenting this group's smear campaign launched in 1975 charging that the SWP leadership was controlled by

double agents of U.S. spy agencies and Moscow's secret police. (Some 40 conference participants purchased copies of another Education for Socialists bulletin answering these smears, entitled *Healy's Big Lie: The Slander Campaign against Joseph Hansen and George Novack*.)

The new bulletin reprints several articles and editorials from the *Militant* summarizing the 10-year disruption campaign organized by the Workers League around a lawsuit filed by Alan Gelfand against the Socialist Workers Party and several SWP leaders in 1979. Gelfand petitioned the federal courts to directly intervene in the affairs of the SWP by throwing out the party's Political Committee, which he charged was FBI-dominated. This assault on the constitutional freedom of political association was aimed at tying up SWP leadership time and party financial resources.

At the close of the case in late 1989, Federal Judge Mariana Pfaelzer was forced to admit that Gelfand's case "is groundless and always was"; that the Workers League was "footing the bill for Mr. Gelfand's case"; that the court's rejection of repeated motions by the SWP's attorneys to dismiss the case had "drained the party treasury"; and that the pretrial depositions of SWP members and leaders were "abusive, harassing, and in large part [conducted] to generate material for political attacks on the SWP by the Workers League."

Nonetheless, the judge permitted this disruption effort to drag on for a decade.

At the SWP National Committee meeting in December, national secretary Barnes pointed out that the Workers League probe was not only this outfit's response to Mark Curtis's parole, but registered something more than class-conscious workers needed to keep their eyes on as well. Even initial stirrings of resistance by working people and youth, Barnes said, will be met by efforts on the part of government police agencies and antilabor groups of all kinds to drive a wedge between vanguard workers and youth and those in the communist movement who are fighting shoulder to shoulder alongside them.

Selling the books workers need

The talks on building the communist movement also reported the decisions of the SWP National Committee a few weeks earlier to respond to the political opportunities to sell more revolutionary books and pamphlets. The goal is to transform Pathfinder bookstores across the country and around the world into a springboard from which communist workers and youth can participate more effectively in political activity and attract fighters to the revolutionary movement. The report that was discussed and adopted by the party leadership body was presented by Mary-Alice Waters, who is also the editor of the new Pathfinder Press edition of Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*.

The books produced by the communist movement, Waters said, "are the accumulated lessons of 150 years of class-struggle experience by the modern working-class movement. They are a guide to forging revolutionary workers parties, made up of cadres who have the capacity and the audacity to organize working people to struggle to take power out of the hands of the exploiters, and the willingness to follow that struggle through to the end.

"Unless we start selling the books we produce much more widely, however," Waters said, "we won't be able to take advantage of the openings in front of us." The National Committee proposed a number of steps to reverse a several-year-long decline in sales and make it possible to

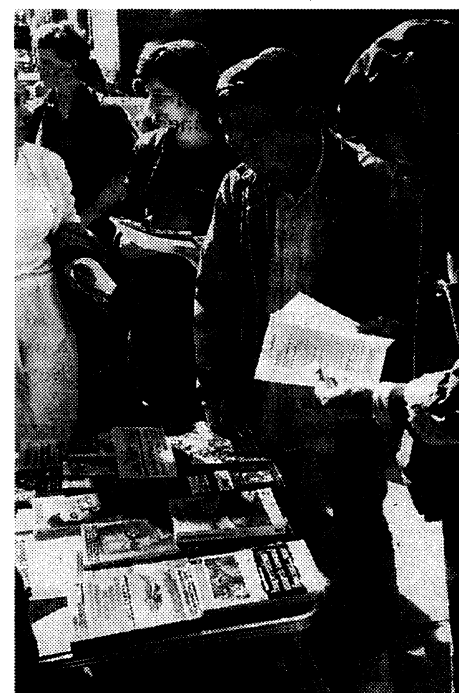


Workers in imperialist countries keep on resisting bosses' assaults. Above, striking transit workers demonstrate in Marseille, France, Dec. 28, 1995.

continue producing, reprinting, and using these invaluable political weapons.

Speakers at the closing sessions of the New Year's conferences explained that the communist movement had launched a two-year effort to increase net revenues from sales of literature produced and distributed by Pathfinder Press, initially by \$100,000 in 1996. That amounts to an increase in sales of some 1,500 books and pamphlets each month over the coming year.

Following the conferences, party leaders are traveling to each city where there is a branch of the SWP to discuss a battle plan to meet this goal. Only consistent work by communist workers and youth who know these books and why they are so important can result in the needed increase in sales — from Pathfinder bookstores in these cities, from the shelves of



Militant/Eric Simpson

Conference participants discussed stepping up sales of communist books.

other retail outlets, at political events and campus and street-corner literature tables, and through expanding the membership of the Pathfinder Readers Club.

Sales of revolutionary books and pamphlets to co-workers on the job, at plant gates, and elsewhere is also at heart of the working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive. Among the books featured at the literature tables at each of the gatherings were *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions* and *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention*.

During the discussion after the presentations on building the communist movement, socialist activists from Cleveland; Greensboro, North Carolina; and Newark, New Jersey, described trips they had made to military bases to sell the *Militant* and other socialist literature.

Mining communist continuity

At each conference, participants learned about a new way they and others will soon be able to have at their fingertips many of the most important articles and documents produced by the communist movement

over the last 60 years.

This spring, every issue of the Marxist magazine of politics and theory produced by the communist movement in the United States over those years — currently under the name *New International* — will be available on several CD-ROM computer disks. A complete index of subjects and authors will also be available on the disk, and readers can get to the articles they look up in this index by a simple click of the button.

A computerized slideshow presented at each of the conferences reviewed a small sampling of the invaluable lessons communists have drawn over the decades in the pages of the magazine — lessons that are needed today more than ever, but have previously been available to only a very few.

An initial version of the CD-ROM, covering the years 1934-1956, was the most coveted prize in fund-raising raffles at each conference. The winners will receive the final product when it is available later this year.

Young Socialists conference

Members of the Young Socialists were involved in every aspect of the conferences. They presented several of the talks and classes and chaired many sessions. They organized mealtime get-togethers with young people to encourage further questions and discussion and set up tables to sign up participants for their upcoming Easter conference in Minneapolis.

Speaking at the closing conference session in Detroit, Martín Koppel, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, said that now is the time for communists to get out and talk to young people and working-class fighters who are looking for an alternative to the brutality, destructiveness, and insecurities of life under capitalism they see all around them.

"We should tell them," Koppel said, "that if you want to be like Mark Curtis, if you want to emulate those who made a socialist revolution in Cuba, then join the communist movement. It doesn't offer you money, a career, or a solution to your personal problems. But it offers you the only element of freedom available to a working person under capitalism — working-class politics and the opportunity to work alongside others, as political equals, in the fight for a socialist world."

Education for Socialists

A New Probe by the Workers League against the Communist Movement

Record of an Antilabor Outfit, from the Gelfand Harassment Case to the Campaign against Mark Curtis

\$5

Healy's Big Lie

The Slander Campaign against Joseph Hansen and George Novack

\$10

Available from bookstores listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax (212) 727-0150.

'Former' Yugoslavia?

Continued from Page 14

this fight by the people of Bosnia to defend their right to self-determination, to oppose the carving up of their unified republic.

This is different from calling for the secession of Bosnia. The *Militant* never advocated the independence of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, or Bosnia. The declarations of independence came from the petty-bourgeois regimes in those republics in their efforts to grab resources for the castes they represented. Working people never began a movement for independence tied to the fight against national oppression in those republics.

The autonomous region of Kosovo in southern Serbia is the exception. There, in the late 1980s, miners and other workers fought the discrimination against the majority-Albanian population and demanded to maintain regional autonomy, a gain of the 1945 revolution.

On the question of self-determination, like on the question of the workers state, the *Militant's* starting point is the working class, not the proclamations and actions of the regimes in any of the Yugoslav republics.

Bookstore threatened in Montreal

Continued from front page

Prairie in a press release sent out the morning after the threat. Prairie is a volunteer and spokesperson for the bookshop.

"Other bookstores in Montreal have received similar threats or were vandalized for the same reason in the past months," Prairie continued. "We oppose the idea that the struggle against the national oppression of the Quebecois includes forbidding languages other than French."

The Montreal Pathfinder bookstore is a volunteer-run, multilingual establishment with books in French, English and Spanish. It specializes in books and magazines by working-class and communist leaders on the history of the labor movement and ongoing struggles for social justice and socialism. Among the books it sells are several on the struggle for the independence of Quebec.

Attack weakens the struggle

"Our bookstore opened its doors to supporters of the Yes (pro-sovereignty) side during the recent referendum vote in Quebec," said Prairie. "The bookstore volunteers support the independence of Quebec because they think that this is a struggle for justice and democracy. No matter what their language and nationality, all workers and youth should support this struggle. Yesterday's attack on the bookstore weakens the struggle for the rights of the Quebecois," he concluded.

Since the referendum vote in October, a debate on Quebec independence continues in schools and workplaces on what should be the next steps in the fight against national oppression. The pro-sovereignty side lost the referendum by a narrow margin. But the obvious rise of the pro-independence forces has dominated all discussion on Quebec ever since.

The threats against the Pathfinder bookstore are part of a pattern of increased polarization in politics across Canada over what many working people and bourgeois commentators alike describe as the inevitable victory by the Quebecois who support sovereignty.

In November, a document of the rightist Reform Party, entitled "20 Realities of Secession," became public. It sets out the party's proposals on how the Canadian government should organize to deal with the consequences of a future "yes" vote for sovereignty. Reform is the third largest party in the Canadian parliament.

The document says the Canadian government should use all necessary powers to block the Quebecois from exercising the right to self-determination. Party leader Preston Manning has said that one of those measures could be the partitioning of the province along language lines.

New party launched in Montreal

In November, a new party, the Quebec National Liberation Movement (MLNQ), was launched in Montreal. It says its membership is secret. Several dozen people attended its first public function. According to a TV report, the group is dedicated to "fight relentlessly to free Quebec from Canadian domination and from its internal enemies." The party demands a moratorium on immigration until Quebec forms an independent republic.

In December, death threats against former Bloc Quebecois (BQ) leader and soon-to-be Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard were made by an anonymous group called Anglophone Action Group (AAG). The BQ is a pro-sovereignty bourgeois party and the official opposition in the Canadian parliament.

The threat against the Pathfinder bookstore received widespread radio and television coverage on January 9. Two of the largest daily newspapers in Montreal sent journalists and photographers to cover the story. The Associated Press carried a brief wire story on the threats. Two television networks interviewed Prairie for evening news broadcasts. The largest English-language radio station in the city, CJAD, carried the story on its news broadcasts that day and interviewed Prairie on its late-afternoon program.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how best to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

France: How Unions Mobilized to Block Social Benefit Cuts. Speaker: Craig Honts, member, United Transportation Union and Socialist Workers Party. Participated in December Militant sales and reporting team to France. Fri., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico (2 blocks west of Vermont). Tel: (213) 380-9460. Translation

Bipartisan assault on social wage advances

Continued from front page

attacks on these social gains. The White House, for example, had previously called for axing Medicare by \$97 billion and Medicaid by \$37 billion. Announcing his latest proposal, the Democratic president declared it was time to "put aside partisanship and work to craft a balanced-budget agreement that upholds our values."

In the bipartisan dance over the budget, Clinton has postured as an alternative to the "heartless" Republicans whose measures would hurt the aged and poor. A January 9 editorial in the *New York Times*, however, while backing what it called Clinton's "less harmful budget," acknowledged that the differences between the White House and Congressional positions were somewhat "illusory."

Because of number-juggling, the proposed cuts might all be considerably greater than the figures cited. Clinton's seven-year plan, the *Times* editorial noted, piles up many of its cuts in the last two years, so that by the year 2002 spending "might be cut by 30 percent or more."

The Democratic administration, in fact, has been the driving force in the assault on welfare programs. Clinton has taken the initiative since the 1992 election campaign, with his vow to "end welfare as we know it." While criticizing the Republican cutback proposals as too "tough on children," Clinton has continued to call for gutting the program. In December the administration proposed making most "legal" immigrants ineligible for the Supplemental Security Income program.

Clinton vetoed a Republican welfare "reform" bill January 9. The bill would

to Spanish.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

France: Workers in Revolt. An eyewitness report from Paris and Marseille. Speaker: Harvey McArthur. Fri., Jan. 19, dinner 6:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. 59 Fourth Ave. (corner of Bergen). Donation \$5 for dinner, \$5 for program. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Eyewitness Report on Strike Wave in France. Speaker: Pete Seidman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. Struggle Continues to Defend Abortion Rights. Speaker: Glova Scott, Socialist Workers Party and member, United Transportation Union. Fri., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. Both forums at 1906 South St. Donation \$4. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

end the federal guarantee of welfare payments for all those deemed eligible for it, and instead would give each state government a fixed sum of federal funds to dole out. The president chided the Republican plan, saying it did "too little to move people from welfare to work."

In mid-December, a quarter of a million federal employees were laid off when Congress let government agencies' spending authority expire. Federal offices, from the Social Security Administration to passport offices, were closed for three weeks. Others, such as the Pentagon and the postal service, remained open. Some 480,000 workers involved in "essential services" were required to stay on the job, but were told they would not receive their paychecks until a budget deal was concluded. Both Democratic and Republican politicians used the shutdown to press their case for social cutbacks.

Protests by federal workers

As the shutdown dragged on, 96,000 federal employees were forced to apply for unemployment compensation. The House of Representatives voted December 30 to order the 260,000 laid-off employees to return to work with no pay January 2.

This added insult to injury, and government workers took to the streets. Members of the American Federation of Government Employees and other unions held protest rallies January 3 at the State Department and other federal offices.

"To me, it's a higher class of slavery," said a furious Aleta Hicks, who works as a secretary at the Justice Department. "They are not physically preventing me

Pittsburgh

The Fight for Women's Rights Around the World: From the Beijing Conference to Defense of Abortion Rights. Speaker: Estelle DeBates, member, Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees and Socialist Workers Party in Morgantown, West Virginia. Fri., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 1103 E. Carson St. Donation \$4. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

UNITED KINGDOM

London

The Truth about Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: A Reply to Slanders of the *New York Times* and Channel 4. A panel presentation. Fri., Jan. 19, 7:00 p.m. 47 The Cut (opposite Young Vic theater, nearest tube Waterloo). Donation £2. Tel: 0171-401-2409.

Manchester

Lessons of the Gulf War — Five Years On. Fri., Jan. 19, 7:00 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

from going home. But if I choose to, I risk repercussions later on, a reprimand, a warning, even loss of my job."

Working people were incensed at the arrogant statements of Congresspeople such as George Nethercutt, who justified the mass layoffs by declaring, "It's a greater principle than just today's federal worker." Further outrage was sparked by a federal judge who rejected a request by the federal employees unions to prohibit the government from forcing workers back to their jobs without pay.

Faced with the prospect of growing protests and public support for the workers, Congress backed down. By the end of the week it voted to end the shutdown of federal offices and reinstate pay for employees who had been forced to remain at their jobs.

Budget talks, which were suspended for a few days, are due to resume after Clinton returns from a trip to Bosnia to rally support for Washington's war drive there.

CALENDAR

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Town Meeting and Speak-Out Against Police Brutality. Everywhere our youth are falling to police abuse and murder. Come participate, tell your story, develop solutions. Fri., Jan. 19, 7 p.m. St. Mary's Episcopal Church, 521 W. 126th St. (between Broadway and Amsterdam). For more information call: Parents Against Police Brutality at (718) 796-1176, Committee to Remember Anthony Baez at (718) 653-1681, or Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition at (212) 330-8029.

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MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-0100. E-mail: Compuserve 74767.1050.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel:

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A dicey business — If you think it's easy to clean up on the stock market, consider that Orange County went bankrupt despite the fact, recently disclosed, that county treasurer Robert Cit-



Harry Ring

ron was getting guidance and predictions from a psychic and a mail order astrologer.

Despite no lack thereof — Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) took a recent "official business" trip

abroad. The State Dept. sent advance notices of his needs: "Sen. Specter is an avid squash player. Request matches be arranged at air-conditioned courts in each location with local opponents. Sen. Specter will supply his own equipment except balls."

Camcorder included? — During my career as a policeman I've had to knock down a lot of doors. On one occasion, however, a door withstood all the battering I could give it...It was a Stanley steel entry door. — Advertising endorsement by Police Officer Dave Hood.

As good as they come — Dale Missildine, a retired Iowa district judge, checked out last month. Fellow judge Harry Perkins saluted him as a jurist who was

"quick to give people a chance." Like, for instance, in 1981 when prisoners were getting early release for lack of cell space, give 'em-a-chance Missildine suggested castrating rapists and putting juvenile delinquents in pillories.

Man, check it out — Market research indicates it appeals to Joe Macho, if he can afford it. The Hummer, civilian version of the military Humvee. Including air conditioning, cruise control, audio system, and a lighted makeup mirror, \$70,000. Arnold Schwarzenegger has five.

Big nose, small brain OK — Women who are suffering breast cancer, or have survived it, and who participate in electronic discussion through America Online

were startled to discover that the word "breast" had been purged from their personal profiles. Hit with protests, America Online retreated, declaring: "Body parts that might be named in medical diagnoses do not fall under the category of offensive on-line communications."

Plain talk dep't — "The modern workplace has room for one thing and one thing only — and that's the bottom line. And the bottom line doesn't have any provisions for the holidays or anything else that isn't profit-driven." — U of Minnesota prof. John Budd on the increase in holiday-time firings.

For some, less is more — Reporting that the AT&T decision to split into three companies would

mean trimming 40,000 jobs, the *Los Angeles Times* said: "Wall Street, in keeping with its cheerful attitude about layoffs, sent AT&T's shares up \$2.625....The news led the Dow Jones industrial average to rise more than 60 points as investors bet that profit-sweetening job cuts...would remain in vogue among large corporations."

Think you're crazy? — "Che's philosophy and work was to liberate the oppressed. The same philosophy is shared by the U.S. Army antiguerrilla branch whose members led the operation resulting in Che's execution." — Letter to January 2 *Los Angeles Times* from Phill Coleman, Senior Librarian, American Foreign Conflicts Electronic Library, Gardena, California.

Gaza: 100,000 Palestinians protest assassination

BY CANDACE WAGNER

One hundred thousand Palestinians in the Gaza Strip attended the funeral of Yahya Ayyash January 6, the day after his assassination. The Israeli political police, Shin Bet, are almost universally held responsible for the January 5 booby trap bombing.

Ayyash was killed in a private home in the Palestinian-controlled Gaza Strip. Both the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority had publicly announced that they were hunting for Ayyash, who Tel Aviv claims was the architect of many of the bombings in Israel carried out by the Palestinian opposition group Hamas. Several Hamas leaders addressed the huge crowd at the funeral, which chanted angry slogans denouncing the murder.

A *Washington Post* article stated, "In Israel, the assassination is thought to be a boost for Prime Minister Shimon Peres, demonstrating his toughness to skeptical voters." Israeli officials have openly expressed their support for the killing of Ayyash.

The assassination occurred just two weeks before the Palestinian elections, scheduled for January 20. Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasir Arafat is expected to win by wide a margin against his only challenger, Samiha Khalil, an opponent of the Palestinian-Israeli accord. Palestinians will also elect an 88-member parliament.

Hamas has refused to run in the elections, but agreed not to call for an electoral boycott.

Continuing troop withdrawals

Just 10 days before the funeral march, on December 27, Palestinians cheered, danced, and raised hundreds of Palestinian flags as Israeli troops withdrew from Ramallah after 28 years of occupation.

Ramallah was the last of six West Bank cities scheduled for Israeli army pullout under the agreement — signed September 28 by then Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Arafat — that grants Palestinians limited self-rule.

On December 21 Israeli soldiers withdrew from Bethlehem. Young men raised the Palestinian flag and tore down a 12-foot-high fence surrounding a former Israeli military compound. "I can't express what I feel inside," quarry worker Issa abu Kamel told the *New York Times*. "That fence was like a prison for the Palestinian people, and now Bethlehem is free."

"When I saw the fence come down, I thought: the occupation is gone and the Palestinian state is on the way," Maha Andini said. "We waited 28 years for this. There's nothing sweeter."

Young people visit their former jails

In cities across the West Bank, young people visited cells where they had been imprisoned by the Israeli occupiers.

Israeli forces also withdrew from 400 smaller villages and towns in the West Bank.

The city of Jericho was turned over to Palestinian authority in May 1994. In March 1996 Hebron will be turned over, with the Israeli authorities retaining partial control of the city.

With the December withdrawals, 90

percent of the West Bank Arab population has come under the Palestinian Authority. Seventy percent of the land area, however, remains under Israeli control. Palestinian areas are broken up into 100 small enclaves surrounded by Israeli-controlled territory. The accords call for the gradual transfer of more West Bank territory to Palestinian control.

The agreement retains for the Israeli authorities the "overriding right" to enter any of the 400 Palestinian villages for "security" reasons.

Fight over water rights

A critical issue for Palestinians on the West Bank remains access to water resources. "Since 1967, the Israelis have had a complete hold on the Palestinian natural water supply," noted Allegra Pacheco, staff attorney for a human rights and legal aid office in Jerusalem, writing in the magazine *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*.

"In 28 years of occupation, only 23 wells have been dug for a population of 1 million Palestinians. By contrast...32 wells [have been dug] to serve Jewish settlers in the West Bank numbering no more than 100,000 persons," Pacheco wrote.

"The Palestinian village of Obadiyya outside of Jerusalem has been without water for more than a year," she stated. "The Israeli water company in the occupied territories — Mekorot — has been pumping just enough water into the local piping system to reach the neighboring Israeli settlements of Maale Adumim and Qedar, while Obadiyya remains dry."

Tel Aviv has refused to negotiate the control of the water supply in the West Bank.

Frank Collins wrote in the October/November issue of the *Washington Report* that the Israeli government has promised to raise the Palestinian water allotment by 25 percent over a four-year period, at the same time proclaiming that "any increases in water supply to Palestinians are not to come out of the Israeli share of the water."

In the December issue of the *Washington Report* Shawn Twing covered a recent U.S. tour of Palestinian businessmen seeking investment in the West Bank.

They report that measures taken by the Israeli government since the signing of the accords have worsened conditions for Palestinian businesses.

Cumbersome permit system

Where delivery to Israeli markets required a single permit before, now separate permits are required for the vehicle, its driver, and for the vehicle's cargo.

The permits are good for only a short period. An Israeli requirement that Palestinians rent Israeli trucks when transporting goods from the West Bank to Gaza increases the costs substantially.

Meanwhile, in another controversy, Maher al-Alami, editor of the Palestinian daily *Al Quds*, was detained for six days in December by the Preventive Security Apparatus, the Palestine Authority's security force. He was arrested the day after he refused to publish on the front page an article about Arafat's meeting with the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem.



Palestinians carry coffin of Yahya Ayyash through Gaza January 6. Israeli officials openly expressed their support for his murder, most likely carried out by Shin Bet.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

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JAN. 12 — The last week has seen a new outbreak of fighting in Jordan between the Palestinian resistance forces and the troops of King Hussein.

The same factors that impelled Hussein to attempt to wipe out the Palestinian liberation movement in September still exist. First is the contradiction between the attempts by various Arab governments, backed by both Moscow and Washington, to reach a settlement with Israel, and the refusal of the Palestinian resistance to accept any settlement that maintains Zionist Israel and denies them their right to self-determination. Second is the danger presented to Hussein's regime in Jordan by the fedayeen's mobilization, politicalization, and arming of the Palestinians, a majority of the Jordanian population.

The Jan. 9 *New York Times* reported that the day before Hussein's troops began an attack on commando bases in the north of Amman. Al Fateh, the largest of the Palestinian resistance organizations, reported that the Jordanians had shelled a Palestinian Red Crescent (Islamic equivalent of the Red Cross) hospital at El Rumman.

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January 19, 1946

Wall Street's plans for global domina-

tion have been dealt a staggering blow by the sweeping world-wide protest demonstrations of the American GIs.

In actions unprecedented in the history of victorious imperialist armies, hundreds of thousands of battle-scarred veterans have shaken their mighty fists at Washington, shouting: "Get Us Home!"

The angry, bitter protests against the delay in demobilization came from all over the world. The press publicized only the most spectacular — Philippines, Germany, Hawaii, France, Japan, Korea, China, India, England, Alaska and "dozens" of other places. This colossal new wave of protests was provoked by a January 4 War Department announcement that demobilization would be slowed down. This reversed a December 26 promise to speed up demobilization.

The GIs reacted with a swiftness that stunned official circles. On January 6, in Manila, thousands of GIs demonstrated at separated points, shouting their resentment. Military police "broke up" one band marching toward headquarters of Lt. Gen. Styer. Another crowd was dispersed on Quezon bridge. Meanwhile, half a dozen Army outfits issued mimeographed calls for action.

Simultaneously, on the other side of the world at Camp Boston, France, 2,000 GIs demonstrated. In Rheims more than 200 GIs cabled protests to the Senate and American newspapers, and 400 at Marseilles sent cables. Protests likewise came from 100 GIs at Frankfurt, Germany; 1,800 officers and enlisted men of the 8th Air Force at London; and GIs at Tidworth, England. In the Pacific theatre, 6,000 men on Saipan wired protests. At Guam more than 3,500 enlisted men and officers of the 315th Bombing wing of the Twentieth Air Force staged a "hunger strike" in protest against the demobilization slowdown.

Federal workers say back off!

It takes two to tango. That's true of the so-called budget debate. As they twirl and posture, President Bill Clinton and Congressional leaders keep shifting the "debate" toward proposals for deeper and deeper cuts in the basic social gains of working people.

Clinton denounces the "heartless" Republicans in Congress and poses as a defender of children, the elderly, and the poor. But that's like the fox in the chicken coop pointing at the wolf. Clinton, in fact, is not a lesser evil to the Republicans. Around the world, it has always been liberals (or social democrats) who, camouflaged by their rhetoric, have led the charge against workers' social wage.

True to form, the Democratic White House has been the driving force in the campaign to gut welfare. Clinton has set the tone since his 1992 election campaign vow to "end welfare as we know it."

The constantly changing figures cited by the big-business media can have a numbing effect. But the scope of the proposed cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, and other social programs is staggering. Both Clinton and the Congressional Republicans have called for cuts of more than \$600 billion in social spending over the next seven years. The latest White House proposal is to cut about \$100 billion from Medicare alone.

This war on working people at home goes hand in hand with the U.S.-led drive toward war against the workers state of Yugoslavia. They are two sides of one coin, and are driven by the same profit crisis that has accelerated since the 1987 stock market crash. The plunging profit rates, which have sunk the capitalist world into depression conditions, are forcing capitalists in the United States, Britain, France, Japan, Germany, and elsewhere to battle more fiercely for markets worldwide and to push down the wages and social gains of workers in their own countries.

It is not a clear road for the bosses and their governments, however. Congress and the White House pushed

a little too far in forcing hundreds of thousands of federal employees to work without pay. Washington's arrogance backfired as the workers held protests, forcing surprised government officials to back down.

This unexpected resistance is just a taste of the fight-back the capitalist rulers will provoke among working people in the United States and other countries, who will defend the social rights they won through hard-fought struggles. That is exactly what happened in France with the massive strikes and demonstrations by millions of workers and students, which forced the Chirac-Juppé government to pull back from its assault on social security.

In parallel fashion, the imperialist assault on the Yugoslav workers state will run smack into resistance by working people there to any attempt at rolling back the social advances they won through their revolution.

To the bosses' cry to "balance the budget," we say: that's their budget and their problem, not ours. *Their* priority is to keep paying billions in interests to the rich bondholders — at the expense of workers and farmers. *Our* priority, as working people, is completely different: to defend the social conquests and basic needs of our class. Above all, the labor movement must wage a fight to win jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, a massive public works program, and affirmative action measures, including a raise in the minimum wage.

Today, the most important resistance to the threatened attacks on the social wage is taking place on the picket lines by the 2,000 Detroit newspaper strikers, the 30,000 striking janitorial workers in New York, and similar defensive struggles by working people from the United States to Puerto Rico to New Zealand. It is manifest in a range of other fights too, from numerous struggles against cop brutality to demonstrations in defense of a woman's right to abortion. That's where all working-class fighters should be today.

On side of Turkish workers

Following Turkey's December 24 elections, a flurry of worried editorials appeared in the big-business press decrying the first-place showing by the Welfare Party, described by the bourgeois media as the party of "Islamic fundamentalism." The ruling classes with large stakes and investments in Turkey, especially in Germany and the United States, fear the greater instability the elections and recent large labor mobilizations signaled.

Sticking to protocol, Turkey's president invited Welfare Party leader Necmettin Erbakan to form a coalition government. But the ruling class in Turkey has made it clear it prefers a coalition with the main capitalist parties that have ruled up to now.

Tansu Ciller, who resigned as prime minister after the elections, and her True Path Party, immediately began scurrying to put together a governing coalition with the other major conservative group, the Motherland Party, and whoever else they can get to make up the requisite number of votes in parliament. Ciller and company are posing as the defenders of a secular Turkey. But the main concern of the capitalist parties in Turkey is defending their capacity to impose the austerity measures that are already taking a heavy toll on the working class.

The biggest blow to Ankara's ability to proceed apace came from the mass strike mobilizations that began in September, forcing the government to agree to wage hikes and sparking the current crisis facing the capitalists. In the face of the organized labor resistance the ruling parties split over how far and fast they could push to impose the demands of imperialist investors and the International Monetary Fund. The crisis in Turkey is the product of the imperialist domination of that nation in a world marked by capitalist depression. More instability is on the horizon as the rulers there are forced to provoke further polarization and resistance by their drive to protect their profit system and satisfy their masters in Washington and Bonn.

The events in Turkey are being watched closely by the imperialists in Germany and the United States as they vie for domination of the country's markets and strategic military bases. Turkey has massive trade with Germany, and Bonn pushed heavily to incorporate Ankara into the European customs union for one reason alone: to rake off still more of the surplus value produced by working people there.

Because of the large Turkish immigrant population, among them many Kurds, Germany is directly impacted by events in Turkey. From the ceaseless assaults by Ankara's army on the oppressed Kurdish nationality to the impact of the U.S.-led war drive in the Balkans, Germany will continue to feel the vibrations of any upheaval in the region.

For the U.S. government, with its control of the NATO military bases sprawled throughout the country, Turkey is also strategically located. It shares a border with the Soviet Union, has been key to operations in the Middle East like the U.S. bombing raids against northern Iraq during the Persian Gulf War, and is a gateway to the

Asian continent for U.S. imperialism. Washington counts on its massive armed presence, and its frequent backing of Ankara's military campaigns against the Kurdish people, as a gigantic chip to weigh in on the side of greater U.S. domination in the region.

Turkey provides evidence that the tensions between imperialist powers seeking to shore up their flagging economies will only increase, particularly as workers and peasants repeatedly disrupt the plans of the rulers. The question of who will take top place in the imperialist feeding chain when it comes to Turkey also becomes more important as NATO's drive toward war against Yugoslavia escalates.

These are the considerations of the sharks of Wall Street and the Bundesbank alike, in their sudden concern for defending "western values" in Turkey. The working class throughout the world should be wary when the boss class starts trying to convince us to help them defend their idea of democracy somewhere. There is a long history in Turkey of military coups and bloody repression, including under recent civilian rule with the frequent use of martial law, restrictions on democratic rights, and arrest and torture of trade union militants and other political activists.

As the capitalist economic crisis causes the stability of country after country to crumble, there will be a greater tendency to rely on harsher methods, rule by decree, and Bonapartist regimes. The rulers of Algeria, backed by French imperialism, responded to the widespread resentment among working people to their austerity policies, which was registered by the elections four years ago, by declaring martial law and sparking a bloody civil war. Amid the warnings about the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism, the capitalist press speculates about the possibility that the military in Turkey will step in if things get out of hand from the rulers' point of view. Washington and Bonn both have a sordid history of supporting crackdowns on the labor movement in order to protect their interests.

Working-class fighters should be alert for any move to close down the space our class has in Turkey to resist the drive against their standard of living and democratic rights. Working people around the world should oppose any attempts to crack down on democratic rights — whether under the guise of combating terrorism or Islamic fundamentalism, or under the banner of protecting stability.

The stability the ruling classes are interested in comes on the backs of the workers and farmers. We look forward to the shake-ups of the capitalist system that the resistance by the toilers has begun to usher.

As in many other countries, the Turkish working class will likely find its chance, through its struggles, to take power out of the hands of the local landlords and capitalists, put an end to imperialist domination of their country, and join the fight for a socialist world. Working people and youth the world over should stand with our brothers and sisters in Turkey at every turning point in this battle.

Why Yugoslavia is not yet 'former'

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

In a letter on the next page Jeff Jones raises questions about referring today to all the republics that comprised Yugoslavia since the 1940s as the "Yugoslav workers state." He also asks that the *Militant* editors clarify their position on self-determination for Bosnia. These questions touch on some of the main issues at stake in NATO's war drive against Yugoslavia.

Since mid-December, the *Militant* stopped using the term "former Yugoslavia." We did so to underline the

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

fact that neither the warring gangs that rule Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia, nor the imperialist powers now intervening militarily have succeeded in overturning the workers state that Yugoslav workers and peasants established through a mighty anti-capitalist revolution in the mid-1940s. They haven't overthrown the working-class property forms, the new social relations working people put in place through that revolution.

This is what the armies of Washington, Bonn, London, and Paris hope to accomplish through a direct military assault on the working class of Yugoslavia. Saying "former Yugoslavia" gives to the thieves of Wall Street and the Elysée Palace something they haven't already taken — something they'll have a hell of a time wresting away from working people in that country.

Half a century ago Yugoslav workers and peasants led a successful revolution to win land, jobs, democratic rights, and better social conditions. In the process they cut across ethnic, language, and religious lines. They did so in a powerful struggle — led by an armed mass movement called the Partisans — against the local landlords and capitalists, as well as the imperialist powers of Europe and the United States. The revolution championed the rights of oppressed nationalities, codifying into law respect for their various languages, cultures, and religions.

The momentum of the revolution did not end in the 1940s. Despite the Stalinist-led government, the working class expanded its gains well into the 1950s and 60s. It pushed through affirmative action programs for less developed regions and republics, for example, narrowing the huge disparities in living and working conditions that ran along national as well as class lines under the former king. The anti-imperialist and class-struggle consciousness of working people was reflected in the mass student protests in 1968 demanding that the regime of Josip Tito drop its "neutral" stance and denounce the U.S. war against Vietnam. The process that led to Yugoslavia's formal break-up in 1991-92 is a later development that is not consolidated as an unambiguous course until well into the 1970s.

Tito's Stalinist regime was never able to return Yugoslavia to being a "prison house of nations." The Stalinists in power did not and could not act like the king, the fascist Nazi-backed Ustashi regime in Croatia, or Hitler's thugs, who recruited under the banner of exterminating Jews and other "non-Aryans."

The counterrevolutionary policies of the bureaucratic regime weakened the gains of the Yugoslav workers and peasants. But it's one thing to betray the revolution and another to overthrow it. As in the Soviet Union, the petty-bourgeois ruling stratum in Yugoslavia proved much weaker than the working class and the workers state. It never succeeded in creating the necessary conditions to restore capitalist social relations. While the bureaucratic caste itself shattered into competing gangs, the working class did not. As a result, the Yugoslav workers state has not been dismembered into little pieces, or multiple workers states, that imperialist troops are going in to scoop up.

Millions of workers and farmers of various nationalities still consider themselves Yugoslavs — not Serbs, Croats, or Muslims. They refuse to give up on the unity they gained and will resist any "shock therapy" measures aimed at restoring capitalism. It is this working class that is the obstacle to the invading imperialist powers. It is the same working class that has already provided countless examples of active opposition to the slaughter they were subjected to by the competing Stalinist bureaucrats and would-be capitalists in the various Yugoslav republics.

From the beginning of the war in 1991, the *Militant* has explained that this slaughter was orchestrated above all by the regime of Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia. But the government of Franjo Tudjman in Croatia has blood-soaked hands as well. These parasitic regimes — fragments of the formerly centralized Stalinist apparatus — used nationalist rhetoric to justify their drive to terrorize working people in order to grab control of land and other economic resources.

In the face of massacres of Muslims in Bosnia by gangs supported by Belgrade and Zagreb, hundreds of thousands of people in that republic — Muslim, Serb, and Croat — took up arms to oppose the division of Bosnia along national lines. The *Militant* has supported

Continued on Page 11

Quebec Firestone strikers: 'We have no choice'

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or

to other provinces and countries

In 1992, the company demanded and received concessions to run the plant all seven days a week with 12-hour shifts, imposing the same alternating 48-hour/36-hour workweeks on night shift workers as the day shift was already putting in.

The union is now demanding the right for night shift workers to take an occasional Saturday night off without pay, but the company

one with the largest and broadest support.

Rolls Royce engineering workers (machinists) from Bristol; rail workers from Perth, Scotland, and Manchester, England; Merseyside printing workers and bus drivers; and Ford auto workers from the local Halewood plant marched with many others behind their union banners.

The dockers keep up direct pressure on the harbor bosses, maintaining 24-hour picket lines at the dock gates with frequent mass mobilizations. A solidarity group made up predominantly of wives and companions of the dock workers, Women of the Waterfront, is becoming more and more a part of picket line activities, and organizes many of its own events.

30,000 janitorial workers strike in New York City

Picket lines went up January 4 in front of some 1,000 office buildings in New York, as more than 30,000 cleaning and maintenance workers walked off the job. The members of Service Employees International Union Local 32B-32J are fighting management's attempt to impose a two-



Members of the Service Employees International Union picket outside the Empire State Building in New York. 30,000 workers are resisting union-busting tactics.

ON THE PICKET LINE

other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

The strike of 750 workers at the Bridgestone/Firestone tire factory in Joliet, Quebec, continues with no end in sight.

"We have no choice but to continue the strike," said oil worker Philip Tremblay. "We can't work under the conditions that the company wants to impose."

Workers are striking for a wage increase and pension improvements, for relief from a crushing work schedule, and against an arbitrary attendance policy and other rules that the company is demanding. There has been no wage increase at the plant since 1991 and the pension plan pays only \$23 a month per year of service.

Strikers are taking their fight to other workers in Quebec, appealing for financial support as well as a boycott of Bridgestone/Firestone tires. They are also traveling

refuses.

"More than anything this is a fight for the guys who work night shift," explained union executive committee member Alain Longpré. "The schedule the company is running is too hard, we can't do it. We are humans, not machines."

Liverpool dock workers fight for jobs

Some nine weeks after being sacked, 500 dockers in Liverpool, England, continue their fight for their jobs and against the union-busting operation of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company. The Mersey docks are the only unionized docks in Britain since a bitter and unsuccessful national dock strike in 1989.

On December 2, trade unionists from many parts of Britain joined dockers for a march and rally of 3,000 in downtown Liverpool. It was the sixth rally since the dispute began September 28, and the

tier wage setup and slash medical care, holidays, sick days, and other benefits.

"Their contract offer is the worst," said one of the strikers picketing the office buildings at Penn Station in midtown Manhattan the first day of the walkout. Under the contract that expired December 31, the janitors' wages were about \$15 an hour.

The Realty Advisory Board, a coalition of building owners and managers, is demanding that new hires start at half of that, reaching wage parity only after six years. Strikers explained that management will use this to push out

older workers and hire others at the lower rate.

"They want us to do double the work too," said a worker who has been cleaning the offices above Penn Station for 25 years. "You used to just have half a floor to clean, and now they want one person to do the entire floor."

Roger Annis, member of Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union Local 841 in Montreal; Tim Rigby, member of the Transport & General Workers' Union in Manchester, England; and Militant staff writer Naomi Craine contributed to this column.

LETTERS

Multiple workers states?

Could the *Militant* clarify its attitude toward self-determination for Bosnia? Your editorial calls for a campaign opposing the imperialist war drive against Yugoslavia and refers several times to Bosnia as a Yugoslav republic. You state that the underlying goal of the intervention is the overthrow of the Yugoslav workers state. Bosnia, however, has declared its independence from the Yugoslav federation, which was the proximate cause of the war.

Aren't there now multiple workers states existing in the former territory of Yugoslavia, just as there are now two states from the former Czechoslovakia and 15 from the former Soviet Union?

It seems important to me to be clear on this as the Belgrade regime demagogically advanced Serbian nationalist goals, often behind the cloak of being the defender of "Yugoslavia." Today it keeps a rump Yugoslavia in federation with Montenegro. It should also be noted Athens's campaign against Macedonia forced it to accept the name "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" for membership in the United Nations.

The *Militant* should differentiate itself from those giving cover to Belgrade by claiming the breakup of Yugoslavia was engineered by resurgent Germany pushing for Croatian independence. The Stalinist bloody counterrevolution against the Bolshevik program on national self-determination set the framework for the return of Yugoslavia to a prisonhouse of nations in the years after the 1945 revolution and then its brutal dismemberment. The imperialist intervention seeks to take advantage of this by dictating the character of any Bosnian state and leaving open a partitioning of it between Serbia and Croatia. They hope through this method to gain the leverage to

go on and overturn the forms of property relations in all the former Yugoslav republics. Jeff Jones Minneapolis, Minn.

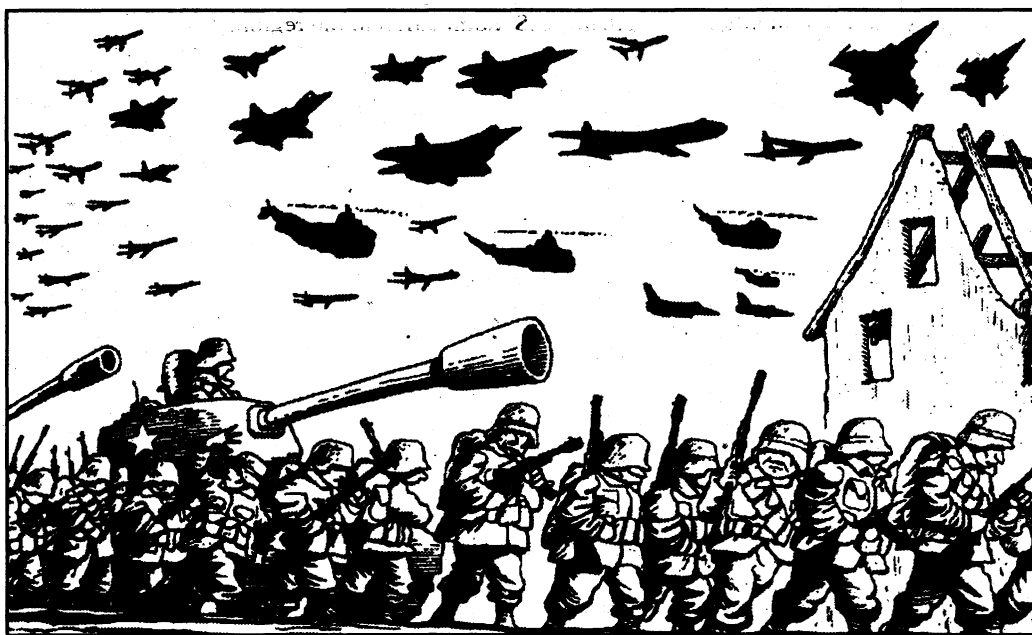
Irish freedom

As the euphoria surrounding President Clinton's visit to Ireland ends, we ought to consider a few truths about the so-called peace process in British-occupied Ireland.

First of all it is a mistake to view both parties in the conflict as having claims that are equally valid and morally just. The so-called majority in the north was an artificially created majority made at the point of a British bayonet. That majority lorded it over the Catholic minority in the same manner as Southern whites used to lord it over Blacks when Jim Crow ruled the old Confederacy.

Were Blacks expected to negotiate with the white political establishment in order to have their human rights respected? The answer, of course, is no. Therefore, how can the Catholic minority be expected to view their oppressors as equal moral partners during the present cease-fire?

The result of the negotiations between the Provisional Irish Republican Army, the Republic of Ireland, and Britain must end with the announcement of a timetable for the transfer of sovereignty of what is now called Northern Ireland to the Republic of Ireland, whose constitution grants liberty of religious conscience to all. It must be emphasized that the Catholics in British-occupied Ireland, although allowed to be



Peace Comes to Bosnia

Catholic, were penalized in employment, voting, and housing for exercising their religious conscience. The continued existence of Northern Ireland as a part of Britain will simply mean that the British version of Jim Crow will continue in that land. Have the Ian Paisleys and the Orange lodges renounced Protestant supremacy? Of course they haven't. When Ireland is re-united within the framework of an appropriate timetable then and only then will peace come to Ireland. For that will be a peace with justice. William Gartland Rio, Wisconsin

Federal workers protest

Federal workers have begun to fight back against the government shutdown. On January 3, federal workers who are members of the AFGE [American Federation of Government Employees] staged informational pickets and protests. One hundred fifty workers took part in a protest at the San

Francisco Federal building, 75-100 protested at the Richmond Social Security office, and 75-100, including this writer, protested outside the Menlo Park Veterans Hospital. The slogans of the pickets included "Furlough Congress, not Federal Workers," "Don't Pay Congress," and "Nuke Newt." The majority of pickets at the Menlo Park facility had never participated in a picket line. The picket line gave workers the opportunity to voice their anger at the government shutdown. Workers I spoke to said they would be willing to picket again.

Furloughed workers received checks for only half a pay period. [They] are not eligible for unemployment because they are technically not unemployed. Workers who are working don't know whether they will receive their next checks or not.

In the next two weeks money runs out for many federal programs, including federal unemployment insurance, Meals on Wheels which provides meals for

shut-ins, school lunch programs, food stamps, and Social Security. In the meantime, members of Congress and the President are being paid.

Supporters of the *Militant* should contact AFGE locals in their areas and take part in protests. The *Militant* carries news that federal workers can learn from, like the example of the French workers of how to conduct a successful fightback campaign.

Lenore Sheridan San Jose, California

Caterpillar strikers

I received holiday greetings from two activists in the United Auto Workers 17-month strike against Caterpillar. They said Cat is refusing to recall 61 members of UAW Local 974 who were terminated during the strike. The company is bringing back four or five strikers at a time in each department, so they are outnumbered by scabs. Five strikers were fired the week of December 16, two for wearing union T-shirts and three for "poor work effort." The scabs play a big role in deciding the quality of work performed by returning strikers.

Salm Kolis Atlanta, Georgia

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

London attacks immigrant rights

BY CELIA PUGH

LONDON — In January, 13,000 asylum seekers in the United Kingdom could lose all welfare, housing, and government benefits, according to the Department of Health and Social Security. The agency plans to apply new regulations under the 1993 Immigration and Asylum Act. Two weeks before the January 8 implementation date, public protest forced the government to postpone the plans until after a debate in Parliament.

The Campaign Against the Immigration and Asylum Bill (CAIAB)—a broad coalition of refugee, immigrant, and Black rights groups, churches, and political organizations—denounced the measure and said it “will lead to severe hardship, destitution, and homelessness.”

The new regulations apply to all refugees seeking asylum after they enter the country. The government estimates that 40,000 people apply for asylum each year, with 12,000 dependents. Of these some 30 percent ask for refugee status immediately at the port of entry. The remaining 70 percent enter on temporary tourist, student, or business visas and apply for asylum once they are in Britain.

Claude Moraes, director of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, told the national daily *The Guardian*, “Claiming asylum at the port of entry can be a recipe in the minds of asylum seekers for being returned to their country of origin.” In 1994, the Home Office only recognized 4 percent of asylum applications. The January benefit cutoff will apply to all new “after entry” asylum seekers, as well as those who have been turned down, are appealing, or await deportation.

In addition to the January regulations, the government is preparing legislation to toughen the asylum and immigration laws. A bill is to come before parliament in March.

Proposals for the regulations include an obligation on teachers, doctors, hospitals, housing, and benefit officials to inform on suspected immigration violations. Benefit claim forms will ask a person's nationality. The government says this will “act as a trigger question for further enquiries where appropriate.”

Home Secretary Michael Howard said November 20 that employers could be



Protest against racist and anti-immigrant attacks in Tower Hamlets area of London in October 1993. British government is on campaign to curtail rights of asylum seekers.

convicted and fined for employing illegal workers if they failed to inspect national insurance numbers, birth certificates, or passports.

The new laws could include further visa restrictions and lost benefits for “sponsored immigrants.” These are mainly elderly or disabled relatives of immigrants resident in Britain who are allowed to stay if cared for by families.

‘White list’

The proposals include a “white list” of countries deemed safe, on the basis of which immigration officials would automatically challenge applications for asylum.

Following the execution of Nigerian dissident Ken Saro-Wiwa, the government was forced to deny that Nigeria was on the “white list.” Other countries rumored to be deemed “safe” were Sri Lanka and Algeria, which Howard also denied.

But refugee organizations report that such a procedure effectively exists. Home Office figures show that since January 1995, only one of 2,032 Nigerian refugee applications has been accepted.

At a November 16 CAIAB public meeting at the House of Commons, Kate Allen of the Asylum Rights Campaign told the

crowd of 200 that in 1995, 92 percent of refugee applicants from Algeria were turned down, as were 89 percent of those from Sri Lanka.

Lee Jasper of the National Black Alliance told the same meeting, “The government is moving to identification cards to see who are ‘legal’ and who ‘illegal’ immigrants. South Africa has done away with pass laws, and the British government is implementing their own.”

Another speaker, Rev. Theo Samuel of the Churches’ Commission for Racial Justice, pointed out, “People are here from Eastern Europe; they are affected too.” Last August, Refugee Council figures showed that 11,000 people from Yu-

goslavia had applied for asylum. Of these, only 2,000 had their applications processed and only 25 got full refugee status.

Deportation of Nigerian

Rousing applause greeted Lola Onibiyo at the meeting. She led a fight against the deportation of her father to Nigeria. The government withdrew his permanent residency status although he had lived in Britain for 30 years. Before his deportation Abdul Onibiyo was beaten by the police and denied medical treatment at the detention center.

Onibiyo left behind his wife and five children. He is an opponent of the regime in Nigeria and his relatives fear for his well being. They have not heard from him since his deportation.

On December 7 Lola Onibiyo’s 19-year-old brother Ade was within half an hour of deportation to Nigeria. The Home Office was forced by the public campaign to concede a delay to allow a final appeal. The youth remains in detention. Lola Onibiyo told the audience at the meeting, “We have to form

a united front to fight these laws. We all have a right to be here. I am here to stay and here to fight. We have a right to human dignity.”

Amir Hussain Mashkur from Tower Hamlets College Student Union echoed this at a November 4 conference of the newly founded Student Assembly Against Racism. “As young people we represent the future,” he said. “We have to get active, get involved, and get organized.”

The Student Assembly is building a national CAIAB demonstration against the Immigration and Asylum Act in London February 24. Two thousand protesters joined a rally and lobby of Parliament December 19.

Maori workers occupy plant to defend land and jobs

BY BRIGID ROTHERHAM

BENNEYDALE, New Zealand — In a fight to protect their land and jobs, 50 Maoris have occupied the car park at the gates of the King Country Lamb meat processing plant since the morning of December 22.

The occupiers are members of the Tiroa Trust of the Rereahu tribe, which owns the land on which the factory stands. Most are also workers at the plant who are concerned about their jobs since the plant went into receivership on December 14.

Before the plant opened in 1992, there was little employment in the area. Many lost their jobs due to cutbacks in forestry work and the closure of a small coal mine. King Country Lamb employed more than 170 workers at the height of the season from the small North Island farming towns of Benneydale, Mangakino, and Te Kuiti. The majority were young Maoris.

Workers explained in interviews that in 1994, under the threat of closure, they accepted a 19 percent pay cut and a 15 percent increase in productivity.

The company told workers in mid-October that the plant was closing for two weeks’ maintenance, but it has remained shut since. Some of those laid off are still not entitled to receive unemployment benefits. Others had taken out mortgages on houses, believing their jobs were secure.

The occupiers are worried that a new owner will move the factory out of the area or impose new conditions on the workforce. The workers, all members of the Meat Workers Union, want their union recognized by whoever takes over.

“The main issue is the land,” said Tui Barlow, the union delegate of the boning room. “That belongs to the Rereahu people and we should be consulted about

what happens. We want to have a say in who buys the plant and what they do with it.” Hand-painted signs in Maori attached to the gate beside the occupiers’ caravans stress this demand. They read “Nga Whenua o Rereahu” (Rereahu’s lands).

The Tiroa Trust is owed money in back rent by King Country Lamb and is unhappy with the location of the plant’s two oxidation ponds, which were built on sacred land. One trustee, Hardie Peni, told the *New Zealand Herald* that the protest “is also an action about spiritual values.”

The Tiroa Trust says it wants to buy the plant, and is negotiating with the receivers.

Brigid Rotherham is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Auckland, New Zealand.

Tahiti unionists fight arrests following antinuclear protests

BY MALCOLM McALLISTER

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Following the September 6 protests that greeted Paris’s first underground nuclear test in French Polynesia in four years, French riot police targeted a group of proindependence trade unionists with a particularly brutal assault. Six unionists, detained for several months, are facing trials on frame-up charges of involvement in rioting.

Dressed in full combat gear and toting guns, police burst into the offices of the A Ti’a I Mua union in Papeete, the capital of Tahiti, on September 9. They bashed and handcuffed the 16 people who were in the offices and then threw them into a police van. The cops used electric truncheons on the unionists.

At the police station, the labor activists were dragged from the van and forced to kneel with their heads on the concrete for 45 minutes, under orders not to move, talk, or complain. The cops batonned and kicked those who couldn’t get into the required position. During their 35 hours in custody the unionists were kicked, punched, and kept awake by sudden noises and music at full volume. The authorities never gave them food or drink. A

post office union official, Henri Temaitahia, had to be hospitalized from the assault.

Six of the 16 were held under arrest for several months before being released on bail. Their lawyers lodged 15 claims of cruel and inhumane treatment with the Papeete courts and a claim against the French state was registered with the United Nations Committee on Torture.

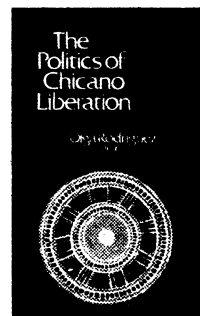
A regional antinuclear conference of rail unionists, scheduled to be held in Tahiti, was shifted to Wellington, New Zealand, because of the continued detentions. Forty delegates from the East Japan Railway Workers Union—some of whom lost relatives in the U.S. nuclear destruction of Hiroshima in 1945—marched to the French Embassy there on November 28 to protest the nuclear testing and the detention of the unionists in Tahiti. On their return to Japan they held a reportback rally of 2,500. The day before their rally one of their officials was beaten and crippled by rightists who favor the rearming of Japan.

Malcolm McAllister is a member of the Engineers Union in Auckland, New Zealand.

The Politics of Chicano Liberation

Edited by
Olga Rodríguez

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