

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Fidel Castro on Washington's
defeat in Bay of Pigs invasion

— PAGES 6-9, 14-15

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NATO assault brings disaster to workers in Yugoslavia

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS
 AND BOBBIS MISAILIDES

NIS, Yugoslavia — As you enter this city in southeastern Serbia, the devastated state of a mile-long strip of factories and warehouses on both sides of the road is the first sign of the disaster the five-week-long U.S.-NATO assault is raining on work-

EYEWITNESS REPORT

ing people here.

Nis (pronounced Neesh), with its suburbs, is one of the largest industrial areas of the country and Yugoslavia's second-largest city. Much of the Tobacco Industry of Nis (DIN) complex — the main cigarette factory in the country, which was in the process of expanding its facilities — has been reduced to rubble and twisted metal. The 3,000 workers there are now out of a job, and Yugoslavia faces a severe shortage of cigarettes. Next to DIN is Yaserbach, the only factory producing industrial pumps in the country, which employed 1,500 workers. It has also been bombed. Scores of smaller plants and industrial shops producing electrical appliances, machine tools, or canned food have also been destroyed or rendered inoperable.

In the early morning hours of April 24, missiles fired by NATO planes damaged Velefarm, the city's main supplier of pharmaceutical products. During that attack, bombs apparently targeting the city's main mechanical engineering complex, which is

Continued on Page 10

Miners buy 'Militant' on Yugoslavia

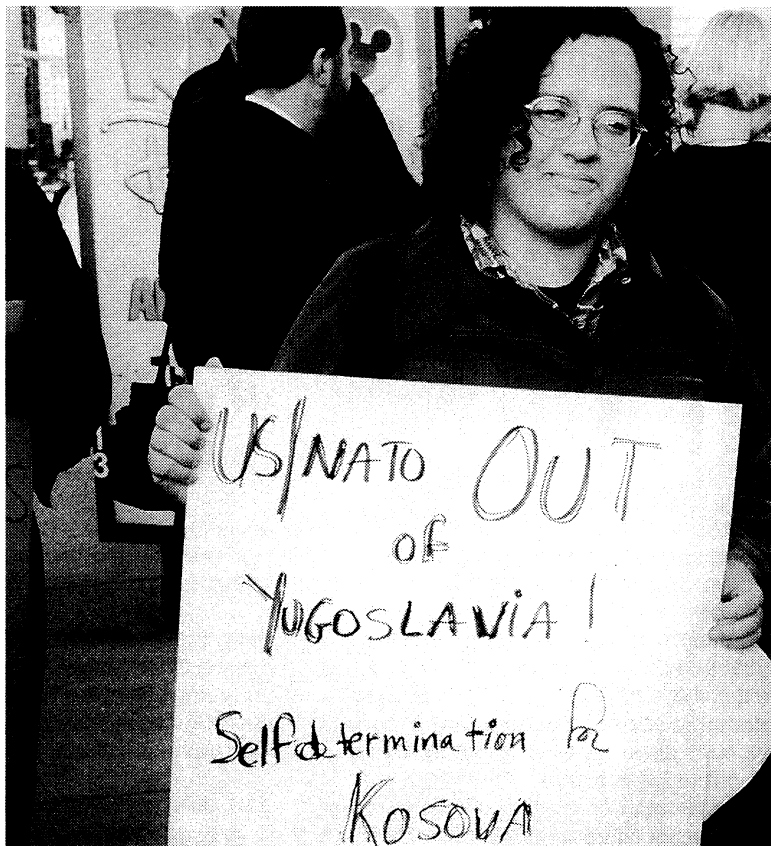
BY ELYSE HATHAWAY

MT. VERNON, Illinois — A team of socialist workers and young socialists traveled through the coal fields of southern Illinois, southern Indiana, and western Kentucky for a week selling the *Militant* and other socialist literature at 11 different coal mines and in working-class communities. The team sold a total of 162 papers, 127 of them to miners at the portals.

We sold 55 *Militants* at one portal in Kentucky the afternoon of April 23. The lead *Militant* headline, "Working class is target of U.S.-NATO assault on Yugoslavia," really attracted miners' attention. Team members also helped make the connection between the war at home and the war abroad by explaining that "the government that is attacking workers here is not going to defend the workers in Yugoslavia." During the three-hour sale, six miners also bought the newly reissued pamphlet *Coal Miners on Strike*, which contains *Militant* coverage from the United Mine Workers strikes in 1977-78.

Close to a dozen miners hung around to talk to the team about the war in Yugoslavia and the need for solidarity with workers in struggle. Some workers were interested in who we are and who puts out the *Militant*. They are attracted to the *Militant* because it's a workers' paper and there is a growing sense of class solidarity, not just union solidarity.

The team received this type of response
 Continued on Page 5



Protesting U.S.-NATO assault on Yugoslavia in Los Angeles in March.

Protesters in Philadelphia and Bay Area: 'Free Mumia Abu-Jamal'

BY CANDACE WAGNER

PHILADELPHIA — A youthful and spirited crowd of 10,000 rallied and marched April 24 demanding authorities grant Mumia Abu-Jamal a new trial and not execute him. A similar number marched in San Francisco the same day.

Abu-Jamal, a well-known radio journalist who is Black, was framed for the 1981 shooting death of Philadelphia cop Daniel Faulkner. He was convicted in a trial featuring numerous violations of his rights and has been on Pennsylvania's death row for 17 years.

Several witnesses have since come forward explaining that they had been coerced by the police into changing their original testimony to implicate Abu-Jamal at the trial. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court rejected Abu-Jamal's post-conviction appeal last year. Leonard Weinglass, Abu-Jamal's lead attorney, filed a motion to review the case April 22 in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Abu-Jamal's case has become a focal point for both pro-cop forces and fighters

Continued on Page 16

Rally backs Virginia shipyard strikers

BY STU SINGER

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia — Workers on strike against Newport News Shipbuilding were joined by other union members for a support march and rally here April 28 in a cold rain.

A contingent of about 12 members of the International Association of Machinists from the Siemens Automotive plant in Newport News joined with local teachers and individual members of other unions in the march from the United Steelworkers of America Local 8888 union hall, past the shipyard's 50th Street gate and to the corporate office, where there was a rally. Around 700 people participated in the event. Picket lines remained up during the march and rally, and city and state cops put up a show of force at every gate to intimidate the strikers.

As the marchers went past the yard gates along Jefferson Avenue, a handful of scabs could be seen working in the yard near the aircraft carrier *USS Nimitz*. A number of marchers yelled down at them. Many suggested the scabs' visibility near the gate was staged by the company for this march.

Strikers on the march pointed out that although there are some scabs working, some critical production departments have 100 percent union membership, and no one has crossed the picket line. Barron Cox, a nuclear fueller, said of that department, "only supervisors are working." W.T. Logan, a veteran of the 1979 strike for union recognition here, said, "I haven't had a raise in eight years. This strike is stronger than 20 years ago — there is

more unity in the yard." Strikers are demanding a substantial pay raise, better pensions, and no increase in health insurance costs.

Other strikers reported they heard from supervisors that Navy personnel are doing increasing amounts of work normally done by the strikers.

This week the union began a striker assistance program, where workers can pick up free groceries and get help in paying bills from utilities to rent, mortgage, and car insurance payments. Cee McQuillen, who has

worked in the yard 14 years, was enthusiastic about the assistance program kicking in because it will help workers stay on strike longer. "If a lot don't go back in, we can win," she said.

Stu Singer is a member of United Transportation Union Local 454 in Baltimore. Ellie Garcia, a member of UTU Local 1370 in New York, and Stephen Williams, a member of Teamsters Local 723 in Newark, New Jersey, contributed to this article.

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Capitalism's World Disorder

Working-Class Politics at the Millennium

Jack Barnes

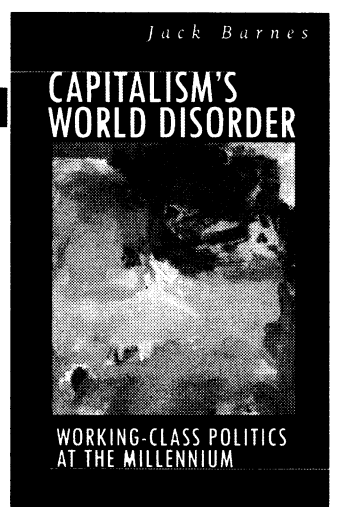
"We have watched the first large-scale war take place in Europe in almost half a century. There has been massive, sustained artillery shelling. Air power has been used to bomb civilian populations in Europe for the first time since the bombing of Dresden, London, and other cities during World War II....

All this has been taking place in Yugoslavia. It is a war that has brought to the surface the deepest conflicts among the imperialist powers in Europe and North America since the collapse of the Stalinist apparatuses at the opening of the 1990s. It is a war that has exposed the increasing contradictions in what continues to be called the NATO alliance."

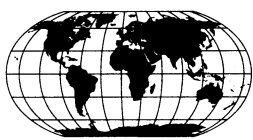
—December 31, 1994

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Thousands strike in S. Korea

Thousands of workers have been striking in south Korea against layoffs and threats of plant closings, flowing from the increased sell off and "restructuring" of Korean industries. Korean docks were idle as shipyard workers walked off the job April 20 to protest Daewoo Heavy Industry bosses' moves to auction off its shipbuilding division to eliminate half its \$49-billion debt and meet the terms of a \$58-billion loan being issued them by the International Monetary Fund.

Some 11,000 subway workers in Seoul, the capital, struck April 19 against plans to cut the workforce there by 20 percent. Five days later, about half of them remained camped in the Seoul National University. The government issued strikers an ultimatum April 23 to return to work by 4:00 a.m. on April 26, or face automatic firing. The next day 10,000 workers and students marched in the capital in solidarity with strikers and against the government ultimatum, including phone workers who were threatening to strike. Union officials called off the strike April 26.

Tel Aviv closes Palestinian office

Signaling Tel Aviv's intent to cut Jerusalem off from any future Palestinian state, the Israeli government on April 22 moved to shut down Orient House — a Palestinian Liberation Organization office in east Jerusalem allegedly being used by the Palestinian Authority (PA). Israeli officials claimed they were provoked because the PA — which is supposed to be a sovereign legislative body — was conducting meetings with foreign officials at Orient House. Palestinian official Faisal al Hussein warned that the move would spark protests throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Venezuela president given power to rule by decree on economy

The Venezuela Congress passed legislation April 22 granting President Hugo Chávez power to rule by decree on most policy matters regarding the economy. Two days later in a nationwide referendum for a constituent assembly to rewrite the constitution, some 88 percent of those ballots counted



University students, workers, and others protesting gas tax hike are confronted by cops on barricades in Kingston, Jamaica, April 20. The government was forced to reconsider the austerity move.

voted in favor. Only 40 percent of those eligible voted, however. In weeks leading up to the vote Chávez threatened to declare an economic state of emergency and suspend the constitution if the legislature failed to submit to his demands.

Chávez is a Bonapartist politician who enjoys popular support for what he claims is a "social revolution" aimed at combating well-known government corruption and solving the economic crisis there. In mid-April, for example, hundreds of people protested in the Venezuelan capitol chanting "Dissolve Congress!" Opposition politicians decried the president's call for a public referendum. Despite his radical claims, "so far Chávez' policies have been relatively market friendly, putting to rest the worst fears of investors,"

wrote Steven Gutkin of the Associated Press. Among other things Chávez will use his powers to implement austerity measures from job cuts and tax increases to further loan deals with the International Monetary Fund.

Tax hike protested in Jamaica

Jamaican prime minister Percival Patterson agreed April 22 to reconsider a 30 percent gasoline tax hike that sparked widespread protests. Street protests exploded in the capital city of Kingston April 16 when the tax hike was imposed. Thousands of demonstrators erected street barricades of flaming tires. Bus and taxi drivers stopped work. Within three days the protests spread across the island nation, crippling business, transit, and schools. "We want the gas tax to be removed," Keith Campbell, 21, told reporters. Kingston imposed curfews — ostensibly to combat looting — and deployed cops, who as of April 23 had killed at least seven people and arrested more than 150. Opposition politicians in the Labor Party sought to take advantage of the unrest to call for Patterson's ouster.

Living conditions for working people in Jamaica are worsening. According to government estimates, a single balanced meal for a Jamaican family of five costs \$43 — more than double the weekly minimum wage and equal to a few day's average salary. The government austerity measures are aimed at making interest payments to the rich rulers in that country and abroad. Some 63 percent of the

national budget goes the country's national debt.

Farmers strike in Argentina

Farmers in Argentina went on a three-day strike April 19 by withholding their produce from the market to demand minimum commodity prices to be set and guaranteed by the state and a temporary moratorium on tax payments. The strike, which includes organizations of large- and middle-size farm industrialists, is being led by working farmers in the Argentine Agrarian Federation. Working farmers are hardest hit by low commodity prices, competition, and mounting debt, which has resulted in the worst agricultural crisis in the 1990s. Agricultural products make up 60 percent of Argentina's exports.

Many farmers want a minimum price for products, regulated by the government. Large landowners complain of new income taxes and increased interest rates. The average price for a ton of grain was \$300 in 1996. By 1998 it plunged to \$150 and fell again to \$120 this year. The Argentine government sought to buy off the farmers by rescheduling back taxes, reducing interest rates on state-issued loans, and lowering fuel prices; with no concrete date for implementation. Farmers rejected the offer and went ahead with their protest strike.

Mexico students reject fee hike

Barricades are up, buildings are occupied, and school is out at 27 of 36 colleges and faculties that make up the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Tens of thousands of students are taking part in actions to reverse steep climb in tuition fees — from the equivalent of 2 cents to \$145. Most of the university's 275,000 students oppose the fee hike. This is the third attempt by university administration to raise the cost of college education since 1985.

INS triples deportations in the name of expelling 'criminals'

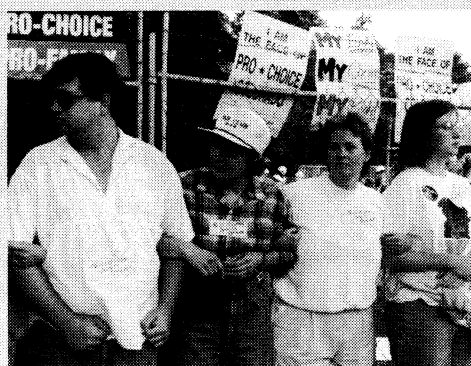
Two years ago Washington stepped up deportations, ostensibly as part of a campaign to reduce crime. The aim of the deportations was supposedly those convicted of felonies. Between 1994 and 1998, the yearly number of deportations from the United States has more than tripled. The percentage of those deported who were convicted of some crime, however, stands at its lowest level in the 1990s. Two-thirds of the 171,816 people deported last year had never been convicted of a crime. Many of the convictions that laid the basis for criminal deportation are for minor offenses committed long before the law was passed. Some 54 percent of the 451,712 undocumented workers deported in that period are Mexican.

— BRIAN TAYLOR

THE MILITANT

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500 farmers rally in Minnesota against worsening conditions

BY DOUG JENNESS

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minnesota — More than 500 angry farmers from a dozen Midwestern states came to this former meat-packing center April 18 to demand the federal government do something about the worsening conditions they face. "Action now!" and "Protect independent producers!" was the message on hand-painted placards held up by some of the protesters.

Much of the farmers' fire was directed at representatives of the U.S. Justice and Agriculture Departments who were on the platform. The sharper the criticism of the federal government, the greater was the applause from farmers. Expressing the frustration of many farmers, John Crabtree from the Rural Affairs Center in Nebraska said, "You've told us to wait while you reorganize. You've told us to wait while you investigate. You've told us to wait while you legislate. When you say wait so many times, it means never!" The two government officials were Joel Klein, head of the Justice Department's antitrust division, and Michael Dunn, USDA undersecretary for marketing and regulatory programs.

Rhonda Perry, a livestock farmer and member of the Missouri Rural Crisis Center, stated that increased monopoly domination didn't occur just because the USDA "let it happen. It's policies have in fact favored corporate greed." Larry Ginter, a hog farmer and member of the Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement, aimed his fire at the Democratic and Republican parties. Assessing the meeting afterward he said, "The representatives of the Department of Justice and the USDA were indifferent and sidestepped the issues. They could enforce the laws if they wanted to."

A big proportion of the farmers were hog producers — the largest number from Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri — who were protesting the historic low prices they are being paid for their hogs. They attribute this situation to the chokehold a handful of monopoly corporations, such as Cargill, ConAgra, and International Beef Producers (IBP), have on agriculture today, including pricing. They dominate everything "from semen to cellophane!" declared Linus Solberg, a hog farmer from Cylinder, Iowa.

A central demand of the meeting was that the federal government enforce the Packers & Stockyards Act, which outlaws discriminatory and monopoly pricing by packing houses. Farmers also were demanding new legislation requiring packers to publicly report the prices they pay farmers, either in the cash market or through contract purchases, in order to expose discriminatory

pricing practices favoring larger producers.

A "Corporate Hall of Shame" consisting of displays highlighting the level of concentration and profits of the biggest agribusinesses, and images of their chief executive officers, hung on the walls of the room. These and other figures presented by speakers revealed that six firms — Smithfield, IBP, ConAgra, Cargill, Farmland Industries, and Hormel — control 75 percent of all U.S. hog slaughter. Five corporations control the beef packing industry — IBP, ConAgra, Cargill, National Beef, and Packerland.

William Hefferman, a University of Missouri professor and author of "Consolidation in the Food and Agricultural System," pointed out to the participants that the two chemical giants, DuPont and Monsanto, virtually own the market for genetically modified seeds for corn, soy beans, cotton, and wheat. As many of these seeds require chemicals to be operative and some produce plants with sterile seeds, many farmers have become even more chained to these two monopolies.

The forum was initiated and chaired by U.S. senator Paul Wellstone from Minnesota. Wellstone was one of 23 U.S. senators who sent a letter to President William Clinton on February 26 asking for an investigation into concentration in the agriculture industry. This action was triggered by the announcement of a proposed merger between Cargill and Continental Grain. Also on the platform was U.S. senator Thomas Harkin from Iowa, and a few of the several dozen state legislators or state administration officials participating from

9,000 phone workers in Canada enter third week on strike



More than 9,000 Communications, Energy and Paperworkers members have been on strike against Bell Telephone in Quebec and Ontario since April 9. In both provinces, courts have decreed no one is to be prevented from crossing the line or to be "intimidated." Above, phone workers protest as Canadian cops force through scabs at Bell headquarters in Montreal. Bell strikers there joined locked-out workers at Bell ActiMedia in a 300-strong demonstration April 20. In Toronto Canadian Auto Workers brought lunch and firewood to the lines. On April 28 strikers from both cities picketed the Bell Canada shareholders' meeting in Ottawa.

Midwest states, all of whom were introduced by Wellstone. A few of these office-holders spoke first, and it took more than an hour of the program before any farmers spoke. The first line of farmers speaking had been previously organized. Following their presentations came an open mike. Even this required getting on a list before the meeting began.

Farmer groups participating included state affiliates of the National Farmers Union, which organized buses from South Dakota and parts

of Minnesota; the National Farmers Union; and other state and local groups.

Several farm groups had tables in the corridor. Representing opposite sides of the political spectrum, the Socialist Workers Party and the fascist group of Lindon LaRouche had tables in front.

Doug Jenness is a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 9198. Tim Mailhot contributed to this article.

Socialist campaign is launched in St. Paul

BY JEFF JONES

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Announcing his campaign as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, Doug Jenness said, "The labor movement should demand... that Washington and other capitalist governments open their borders and offer jobs and full rights to fellow toilers fleeing Kosova. If elected, I would do my best to get the St. Paul City Council behind such an effort."

Jenness, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9198, is running for the seat in the 5th Ward. He announced his campaign April 15. The socialist candidate explained that during his campaign he will "provide a voice to the needs and opportunities of working people. At this moment the paramount issue we face is the escalating assault the U. S. government is carrying out against Yugoslavia." On April 17 Jenness participated with cam-

paign supporters in a protest action of some 150 people in Minneapolis against the U.S./NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. Jenness's statement on Yugoslavia and calling for independence for Kosova was widely distributed to participants in the action.

On the following day Jenness attended a public meeting in South St. Paul on the growing concentration of a few capitalist monopolies in the processing and distribution of agricultural commodities. "The farmers' mood there was angry, especially at the government," Jenness told the *Militant*.

"Clearly, farmers need a price guaranteed by the government that allows them to make a living," Jenness said. "Many farmers are calling for mandatory reporting of prices the packing houses pay for hogs. I think this is a good proposal. And to back it up, farmers ought to join together with trade unionists

and consumer organizations to form watchdog committees that will probe into the prices the packers pay, the price that packers sell processed pork to supermarkets, and supermarket prices. Organizing to try to throw light on this can help expose that the packers and the owners of supermarket chains are the real profit makers. It will undercut attempts to pit workers and farmers against each other over prices. And it will also lay the basis for organizing a broad range of forces to press the food monopolies to open their books."

Jenness will go with fellow unionists on a union-organized bus to Des Moines, Iowa, on May 1 in solidarity with strikers at Titan Tire.

The "nonpartisan" election for city council is set for September 14.

Jeff Jones is a member of the International Association of Machinists.

Protests free unionists jailed for 'riot' in Montreal

BY ANNETTE KOURI

MONTREAL — Jean LaPierre, president of Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 301, and Denis Maynard, secretary-treasurer of the local, were freed from Bordeaux Prison here April 20. The two men had gone to prison a month earlier after being sentenced to six months in prison for organizing what the courts called a "riot" at City Hall, on Sept. 13, 1993. The Quebec Court of Appeal denied their appeals March 19, declaring, "These are intolerable acts in any peaceful and democratic society, but also an affront to the fundamental principles of civilized collective bargaining."

CUPE Local 301 organizes 4,000 City of Montreal workers. Its members are often referred to as the "Blue Collars." What the courts called a riot was a demonstration organized by Local 301 during which the doors of City Hall were damaged. Local 301 later paid Can\$32,000 (US\$21,000) to the city.

The 1993 demonstration was called to protest statements by Jean Doré, the mayor at that time, that the city government would take advantage of a soon-to-be adopted Quebec law allowing municipal governments to freeze the wages of municipal employees. This would effectively annihilate any progress that had been made in two years of tense negotiations between the city of Mon-

treal and the Blue Collars. In the 1970s, Local 301's membership was in the tens of thousands. Over the years the union was reduced to 4,000 through cutbacks and contracting out jobs. During the negotiations they had fought for demands around shorter hours and job security to reverse this process.

The Federation of Quebec Labor (FTQ), to which CUPE is affiliated, denounced the ruling. More than 100 members of Local 301 accompanied LaPierre and Maynard to the Montreal Justice Building March 23 where the two men were taken into custody.

Close to 2,000 members of CUPE Local 301, as well as other workers and students, demonstrated in front of the Justice Building March 30 protesting the jailings. Among them was Luis Salazar, one of more than 145 members of Local 301 who have been on strike for over eight months against the Municipal Bureau of Housing of Montreal (OMHM), in charge of low-rent housing. Salazar commented, "There are only two laws in this country: one law for the rich and one for the workers. There's a double standard. If you're rich and you assault a worker who is a woman, you're set free. But if you were a worker [who had done that], they would put you in prison without hesitating."

He was referring to the fact that Gilbert Rozon, a well-known producer of the yearly

Festival Just for Laughs, had recently received an unconditional discharge from the Quebec Superior Court after pleading and being found guilty of sexual assault.

Another demonstrator, Jean-Pierre Bissonnette, a member of Local 301 who works in the City's parks, pointed to an anti-taxes demonstration at City Hall that also took place in 1993. It was organized by Peter Sergakis, a leader of the Association of Commercial Building Landlords. The demonstrators had marched right into City Hall and caused damages.

Referring to this case, Local 301 spokesman Michel Fontaine had noted March 19 that the landlords association "were not obliged to reimburse the damages as in our case, and they were only charged with mischief in a public place, which is a far cry from the kinds of charges laid against us of having incited a riot or encouraged anarchy."

The landlords association was given a mere \$500 fine. Several workers said the union has never found a record of payment.

Workers from other unions came out March 30 to show their support for the CUPE members. Blue Collars from the city of Verdun were present. They have been on strike for more than a year, and face police repression. Several locked-out workers from a Bell Telephone Company subsidiary were

there explaining their fight. Hydro-Quebec workers, Firemen, Longshoremen, and others participated. Speakers at the action included Judy Darcy, the Canadian president of CUPE and Claude Généreux, the president of the Quebec section of CUPE.

Several smaller actions were held while the two union officials were in prison. Members of Local 301 who are on strike have maintained a round-the-clock vigil outside the FTQ building, next to a major subway stop. Retired Blue Collars have been active. On a small picket line in front of the Justice Building these workers explained that they were proud of an action they had helped organize in Quebec City on April 14. They estimated 500 people had participated. One of the retired CUPE members explained the ruling class pays a price for these attacks: "They've woken up this grandfather!"

Salazar put it another way. "Every week there's something," he said. "Last week it was the students in the streets, this week it's us, and next week it's the day-care workers. Now they've decided to bomb Yugoslavia. Nobody throws the government of the United States and the government of Canada in prison, even if they openly kill people."

Annette Kouri is a member of the United Steelworkers of America in Montreal.

Building Cuban youth tour strengthens Santa Cruz YS

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, California, 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1429.

E-mail: 105162.605@compuserve.com

BY JASON ALESSIO AND DAVID ARGÜELLO

SANTA CRUZ, California — Itamys García Villar and Luis Ernesto Morejón, two youth leaders from Cuba, spoke at the University of California at Santa Cruz on the evening of April 22. This was one of their last stops on a five-week tour of universities, factories, farms, and community centers across the United States (see coverage on back page).

The meeting here was organized by the Santa Cruz Student Coalition for the Cuban Youth Tour, composed of five members of the Young Socialists and several other student activists. It drew an estimated 240 people to the public forum, primarily students. This was the largest turnout so far on the entire tour. The meeting was publicized ahead of time in a campus newspaper and a student-run magazine. To build the event, members of the Student Coalition for the Cuban Youth Tour went to meetings of different student organizations to explain the program and personally invite them to participate.

Before the public forum, an informal reception was held to bring together student organization leaders from the University and the two Cuban youth leaders. Members of the Black Men's Alliance, Student Alliance of North American Indians, Radical Action Students Against Lies and Suppression, United Farm Workers Student Committee, Jewish Student Union, Santa Cruz Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, Asian Pacific Islander Student Alliance, Brigada Zapatista M3, Young Socialists, and the Student Union Assembly discussed their involvement in their respective political struggles. García and Morejón were excited to learn about the current issues facing students and youth in the United States. They demonstrated solidarity by inviting the student leaders from Santa Cruz to the International Youth and Student Seminar about Neoliberalism to be held in Havana, Cuba, this summer.

The meeting in Santa Cruz was sponsored by Outreach Administration and Student Academic Services, the Chicano/Latino Student Life Resource Center, Latin American/Latino Studies, Student Academic Affairs, Language Studies Department, Student Union Assembly, Crown and Stevenson Colleges, the Student Alliance of North American Indians, and the Young Socialists.

Manuel González, a member of the Young Socialists, chaired the campus meeting and introduced former mayor of Santa Cruz Mike Rotkin and student body president Heliana

Ramírez to welcome García and Morejón.

The speakers talks and following discussion period covered a broad range of questions, from the internationalist example of the Cuban revolution to the rights of homosexuals there today. A handful of right-wingers were unable to prevent a civil political exchange from taking place.

In the process of helping to build and put on this public forum, the Young Socialists chapter in Santa Cruz opened a new space where more youth are interested in initiating and engaging in political discussions. In order to take full advantage of the large response to the Cuban Youth Tour meeting, the Santa Cruz chapter has organized a series of classes beginning this week with the Sec-



Militant/Rose Ana Berbeo
Young Socialist member Elena Tate sells socialist literature at April 24 Philadelphia rally to demand release of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

ond Declaration of Havana, to be followed by a class on the truth about Yugoslavia.

UAW members strike Central Brass in Cleveland

BY KEVIN DWIRE

CLEVELAND — Members of United Auto Workers Local 1196 voted to reject the final offer from plumbing fixture manufacturer Central Brass and hit the picket lines April 21.

Under the old contract, which expired April 19, UAW members had not received a raise since 1997. The company offered a wage increase of 2 percent for the first year of the contract, with a \$500 bonus. The company also wanted to increase the probation period for new hires from 25 to 45 working days and increase the co-payment workers make for hospitalization.

In discussions before the contract vote,

many unionists said they would rather see a wage increase than take a onetime bonus payment. Strikers rejected the company offer by a vote of 79-17.

No one has crossed the picket lines since the strike began. Unionists say the company is using office personnel and supervisors to try to keep some production moving. Drivers from United Parcel Service, organized by the Teamsters, and other shipping services are refusing to cross the lines.

Morale is high among the strikers, who man the picket lines 24 hours a day. Many motorists passing the East 55th Street location of the picket line honk and wave in solidarity. Strikers come to the picket line

whether they are on duty or not. On a recent night, a striker came by with a load of firewood at 3:00 a.m.

Anthony Martin, who has worked at Central Brass for just over a year, said the UAW members went on strike because "we felt we were not being treated right." Many strikers point to the wage freeze union members took under the final year of the last contract, and the fact that the bosses received a 4 percent increase.

"We'll stay out as long as it takes to make a difference," Martin said.

Kevin Dwire is a member of UAW Local 1196 on strike at Central Brass.

Linking up with fighting workers is the aim of party building fund

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY BUILDING FUND

City	Goal
Atlanta	3,000
Birmingham	2,250
Boston	3,000
Chicago	5,000
Cleveland	3,000
Des Moines	2,600
Detroit	4,500
Houston	5,000
Los Angeles	6,000
Miami	3,000
New York	10,000
Newark	6,500
Philadelphia	3,000
Pittsburgh	3,250
San Francisco	9,000
Seattle	7,000
Twin Cities	5,000
Washington, D.C.	4,200
Total	\$85,300

BY BRIAN TAYLOR

Steve Williams, who was recently on strike against Hertz car rental bosses at the Newark, New Jersey, airport, and rail worker Ellie García met up with rail worker Stu Singer in Newport News, Virginia, April 28 to participate in a rally of shipyard strikers and supporters and write an article for the *Militant* (see front page). During the march a member of the International Association of Machinists who turned up to show solidarity bought a *Militant* subscription from them.

After the action García, Williams, and Singer spent the afternoon getting to know two strikers, each with more than 20 years doing ship insulation. Both women, who recently subscribed to the *Militant*, discussed their difficult job tasks, the current stage of the strike, and broader politics, including the Black struggle and Malcolm X.

Responding to the growing opportunities to introduce class-struggle fighters to communist ideas and to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists, friends, supporters, and members of the communist movement in cities across the United States have adopted quotas that well surpass the initial \$75,000 Party-Building Fund goal.

Now the task is to collect — early and often. Setting up fund-raising dinners and political programs for potential contributors now gives them more time to start paying on their pledges.

Supporters have already begun planning meetings. In New York Argiris Malapanis, who is heading up the *Militant's* reporting

team in Yugoslavia, will address a May 15 Party-Building Fund meeting. (The date was pushed back when the team decided to stay in the Balkans an extra week.) Although Malapanis will be available for a number of meetings, he can't speak in every city before the fund ends. Fund organizers in Miami aren't waiting. They are building a meeting for James Harris, an SWP leader from Atlanta who is in the thick of the battles of farmers for land and against Washington's racist discriminatory policies. There's plenty of other potential speakers among those who are joining workers and farmers as they transform themselves in the course of fighting against austerity measures and attacks on democratic rights dished out by capitalism.

In another example of the openings, socialists from San Francisco report, "Protesters in San Francisco at the April 24 march and rally in support of Mumia Abu-Jamal snapped up the *Militant* with the paper's eyewitness coverage of events in the Balkans. A total of 142 copies of the paper were sold at the demonstration. Participants also bought a dozen copies of the new Pathfinder title, *Capitalism's World Disorder*. A total of \$570 in Pathfinder literature was sold at the demonstration. Supporters of the *Militant* staffed a large table with a big display of Pathfinder literature at the assembly site and at the Civic Center where the rally was held." Young Socialists members from Los Angeles and Santa Cruz helped lead smaller "guerrilla" tables that peppered the crowd. Miners in western Kentucky bought 55

Young Socialists Fund Drive April 3-June 13

City	Goal
Austin, MN	150
Boston	200
Chicago	500
Detroit	200
Houston	100
New York	1,000
Philadelphia	50
Salt Lake City	100
San Francisco	1000
Santa Cruz	300
Seattle	150
Twin Cities	400
SWP convention	500
Total	\$4,650

The YS has launched a \$9,000 fund drive to be completed by June 13. The funds are needed for the expenses in building a proletarian youth organization that is financially independent and can respond rapidly to political developments and maintain its national office.

Militants and six copies of *Coal Miners on Strike* at one mine portal, bringing the team that is deepening work with coal miners across the Midwest — described in last week's article — back into the news (see front page.) Miners stopped to discuss the imperialist war in Yugoslavia, union solidarity, and socialism — sometimes for 10 minutes or more. One socialist worker on the team said, "At one point a miner who didn't bring any money that day walked over to another miner who was buying the paper and borrowed \$1.50 to get his own."

Socialist workers and Young Socialists in several cities are beginning to plan socialist summer schools. The "classroom" for students of all ages will range from group readings and discussions at Pathfinder Bookstores to picket lines of embattled workers and demonstrations against cop brutality and for a woman's right to choose abortion.

These activities are what the Party-Building Fund aims to advance.

Contributions can be sent to 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Please make checks and money orders out to the Socialist Workers Party.

Miners buy 'Militant'

Continued from front page

at the other portals. At several portals close to St. Louis, a number of workers were glad to see the *Militant* again and buy the new issue. One worker bought *Capitalism's World Disorder*, while another renewed his subscription and bought a pamphlet. In total, the team sold 13 copies of the *Coal Miners on Strike* pamphlet.

Campaigns to sell 'Militant' and 'Capitalism's World Disorder'

The response by miners in Illinois and Kentucky is just one indication of the openings to get the *Militant*, Pathfinder's newest book *Capitalism's World Disorder*, and other socialist literature into the hands of workers and farmers today. Socialist workers are beginning to register momentum in the campaign to sell 1,500 copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder*, as the reports on these pages reflect. A special \$20 sale price for the book, together with a two-week extension of the campaign to June 14, can help increase this momentum and meet the quotas supporters have adopted.

May 1 marks the start of an eight-week campaign to sell 1,100 introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*, 350 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 700 copies of the Marxist magazine *New International* (see below). The chart will be based on subscriptions received in the business office by noon EDT each Tuesday, and on reports of *New International* sales sent by e-mail. The deadline for reporting sales totals for *Capitalism's World Disorder* is the same.

Emulating the Illinois coal team, *Militant* supporters in the South are planning a special team to reach miners and other workers in southern Appalachia beginning May 1. To join the team, contact supporters in Birmingham, Alabama, at (205) 323-3079.

Response to book at strike rallies

BY SALMKOLIS

PITTSBURGH — Socialist workers from Atlanta participated in an April 24 support rally for members of United Steelworkers of

America Local 850, on strike at Continental General Tire in Charlotte, North Carolina. Many strikers are familiar with the *Militant*, as socialists have walked the picket line over the seven months of their strike and have sold eight subscriptions to the paper.

One striker bought a copy of *Capitalism's World Disorder* at the rally. He carefully looked over all the books on the socialist literature table. Jill Fein drew his attention to *Capitalism's World Disorder*, and explained it was Pathfinder's newest title. After reading the back cover this striker responded, "I've got to have this book," and purchased it on the spot. Five workers subscribed to the *Militant* and 32 workers bought single copies at the rally. This is in addition to several other Pathfinder books.

Workers also stopped by the Pathfinder table at a March 28 rally to support workers then on strike at RMI Titanium in Niles, Ohio. Several who were interested, but short on cash, left their phone numbers. Last week supporters of the *Militant* newspaper from Pittsburgh traveled to Youngstown, Ohio, to meet with one of those workers, Pat Williams, who had bought a copy of the *Militant* and a copy of Pathfinder's catalogue at the rally and carefully studied *Capitalism's World Disorder*. They spent the evening discussing the outcome of the strike, the state of the labor movement, the need for solidarity and the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

During the course of the evening, Williams subscribed to the *Militant*, joined the Pathfinder Reader's Club, and purchased a copy of *Capitalism's World Disorder*. "I have to join the Reader's Club, because I was looking through that catalogue and there's lots of other books I want to get," he said. "But I'll start with the one that you showed me at the rally, *Capitalism's World Disorder*." Before leaving, they made plans to go together to

the April 24 rally to support Kaiser strikers in Newark, Ohio.

Lea Sherman, a member of the International Association of Machinists in Houston, wrote: "In a week of spirited campaigning, socialist workers sold three copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder* here in Houston. One copy of *Capitalism's World Disorder* was sold to a *Militant* subscriber who works at an aerospace plant.

"Two copies were sold at our Friday night *Militant* Labor Forum on the US war against Yugoslavia. Some 25 participants discussed and debated the U.S. assault on Yugoslavia. Three locked-out Kaiser Aluminum Steelworkers — in town to organize protests at the Maxxam, the corporation that owns Kaiser — attended the forum, as well as a locked-out Crown refinery worker and several anti-police brutality activists in the Justice for Pedro Oregon coalition. One of the Steelworkers

bought a Pathfinder readers club card and *Capitalism's World Disorder*. He had come to an earlier forum and bought *Teamster Rebellion*. He really liked learning about the creative tactics used by the strikers and their leadership for a fighting union and a decent contract. A supporter of the *Militant* Labor Forum renewed her readers club card and *Militant* subscription and bought a copy of



Militant/Floyd Fowler
Participants at solidarity rally for striking tire workers in Charlotte, North Carolina, check out socialist literature. One Local 850 member bought *Capitalism's World Disorder*.

Capitalism's World Disorder. Another Steelworker bought two books of Malcolm X speeches and Leon Trotsky on Black nationalism. Also sold at the forum was *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*.

"Earlier in the week a team went to San Antonio and sold in front of the Levi Strauss plant. Despite the yellow ribbons in front of the plant, which is part of the campaign to whip up support for the war effort against the Yugoslavian people, workers bought 10 copies of the *Militant* whose headline was "Stop the U.S., NATO assault on Yugoslavia."

Airport worker: 'Capitalism's World Disorder' is handbook

BY CÉSAR GUERRERO

LOS ANGELES — *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*, to me, is a handbook for workers, working farmers, and students who throughout the world increasingly recognize themselves as part of the vanguard of the working class. As a member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and a ramp worker at LAX airport in Los Angeles, I work and participate in struggles everyday like everybody else. I

attention is in "A Sea Change in Working-Class Politics" where it says: "There is a hunger among working people that is greater than in any other section of society, a political hunger among workers and farmers—the fighting coalition that will make up the government that will carry humanity into a new world. It's a hunger for solidarity, for struggle; it's a hunger to learn from each other."

The beginning of wisdom for us is not just recognizing this, as I did along with others at the 1999 SWP convention in San Francisco. But to fight along side and be a part of those saying "NO" to the demands for sacrifice by the employers and their government.

IN REVIEW

know how important it is to study this book, because it helps me and my co-workers understand the struggles around us.

Different races of people, languages, and cultures exist in different countries. The capitalist rulers use these differences to try to divide all working people. In the section on "Immigration: Internationalizing the working class" in the chapter "So Far from God, So Close to Orange County," the book talks about why and how capitalists attack immigrant workers' rights. It gives the example of how in California the majority of the employing class recently pushed through Proposition 187, which seeks to deny immigrants schooling and social benefits available to other workers. I was living in Boston three years ago when I first heard about Proposition 187. I didn't think it was right. I'm one of the many immigrants who feels this is an attack on all workers.

Another section that I feel is important is in "Capitalism's Deadly World Disorder" where it talks about single mothers. For example, it gets across the point that the oppression of a woman in the capitalist class is different than the oppression of a woman in the working class. As working-class fighters, we have to be clear. There are two classes of families in society, and thus two classes of women. There are those, like my mother and sister, who raise their children the best they can under the conditions they face, and there are those who hire other women to raise their children. And the women who are hired are often also raising children of their own.

Another point in the book that got my

MILITANT PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL Subscription drive

MAY 1 - JUNE 27

Country/City	Militant Goal	PM Goal	NI Goal
Australia	14	3	12
Canada			
Montreal	20	10	30
Toronto	30	5	25
Vancouver	25	3	12
Canada Total	75	18	67
Iceland	8		
New Zealand			
Auckland	30	1	5
Christchurch	16	1	6
N.Z. Total	46	2	11
Sweden	16	6	6
United Kingdom			
London	35	8	30
Manchester			
UK Total	35	8	30
United States			
Atlanta	28	7	16
Birmingham, AL	35	5	10
Boston	35	15	25
Central Illinois	20	4	
Chicago	50	15	30
Cleveland	40	8	
Des Moines	40	20	20
Detroit	35	8	15
Houston	35	15	20
Los Angeles	65	30	40
Miami	35	15	20
New York	120	50	75
Newark, NJ	125	50	60
Philadelphia	32	6	15
Pittsburgh	30	5	20
San Francisco	90	40	40
Seattle	45	15	15
Twin Cities, MN	50	12	15
Washington, DC	50	15	30
U.S. Total	960	335	466
Int'l Total	1154	372	592
Int'l Goal	1100	350	

CAMPAIGN TO SELL 'Capitalism's World Disorder' IN THE UNIONS March 15 - June 14

Country	Goals	Sold	%
Australia			
AMWU	5		
MUA	4		
Total	9		
United Kingdom			
RMT		2	
TGWU	7	1	14%
AEEU	2	0	0%
Total	9	1	11%
United States			
UAW	75	29	39%
UTU	80	26	33%
IAM	111	27	24%
USWA	80	12	15%
UFCW	80	8	10%
UNITE	70	6	9%
PACE (in Houston)	15	1	7%
Total	511	109	21%
Should be	500	180	36%
AEEU—Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMWU—Amalgamated Manufacturers Union; CAW—Canadian Autoworkers Union; EU—Engineers Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; IAM—International Association of Machinists; PACE—Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers; RMT—National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU—Transport and General Workers Union; UAW—United Auto Workers; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA—United Steelworkers of America; UTU—United Transportation Union			

CAMPAIGN TO SELL 'Capitalism's World Disorder' April 1 - June 14

Country/City	Goal	Sold	%
New Zealand			
Christchurch	10	8	80%
Auckland	10	6	60%
N.Z. Total	20	14	70%
United Kingdom			
London	41	20	49%
Manchester	17	5	29%
UK Total	58	25	43%
United States			
Seattle	50	45	90%
C. Illinois	17	6	35%
Atlanta	40	13	33%
Washington, D.C.	60	18	30%
San Francisco	136	38	28%
Detroit	78	20	26%
Philadelphia	50	9	18%
Twin Cities, MN	50	9	18%
Miami	45	8	18%
Newark	150	26	17%
Pittsburgh	40	6	15%
Chicago	75	10	13%
Cleveland	60	8	13%
Houston	70	8	11%
S. Minnesota	14	1	7%
Birmingham	60	0	0%
Boston	50	0	0%
Des Moines	55	12	22%
Los Angeles	82	0	0%
New York	120	0	0%
U.S. Total	1302	237	18%
U.S. Goal/Should be	1500	540	36%
Sweden	6	2	33%
Canada			
Vancouver	21	7	33%
Montreal	7	2	29%
Toronto	50	10	20%
Canada Total	78	19	24%
Australia	20		
Int'l Total	1484	297	20%

'Imperialism misjudged the courage of the Cuban people, the strength of the revolution'

Castro on first anniversary of defeat of U.S.-organized invasion at Bay of Pigs

BY FIDEL CASTRO

Compañeros and compañeras:

A year ago today, on a day like today, the smoke from the last shots of the battle of Playa Girón was clearing. Those who launched the attack thought it would be the end of the revolution. They thought that a year later we would not be here together again. They thought that the revolution — what it is and what it stands for — could be destroyed. They thought that our country would return to the past, even at the cost of its total destruction.

To measure the degree of criminality of that attack, we must take into account what our enemy had in mind. They made the invaders, the forces they recruited and trained, believe stupidities such as that they would be welcomed with open arms. It was necessary to create such a fantasy in order to recruit these people — that is, to make them believe that our people would receive them with open arms.

Of course, in order to believe such a fantastic thing, you must live in a world quite different from the world of reality. You would have to be living in a fantasy world to believe that a people would welcome their exploiters with open arms — our masses of workers and farmers, our people who barely two years ago abolished the bloody tyranny that filled our homeland with the corpses of young people and of the humble and poor. You would have to be living in a fantasy world to believe

that our masses would receive with open arms that horde which was a mixture of the worst elements, ranging from millionaire playboys to henchmen and parasites. To believe that our people would be capable of receiving them with open arms is to live in a fantasy world.

But we must stop to think not of what the mercenaries believed or were led to believe, but of what was in the minds of those who sent them to invade our land. And they knew — they certainly knew, they knew only too well — that our people would not receive them with open arms, that our people would not receive that criminal invasion with open arms.

They knew people supported revolution

About this speech...

The speech printed here was given by Fidel Castro to a rally in Havana on April 19, 1962, commemorating the first anniversary of the victory over the U.S.-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs.

Even before the victory of the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement on January 1, 1959, the U.S. government had been a bitter enemy of the Cuban revolution. This hostility grew sharply following the May 17, 1959, proclamation of an agrarian reform law that decreed the nationalization of the vast sugar plantations owned by U.S. corporations and Cuban landlords.

Among its efforts to overthrow the revolutionary government, Washington built a mercenary army recruited in the United States from among those who fled Cuba following the revolution. This force included many former officers and military cadres of the regime of the U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista, as well as members and hangers-on of Cuba's former ruling class.

On April 15, 1961, mercenary planes sent from the United States bombed airfields of the Revolutionary Armed Forces in Havana, Santiago de Cuba, and San

Antonio de Los Baños. Seven people were killed and fifty-three wounded in the attack.

The following day, at a mass rally to honor the victims, Fidel Castro proclaimed the socialist character of the Cuban revolution and called the people of Cuba to arms in its defense.

On April 17, 1961, two days after the air assault, a U.S.-organized and -financed invasion conducted by 1,500 Cuban mercenaries landed at the Bay of Pigs on Cuba's southern coast. The mercenaries aimed to establish a beachhead, declare a provisional government, and appeal for direct U.S. intervention.

The invaders, however, were defeated within 72 hours by Cuba's popular militia and its Revolutionary Armed Forces. On April 19 the last invaders surrendered at Playa Girón (Girón Beach), which is the name Cubans use to designate the battle. In the speech printed here, Castro explains how the victory, which is celebrated every year in Cuba, was won.

The translation is © Pathfinder Press and is reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.



Fidel Castro with a SAU-100 tank crew at Playa Girón, as they fired at the U.S. warship *Houston*, during April 1961 battle against U.S.-organized and -financed Bay of Pigs invasion. The invaders were surprised that the Cuban army and popular militias, with thousands of newly trained workers and peasants, could defeat U.S. military might. "The enemy could not even imagine that on the day of the attack those weapons were ready for battle and ready for victory," said Castro.

Granma

The enemy knew only too well that the people would not support the counterrevolutionaries. And so they based their strategy on this fact. The strategy outlined by the Yankee military machine was not the kind that would be followed by anyone who expected the people to join the counterrevolution. On the contrary, it was a strategy planned by those who knew that the people supported the revolution.

That is why they adapted their war plans to the real situation, of which they were well aware, and tried to capture a part of our national territory. They did not choose an open battlefield, but an area of our national territory that had very little accessibility. A place that could only be reached by way of three roads that had in fact been built by the revo-

lution; three roads, each of which was a Thermopylae pass, that is, a narrow road a few kilometers long, bordered on both sides by impassable swamps and quagmires, roads that from a military point of view are very easy to defend but very difficult to capture. There was also an airport in the area, which would have permitted them air communication abroad, and there was a deep bay for the transportation of all necessary supplies by sea.

The forces the enemy sent were more than enough to defend those roads; they were more than enough because the roads were so narrow, it was virtually impossible to deploy a greater amount of forces to defend them. From a tactical point of view, in studying the terrain and choosing the appropriate place, the Pentagon strategists did very well.

Their objective was precisely to establish a foothold in our national territory where they would have set up a counterrevolutionary government, which would have received aid more openly — as if the support they were already receiving was not evident enough — and they would have started a war of attrition against our country.

Plan was to establish base of operations

On top of the measures of economic aggression they had already taken — such as totally cutting off our trade, completely abolishing our sugar quota, the embargo imposed on all possible exports — they planned to start a war of attrition against us.¹ They planned to establish a base of operations for their air force on our national territory, to convert it into an imperialist bastion, reinforce it with as many mercenary soldiers as they could recruit from all over

the world, and support them with all the economic and military resources of the empire.

When all this is taken into account, we realize just what such a war would have meant to our country, what it would have meant for our people. They would have had to work under the constant bombardment of enemy planes, as they traveled throughout the national territory to transport our products to all parts of the island, which is long and narrow. All this gives us an idea of the extent, not only of the material damage, but above all, of the human suffering and loss of life that such a war would have imposed on our country.

In order to take over a part of our territory that could only be reached by way of three narrow roads, 1,400 men were more than enough — 1,400 men who, in addition, had behind them a whole supply fleet, and behind it, the Yankee Navy units with fully equipped bombers from perfectly organized bases abroad, and behind these, a U.S. aircraft carrier.

That is why I said that in order to grasp the extent of the crime that Yankee imperialism at-

tempted to commit against our people, you have to know exactly what their plans were. What destruction, how much blood, and how many lives such plans would have cost our country! There is no reason to believe that the revolution would have succumbed; there is no reason to believe that the revolutionaries would simply have surrendered, nor that the enemy would have achieved its objective of destroying the revolution. What is clear is what everyone knew, what everyone understood — that our people would have resisted the attack at any cost.

But the price would have been high; the price would have been extremely high.

In spite of this, the ones who made the plans did not refrain from carrying out their intentions. Those who made the plans did not worry in the slightest over how much mourning and how much sorrow they would have brought on our country. The violation of the most elementary international laws did not stop them. The violation of the most elementary principles of human rights did not stop them. They didn't take into the slightest consideration the opinion of the entire continent. None of this stopped them.

Only one thing held them back, only one reality stopped them. And that reality was our people. The barrier they met was our combatants.

What international law could not prevent; what international organizations could not prevent; the crime that no legal institution, no regional or world organization could prevent, was prevented by the brave soldiers of our country.

They misjudged morale of the people

Where did they make their mistake — those who had laid the plans so carefully? What was their error? They made their mistake in judging the morale of our people, the courage of our people, the strength of a revolution. That strength, that morale, that courage was what the enemy was not capable of judging, among other things, because these forces are not measurable, because the courage of a people who defend their land, the morale and strength of a revolution that defends the righteousness of its cause, can-

¹ In early July 1960 Washington reduced Cuba's sugar quota, which was the amount of Cuban sugar Washington allowed to be sold in the U.S. market. In response, the revolutionary government authorized the nationalization of the holdings of the principal U.S. companies in Cuba. On October 19, 1960, Washington declared a partial embargo on trade with Cuba. A total embargo was imposed in February 1962.

not be measured. That is why the aggressors fail in the face of all true revolutions — because they are incapable of judging the strength of revolutions.

They thought it was simply a matter of sending a squadron of bombers over our country any one morning, unexpectedly, to drop cluster bombs and rockets in a surprise attack. They thought that the noise of bombs exploding would be enough to create panic among the people, to terrorize the nation and frighten our combatants.

They counted on the factor of surprise, and in their estimates they were sure that the cowardly attack, that the criminal attack one morning — a Saturday at dawn — would demoralize the people, that it would demoralize the revolution, and furthermore, that it would completely destroy our few old fighter planes. In order to attain absolute air superiority, complete control of the air, they counted, among other things, on destroying every last one of our planes. Thus, after having terrified the people, demoralized our armed forces, and stripped us of our aircraft, they expected to control the battlefield with their planes.

That was their first big mistake — an error in psychology, a military error. The bombings did not intimidate the people nor did they demoralize or frighten anyone; instead, they filled our citizens with wrath and indignation. Furthermore, the bombings failed to destroy anything but an insignificant part of our old and battered aircraft.

Cowardly, criminal bombings

The men in the Pentagon believe that they are the only ones who have the power to think; those in the Pentagon think themselves to be super-intelligent people, and they consider others to be super-imbeciles. The men in the Pentagon think they are endowed with all wisdom; they also believed that the impact of their forces would discourage the revolutionaries. Those in the Pentagon did not stop for a minute to consider the fact that our revolution was forged out of practically nothing, that it sprouted from a very modest beginning, and that our people were accustomed to fighting against superior forces, against the numerical superiority and superior weapons of the enemy.

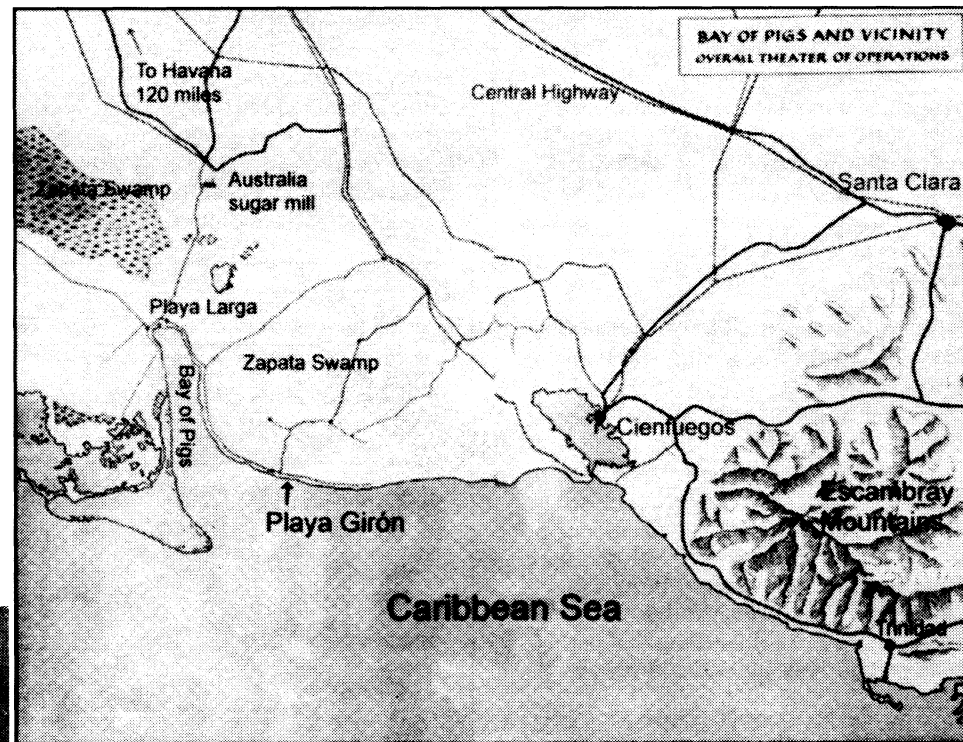
They thought that everything would be accomplished exactly as they had planned. But things turned out exactly the opposite of what they expected. Our planes were scattered in different places, our airfields were fully protected by anti-aircraft batteries, and the cowardly, criminal surprise attack was able to destroy only a few of those planes. In spite of the fact that our planes were few, old, and battered, in spite of the fact that the bombings destroyed some of them, there were still more than enough planes for the pilots we had.

So the cowardly, criminal, and treacherous bombings served only as a warning, a warning of the imminence of an attack; it served only as a warning that gave us forty-eight hours to mobilize our defenses and to prepare for the attack that was in view. Yes indeed, that bombing made the imminence



of an attack evident.

And that is just what happened. Landing forces began approaching in the early morning hours of April 17, and they began to take positions in the territory that had been selected. They had organized the movement of their troops. They brought with them weapons for the new contingents that would



Left: Panchito Fernández

Above: Map detailing area of 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. Left: Sinking of U.S. warship *Houston*, hit by rockets fired by the Cuban air force. "The enemy encountered the persistent and heroic resistance of our pilots, who concentrated their efforts, quite naturally, against the enemy ships," Castro recalled.

who happened to be in the area. When the enemy shouted, "Surrender!" those militiamen answered, "*Patria o muerte!*" [Homeland or death] and opened fire.

This was perhaps the first surprise that the invaders received: the courage of those men, who all alone, with nothing more than their infantry rifles, started the resistance and gave warning of the presence of the enemy in the area.

The second surprise occurred at dawn, when the invaders were peacefully unloading their war equipment — almost as if they were on vacation. As the soldiers of their "famous" expeditionary forces, in their flashy uniforms, were landing, our few, old, and battered planes appeared in the sky, loaded with bombs, rockets, and bullets. Ironically,

land later on. Their food supply was carefully planned for their day-to-day needs, as is customary with the Pentagon. Paratroopers were ready to land at strategic points at dawn; their complete control of the air was taken for granted.

At the outset, they met with the most determined resistance from the few militiamen

Series celebrates victory of workers and peasants

BY MIKE TABER

This is the fifth piece in a series that will appear in the *Militant* each month throughout 1999 celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. The series features speeches by central leaders of the revolution marking key turning points and major accomplishments as the workers and farmers of Cuba pressed ahead in the opening years of the revolution, defending their interests against the capitalists, landlords, and imperialist rulers in the United States.

The revolutionary struggle that toppled the U.S. backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista on Jan. 1, 1959, was led by the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army commanded by Fidel Castro. These organizations had mobilized Cuba's toilers to bring down the bloody regime, throw off the yoke of Yankee economic and political domination, and initiate radical land reform. Also opposing Batista were substantial bourgeois forces, most of whom did little to bring down the dictatorship but were energetic in seeking to block the Rebel Army's victory.

When it became clear this could not be prevented, these forces — in league with Washington — set their hopes on buying off and corrupting the revolutionary leadership. They confidently expected to engineer the sequence of events often seen elsewhere in Latin America throughout the 20th century: that the July 26 Movement's program would remain only a piece of paper, while in practice the interests of Washington and of Cuba's landlords and capitalists would be secure. Eventually, they anticipated, the situation would "stabilize" enough so that the bearded rebels could be discarded altogether and more reliable political and military forces reinstated.

They were wrong. From the beginning, Washington and its Cuban bourgeois soul mates underestimated the political caliber, class firmness, and repeated bold initiatives of the leadership forged by the Rebel Army, and the determination of Cuba's workers and farmers to defend their interests.

The first government that came to power

in January 1959 was a coalition of the revolutionary forces led by the July 26 Movement and bourgeois opposition figures, among them the new president, Manuel Urrutia. Fidel Castro remained commander-in-chief of the Rebel Army. He had no position in the new government.

The July 26 Movement and Rebel Army forces under Castro's leadership, both inside and outside the government, continued to mobilize the toilers to carry out the program they had fought for. As the revolution deepened, Fidel Castro became prime minister in mid-February. Among the measures decreed by the government in early 1959 and implemented in practice by the Rebel Army at the head of the workers and farmers vanguard were the dismantling of the military and police forces of the Batista regime; the eradication of the extremely profitable U.S.-dominated gambling and prostitution operations; the outlawing of racist discrimination in hiring and social services; and the slashing of rents and prices for other basic goods and services, such as telephone and utility rates, that consume most workers' income.

Most decisively, in May 1959 an agrarian reform law was implemented. Millions of acres of large landed estates held by U.S. and Cuban ruling-class families were confiscated, and hundreds of thousands of peasants received title to the land they worked. To implement the land reform, the new government established the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) and Castro was named INRA's president.

These measures provoked a sharpening class polarization inside Cuba, including within the coalition government. During the summer and fall of 1959, as the land reform advanced, Washington's economic and military hostility escalated. As Cuban workers and peasants responded, they deepened their determination to defend their gains and realize their dreams. Under popular pressure, the representatives of capitalist forces resigned from the government one after the other. These included Urrutia, who was re-

placed as president by Osvaldo Dorticós, a prominent lawyer with ample credentials as an anti-imperialist and anti-Batista fighter and a member of the July 26 Movement.

The July 26 Movement as well as other groups that participated in the fight against Batista were profoundly affected as procapitalist forces split away. More than a few joined armed counterrevolutionary organizations.

By November 1959, the last of the bourgeois forces had left the government. Washington launched a full-scale political, economic, and military campaign to overthrow the workers and farmers government.

From August to October 1960, in direct response to the escalating U.S. attacks, Cuba's working people mobilized by the millions to support and implement government decrees nationalizing the factories, refineries, mills, and other holdings of U.S.- and Cuban-owned corporations. The domination of capital was broken and the foundations laid for beginning a transition to socialism. In April 1961, the U.S.-trained and -financed mercenary troops launched their failed invasion at the Bay of Pigs.

The standoff between the two irreconcilable forces represented by Havana and Washington, which continues to this day, has marked much of world politics throughout the last 40 years.

About this series

Most of the speeches that will be included in this series will appear in books that Pathfinder is preparing for publication. These include two volumes of speeches by Fidel Castro from the first decade of the revolution, *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, and a new edition of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

The next installment in this series will celebrate the 40th anniversary of Cuba's agrarian reform with Fidel Castro's June 21, 1959, speech to a mass rally of peasants in Santa Clara explaining the agrarian reform of May 17, 1959, the "defining act of the Cuban revolution." Later installments will take up the

nationalization of imperialist-owned property in August 1960, the October 1962 "missile crisis," and the second agrarian reform carried out in October 1963.

Some of the speeches planned for this series have never before appeared in English. Others have been out of print for many years. *Militant* readers who are interested in helping with the translation are invited to contact Pathfinder Press at (212) 741-0690. Messages can also be sent to 73321.414@compuserve.com or mailed to Pathfinder at 410 West Street, New York 10014.

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these bombs, rockets, bullets, and planes were the same ones that the imperialists had once given Batista to fight us.

And that, undoubtedly, was the second big surprise, the second big mistake in the plans made by the imperialists, by the "brains" in the Pentagon, who had not counted on the heavy shower of bombs and bullets that came down upon the invaders so early in the morning.

Cuban pilots mounted heroic resistance

Our planes were few, old, and battered, but they were flown by men who upheld the motto "Patria o muerte!" who had internalized the determination to win or die. And the enemy realized that their planes were not the masters of the sky. They encountered the persistent and heroic resistance of our pilots, who concentrated their efforts, quite naturally, against the enemy ships.

Meanwhile, our scanty forces mounted a firm resistance. Another thing that perhaps the Pentagon had not counted on was the immediate arrival of a combat battalion made up of students from the school for militia instructors in Matanzas, which reinforced the heroic Cienfuegos battalion.

The timing of the imperialist plans was perfect; they arrived right on schedule, they started landing right on schedule; they

This assumption was also part and parcel of the plans made by the Pentagon experts. They could not conceive that revolutions accomplish incredible things that in normal times would be impossible; that a revolutionary people are capable of preparing themselves much quicker than a people living under normal conditions, or under con-

There was no Dunkirk-type retreat here.³ There was no Dunkirk for those flagrant invaders. Precisely to prevent one, we didn't give the enemy one minute of rest or letup in the fighting. No ship, or anything like a ship, dared come to their rescue. Our tanks and artillery immediately took possession of the coastline and stood on alert to see what

the *Granma* expeditionaries;⁴ they were not eighty-two men in a small ship sixty feet long, without food, lost in the Gulf of Mexico, in the Caribbean, without a supply base, without an air force, without a fleet, without the Yankee army to support them, without aircraft carriers, without submarines, and without battleships. Those who wanted to invade us were not a revolutionary force. As a rule, revolutionaries receive help from no one when they are forging their revolution, when they start their struggle. Usually they suffer from want of practically everything, they suffer persecution, they lack means of transportation, weapons, any kind of protection. They throw themselves into a fight against an entire army, with only the scantiest means available to them.

When there is belief in the masses, when there is faith in the cause because it is a just one, then there is no need for tanks, nor bombers, nor heavy mortars, nor bazookas, much less the support of a fleet. Only the protégés of Yankee millionaires, representatives of slavery and wealth, representatives of fortune and privilege, can expect the support of a navy or an army.

When we began our struggle against privilege, against the power of riches and exploitation, we had nothing behind us but the wake of our little ship. And that is the difference, the infinite difference between the two causes that we represent. Our cause took a firm stand, faced all kinds of hardships, and was victorious. The revolution of the people, the revolution of the humble and poor, came to power. When the counterrevolution of the powerful, the rich, the exploiters, came to recover its privileges, it was financed by the big monopolies, the unending millions of an empire, and was supported by its navy, its planes, its training camps, its airfields, its air forces, and its puppet governments. How easy they had it.

The weapons came from Yankee arsenals; the food came from Yankee warehouses; the clothing, the campaign equipment, and the war rations came from U.S. army stocks. And their expedition was prepared at many bases, from the island of Vieques in the oppressed sister nation of Puerto Rico, all through United States territory, and in Guatemala and Nicaragua. All the power of the millionaires was behind them, all the millions of the powerful exploiters were behind them. That was the cause they represented.

On the other hand, the expedition of the small and solitary ship that embodied a just cause — the cause of the humble and poor — succeeded. We fought for twenty-five months and came to power, while the cause of the exploiters, of the privileged, of the millionaires, of the powerful, failed — such a cause could not be maintained for even seventy-two hours.

And that is what the U.S. logistics, the Pentagon logistics, and their strategic plans did not take into consideration. That is why their terrorist plans failed. That is why their counterrevolutionary bands were also wiped out, in spite of all the weapons they received by air and sea.⁵

They murdered literacy teachers

They took vengeance on our teachers, our literacy brigades, on our people's literacy teachers. They began by murdering a volunteer teacher, Conrado Benítez. Later they murdered a people's literacy teacher, Delfín Sen, who was a worker. Then, together with the father of a farm family, a peasant, they murdered the literacy brigade volunteer Manuel Asuncion.⁶ Only the blind hatred and maliciousness of the exploiters, of the imperialists, of the counterrevolutionaries,

⁴ The *Granma* was the yacht used by 82 revolutionary fighters, including Fidel Castro, Raúl Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, and Juan Almeida, to sail from Mexico to Cuba to initiate the revolutionary war against the U.S.-backed regime of Fulgencio Batista. The expeditionaries landed in southeast Cuba on December 2, 1956.

⁵ In conjunction with the Bay of Pigs invasion, bands of counterrevolutionaries, armed and financed by Washington, carried out sabotage and other attacks against the revolution. Centered in the Escambray mountains of central Cuba, these bands were eliminated by the Cuban army and popular militias by the mid-1960s.

⁶ At the time of the mercenary invasion, the revolutionary government was carrying out a massive campaign to teach 1 million Cubans to read and write. Central to this effort was the mobilization of 100,000 young people

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Why Labor, Negroes Should Aid Cuba

— See page 3 —
Dr. Raul Roa at the United Nations — See page 2
Castro and the Lies About "Betrayal" — See page 4
Auto Workers and the 30-Hour Week — See page 8

STOP THE CRIME AGAINST CUBA!

Statement by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

ing ductivity, illiteracy, which affected a third of the population in 1959, is now close to elimination, a two-year achievement no other country can match. These are some of the gains in Cuba which Wall Street regards as a mortal threat. The money-changers are right. Why

would develop.

During the three days of combat, U.S. aircraft carriers lurked near our shores. More than once their planes flew in low over our territory in an attempt to frighten us, and occasionally, they even opened fire.

Our troops were not only ready to fight the mercenary force. They were also ready to fight whatever followed it, as U.S. leaders went into near hysteria. Such a shattering and astounding defeat was beyond anything the imperialists had imagined. Out of pride and arrogance, they immediately started to issue threats and warnings that, in the case of Cuba, they were ready to act unilaterally. This made it necessary to transfer the bulk of the troops back to the capital, where they had come from, and where they remained alert, awaiting developments. Other forces were sent to replace them and complete the capture of the invaders.

The glory of our combatants lies not only in the bravery and heroism with which they fought and defeated the enemy vanguard, but also in their willingness to face the imperialist army if it dared invade our soil.

We didn't prepare that attack, they did; so we are not to blame for the defeat they suffered. They attacked us, so they themselves are the only ones to blame for their humiliating defeat!

From a military point of view, the importance of the battle at Playa Larga and Playa Girón, in the entire Zapata Swamp, rests in the fact that the "bridgehead" was quickly destroyed, preventing the enemy from going ahead with its plans. The enemy could not carry out its strategy; it could not land the bulk of its forces. The military importance of the battle lies in the fact that their plans were spoiled from the very moment it became impossible to establish a beachhead, from the very moment they could not take over a part of our territory. All their other plans were left hanging in the air, when the force that was sent to accomplish the first tasks was wiped out.

Infinite difference between two causes

Not only was this a great victory for our people, but our forces maintained a calmness and a firmness seldom seen in the history of war. In spite of the fact that our soldiers' blood was boiling, in spite of the fact that the deepest indignation burned within them, they remained calm and determined.

What merit did those invaders have? What merit could they have? They were not

³ In May-June 1940, after the German army's conquest of France, 300,000 British and other Allied troops were evacuated by sea at Dunkirk on the French coast and taken to Britain.



Above: Militant/Joseph Hansen

Top: Headline of the *Militant* of April 24, 1961, condemning Washington's Bay of Pigs invasion. Above: Picket line organized by Fair Play For Cuba Committee in front of United Nations Nov. 26, 1960, protests Washington's attacks on the Cuban revolution.

dropped all of their paratroopers at the strategic points according to plans. Everything would have been perfect, had not half of their ships been sunk by noon, and had not the road from the Australia Sugar Mill to Playa Larga fallen into our hands.

That day, our few, old, and battered planes could not offer our infantry very much air protection, since these planes were concentrating their attacks on the most important target at that moment — the enemy ships. Nevertheless, the infantry was able to advance, and while under the fire of enemy planes, it took position. That was when the real battle began.

The "experts" in the Pentagon most certainly knew that we had received a number of tanks, antiaircraft guns, and artillery, but they estimated that we would not yet be prepared, on that date, to use those tanks, that artillery, and that antiaircraft equipment. They erred once more in not being able to conceive the calmness with which our armed forces prepared the tank crews and the men who would operate the artillery. They thought that all the tanks and artillery would have been stored away on the day of the attack, because there was not enough time for us to have trained people to operate them.²

² Division Gen. Néstor López Cuba, who commanded Cuba's tank regiment at Playa Girón, has described the intense period of training in the days before the Bay of Pigs landing. "Everything we learned in the morning from the Soviet instructors," he said, "we had to teach at night to the rest of the compañeros using whatever tools we had at our disposal." These comments can be found in *Secretos de generales* (Secrets of generals, Havana: Editorial Si-Mar, 1997) and in the upcoming Pathfinder book *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces*.

could conceive of such acts, which they thought would go unpunished.

But what has happened over the course of this year? What has happened over the course of the last twelve months since the crushing victory at Playa Girón? The murderer of Delfin Sen was captured and shot with all his gang. The leader of the gang that murdered literacy brigade member Manuel Asuncue was captured and shot. And finally, as a symbolic coincidence, a day after commemorating the beginning of the battle last April, the murderer of volunteer teacher Conrado Benítez was surrounded and killed when he tried to escape.

On the banners we raise against imperialism, against the paid assassins of imperialism, we could have written, "You will not escape!" You will not escape the justice of the people! Murderers — murderers of teachers, murderers of teenage literacy brigade volunteers — you will not escape! Murderers of workers like the ones who committed sabotage by burning the "El Encanto" department store, causing the death of that outstanding worker, Fe del Valle, will not escape the justice of the people!⁷ Murderers of workers, murderers of farmers, murderers of teachers, murderers of literacy volunteers, will not escape the justice of the people. Just as the criminals, who during the war took the lives of thousands of young people in the mountains and in the cities, did not escape.

They did not escape! Neither the petty nor the most ruthless criminals escaped, nor will they escape, nor will those who organize gangs of murderers escape the verdict of history, which is not merely a verdict of words, but a verdict that relentlessly marks the fate of exploiters all over the world. A verdict that is like a clock ticking out these words: "Your days are numbered, the end of your system of exploitation is near."

This ticking of the clock, like the heartbeat of the exploited peoples, measures their inescapable fate; these are not simply phrases.

The work of the revolution advances

We have only to take an overview of the world; above all, the Americas. The Cuban revolution still stands and is becoming stronger every day. Today, one year after that cowardly sneak attack, the Cuban revolution is commemorating the first anniversary of that victory. Furthermore, the revolution will continue to commemorate this day for years and years to come.

The work of the revolution advances. Since then, almost a million Cubans have learned to read and write. Neither the invaders nor their horrible crimes could prevent us from carrying out our literacy campaign. They could not keep the hundreds of thousands of our compatriots from receiving an education — compatriots whom society, that exploiting, vicious society, had denied the opportunity of even learning the alphabet.

Our plans in all fields, but primarily our plans in the field of education on which depend our great hopes for the future, are being carried through; they are moving ahead. Thousands of young people who went into the mountains to teach, returned victorious. Today they are part of the legions of enthusiastic students dedicated wholeheartedly to learning, so that they may forge the Cuba of tomorrow.

They were not able to halt our plans, nor our progress on all fronts. That is why the revolution is becoming more solid, stronger, backed by the people and close to the

to go to the countryside, where they lived with peasants whom they were teaching. As a result of the 1960-61 drive, Cuba virtually eliminated illiteracy. Conrado Benítez was a 19-year-old literacy volunteer murdered by counterrevolutionary bandits in the Escambray mountains January 5, 1961. Delfin Sen, a workers' literacy brigade member, was killed by counterrevolutionaries in Las Villas on October 3, 1961. Manuel Asuncue, a 16-year-old literacy volunteer, was murdered by counterrevolutionaries in the Escambray November 26, 1961, together with a peasant he was teaching to read and write.

⁷ On April 13, 1961, a fire set by counterrevolutionaries destroyed the nationalized department store El Encanto in Havana. A worker at the store, Fe del Valle, was killed in the blaze.



The revolutionary government organized a literacy campaign in 1960-61 to teach more than 1 million people to read and write. Some 100,000 volunteers took part, going to the remotest regions of Cuba. Counterrevolutionary bands, financed by Washington, carried out attacks and sabotage in the Escambray mountains, La Villas province, where they killed volunteer teachers, including Conrado Benítez, top inset, 19 years old, and Manuel Asuncue Domenech, bottom inset, 16 years old.

people. For the revolution is made up of just that: the people.

The government in whose territory the expedition was organized and the mercenaries trained cannot say the same. Nor can the tyrant who governs Guatemala; because if by any chance he, too, commemorates the anniversary of this defeat, he most certainly will not be able to commemorate the second, because he is losing power, because his situation is not sustainable.⁸ He is being swept away by his people. He cannot even be saved by Kennedy's support. Nor can the other governments that lent themselves to the attack against our country claim they are getting stronger.

Proletarian vs. pseudo democracy

The proletarian democracy, the proletarian government is becoming stronger and stronger in our country. But that pseudodemocracy cannot say the same — that so-called representative democracy, which is nothing more than the ferocious dictatorship of the exploiting oligarchies against the people.

Nor can the tottering government of Rómulo Betancourt say the same, one year after the imperialist defeat at Girón.⁹ We may ask ourselves if he might commemorate the second anniversary of the defeat of the imperialists at Girón. And there was one of them who was not able to commemorate even the first anniversary of the defeat of the imperialists — the pseudodemocratic government, the so-called representative democracy of Argentina. There it was not even the people, but the "gorillas" that overthrew that government. But to the same degree that this has made the Argentine political system take a backward step, it has brought the Argentine people closer to the hour of their revolution.¹⁰

⁸ A reference to the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua and Gen. Miguel Ydígoras, the military strongman in Guatemala. Both regimes allowed their territory to be used as staging grounds for the mercenary invasion of Cuba. Ydígoras was overthrown in March 1963, prior to the second anniversary of Playa Girón.

⁹ Rómulo Betancourt was president of Venezuela 1945-48 and 1959-64; leader of Democratic Action party.

¹⁰ In March 1962, the Argentine military toppled the government of Arturo Frondizi, leader of one of the wings of the Radical Party. Frondizi had been in power since 1958. In a play on words, "gorillas" was a term used in

The proletarian government, the proletarian revolution is advancing; the "representative democracies" of Ydígoras, Betancourt, and Company, are tottering — they are falling — at times shaken by the people, and at other times shaken by the most reactionary imperialist forces.

From what we can see, while the Cuban revolution could not and cannot be destroyed, in spite of all the economic and military aggressions and in spite of not having received a single penny from imperialism, their "representative democracies" continue to fail, no matter what help imperialism offers them — which is, in fact, very little!

What would happen if they were attacked the way imperialism has attacked the proletarian revolution? What would happen if their regimes had to resist the siege, the embargo, the blockade that imperialism has imposed on the proletarian revolution? What would happen, how long would they last if even when fully propped up by imperialism, with everything imperialism can offer in that regard, they are falling? Yet as imperialism tries to destroy us through every means possible, instead of crumbling, our

Latin America to describe the reactionary military commanders used to brutally suppress popular struggles.

revolution becomes stronger every day.

Imperialism offered another Guatemala

What perspectives did the imperialists offer our country? What solution did they offer? The solution they gave Guatemala, the solution they gave our sister nation of Guatemala, with the invasion and the subsequent counterrevolution of Castillo de Armas.¹¹ Seven years have passed since that act of piracy — seven or eight or nine years since that act of piracy, in which, just as they tried to do at Playa Girón, the enemy launched

Continued on Page 14

¹¹ Seeking to crush political and social struggles in Guatemala accompanying a limited land reform initiated by the regime of Jacobo Arbenz, mercenary forces backed by the CIA invaded the country in 1954. Arbenz refused to arm the people and resigned, and a right-wing dictatorship led by Col. Carlos Castillo de Armas took over. In Guatemala at the time was a young Argentine named Ernesto Guevara, later known as Che. "When the U.S. invasion occurred, I tried to form up a group of young men like myself to combat the adventurers of the United Fruit Company. In Guatemala it was necessary to fight, and virtually no one did," he said in a 1958 interview with journalist Jorge Ricardo Masetti.

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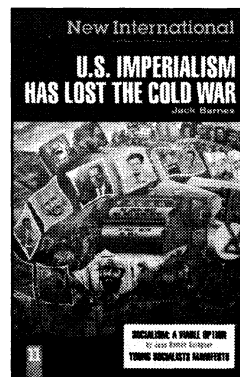
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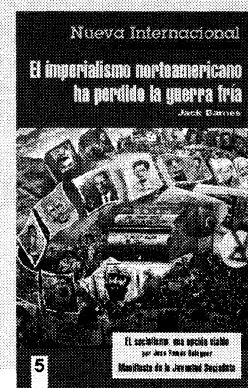
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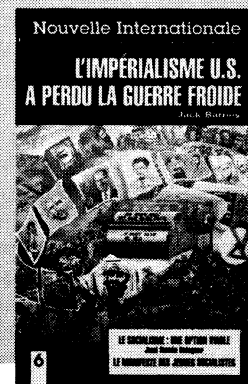


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'NATO bombs make everything worse,' say Kosovars forced into camps in Macedonia

BY CATHARINA TIRSEN
AND ANNE HOWIE

SKOPJE, Macedonia — "No, the NATO bombings are not helping us," Ismet Selami, a farm worker from Petrovo, Kosova, told *Militant* reporters April 27 at the Stankovic II camp in Macedonia. "They're making everything worse. They're not helping at all."

Albanian working people and others from Kosova have continued to pour into this former Yugoslav republic, terrorized into leaving by paramilitary gangs and special police forces of the regime of Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade. More than 13,000 arrived the last week of April, raising the number of Kosovar Albanians here to 170,000.

Ismet Islimi, a bakery worker from Ferizaj — the Albanian name for Urosevac, a town in Kosova about 20 miles north of Skopje — told a story similar to Selami's. "Ethnic cleansing started before, but it was when the NATO bombing began that the police forced us to leave," he said. Islimi and his brother both worked in a bakery, alongside workers who are Serb. Just before the bombing started they were sacked, along with all the workers there who were Albanian, for "security reasons."

"Working there was fine until NATO threats got the tension mounting. When we were sacked, the Serb workers were saying, 'If you want NATO to save you, you had better get out of this factory.'"

While these views represent a minority among Albanians from Kosova and those who are citizens of Macedonia, they find a hearing across the board.

"I can understand why most Albanian people welcome the bombing, but I don't think NATO is doing this to help us," said Fiknete Bajrami, an 18-year-old high school student of Albanian origin from Tetovo, Macedonia. "They are maybe starting World War III, looking for a fight with Russia, I don't know," she said. Bajrami avidly read through leaflets produced by students at Skopje University, entitled "I Am The Enemy You Will Kill, My Friend." The flyers contain e-mail messages from students at Belgrade University, many of whom participated in the 1996-97 protest movement against the antidemocratic annulment of election results by the Milosevic regime. Bajrami took copies to show her friends.

Ivan Simeonov, an architecture student at Skopje University, and a member of AEGEE, a Europe-wide student's organization, smiled broadly when he heard of Bajrami's response. "Two years ago, Serbs and Albanians protested the Milosevic gov-



Albanians forced to flee Kosova arrive on buses April 16 headed for camp near Skopje, Macedonia. "Ethnic cleansing started before, but it was when NATO bombing began that police forced us to leave," said Ismet Islimi.

ernment together," said Simeonov, who has friends at Belgrade University and took part in some of the protests there against Milosevic. "That was a big gain. But now we have lost that." Simeonov blames NATO and says the U.S.-led attack has only strengthened the Milosevic regime.

As Bajrami pointed out, though, the limitation of the students' statements is that "they have nothing to say about Kosova, about the Albanians." Simeonov himself supports the struggle for national self-determination of Albanians in Kosova. "Of course the Albanians want independence," he said. "After what has been done to them they can't trust the Belgrade government." But he questions what will happen if Kosova were to separate from Yugoslavia. "If you do give independence to Kosova, what will happen to the rest of the Balkans?"

Opposition to NATO troops widespread

As Washington, London, and other imperialist powers have increased their troops here to somewhere between 14,000 and 20,000, NATO's presence continues to meet strong resistance from Macedonian, Serb, and other people here.

On April 27 two homemade hand grenades were thrown on the doorstep of a building occupied by NATO personnel in Kumanovo, a town 19 miles northwest of Skopje. Street protests have been limited by a government "request" not to cause any "provocation," after the initial outpouring the day after Washington launched the bombing of Yugoslavia started. A large demonstration took place outside the U.S. embassy that day. "A lot of people tore down the high fence. They burned the embassy

flag and sign," said Simeonov. "Then they marched on to Alexander Palace Hotel and cars of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], which were parked outside, were overturned. The demonstration then continued to the German embassy." Ever since that day, the street outside the U.S. embassy has been closed off for all traffic and permanently guarded by police on both ends of the street. Many people refer to it with derision as the "American street." The embassies of other NATO countries remain heavily guarded.

"People don't like the presence of the NATO troops here," said Remzija Ramadanova, a member of the Roma Organization of Women from Macedonia in Kumanovo, a town of 30,000 where many of the NATO troops are located. "We don't like the color of their uniforms... They don't pay for electricity or to use the Krivolac base. They don't even want to drink our water here, they bring in water from Italy — and ours is the cleanest water in the Balkans. If they don't trust our water, what should we think about their trust in us? It's degrading to our country!"

Dilbera Kamberovska, president of the Roma women's organization, described a visit she made to a nearby village a few days previously, to see Roma deportees she had heard were in a school there. "When we got there we were faced with so many NATO soldiers, aiming their loaded guns at us."

Kamberovska works on the production line of a tobacco factory in Kumanovo. She is one of five Roma workers out of a work force of 700. "When I was hired 24 years ago, the factory hired one Roma and one Albanian worker for every two Macedonian workers, accord-

ing to the proportions of the population in this area." Since then, workers have been laid off or fired several times, and they now worry about the future of the factory. The plant has raw materials, but can not sell their market in all of former Yugoslavia any more.

"We talk about the war all the time now," Kamberovska said. "We are Macedonians, Albanians, and Roma. Everybody is pushing his or her side, of course. It is normal to think about your own people first. I think about the Roma refugees here, the Albanians about their refugees, the Macedonians and Serbs about their relatives in Serbia. But we don't quarrel, after all we share our bread there."

"If you have worked together for 10, 15, 30 years, you are friends. After so many years together, you don't want to harm each other," said Mgleka Zgkirovska, another member of the Roma organization.

"NATO should go home and not ruin relations with our neighbors here. We have lived together, we used to go without passports all over, and we married each other. We were all Yugoslavs. I am a child of all of Yugoslavia!" exclaimed Ramadanova.

Further north, Ivan Ristic farms two hectares of land with his son Nikola. Their farm is three miles from the border with Yugoslavia and 550 yards from a NATO base. Ristic described the constant low-level helicopter activity over their land that disrupts their farming, and said local farmers have found pieces of missiles and other things on their land, which were later spirited away.

He virulently opposes the NATO bombing. "Why are they bombing the factories, why the people? If you want Milosevic, OK, but why bomb the people?"

Both the current and the previous governments in Skopje have charted a course towards joining NATO. "But this action has changed people's view of this," said Simeonov. "People forgot it was a military alliance, that its purpose is to fight wars." He said the government had promoted the application on the basis that Macedonia would get economic aid for joining. "But 10 years ago we had no NATO and we had no war. Now we have NATO and we're one step away from war. At least we know now that there is no democracy in the 'West.'"

Cost mounts for workers, farmers

With a per capita Gross Domestic Product of \$1,663 in 1997, Macedonia was already the third-poorest area of the Balkans, after Albania and Bosnia. The government, a shaky three-party coalition, was only elected in November 1998, when the eight-year rule of the Social Democrats in Macedonia (SDSM) — largely the former Communist Party — was brought to an end. The new government is a coalition of VMRO-DPMNE, a Macedonian nationalist party; Democratic Alternative, which is also Macedonian; and the Albanian Democratic Party (DPS). Many people hoped that this government would adopt policies to improve living standards for workers and farmers, both Macedonian and Albanian.

Minister of the economy Zanko Cado, however, resigned April 26, blaming the lack of international financial aid and differences with other cabinet members for the rapidly deteriorating economic situation. A meeting of foreign ministers of European Union member countries that day promised "upgraded relations with Albania and Macedonia in the direction of association agreements." But

CORRECTION

An error was introduced in editing the article "Albanians who fled Kosova tell of struggle" by Anne Howie in last week's *Militant*. A sentence in the fourth to last paragraph originally said, "These tensions, however, are not universal, particularly among workers." It was incorrectly changed to read, "These tensions, however, are practically nonexistent among workers."

U.S.-NATO assault a disaster for workers

Continued from front page

surrounded by residential areas, demolished a two-story house across the main gate of the plant.

"How can anyone argue that these factories are military targets?" asked Bojko Vucic, a machinist, in an April 27 interview. He pointed to the clinic at the Yaserbach plant that has been destroyed by the bombing. The medical facility — used by workers in that factory, as is common in major plants here — had been clearly marked by huge white banners with a red cross on its roof and sides, but was not spared. Workers were also incensed that the kindergarten and other child-care facilities at the tobacco plant, used by thousands of families, can no longer be used since the April 3-5 bombings of DIN.

"They are leaving us no choice to have a decent life by destroying our plants," said Vucic, who is the local president of Nezavisnost (Independence), the trade union federation independent of government control. "Workers are the ones facing a disaster. NATO is also trying to destroy our dignity and instill fear. There is no other reason that their planes come back a second, third, sometimes a tenth time to hit the same place after it has already been destroyed. They want to demoralize us and

make us scared of their power. They will not have as easy a time as they think."

A number of Albanian peasants and workers who were forced to flee Kosova into Montenegro — the republic that along with Serbia comprises the present Federal Republic of Yugoslavia — told *Militant* reporters they blamed the intensifying NATO air raids for the ongoing "ethnic cleansing" of Kosova by the regime of Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic.

Tense atmosphere around the clock

The atmosphere in Nis is tense around the clock, unlike Belgrade, which is bustling during the day with traffic and plenty of people sipping Turkish coffee or tea at sidewalk cafes, but becomes a ghost town at night. Air raid sirens go off several times a day in broad daylight. The city has been bombed at least 10 times since March 24, when Washington launched the NATO assault, often with up to two dozen missiles at a time. A higher percentage of the population spends time in the bomb shelters than in Belgrade, since more residential areas have already been damaged or destroyed and an undisclosed number of civilians killed. At night, complete darkness covers the city. Authorities cut off electricity in a

not-so-successful attempt to reduce its visibility to NATO bombers.

Piles of used tires burn during the day by all the bridges across the Varda River, which runs through the city center, spreading a foul odor and unhealthy fumes over a large part of Nis. Municipal authorities claim the smoke can divert missiles into missing their targets or into landing without explosion. The city's bridges have not been hit so far, but many people mistrust the wisdom of the tactic. "Neither bad weather, nor the imposed darkness at night, or the ridiculous fires seem to have stopped the imperialist aggression," said Duci Petrovic, a college student here.

Up to 70 percent of Nis's population of more than 300,000 still have ties to the land, we were told. Many workers have relatives in surrounding agricultural communities or have a piece of land themselves not far from the city, which they cultivate to make ends meet. Tens of thousands have fled to these villages since the bombing began, bringing much of the city's economic and social life to a virtual standstill.

Nearby towns and villages, however, have also been hit by the bombing. The villages of Popovac and Cokot suffered significant damages during the April 24 raids,

Continued on Page 12

no financial support has been forthcoming, despite pleas from Skopje.

Much of the economic activity of Macedonia has continued to rely on the raw materials and markets of Yugoslavia, despite the formal breakup of the federated workers state in 1991-92. So the imperialist bombing campaign has had a devastating impact. Government estimates put the cost of the war to Macedonia, in lost trade and contracts, at \$200 million in the first month. It's expected to rise to \$1.2 billion by the end of the year. Half of the workforce of 600,000 are unemployed, in a population of 2 million. About 300,000 are retired and 270,000

people are dependent on social welfare payments of 100-120 German marks a month (1 mark = \$.55). Of the 300,000 who have jobs, 80,000 workers have not received their paychecks the last two or three months because of lack of funds in their companies.

"At this moment we are only talking about the war at work," said Stoica Jovanovcku, who has worked in the Zletovo mine for 21 years. "Seven to ten years ago, when all of Yugoslavia was together, it was fine. Since then every year something bad has happened. Now we don't know what will happen with the mine."

The Zletovo zinc mine has 1,450 employees in Probitip, a town with 8,000 inhabitants. Until five weeks ago, the concentrate of zinc was sent to the Trepcka mine in Kosova for further processing. When the war in Yugoslavia made that impossible, processing was arranged in Romania. Transportation costs will increase, however. The company's Greek business partner used to pay for a month's wages in advance. Now he only pays for the concentrate the mine is actually able to send out. Some 250 nonproductive workers have been put on forced "holiday."

Textile industry devastated

Zorica Iceva, who works in the office of the textile factory of Astinov in Stip, has been laid off at least through May. After that she doesn't know what will happen. Stip has a population of 50,000 and is totally dependent on the textile industry, which has been devastated by the current war situation.

"When the war broke out, all the U.S., British, Belgian, and German firms canceled their contracts," Iceva stated. The foreign partners in the joint venture used to supply the raw materials to be sewn in Stip and get the finished products back. Now they want guarantees in the form of money or from the government before they will supply the Astinov factories with raw materials. But the company has no funds and no guarantee can be gotten from the government.

"I am very proud of the factory," Iceva said. "It is the best one in the Balkans." Before the breakup of Yugoslavia, Astinov used to have 85 shops, located throughout all the republics. Since the break up 40 percent of the products have been sold in Yugoslavia and 60 percent abroad.

Iceva is worried that the present managers are preparing for a privatization, by separating the plant into different areas. Last year, she said, the management stopped working with the partners abroad. "I think they wanted to ruin the factory to be able to buy it cheaply," she said. "But the workers want to be the owners of this factory. I hope the workers and the union won't let it be sold so easily."

The U.S.-NATO bombing has exacerbated an already deep crisis in agriculture too. "Before the war it was hard but we found a way," said Ivan Ristic. Small farmers worked second jobs to finance their farming. "But now all the jobs are gone. On top of that, now the border is closed so we can't go north, which is where we did business." Ristic said farmers bought fertilizers and fodder in Yugoslavia because it was cheaper there, and sometimes they sold their produce there. "In a year's time all the people in Macedonia will need humanitarian support too!"

The constant refrain of the government of president Kiro Gligorov, that the key is to "maintain stability," reflects the deep fear of these economic facts and of the impact the arrival of tens of thousands of politicized Kosovar Albanians will have on the op-



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Student leaders at University of Tetovo in March 1998, Tetovo, Macedonia. The informal Albanian-language school was established in 1994 despite government repression.

pressed Albanian population of this country.

Twenty-three percent of the population in Macedonia is Albanian, according to official figures. Many Albanians say the real number exceeds 40 percent. With the influx of 170,000 Albanians from Kosova for an unknown period of time, the figure might well be half the population.

Two-thirds of the deportees live in the homes of Albanians, Turks, and others in Macedonia, the rest in the refugee camps.

In Gostivar, a majority Albanian town in western Macedonia with a population of 60,000, there are 9,000 Kosovars in the town itself, and 23,000 in areas around it, said Jevat Hebibi, of the aid organization El-Hilal (The Crescent), April 25. His organization, together with other groups working to defend the rights of ethnic Albanians, has played a big role in relocating Kosovars coming across the border, or those who have managed to leave the camps.

"We have some experience from helping refugees from Bosnia before," he said. "We were expecting an exodus, so we prepared, but we never expected anything like this. The first days were just chaos. [Deportees] had been out in open air for five days, and we were the first to offer help." The mosques in Gostivar were opened to provide initial shelter, until people could be placed in homes. Now El-Hilal is providing food, clothing, and medicine with funds raised from donations locally. "There is not a single Albanian or Turkish family here who does not have Kosovars in their homes, even if the family lives on welfare," Selami said. "The government takes all the credit for helping the Kosovars, but they have not supported us at all."

El-Hilal has also helped organize a temporary clinic for the Kosovars in one room in the mosque, which is staffed by 30 doctors and nurses from Kosova, working in three shifts. "We are all volunteers," said Dr. Flamur Ukaj, who had responded to an appeal from El-Hilal after having spent four days as a deportee at the border in Blace, and after helping four additional days in a tent clinic there.

The situation of deported Kosovar Albanians in the camps here is increasingly desperate. As thousands continue to cross the border, often being held at the Macedonian checkpoints for several days before being allowed to enter the republic, necessary resources, from food to facilities are being delivered eye-dropper style.

Dealing with the problems facing Albanians forced out of Kosova becomes increasingly intertwined with the struggle for national rights of Albanians who have been living in Macedonia for generations.

Unofficial University of Tetovo

Most Macedonian Albanians these reporters met explained in detail how they face constant discrimination in every aspect of life here, from education to jobs to location of workplaces. There is a parallel school system with classes taught in Albanian and Macedonian up to high school, but no university in Albanian. After tuition fees were imposed for all but the very best students, it became even more difficult for Albanian youth to study at the two official universities in Macedonia.

"Out of 29,000 university students in the two official universities in Macedonia, only 500 to 600 are Albanian. Out of 2,000 to 3,000 university professors, only three are Albanian," said Fadil Sulejmani, rector of the University of Tetovo, which was formed in 1994. It now has 2,200 students but is not

recognized as an official university and receives no government funds.

On the contrary, the authorities have harassed the unofficial institution. Sulejmani was imprisoned for two years after the university opened four years ago. "He was charged because he was the initiator of our university," said Iphend Bajrami, one of the members of the executive committee of the student union. "They arrested him as a symbol. It was like putting education in jail."

"The Macedonians don't want Albanians to study," Sulejmani said. "They want Albanians to work in agriculture or other physically heavy jobs, or to go abroad to Germany or the United States and bring in money. They want Albanians to work with tools, so Macedonians can work with pencils."

Before the partition of Yugoslavia, Albanian youth could study in their own language at the University of Kosova in Pristina. After 1992 when Macedonia declared independence, however, the erection of the new border prevented students from continuing their studies there. "The Serbian police took their passports so they could not cross the border," Sulejmani stated.

The University of Tetovo is funded through contributions from the Albanian community. "Everybody is supposed to contribute 1 German mark, but we have to collect the funds. The Albanian population also provided the buildings. We have 15 houses here that we can use, mostly for one year at a time. Then we have to move everything to another house," Sulejmani said. Students pay 100-200 marks a semester, and professors are paid 300-400 marks per month.

In the hall of the student union in another loaned private house across the street, Iphend Bajrami and Jusuf Zejneli, president of the student union, are busy registering students from Kosova.

"We help our brothers from Kosova register here so they can continue their studies. We help them find a place to stay and students here have donated books. It is our moral obligation," Bajrami said. Students have also increased the fees they pay, to cover the costs of those from Kosova. "Four hundred students from Kosova have registered now, and the number is growing."

The students from Tetovo tell about the fight to open the university. Apart from the rector being arrested, students were constantly harassed by the police. "They took their documents and tried to scare them. But it did not work. And now we are mostly left alone," explained Bajrami. "And every deed like that is useless. They can not help it or stop it. It does not depend on their will. All we want is to be treated like civilized people. We don't deserve to be treated like we are now."

"We fulfill all the obligations of citizens of Macedonia, we pay taxes, we go into the army. So we want all the rights of a citizen," Zejneli said.

Because the university is not recognized, students here cannot postpone their military duty as students from other universities. While more than 50 percent of the soldiers are Albanian, however, less than 2 percent of the officers are, according to Sulejmani.

Discrimination on job, plant location

"The industrial capacity has been mostly located to Skopje and eastern Macedonia," said Mumin Kadrin, principal of the Kiril Pejcinoviz high school in Tetovo.

"A steel and metal factory was build in Skopje," he said. "It used electricity and materials from Kosova, so this location made it unprofitable, because of increased transportation costs. Likewise a brewery was located in Skopje, despite the best natural water in the region being here, at the foot of the mountains. They were not built here because of the Albanian inhabitants."

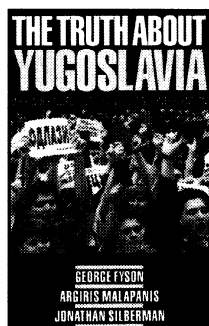
A worker from a food distribution company in Tetovo, who did not want to have his name used, was among that half of the workforce of 330 who was fired four years ago despite having worked for 28 years. "Now the Macedonian manager has his own people there, friends and family."

Albanian and Macedonian workers had worked together in this company, the worker said. "But Albanians were always on the lower level. The Macedonians got the best jobs, and we were their helpers and their cleaners. They got loans from the company; we could never get loans. I asked three times to get an apartment through the company. But only two or three Albanians got an apartment; the Macedonians took the others. And how come the Macedonians could go on vacation in the company's vacation houses at the Ohrid Lake and my children never saw the lake?"

"The government has a chance now it respects the Albanians, if it offers equal opportunities, if it recognizes the University of Tetovo," said Sulejmani. "If Albanians in Macedonia see the government helping them, they will accept Macedonia as their country and their own government." But Albanians will press their demands he says.

As NATO escalates its assault on Yugoslavia, on the pretext of opposing discrimination against Albanians, tensions in this republic are bound to intensify as well.

PATHFINDER



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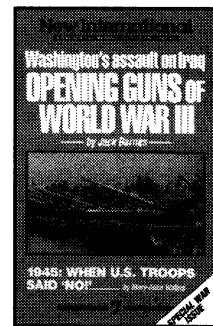
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'NATO is destroying our factories, trying

Continued from Page 10

for example. Entire sections of Aleksinac, a mining town of 40,000 about 20 miles north of Nis, were ruined when bombs destroyed dozens of workers' homes April 4-5. Most of the main factories in town were also damaged or destroyed. They include EMPA, which produced lamps for street lights and employed more than 1,000 workers; FRAD, where hundreds of workers made filters for cars and trucks; and MORANA, the only garment factory there with 600 employees, most of them women. These plants were the major source of employment, besides farming, since the main coal mine nearby has been shut down for the last five years after a methane explosion underground destroyed much of the facility.

When *Militant* reporters went through town April 26, Aleksinac had the appearance of an abandoned city. Many of its residents have moved to surrounding villages with no access to a telephone, and their whereabouts are not known. "That's what farmers and workers face here," said Petrovic. "They are trying to isolate us and cut off communication among relatives and friends." He could not locate a friend in Aleksinac who was going to show *Militant* reporters around town.

Industry, infrastructure dismantled

Nis is typical of what is happening to working-class communities throughout Serbia. Industry and the infrastructure are being systematically dismantled. On April 12, NATO warplanes destroyed a heating plant on the edge of Krusevac, a city of 150,000 people in south-central Serbia. They then hit the region's biggest factory, the October 14 plant producing bulldozers, excavators, and other heavy machinery. What was left standing was destroyed in a second raid three days later.

"This was the biggest heavy-machinery plant in the Balkans," said Nebojsa Toskovic, the factory's deputy general manager, while taking reporters on a tour of the ruins. "Without machinery from this factory, the country will be unable to reconstruct all the bridges and everything else that has been destroyed by NATO."

Most of Serbia's oil refineries have now been destroyed or severely damaged, along with many oil storage depots and chemical plants, releasing toxic fumes in the environment. Lack of fuel has meant rationing of gasoline for private use. Bus service in the country has been mostly operating on schedule so far, but the number of lines is being reduced. Belgrade authorities, for example, have cut the number of public buses from 1,000 to 500 to save fuel.

According to official statistics released by the ministry of health of Serbia, 36 of the largest factories in the republic had been demolished as of April 23. In addition, 23 bridges, 33 hospitals and other health-care facilities, 6 regional and a number of local roads, 11 railway tracks, 4 civilian airports, parts of the power grid, TV transmitters, and telecommunications facilities have been destroyed. The human toll has surpassed 400 killed and 4,000 wounded, according to Serbia's health ministry. Yugoslavia's foreign minister Zivadin Jovanovic, however, put the number of those killed at 1,000 during an April 25 interview.

On April 26, the third and last remaining bridge over the Danube river connecting the two parts of Novi Sad, the capital of the Vojvodina region, was brought down by NATO warplanes after being hit for a third time. Its destruction cut off rail communication with the rest of central Europe. When *Militant* reporters visited that city three days earlier the bridge had been hit by seven missiles for the second time but still stood. The first attack had cut off the water supply to a section of the city with about 30,000 residents. During the second bombing — in mid-afternoon — workers were trying to repair the water main that ran on the bottom of the bridge. Air raid sirens made it possible for the workers to get off just in time and no one was killed. The army is now running part of a floating bridge pushed by two navy boats to transport people back and forth between the two banks.

"These are no military targets," said Dusan, a university student in Novi Sad who showed *Militant* reporters around, asking that his last name not be used. "The army is already preparing floating bridges to transport troops and tanks over rivers. These hits are aimed at demoralizing people and making our daily lives harder and harder."

Dusan and other young people and trade unionists interviewed by *Militant* reporters spoke with indignation at the language used by CNN and other big-business media to describe civilian casualties in raids on alleged military targets. "They call it 'collateral damage'," Dusan said, "as if human beings don't count."

He referred in particular to the bombing

forestall the attack. Many of these journalists went. The CNN crews declined the offer. But after a couple of days passed most people these reporters spoke to assumed this was only a threat to pressure the Milosevic regime that would not be carried out. Since the RTS was bombed most people expect a substantial escalation of the NATO assault.

The mood in the streets of Belgrade morn-



of a train near Grdelica, southern Serbia, April 12, when 12 passengers were killed. Another 17 are missing from that assault, presumably incinerated from the cluster bombs that were used.

The latest example of such 'collateral damage' was the bombing of an agricultural community in Surduljica, 200 miles south of Belgrade, near the border with Bulgaria. The town was struck in the afternoon of April 27. At least 50 houses were destroyed and another 600 damaged and at least 17 people died. Associated Press reporters who on the scene said many bodies were so badly dismembered that they could not be identified. In this case again NATO officials claimed their planes carried out a successful attack on nearby barracks, which had been vacated by the Yugoslav army, as all such facilities have been prior to being bombed. "We cannot exclude harm to civilians or civilian property during our air operations over Yugoslavia," a NATO statement on the incident said.

Bombing of Radio-TV Serbia

One of the assaults that has aroused much discussion and debate here was the bombing of Radio TV Serbia (RTS), the main state-run radio and television network in Yugoslavia. The windows of the hotel room where these reporters slept shook a little after 2 a.m. on April 23 from the strong explosions less than half a mile away, waking up most people in the city's center. RTS had been bombed, after weeks of speculation in the big-business media in the United States and other countries on whether Washington would carry this out.

A second round of bombs blew up other parts of the RTS building half an hour later. About 150 people were working there at the time. As of April 28, nine bodies had been pulled from the rubble and identified. Another seven people who were working that fatal night are still missing, and are presumed dead. Eighteen employees, most of them technicians, were hospitalized from serious injuries. Nationwide TV and radio programs went off the air the moment the bombs hit. A few hours later they resumed broadcasting from an undisclosed location. Within a couple of days, though, NATO missiles destroyed the main TV transmitter on the outskirts of Belgrade, silencing RTS broadcasts around the country.

CNN TV crews in Belgrade had told everyone they got a tip three days earlier that RTS would be bombed soon. They pulled out of that building. State authorities here had granted CNN rights to use space in the RTS building and utilize their equipment for broadcasting. In response, the Yugoslav ministry of information called on all foreign reporters on April 20 to go over to the RTS building and stay there for a while, making that known around the world, as a way to

ing of April 23 was sullen. But bombing the main TV station smack at the center of Belgrade and killing people working there has aroused more anger and determination to stand up to this brutal assault. This is coming not just from supporters of the regime but from people who don't give much credence to what is reported on state media here.

"This is a crime," said Branislav Canak, president of Nezavisnost. He had worked himself as a journalist until the early 1990s, when he quit after refusing to accept demands from the authorities to craft his articles in a way that advanced Serb nationalist propaganda and justified Belgrade's war first with Croatia and then Bosnia.

"It's appalling," said Oliver Kocic, a university student, on the scene of the bombing the morning of April 23. "More of us will fight against NATO now." Kocic had participated in the 1996-97 protests that forced the Milosevic regime to reverse its anti-democratic annulment of municipal election results that brought victories to an opposition coalition in 15 of Serbia's 19 largest cities.

About 10,000 people demonstrated in central Belgrade April 24 to condemn the bombing, many laying flowers and lighting candles at the ruins of the RTS building. The action took the place of the daily rock concert at the nearby Republic square, where thousands of people usually turn out to show their opposition to the NATO assault.

At the same time, a number of people, including RTS employees, blame the government in Belgrade for not having acted to minimize the loss of life after the initial public warnings by CNN that the RTS building would be bombed. "Dozens of people I know at RTS believe the government knew and did not tell workers," said a student, whose father is an RTS technician, and asked that his name not be disclosed. One of his relatives was killed in the bombing. "They had already organized an alternative site for broadcasting. Every other government building has been vacated prior to the bombing. It had begun to look as if there was some kind of deal between the imperialists and their servants here. The regime needed some victims. The problem is that this can't be dealt with until the bombing ends. Anything to pursue this now will be treated as treason."

Draskovic expelled from government

Following the RTS bombing, Belgrade took more direct control of local and regional TV stations to get its message around. The move was criticized by Yugoslavia's deputy prime minister Vuk Draskovic, head of the Serbian Renewal Movement. Draskovic had been a prominent spokesperson of the opposition coalition in the 1996-97 protests. At the same time, he has been an outspoken advocate of Serb nationalism

and a supporter of Belgrade's crackdown on demands for self-determination of Albanians in Kosova. Draskovic and his party joined Milosevic's governing coalition last year, in the same cabinet with Vojislav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party that many people here describe as fascist.

Draskovic also told SKY TV April 26 that he supported calls for a United Nations "peacekeeping" force in Kosova and urged the government to admit it cannot defeat NATO. Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia and its main coalition partner, the Party of the Yugoslav Left headed by the president's wife Mirjana Markovic, have endorsed calls for an "international presence" in Kosova but oppose armed troops or monitors from countries participating in the NATO assault. The rightist Serbian Radical Party has been even more vocal in opposing any foreign troops in Kosova and denounced "careerist politicians," a vague reference to Draskovic's statements.

On April 28, Draskovic was expelled from the ruling coalition, a sign of weakening of the regime. Leaders of the Students Union of Yugoslavia — the main organization that led the student protests against the antidemocratic measures of the Milosevic administration in 1996-97 — told the *Militant* that this development may broaden the space a little to organize political activities; a space that has been narrowed considerably as a result of the U.S.-NATO assault.

"I don't like Draskovic, he's a nationalist," said Stanimir, a leader of the Students Union of Yugoslavia in Belgrade. "But if he goes over to the opposition now we can utilize this to be able to win space for our antiwar ideas and for democratic rights. We may have some openings to use air time in the Studio B/TV station that belongs to Draskovic's party."

Such expectations are far-fetched, however, especially since these student activists oppose politically the course of the Serbian Renewal Movement. "I don't think NATO or UN troops will be sent to Kosova to bring peace," said Stanimir, referring to Draskovic's call for deploying a UN force in Kosova. "I'm afraid that if UN troops were sent it would be to grant a license to Milosevic, part of a deal with his regime, to continue his dictatorial policies in Kosova. So I have a problem with UN troops going to Kosova."

Working class is NATO's target

The search for space to carry out a range of political activities is vital. As scores of trade unionists, students, and other young people have explained to *Militant* reporters over two weeks, the NATO bombing has given Milosevic a freer hand to narrow democratic rights and reverse what has been accomplished by working people since the opening of this decade — from the 1992-93 protests against the war in Croatia and Bosnia to the 1996-97 mobilizations for democratic rights in Serbia.

"When there is a war, many normal activities are suspended," said Bojko Vucic, during an April 27 interview in Nis. "But the regime has used the war emergency measures to isolate opponents and reverse what we've accomplished for the last decade. Tell workers around the world to demand an immediate end to the bombing. We are the target."

Nezavisnost, which has 20,000 members among the more than 80,000 wage workers in Nis, has had to suspend most of its public activities, we were told. These have included militant strikes and demonstrations — the broadest in 1995 — for better wages and working conditions, lower rents and utility rates, and cuts on taxes on wages. On March 10 of this year, the union organized a march by hundreds in Nis and then 12 of its members marched on foot to Belgrade to demand the government come up with months of unpaid wages in state-owned plants.

Since 1991, when the Milosevic regime went to war with its rivals in neighboring Yugoslav republics, "Nezavisnost has opposed the war as well as the breakup of Yugoslavia pushed by a variety of nationalists in Belgrade, Zagreb, or Sarajevo," Vucic said. "We also condemned and spoke out against all the bad policies of the regime, including the revocation of autonomy in Kosova. That went against everything Yugoslavia and the revolution was for."

Vucic was referring to the 1945 revolution, brought to victory by the Partisans, led by the Communist Party whose central

to instill fear'

leader was Josip Broz (Tito). The Partisans united workers and peasants of all nationalities behind the struggle against the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II. Practicing a program that called for equality and respect of all nationalities and religious beliefs, and that opposed chauvinism and domination of one nation by another, was a major factor in the victory of the anti-fascist movement. Working people then turned the victory against the Nazis into a social revolution — abolishing capitalist property relations and establishing a workers state, even though it was deformed at birth because of domination by Tito's Stalinist misleadership.

In the next three decades, Albanians and others were recognized as oppressed nationalities and granted special rights that began to narrow discrimination. These included recognition of Albanian as one of Yugoslavia's official languages, the opening of the University of Pristina in 1970 where all courses were taught in Albanian, and the granting of autonomy to Kosova in 1974.

As a privileged bureaucratic caste crystallized its hold on power under Tito's Stalinist misrule, however, these initial gains of the revolution began to be undermined. Despite initial affirmative action measures to close the gap in development between different republics of Yugoslavia, Kosova remained far behind compared to other regions. The opening of the country's economy to foreign investment and loans from imperialist bank trusts as far back as the mid-1950s, made Yugoslav toilers vulnerable to the ups and downs of the world capitalist market. Subsequent austerity measures demanded by the IMF as a condition for further loans, combined with the anti-working-class methods of planning and management by the Tito regime, produced an economic crisis that affected disproportionately less developed areas like Kosova. Joblessness there in the mid-1980s, for example, jumped to 50 percent, compared to 14 percent across Yugoslavia. These conditions fueled the struggle for self-determination.

At the end of the 1980s, miners and other working people in Kosova were at the forefront of strikes and demonstrations against austerity and for national rights. At that point, the Milosevic regime justified its counterattack on working people through nationalist tirades against Albanians, claiming "they breed too much" and are responsible for unsubstantiated crimes against all Serbs in Kosova. Belgrade, Zagreb, and other rival regimes in the former Yugoslavia fought to maintain or enlarge land and economic resources under their control to keep their parasitic existence and bourgeois way of living. Belgrade revoked Kosova's autonomy in 1989. In the next couple of years, schools offering courses in the Albanian language, along with TV and radio programs in Albanian, were shut down. By 1992, the majority of Albanians — who comprised 90 percent of Kosova's population of 2.1 million — were fired from their jobs in hospitals, government administration, and much of industry. These measures have led to the current explosion.

Activities to counter the nationalism of the regime, boosted during the protest movement two years ago, have now been curtailed Vucic said. Now permits are required to organize any public action, including protests against the NATO bombings. Only the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia and the Yugoslav Left have been granted such blanket licenses, we were told. The Confederation of All Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, which is under the control of the ruling coalition, has also been permitted to call its own actions over the last month. The Students Union of Yugoslavia and Nezavisnost report they've been denied permits to organize their own protests against the NATO assault.

Another example of the setbacks the U.S.-led attack is inflicting on working people is the women's committee of the independent trade union at the Zastava complex in Kragujevac — one of the largest auto assembly plants in the Balkans and the only one of its kind in Yugoslavia. The group has ended its activities there for now, said Slavija Vecetic, head of that committee and member of the metalworkers union. The plant was destroyed by repeated bombings beginning April 9. "We felt we were going to take off after activities our committee organized on March 8, International Women's Day," said Vecetic. "We wanted to make living and

working conditions for women better and fight against discrimination." About 35 percent of the workforce of 38,000 were women. "Women always got the lower-paying jobs and were laid off in disproportionate numbers. But the imperialist aggression came too soon after that and all our activities came to a grinding halt."

In Nis, where Nezavisnost is stronger, the union is organizing its members to help clean up the rubble from ruined factories and other facilities and distribute humanitarian aid to workers. "For the first time in half a century we have some families who don't have anything to eat," Vucic said.

Economic crisis accelerates

In Nis alone, more than 10,000 workers have lost their jobs due to bombing, increasing joblessness from 40,000 to 50,000 among the city's 80,000 wage workers in the last five weeks. The large level of unemployment prior to the imperialist air raids was due to the decades of bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy, exacerbated by the impact of depression conditions of world capitalism and the economic sanctions on Yugoslavia for the last eight years imposed on Washington's initiative.

Throughout Yugoslavia, half a million workers lost their jobs since March 24, according to official figures, bringing unemployment to more than 70 percent. About 55 percent of the country's workforce was without jobs prior to the bombing.

The government now says that 2 million people in a population of 11.2 million have been left without any income whatsoever, in the last five weeks.

A ban on fuel shipments to Yugoslavia approved by the European Union April 26 will further exacerbate the difficulties working people here face. Washington and top NATO officials have actually demanded a naval blockade of Yugoslavia to prevent oil shipments to the republic from being unloaded. NATO military planners are preparing warships in the Adriatic to block such shipments by stopping and searching vessels headed for Yugoslavia under the threat of force. Some NATO members have expressed reservations about the move, however, so this plan has not been put into effect yet.

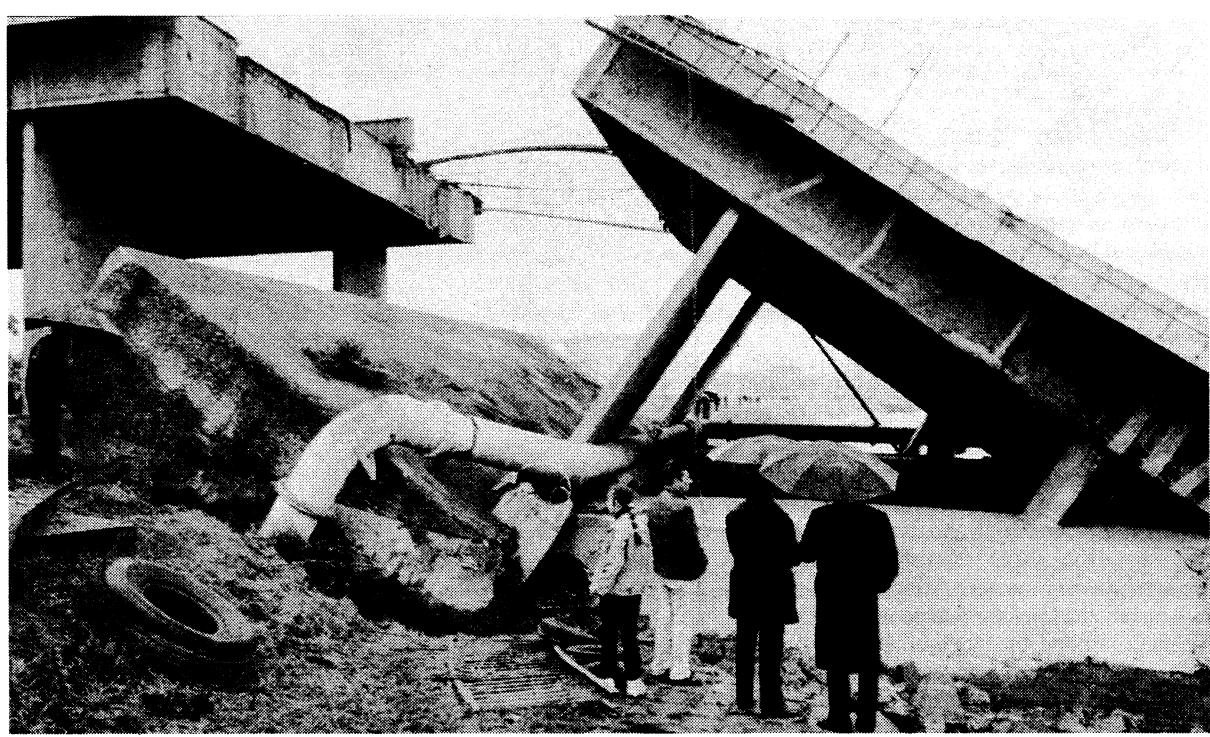
This step have provoked an angry reaction from Moscow, which has vigorously opposed the NATO bombing but has not taken any steps to defend Yugoslavia militarily. "Decisions on the imposition of sanctions and an embargo can be taken only by the UN Security Council," stated Russia's foreign minister Igor Ivanov in an April 27 news conference, following the visit to Moscow by U.S. deputy secretary of state Strobe Talbott. Such decisions by NATO "have no international legal validity for Russia," he added.

Ivanov warned that any attempt by NATO warships to stop a Russian tanker now headed for Yugoslavia would be tantamount to a declaration of war. Yugoslavia's chief oil supplier, the Russian Gazprom, has announced that deliveries will proceed as usual. The Chinese government of president Jiang Zemin, increasingly in conflict with Washington over U.S. plans to deploy an anti-ballistic missile defense system throughout southeast Asia, has also strongly condemned the NATO bombing and indicated it will vote against any new proposed sanctions or an oil embargo at the United Nations.

NATO's war summit

The U.S.-led war on Yugoslavia was at the center of NATO's 50th anniversary summit, held in Washington, D.C., April 23-25. At that meeting, Washington registered its progress in consolidating its place as the number one economic and military power in Europe — clearly established on the blood and bones of the Yugoslav people over the last decade.

The summit approved a new "strategic concept" for NATO, giving the reactionary



Ruins of what was the last remaining bridge over the Danube River in Novi Sad, Yugoslavia. The bridge was hit for a third time by U.S.-NATO bombs April 26.

Atlantic alliance formal authority to operate beyond the territory of its 19 member states. The document says NATO has to tackle "uncertainty and instability in and around the Euro-Atlantic area and the possibility of regional crises at the periphery of the alliance, which could evolve rapidly."

This codifies what Washington and its imperialist allies are already carrying out in Yugoslavia: using military might to lay the foundations for reestablishing capitalist social relations throughout the formerly federated Yugoslav workers state and tightening the imperialist encirclement of Russia, with the same goal in mind there.

The document did not stipulate that NATO would operate "under the authority of the [UN] Security Council." That phrase, according to an article in the April 26 *International Herald Tribune*, had been pushed by the government of France "but rejected by allies who feared that it would give Russia a veto over NATO actions."

Behind the fanfare about unity, this fact pointed to the intensifying competition among the imperialist powers on how to divide domination of the world's markets and wealth produced by toilers around the globe.

"If there were any real victories coming out of the Yugoslav engagement so far, they were less over the Milosevic regime than for the national strategic goals of each of NATO's central component countries in Europe," read the *Herald Tribune* article.

"France, which continues officially to stand outside the alliance's military wing, scored notable points. Its strong military participation served to legitimize its stance at NATO's edge, demonstrating it could be a loyal ally while taking an independent, even provocative stance on other issues...."

French president Jacques "Chirac's proposal that the EU — 'naturally' he said Friday — take over the administration of Kosovo after the war is meant to single France out as the driving political-military force in Europe. And its efforts to limit the use of unilateral U.S. power through multilateral bodies like the UN Security Council

can now appear more like sincere concerns than eternally crabby anti-Americanism."

The British government has grabbed firmly on the coattails of Washington in the Yugoslav crisis, with its prime minister Anthony Blair leading the warmongering propaganda. "Victory is the only exit strategy I will consider," declared Blair.

All this is not being lost on working people and youth in Yugoslavia. "This war is not about democracy or defending Albanians from 'ethnic cleansing'," said Dusan, the student in Novi Sad. "It's about NATO staying ahead of the UN as the power that calls the shots in Europe."

While a ground invasion of Kosova was not decided as an immediate option, steps taken at the NATO summit and subsequently indicate that Washington is preparing for such an eventuality. The heads of state present at the NATO meeting granted Gen. Wesley Clark, the commander of the imperialist alliance, greater leeway to expand bombing targets in Yugoslavia. "The previous system, which required approval from NATO ambassadors of nightly target lists, proved too cumbersome," the April 26 *Herald Tribune* read.

Washington and London announced troop reinforcements in Albania that will bring NATO forces there to 20,000, supposedly to back the two dozen Apache attack helicopters already in that country. Most of the U.S. troops come from elite units such as the 82nd Airborne Division. The Pentagon also called up 33,000 reservists to active military duty for further reinforcements of U.S. forces in the Balkans. This is the largest nonvoluntary call-up of reserves since 240,000 were drafted in the buildup to the 1991 U.S.-led assault on Iraq. As part of its escalation of the war, Washington is lining up the "frontline states" surrounding Yugoslavia behind its goals. Clinton said NATO would defend any of these countries from possible retaliation from Belgrade, which are allowing use of their air space or military facilities for NATO air raids on Yugoslavia.

Continued on Page 17

COME TO AND BUILD AN

Active Workers Conference

August 5-8, 1999

Growing numbers of working people are reaching out to others in struggle, as the employers and their government deepen their offensive against toilers around the globe. This conference will be an opportunity for workers, farmers, and young people involved in such social struggles to exchange experiences and learn from each other, and from the past lessons of the workers movement. It will be a place to gain information needed to broaden solidarity with others whose struggles are charting a way forward for working people in the United States and internationally.

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The conference will be held
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For more information, see listings on page 16.

Continued from Page 9

a horde of mercenaries from nearby territories, also with the help and complicity, as in our case, of puppet governments. With the support of bombers, they seized the government of that country, established the worst reactionary regime, and took the land away from the peasants.

And what do we have in Guatemala after eight years? How were things solved? Blood is being spilled in that sister nation today; dozens and hundreds of young students and workers have been murdered by the henchmen of the proimperialist tyranny; the peasants have lost their land; and the workers have lost their rights. Eight years after that treacherous mercenary invasion, which achieved its objectives, the Guatemalan people's blood is still being spilled, the blood of workers, peasants, and students. Eight years later there is still a ferocious repression and tyranny in the country, and the people are fighting again to break their chains.

That is what they wanted to give us! New Machados, new Batistas, new Venturas, new Chavianos, new Cowleys, another "Bloody Christmas," another chain of bodies of murdered young people, hunger, unemployment, discrimination, inhuman exploitation, slavery for the peasants, pitiless oppression of the working masses.¹² That is what they had in store for us — a bloodbath. For how else could they have seized the country again if not by creating a bloodbath, by piling bodies high, and by trampling the ashes of our national territory? And that is what they had in store for us.

They thought we were going to receive them with open arms, as if freed slaves longed for the whip and chain of their masters of yesterday.

Neither eight years from now, nor ever again will our workers, our farmers, or our students be machine-gunned by their exploiters, by the mercenary armies of exploiting oligarchies, by the owners of wealth, of the land, of industry. Never again will they fall under the murderous bullets of military forces that have been armed and organized by imperialism. Never again, because the people are and always will be the masters of their own destiny and of their wealth. Because more and more men and women will be working as our economy develops. We will become, more and more each day, a

¹² Gerardo Machado was Cuba's dictator from 1925 to 1933.

Fulgencio Batista — a retired Cuban army general and strongman in successive governments in Cuba between 1934 and 1944 — organized a military coup against the government of Carlos Prío on March 10, 1952, and canceled scheduled elections. With support from Washington, Batista imposed a brutal military dictatorship that lasted until the revolutionary victory of January 1, 1959.

Esteban Ventura, a colonel in Batista's police, was a notorious torturer and murder under the Batista regime.

Alberto del Río Chaviano was commander of the Oriente military garrison under Batista. He helped direct the murder of dozens of captured revolutionaries who participated in the assault on the Moncada garrison on July 26, 1953 (see note 15).

Fermin Cowley, head of the military district of Holguín under the Batista regime, directed the "Bloody Christmas" massacre in Holguín, where 23 government opponents were kidnapped and murdered December 23-26, 1956.



CIA-backed mercenary forces invaded Guatemala to overthrow government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954. Above, U.S. pilots bomb a gasoline storage depot there. "What perspectives did the imperialists offer our country? The solution they gave Guatemala."

nation of workers and students.

Imperialism can offer only scenes like those at the University of Guatemala, where young people fell murdered by the "porra."¹³ The scene offered by the revolution, on the other hand — visible to all, every day — is a multitude of uniformed scholarship students with books under their arms, enthusiastically going to high school, technical schools, colleges, and universities.

How different from those presented by imperialism are the prospects offered to the proletariat by the revolution! Within fifteen years — which goes quickly in the life of a people — the scholarship plan alone, not counting those who don't need aid from the revolutionary government, will yield 100,000 technicians from our universities. We will have hundreds of thousands of technicians. What a great future, what an extraordinary future!

We have only to prepare our people. It is important to train the people because our country has enough natural resources to develop a great industry and an extraordinary economy. And if we have the natural resources, then what are we lacking? We are lacking skilled human resources, so we are developing them. We are lacking machinery and factories; but we are installing these factories. We will not lack the financial resources; we will not lack magnificent natural resources; we do lack the human resources, but since we have a willing and enthusiastic people we shall also have those human resources that we need. And above all, as we carry through our plans for the technical training of the whole working class, for the training of hundreds of thousands of technicians, undoubtedly, our country will have an extraordinary future, for it has all it needs to guarantee that future.

Our present problems deceive no one, confuse no one. When we fought the imperialist forces, we knew that they were not thinking of destroying the present, but that they wanted to destroy our future. For our present was none other than what they left us; a poor economy, an underdeveloped and backward

industry, an absolute dependence on one market. We could have no present other than the one they left us. We then had to make a better distribution of what we had; we distributed more evenly what they left us.

The tyranny left us without reserves. It had spent hundreds of millions of the country's reserves in the seven years of squandering and

¹³ Porra was a term that originated in Cuba to designate the secret police under the dictatorship of Gerardo Machado between 1925 and 1933.

bloodshedding it imposed on us. We had no other choice than to put to better use and to distribute more evenly what we had.

True, our economy was dependent on one market — unfortunately, the U.S. market. Almost all our spare parts and factories came from U.S. companies. Our economy was completely geared to depend on one market. Imperialism took advantage of that fact to do us all the harm they possibly could. They tried to strangle our economy and defeat us through hunger. They placed before us every imaginable roadblock, thus putting our people to a hard test.

They left us with very little

True, they left us very little, and the little they did leave us was virtually dependent on the will of our Yankee exploiters. The only thing we could do was to take better advantage of the little we had, and of what they left us, so that no child would go to bed hungry, so that no Cuban table would lack food, so that we could offer employment, so that every family could have an income. We had to manage with what little had been left us, and to begin preparing for the future.

And so our big task is the future. Imperialism is trying to deceive the peoples of Latin America by blaming the revolutionary measures for the damage caused by the embargo and economic aggression. The imperialists do not say that they have created these problems for us with their aggressions and embargo; they blame the revolutionary laws. They are trying to confuse the peoples with deceit.

But as times change, as the years go by, when the new generations are born and we begin to harvest the fruit of today's work, we will see then that our country will be full of factories. When our workers obtain considerably more technical knowledge, when we have hundreds of thousands of technicians, when we multiply the productivity of our work, we will be proud to think about all of the sacrifices we are making today. We will be able to say, "This has not been a victory without effort nor a victory without sacrifices." Tomorrow we will be able to say, "We have a right to these benefits, because we earned them, because we are not a people who were thinking of bread for today and hunger for tomorrow." Of course, there were some who never knew hunger, but there were many who did. The capitalist regime offered "hunger for today and more hunger for tomorrow."

The socialist revolution offers bread for today and more bread for tomorrow!

This leads us to the conviction that work is the most important thing in this revolution, that the duty of the worker is the most sacred duty of the revolution, and that to be called a worker is to have the most honorable title in this society. It is the worker who creates the wealth, the bread for all. Our society has to become more and more a society of workers, a society of those who produce, a society in which there are fewer parasites.

Because the parasites of the exploiting society, the parasites of the bourgeoisie and their coterie of bootlickers nurture them-

selves on the sweat of the workers. And it takes little common sense to understand that there will be more wealth and greater production in a nation with more people who work, with fewer parasites and less idleness, than there will be in a nation in which idleness increases and where there are fewer people who work.

The great task today is to produce

All this indicates that the great task of our people is to produce. Even on a day like today. On this particular Thursday of every year, it used to be the custom that all work stopped from noon on, in keeping with the traditions of Holy Week. This year, however, it was agreed that work would stop only on Friday, considering the need for work and production. There were a few problems in working this out, and we didn't start soon enough to notify all workers and employees on time. There have been some complaints about this. Nevertheless, is there room for such complaints on a day like today? After all, even today, in what way have we honored the victory and those who made the victory possible? By working!

The revolution has created new holidays: January 1, already a traditional holiday, will be celebrated on January 2, and July 26, two new holidays.¹⁴ The revolution has established a month's vacation. This right is going to be extended by law to all state employees.

So when the needs of the struggle require a mass meeting and losing a whole day's work, then we should try to arrange things so that it's a Sunday. And if it occurs on a weekday, let's work on Saturday or Sunday, because the most sacred, the most important responsibility, the primary duty of each citizen is to produce. The people need many material things, they need clothing, shoes, food on the table every day, medicine, housing, and many other things. But to be able to sit at the table, to be able to meet all these needs, the people have to produce. These things will not fall like manna from heaven. Man must earn them by working with the means he has, by struggling with nature and by working.

For the exploiters, for the capitalists, the wealth does fall from heaven. It comes from the sweat of the workers. But in a society that eliminates all exploitation of man by man, there will be no exploiters, no one will become wealthy by a sort of divine right to benefit from the sweat of others. Everyone will produce. We must create that wealth and we have to do it by working. Therefore, we must honor work, we must increase productivity. How can we increase productivity? With new technology, with new machines. How can we acquire new technology, new machines? By producing, by working, by making all of our factories and enterprises pay for themselves. This is the way — the only way — to satisfy all our needs, to satisfy our need to invest in new machinery, to invest in new factories, that will increase the productivity of labor; to train new technicians to meet the needs of the people.

Thus, we as a working people must put our minds on our work. We must think more and more about the goodness of work, and we must realize that only we can produce the things we want, the things we need, that only from our work can we obtain them. And in this spirit, we should face the task in the countryside, in the cities, and on all fronts, with a sense of duty, with our minds on the people, on their needs, on satisfying their needs, on the increasing population, on the population that needs the benefits obtained from this work.

Today I wanted to take a little time to discuss these things, because in doing so, with the future in mind, we are able to analyze and commemorate these historic events.

¹⁴ January 1, 1959, marks the triumph of the Cuban revolutionary war.

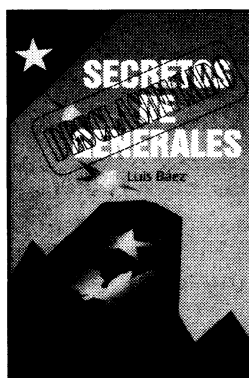
On July 26, 1953, some 160 revolutionaries launched an insurrectionary attack on the Moncada army garrison in Santiago de Cuba, and a simultaneous attack on the garrison in Bayamo. This marked the beginning of the revolutionary armed struggle against the Batista dictatorship. After the attack's failure, Batista's forces massacred more than fifty of the captured revolutionaries. Fidel Castro, the central leader of the group and commander of the Moncada assault, and twenty-seven others were captured, tried, and sentenced to up to fifteen years in prison. They were released in May 1955 after a public defense campaign forced Batista's regime to issue an amnesty.

SECRETOS DE GENERALES (SECRETS OF GENERALS)

By Luis Báez

In this collection of 41 interviews, top officers of Cuba's armed forces tell how they joined the revolutionary movement to overthrow the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in the 1950s. They discuss their experiences around the world spanning several decades as they fought alongside national liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

This "is not a textbook on the past but living history," explains Revolutionary Armed Forces Minister Raúl Castro in the preface, a "treasure of moral values and accumulated combat experience." In Spanish. \$24.95



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This is the way we must show our loyalty toward those who have fallen; this is the way we must honor our dead.

Loyalty to those who have fallen

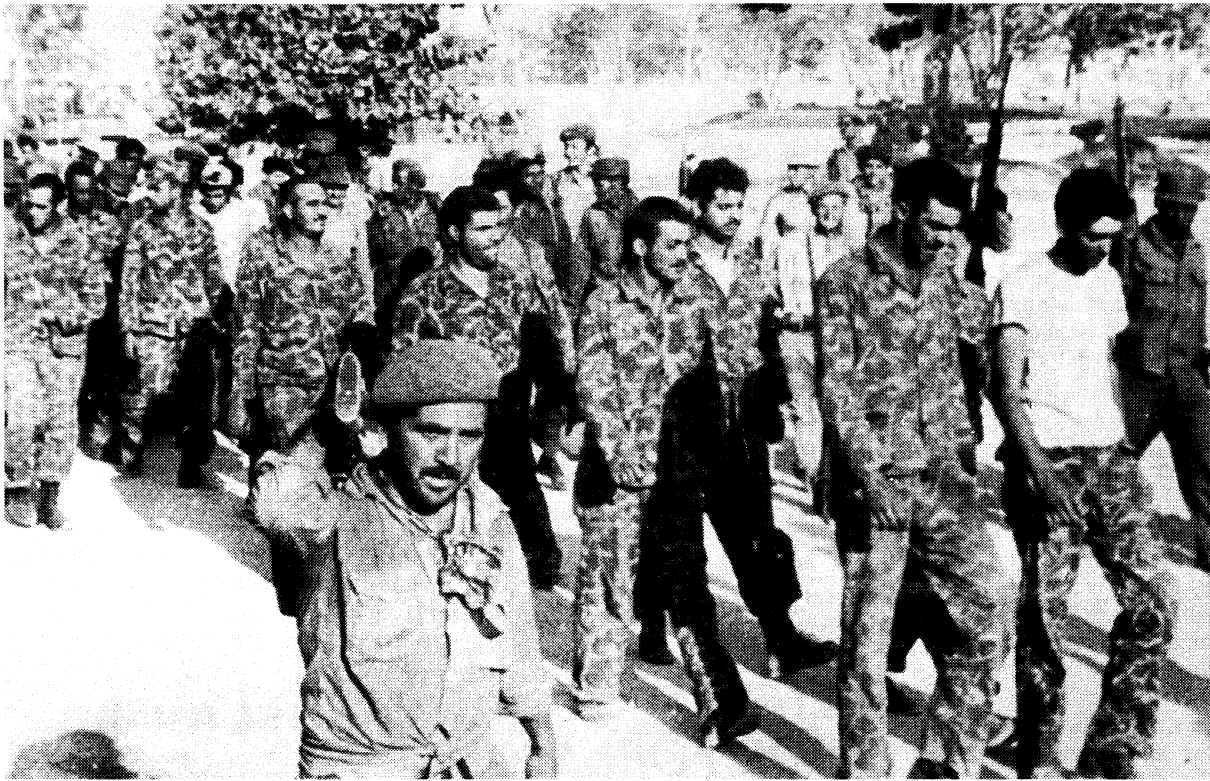
So today, the people are united in this commemoration, the representatives of our heroic combat units, our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces, together with the families of heroes who fell in battle, together with the working people, together with the revolutionary government, the revolutionary leaders. They are united in expressing the true meaning of the revolution: the worker who works and produces with his tools; the worker who stands guard with his rifle and defends the integrity of his country.

every combatant, should never forget that the enemy is devious, that the enemy is criminal, that the enemy is cowardly, and that the enemy attacks by surprise. Every soldier, every combat unit should always be ready at any moment. Defense must never be relaxed. The revolutionary soldier will never surrender! And when he is left alone, he will fight as if he had a whole army behind him. His mind should always be on the alert. He should have an iron will, he should be firm and always aware of the revolutionary fighter's duty, under all conditions, in face of all hardships. He should be able to react quickly, as we reacted against the sneak attack a year ago. No matter who the enemy may be, nor how strong it is, the revolution-



Left: Granma

Above: Mercenary airplane falsely painted with Cuban insignia was downed by Cuban anti-aircraft artillery during the battle. Left: Counterrevolutionaries captured at Playa Girón. The victory of the Cuban revolution at Playa Girón dealt a blow to U.S. imperialism's aim of overthrowing it. "The importance of the battle at Playa Larga and Playa Girón, in the entire Zapata Swamp, rests in the fact that the 'bridgehead' was quickly destroyed, preventing the enemy from going ahead with its plans."



Workers who produce, workers who stand guard, soldiers who are willing to produce, workers willing to become soldiers, all willing to become soldiers if our country needs them, or to go into production if our country does not need soldiers!

Those are our people, that is our revolution. It was against this revolution and these people that the imperialist invaders came to fight. All aggressions against these people are bound to fail, for they failed at Playa Girón when we had, as I said, only "a few dilapidated old planes." But if they repeat such a thing, they will find that our planes are neither old, nor dilapidated, nor are there few of them!

At Girón, our forces were prepared for combat, not only against a force such as they confronted, but against several such forces. Let no one think that all of our infantry troops and artillery were engaged in combat; and that was then! The situation is different now. No more inexperienced and hastily trained troops. The enemy will encounter a much more efficient, a much better trained and more fully equipped and organized army.

Our forces have increased considerably since then — we warn them. We warn the enemy that it is worth their while to take heed. The revolution has decreed more severe laws. It has taken more drastic measures. Since the murder of literacy volunteer Manuel Ascunce, the revolution has been relentless with its enemies!

Enough is enough! We have given them more than enough time to learn their lesson. If they attack our country again, they had better make out their wills before coming. Regardless of the type of attack — be it direct, by infiltration, with a mercenary force or marines, the revolutionary courts will always be there.

The organization of the revolution is becoming more efficient, not only in the military field, but on all fronts. We should make it advance on all fronts: agriculture, public administration, on all fronts. We ought to perfect our work and continue perfecting our defenses. We should continue with our educational plans, keep our defenses on the alert, and our planes ready and protected, so that the enemy may never destroy them in a surprise attack. Our forces should always be on the alert — always! We should never lower our guard, nor think that the danger has vanished. Always alert, always ready! And last but not least, we should be prepared to win.

All officers, all revolutionary instructors,

ary soldier should react just as those who were on guard at Playa Larga and Playa Girón did. They said, "Patria o muerte!" He should behave at all times as our pilots, our artillerymen, our tank crews, our infantrymen did — like those young heroes, the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old boys who manned the anti-aircraft guns. We take as an example that seaman who, left alone for three days on one of the keys south of the Zapata Swamp, did his duty by reporting all of the enemy's movements to our rearward.

Every soldier should always be ready

With that spirit, with that determination, with that fervor and firmness, we should commemorate this April 19 as a tribute to our dead, to those who fell in battle, by showing our solidarity toward them, toward those whose children — the children of all the people — whose wives, parents, and loved ones will find some compensation for their grief in the people's friendship and affection toward them. They will find a reward for their sacrifices in the people's happiness. They will realize that their sacrifices have not been in vain, that their profound grief has been compensated somewhat by all the happiness and good that was made possible for the country.

When we met with the families, we told them how grateful the people were to those who died in combat. That due to the courage with which they fought, and to their determination to attack and crush the invader, they stopped the enemy from carrying out its plans, they prevented the enemy from plunging the country into mourning. Because, in effect, if the enemy had captured and held a part of national territory, neither this theater, nor even the Plaza Cívica, would have enough space to hold all those who would have had to mourn the loss of their sons, their fathers, their husbands, and their brothers. We express the undying gratitude of our country toward those who fell in battle and spared us so much grief. For we could say that never before were so many lives saved by so few lives that were lost. Our country will always be grateful for this. Our consideration toward their loved ones is not conferred on them as a privilege, but out of respect for the memory of our fallen compañeros.

Logically, in the hour of combat, when there is a possibility of death, any combatant, any father, any son, any husband, inevitably thinks of his loved ones; of those he supports and protects with his work. We

extend our deepest respect and consideration for those who are going to die, or to face death. We therefore extend to the loved ones of those who fell all the respect, all the consideration, and we offer all the help that we can possibly give.

We also told them that our revolutionary court has demanded indemnification for all damages caused by the invasion, though that indemnification could never compensate for the loss of life that they brought upon us.¹⁵ The moral aspect to this is the most important thing, but even though the material damage takes second place in importance, it is nevertheless important that those who prepared the invasion, pay Cuba for the damages caused by it. Another important fact is that the invaders had to return or will have to return without being able to say as Julius Caesar said: "I came, I saw, I conquered." They will have to say instead: "I came, I saw, I was crushed."

Together with the defeated, those most responsible will have to lower their heads and also pay for their crimes. The moral significance of this situation is that the imperi-

alist country, that powerful country that did not judge correctly its power when it made its criminal plans against our peace-loving nation, against our working people, against our small country, will have to pay, somehow or other, whether directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, for all the material damage they have caused us. In spite of the fact that the reparations of material damages cannot compensate for human lives lost, we are going to invest that money in medicine, surgical instruments, means for producing children's food — that money will be used to save many lives, bring health to our people, particularly to our children. It will help to compensate a little for the damage they created.

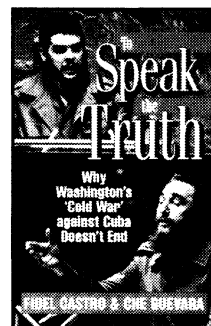
Compañeros and compañeras: Our dead command us, but let's not say they are dead. As the poet Nicolás Guillén says,¹⁶ they are more alive than ever, they eternally live on in the beat of each Cuban heart, they live on in our blood, in our devotion, in our efforts, they live on in each student who heads toward the university with his books, in each child in our playgrounds, in each Pioneer who goes to school. They live on in each of our soldiers, in each workers' center, in each battalion, in each unit, in each division. They live on in each citizen of our country and they command us to fulfill our duty.

Patria o muerte! [Homeland or death]
Venceremos! [We shall win]

¹⁵ On May 17, 1961, Fidel Castro had proposed that the U.S. government exchange 500 tractors for the 1,179 mercenaries captured at the Bay of Pigs as indemnification for the damage Cuba suffered in that invasion. Ultimately Washington agreed to deliver \$53 million in food, medicines, and medical equipment, in exchange for the prisoners.

¹⁶ Nicolás Guillén was a noted Cuban poet and a member of the National Committee of Popular Socialist Party before the revolution. He became president of the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC) in 1961, and later became a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

In defense of the Cuban revolution



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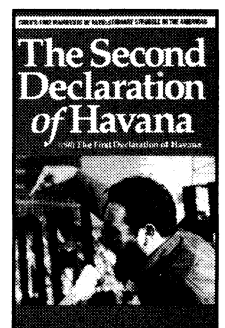
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600 rally for tire strikers in N. Carolina

BY FLOYD FOWLER

CHARLOTTE, North Carolina — “Do you see a discouraged face out here? Does anyone look defeated? Do you see any signs of downbeat feelings? No!” With these words Rose Sanders, a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 850 on strike against Continental General Tire here, captured the determination and fighting spirit evident at a April 24 solidarity rally. Held in front of the struck plant, the rally attracted a large number of unionists, especially USWA members from across the South and as far away as Illinois.

More than 1,400 members of USWA Local 850 have been on strike for seven months. “It’s very inspiring to see all the support out there,” said striker Nellie Stevenson. “There was a time I thought we were alone, but now I know we’re not. There’s more unity in the membership than ever before. We’re standing firm.”

In 1995 the workers at this tire plant accepted a contract that gave the company significant wage and benefit concessions. Now they are resisting new demands for increased production rates, mandatory overtime, 12-hour rotating shifts that would mean some workers losing their jobs, and lowering wages for new hires. The local is also fighting for improvements in the company’s complicated three-tier pension plan.

Continental General is keeping the plant running with 700 strikebreakers as well as supervisory personnel, all working the rotating 12-hour shifts. Two or three scabs are quitting every day, according to pickets. After seven months on strike only 30 workers have crossed the picket line, and only 14 union members are among them. Local members staff the picket line at the plant gate

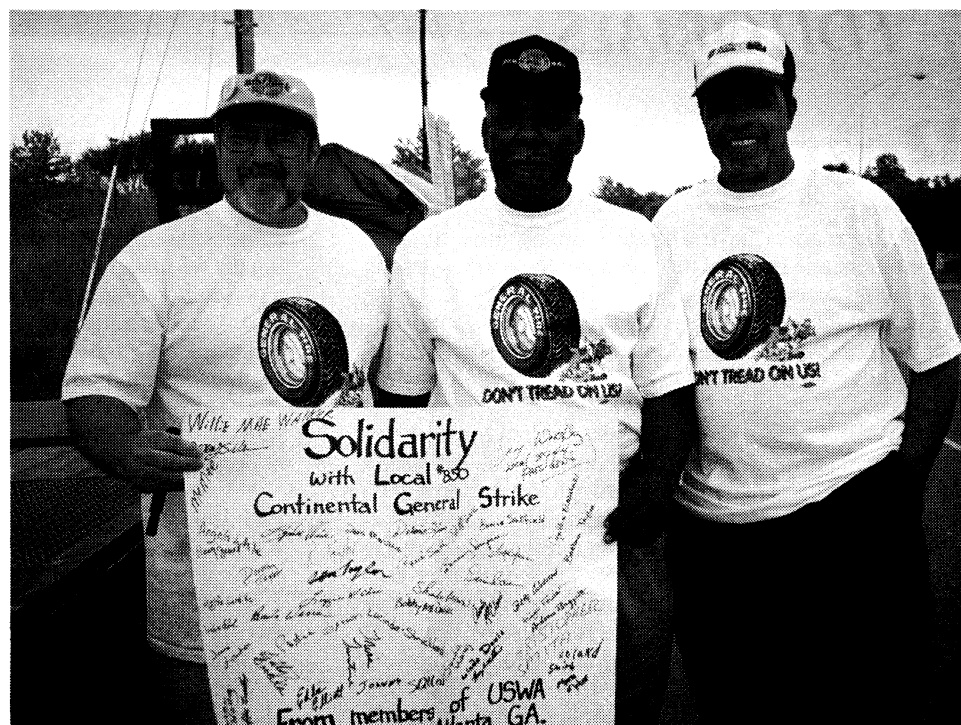
around the clock, with other unionists frequently stopping by to help out or leave donations of food or funds. One unionist from the USAirways maintenance base here has been picketing regularly since the start of the strike. More strikers turn out at shift changes.

As part of the corporate campaign of the USWA International, the striking local has been organizing informational leafletting at tire dealerships in the region where Continental General tires are being sold. Articles in *Steel Labor*, the USWA magazine, focus on this campaign, chauvinistically highlighting the statement that Continental General AG, which is German-owned, is “savaging American workers.”

Under the nervous gaze of Vance Security agents, hundreds of unionists at the rally filled the street in front of the plant and spilled onto the lawn of the corporate office next to it. Teresa Jenkins, a tire builder at the plant for 16 years, came with a homemade ‘No Scabs’ sign that attracted a lot of attention. “I’m proud of our local, and I’m proud of the support we’re getting worldwide,” she said. Her husband Ronnie, also a striker, agreed and laughed. “We wrote the book on hanging tough, the company just hasn’t read the last page yet.”

Speakers at the rally included USWA Local 850 president Earl Propst; USWA District 9 director Homer Wilson; USWA International vice president Dick Davis; and James Andrews, president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO.

AFL-CIO Secretary Treasurer Richard Trumka was the featured speaker. Officials from several unions at Continental General plants in Europe spoke at the rally. Union T-shirts and jackets, especially from other USWA locals, abounded. Groups of Steel-



Militant/Floyd Fowler

Striking tire workers and a retiree from Continental General at solidarity rally holding a placard signed by 40 Steelworkers members in Atlanta, Georgia.

workers arrived in carpools or buses, including from Local 915 in Huntsville, Alabama; Local 753 in Opalaka, Florida; and Local 1055 in LaVerne, Tennessee. Forty Goodyear Tire workers from USWA Local 831 in Danville, Virginia, came as did 11 workers from the Georgetown Steel unit of Local 7898 in Georgetown, South Carolina, who won a strike five months ago. As Windell Canloon put it, “We had to come.” Eight additional Local 7898 members, all women, from the Eagle Electric plant there danced their way up to the rally site. They had just won a 4 percent wage increase and better benefits after a short strike at the beginning of April.

Twenty-five workers came from the USWA organizing committee at Continental General’s plant in Mount Vernon, Illinois, and groups came from the USWA lo-

icals at Continental General’s Bryan, Ohio, and Mayfield, Kentucky, plants. Steve Johnson from Mount Vernon said they “are leafletting at tire dealerships up there to show our support. This strike means a lot to us.”

A carload of strike supporters came from Atlanta, Georgia, with a member of USWA Local 3944 bringing a check for the strike fund contributed by local members along with a placard signed by 40 of them reading “Solidarity with the Continental General Strikers.” Twenty United Auto Workers Local 5285 members from the big Freightliner plant in Mount Holly, just outside Charlotte, served as color guard around the speakers platform during the rally.

Dan Fein and Jill Fein contributed to this article.

Pro-choice forces counter rightists in Buffalo, N.Y.

BY ELEANOR BROWN

BUFFALO, New York — Under the banner of “Operation Save America,” right-wing demonstrators carried out a weeklong series of protests in Buffalo, Amherst, and Rochester, New York, April 18-25, targeting area abortion clinics, high schools, and bookstores. The protests were sponsored by Operation Rescue, a group that led attacks on a woman’s

right to choose during the early 1990s, including in Buffalo in 1992.

“Operation Save America” targeted not only women’s right to choose abortion, but homosexuality, “godlessness in public schools,” teenage sex, and what the organizers consider child pornography.

The anti-choice events were met everywhere by squadrons of pro-choice activists

organized by Buffalo United for Choice ’99, a broad coalition of groups and individuals in the western New York area.

The weeklong actions against the right to choose follow the October assassination of Dr. Barnett Slepian, who provided abortions in this area. Slepian was shot by a sniper while in the kitchen of his home in Amherst. The sign on the front door of the GYN

Womenservices clinic in Buffalo, the last remaining abortion clinic in Buffalo and where the slain doctor maintained an office, bears a sign reading, “Our Clinic Remains Open in Honor of Doctor Slepian.” The clinic has yet to find a replacement and is now served by visiting doctors rotating in from out of town.

No one has been arrested in the killing of Slepian, although the FBI investigation targeted and harassed two supporters of abortion rights in Cleveland, Robert Stauber and Michael Gingerich.

In anticipation of “Operation Save America,” U.S. District Court Judge Richard Arcara ruled that all protesters — for and against the right to choose — must stay at least 50 feet from the clinics. Many abortion rights activists and New York State attorney general Eliot Spitzer described this as a victory. The cities of Buffalo and Amherst were inundated with hundreds local and state police, uniformed and plain-clothed, who cordoned off abortion opponents and clinic defenders, often forcing them to stand together in small pens, away from clinic entrances.

The week of activities to defend women’s rights began with a rally April 17. About 200 people marched in the rain, including participants from Toronto, Cleveland, New York City, and Boston. Many activists

Continued on Page 16

U.S. assault aimed at Yugoslav workers

Continued from Page 13

slavia. These countries include Hungary, which joined NATO March 12. Other so-called frontline states are Albania — where the parliament has given NATO forces full access to ports, airports, bases, and air space — Bulgaria, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania, and Slovenia. The governments of all of them are seeking to join NATO in exchange for alleged economic payoffs.

Washington is also attempting to engineer a break-off of Montenegro from the federation with Serbia. “NATO will respond to any actions by Serbia against its neighbors as a result of NATO presence on their territory during the crisis,” Clinton said, “or to any move to undermine the democratically elected government of Montenegro.”

Montenegro: a powder keg

Clinton was referring to the government of Montenegro’s premier Milo Jukanovic, whose coalition won parliamentary elections against the pro-Milosevic Socialist Peoples’ Party last year. Jukanovic and other Socialist Party officials split from the SP, forming the Social Democratic Party that advocates a more rapid opening of Montenegro’s economy to imperialist bank trusts and collaboration with the “West.”

Many in the Jukanovic administration favor declaring independence for the republic of 650,000 people. A split from Yugoslavia would deny Belgrade its only access to the Adriatic and tighten the encirclement of Serbia.

To counter such a move, the Milosevic regime recently replaced the entire army command in Montenegro with loyalist generals who then demanded that the republic’s administration place its police forces under

the command of the federal army. The Jukanovic regime categorically refused.

During a visit to Montenegro April 24-25, *Militant* reporters witnessed an atmosphere that is calm on the surface but is a thin cover for a powder keg waiting to explode. Units of the federal army, with heavy weaponry, could be seen being deployed along the mountainous roads leading to Podgorica, Montenegro’s capital, and along the coast. Montenegro’s police are also everywhere, guarding almost every street corner in town after town and the checkpoints leading into the urban areas. They form two more-or-less hostile armed forces facing each other.

“We could easily face a situation of civil war,” said Dragan Duric, officer of international relations of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Montenegro, in an April 24 interview at the union’s offices. Unlike in Serbia, there is only one union federation in Montenegro.

On the initiative of the union federation, Montenegro’s parliament adopted a unity statement April 2, signed by all parties represented there, calling for the immediate cessation of the NATO bombing and for “civil peace” in the republic.

The political confrontation is unfolding on a daily basis, however. The pro-Milosevic party, which got 40 percent of the vote in the last elections but could not muster a majority in parliament, along with other forces opposed to separation from Yugoslavia organize regular large demonstrations of up to 20,000 people in Podgorica. Its officials, along with their masters in Belgrade, often accuse the Jukanovic administration of being pro-imperialist.

To appease the ruling coalition, Washington has spared Montenegro’s industrial fa-

cilities from bombing so far. Oil shortages are not visible there and cigarette supplies are plentiful, serving as flourishing point for the black market into Serbia. Most of the NATO assaults have concentrated on military barracks so far and no civilians have been reportedly killed there.

On April 17, dock workers at the port of Barr and other union members in the area organized a rally of 2,000 to condemn the NATO bombing. At that meeting, union officials and others asked the Yugoslav navy to stop firing anti-aircraft volleys at overflying NATO warplanes from the port, the only commercial port of Yugoslavia. “We want to avoid provoking a NATO assault on the port,” Zoran Ostolic, an officer of the dock workers union in Barr said. The vol-

Continued on Page 18

MARK YOUR CALENDAR

Upcoming Labor and Farm Actions

Sat., May 1
Rally for striking Steelworkers at Titan Tire

Des Moines, Iowa
12:00 p.m. 2727 East Market
For more information call: (515) 262-4935

POSTPONED:
Rally for locked-out Crown Oil workers
Pasadena, Texas
For more information call: (713) 475-9560

Tues., May 18
United Steelworkers Labor/Environmental Conference
Conference, Houston, Texas
9:00 a.m.—2:15 p.m. Crowne Plaza Tower, 2222 West Loop South;
2:15 p.m. March from Crowne Plaza to Maxxam/Kaiser Aluminum at 5847 San Felipe.
Other activities planned for May 17 and 19
For more information call: (713) 783-1400 x123

Sat-Sun., May 21-22
Second Annual Black Farmers Convention
New Orleans, Louisiana

Respond to this political moment

Militant readers have a special opportunity to seize this moment and respond to the hunger for politics among broad numbers of working people and youth.

The paper in your hands is the second issue of the *Militant* with on-the-scene reports from our international reporting team in Yugoslavia. The facts presented by dozens of working people of various nationalities through the pages of the *Militant* refute the lies cranked out daily by the pro-war, big-business media about the U.S.-led assault on Yugoslavia and the ongoing struggle for national self-determination by the Albanian nationality in Kosova.

A working-class voice presenting international news is a rare opportunity for militants. The team of worker-correspondents in Yugoslavia has also become part of the class struggle there, as seen by the response of vanguard unionists and students who are taking *Militant* reporters to factories, working-class neighborhoods, and elsewhere to interview workers and other people — from Belgrade to cities in Montenegro and Macedonia. As a result, the team has extended its stay in Yugoslavia and Albania for at least another week.

The response the *Militant* and its reporters are getting inside Yugoslavia is mirrored by the reaction and hunger for this material by politically minded workers, farmers, and young people here who sense cataclysmic changes in the world affecting them and, even more importantly, the fact that they might have a say in what will occur in the future. Consider the following facts:

- More than 160 coal miners and other workers bought the *Militant* from a brigade of socialist workers and young socialists who spent a week in southern Illinois, southern Indiana, and western Kentucky. Miners were particularly drawn to the headlines, "Working class is target of U.S.-NATO assault on Yugoslavia" and "Union strongholds are target of bombing."
- Nearly 500 demonstrators purchased the *Militant* at

demonstrations in Philadelphia and San Francisco demanding the release of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Black man fighting a police frame-up and death sentence. In San Francisco a dozen people bought *Capitalism's World Disorder* — the best book on Yugoslavia available today. Teams of Young Socialists campaigners were especially effective.

- Thirty-two workers bought the *Militant* and five subscribed to it at a rally of 600 to support Steelworkers on strike at Continental General Tire in Charlotte, North Carolina.

- Visitors at a Los Angeles bookfair acquired \$2,300 in Pathfinder literature, including 12 copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder* and 11 of *New Internationalist*, as well as 82 copies of the *Militant* and 11 subscriptions.

Special, rapid steps are called for to take advantage of the political moment illustrated by these examples: propaganda teams to factories with a history of struggle, to meetings of working farmers, and to campuses — especially where public meetings on Washington's role in Yugoslavia are being held. A brigade of socialist campaigners based out of Birmingham has begun to canvass the southern Appalachian region.

Today, spreading out to wherever working-class and farm struggles are taking place is key to linking up with other vanguard fighters. In addition to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *Capitalism's World Disorder*, and other Pathfinder literature, campaigners should use printed material presenting the Young Socialists for interested youth.

A systematic, weekly campaign is needed, both to get out these weapons and to use them to organize political discussion on developments erupting daily in the class struggle. This steady axis is especially important to avoid getting disoriented by the gyrations among different sections of capitalist politicians, who will continue to debate and express tactical hesitations as they progressively seek to march us deeper into a war against our fellow working people in the Balkans.

Attacks on rights follow Colorado school killings

BY MAGGIE TROWE

DES MOINES, Iowa — In the wake of the April 20 attack on students at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, the capitalist rulers and their media are calling for stepped-up attacks on democratic rights.

Police in Littleton allege that two students, Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris, carefully planned an attack with shotguns, semiautomatic weapons, and homemade bombs. Police say that Klebold and Harris, whose bodies were found on the scene, killed 13 people and wounded over 20 others, and then killed themselves.

Fellow students say Klebold and Harris were part of a group that called itself the "trench coat mafia," and admired Adolf Hitler, the leader of the fascist National Socialist (Nazi) movement in Germany. One student told the *Denver Post*, "They talk about Hitler a lot. They take a real pride in him. It's creepy." April 20, the date of the attack, was the date of Hitler's birth. Some students reported that Klebold and Harris were hostile toward Blacks, other op-

AS I SEE IT

pressed nationalities, and Jews, as well as athletes.

Proposals for stepped-up gun control, increased police presence in schools, and censorship of the Internet and of movies, TV programs, and video games have peppered media coverage and politicians' statements since the killings. Liberals like Mary Gore, the vice president's wife, promote censorship, asserting that graphic violence on television and the Internet were factors in the killings.

In Iowa, a group is circulating a petition to bar Marilyn Manson — supposedly a favorite singer of Klebold and Harris — from performing in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 28.

A National Public Radio broadcast was dedicated to the subject of the deleterious effects on youth of computer games such as Doom and Quake.

Gary Bauer, announcing his candidacy for the Republican nomination for U.S. president, denounced "movies, music, and television shows" that create a supposed culture that "glorifies death in a thousand different ways."

Patrick Buchanan, the ultrarightist Republican presidential candidate who seeks cadres for a fascist movement, blamed "the train to hell America boarded decades ago, when we declared that God is dead." He and others have called for religion in the schools as a supposed solution.

School administrators immediately clamped down on students across the country. Here in Des Moines, the Iowa Civil Liberties Union protested after North High School officials ordered a student to leave for wearing a black trench coat to school and students at East High School were sent home for wearing flamboyant makeup.

Workers discuss how to react

Workers at the Swift plant where I work in Marshalltown, Iowa, have been discussing the shootings for days. A couple of Mexican-born workers were immediately concerned about the possibility that there was a racist aspect of the attack. Black workers and others took note of the reports that a Black youth, Isaiah Shoels, was apparently was shot simply because he was Black.

Adrienne, who is Black, said she thought that such killings take place "because children today don't fear their parents and they don't fear God." She went on to say there should be three cops in every high school. Later, after we talked about recent cases of police abuse — from two unarmed workers killed by police in Des Moines to the killing of Amadou Diallo in New York by cops who fired 41 bullets — she wasn't so sure more cops were the answer.

Over lunch another worker, Jesse, said, "Did you notice the boys were celebrating Hitler?" Bev said two of her children live in California, and she is worried that the same thing will happen there.

While I think the social breakdown under capitalism in its death agony results in some cases of extreme antisocial acts, working people should reject calls for more cops in the schools, more curfews for youth, more censorship of movies, TV, and the Internet.

I put quite a bit of emphasis on the evidence that Klebold and Harris were influenced by fascist ideas. The attacks by the bosses on our wages and working conditions and the bipartisan offensive led by the Clinton administration on welfare, social security, and affirmative action gains give the green light to fascist currents to push their scapegoating ideas and more frequently put them into action. This is part of a social polarization that is taking place.

At the same time a layer of vanguard workers and farmers, among them young fighters, is coalescing. As this development of a fighting vanguard evolves into a powerful revolutionary working-class movement, it will take up not only bread-and-butter issues but social questions — the fight against racism and to defend women's rights and the rights of immigrants, as well as the fight against the brutal imperialist assault on the workers and farmers of Yugoslavia and Iraq. We will involve working people, and especially youth, in a struggle that gives them confidence and dignity and a feeling of human solidarity. Antisocial acts will decrease. And as part of building such a movement we will learn to mobilize against racist and fascist outfits and individuals and drive them back.

U.S.-NATO assault on Yugoslavia

Continued from Page 17

leys have no chance of hitting the NATO jets, which fly three times higher than the Yugoslav anti-aircraft shots can reach. The Yugoslav navy supposedly complied and has concentrated its anti-aircraft fire from the smaller port of Herzeg Nova near the border with Croatia.

For many other working people, however, seeing the anti-aircraft volleys is a boost in morale. On the night of April 25, *Militant* reporters heard loud cheers and applause from several apartment buildings in Podgorica as the sky was lit with repeated shots by the Yugoslav navy and land-based anti-aircraft units.

Likewise, opinions on the question of separation from Yugoslavia are divided among working people, though no one among those we interviewed supported trying to resolve the issue until the NATO assaults end. "I am against Milosevic and the policies of his regime 100 percent. And I think we may be better off without the alliance with Serbia," said Aleksander Dabovic, a sailor who works on the ferry from Barr to Italy. "But if there is a ground assault on Kosova I can assure you the overwhelming majority of us will fight to the end to defeat NATO."

Aleksander's girlfriend, Lidija, a shipping clerk at the port of Barr, said she would join the Yugoslav army to fight if Yugoslavia were attacked by land. "But I am for sticking with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," she said.

Montenegro is a mix of Serbs, Albanians, Muslims from Bosnia, and other nationalities. Sixty-three percent of its citizens consider themselves Montenegrins, though they all speak the same language as in Serbia, Serbo-Croatian, according to the latest official census. About 10 percent are Serbs, 7 percent Albanians, and 15 percent Muslims.

Kosovar Albanians flood Ulcinj

The Albanian population is rapidly swelling, however, as tens of thousands of Albanians, forced out of Kosova, continue to arrive here. More than 70,000 Kosovar Albanians are now in Montenegro, with about half having flooded the southern sea town of Ulcinj, where the local population of 25,000 was already 80 percent Albanian. Most live in private houses, but several thousand are housed at a seaside camp and at the town's bus station and three mosques.

Keko Gamovic, local president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, himself of Albanian origin, is also now the head of the local unit of the Red Cross. "The union is taking responsibility for housing of refugees and for their relocation elsewhere." Unlike camps in Macedonia, Albanians from Kosova coming here have freedom of movement and do not need special police permits to move around. A few thousand have left for Albania over the mountainous range that's the border with Montenegro. But most are trying to settle in Ulcinj.

About 1,200 are housed in tents at a seaside campsite. Opinions among those interviewed there April 25 were divided on the NATO assault. Everyone told stories of how Serb paramilitary forces, in collaboration with special police units, are organizing the clearing out of villages and towns in Kosova.

"NATO and the European Union are obligated to re-

build the infrastructure of Kosova," said Cosmet Arifaj, an electrician from the village of Istock who had been in the camp for 10 days. "The ethnic cleansing wouldn't have happened to this massive scale without the bombing."

He and another farmer who had a similar opinion were interrupted repeatedly by two Albanian teachers who were part of organizing security at the camp. They spoke vociferously for the NATO bombing and a ground invasion. "You can't blame NATO for the barbarian attacks on us!" exclaimed Mustaf Jocai, also from Istock. "It's the fault of the Serbs."

At one of the mosques in town, there was a calmer atmosphere for civil discussion. Several young people there expressed support for the NATO bombing and sympathy for the Kosova Liberation Army. Halim Mecini, however, who owned a small auto parts shop in Serbjica, Kosova, countered: "NATO should stop the bombing. We don't want a war but a peaceful solution."

As Kosovar Albanians continue to be expelled from Kosova, they add a major element to the already high tension in Montenegro. On April 18, a unit of the federal Yugoslav army shot and killed four Albanians from a column of several dozen who had crossed the border near the town of Rozaje in Montenegro. The army claimed several were armed and opened fire. But other witnesses, including Montenegrins, said the claim was shaky since those killed including a 13-year-old boy and a 73-year-old woman.

Debate on national self-determination

In the middle of this situation, attitudes on national self-determination for the Albanian nationality in Kosova remain a dividing line throughout Yugoslavia.

During the trip to Ulcinj, the two Serbian students who accompanied *Militant* reporters and helped with translation were on opposite sides. One was a member of the Students Federation, the other student group besides the Students Union that helped organize the 1996-97 protests. He was a nationalist buying into Belgrade's propaganda about Albanians, and became physically ill at Ulcinj. "I can't stand being among so many terrorists," he declared. The other, a member of the Students Union, said the Milosevic regime was to blame for the explosion in Kosova by revoking autonomy in 1989. Both asked to remain anonymous.

Dusan and Bojan, two members of the Students Union of Yugoslavia in Novi Sad who asked that their last names not be used, explained how they had carried out antiwar canvassing last year to win people to oppose Belgrade's regime in Kosova. Both said that two years ago they had illusions themselves, like many fellow Albanians today, in imperialist powers. "In 1997 some of us carried U.S. and European flags," said Bojan. "Now we are burning them." Neither of them, however, have come to the point of supporting independence for Kosova.

Duci Petrovic in Nis went the furthest of all. "After everything that's happened, Albanian people in Kosova must decide their future. And there is no other way for us to wage our struggle both against NATO and Milosevic without that," he said.

300 protest Black man's death by New Jersey cops

BY LEE OLESON
AND MAURICE WILLIAMS

ORANGE, New Jersey — Some 300 people protested in front of the police headquarters here April 22 in response to the death of Earl Faison. The 27-year-old Black man died April 11, less than an hour after he was arrested as an alleged suspect in the killing of a police officer. Faison's family said the cops beat him to death.

"They took him away from us for no reason," Sagirah Williams, Faison's stepmother, told the protesters. "We can't let this die."

The cops claimed Faison collapsed and died while walking into an interrogation room. Orange police director Richard Conte reportedly said a patrolman sprayed Faison with mace during his arrest.

Faison's family has hired a pathologist for an independent autopsy. The dead man's father, Earl Williams, said he was shown a picture of the corpse at the county morgue April 12. "From the moment I saw the pictures, I knew he had been beaten to death," said Williams. His son's face was full of cuts, bruises, and was so swollen it looked as if "he was dragged by a truck."

Cops go on rampage

Faison was one of four Black men who have been arrested in connection with the killing of Joyce Carnegie, a Black police officer who was killed April 8 while allegedly investigating a robbery scene. According to media reports, witnesses said the killer of Carnegie was a bald Black man with a goatee. The cops went on a rampage after hearing the report.

Terrance Everett, a 24-year-old warehouse worker, was the first person arrested in the manhunt. He spent six days in the Essex County jail before he was cleared. Masked cops, including state troopers, federal agents, Orange city cops, East Orange city

cops, Essex County sheriff's deputies, and investigators from the prosecutors' office, burst into Everett's home to arrest him in the early morning April 10. The cops, armed with semiautomatic rifles, set off smoke bombs during the raid.

"They started kicking, spitting on me, punching me, and yelling at my family. One of them blew his nose on me," Everett said at an April 17 news conference in Newark. He said one cop struck him in the eye with a rifle butt and another kicked him in the face, chipping a tooth.

"I heard people clapping and cheering as if they had caught some kind of wild animal," said Everett's wife, Ebony.

Less than 24 hours after being arrested, Everett had passed two polygraph tests but "they repeatedly told me I failed," he added. Everett's statement that he had been with his wife in a restaurant at the time of the killing was ignored by police and Essex County prosecutors' office, until the store manager talked to the news media on April 15.

The day after brutalizing Everett, the cops arrested Earl Faison and James Coker. On April 17 the day after Everett's release, police picked up yet another suspect in the case, 25-year-old Condell Woodson of Orange. Woodson has been charged with the killing. Coker remains in jail on unrelated charges.

Marchers determined to get justice

At the April 22 demonstration in Orange of 300 people, Earl Faison's family members urged protesters to continue mobilizing in order to get out the truth about his death. "It has to stop somewhere," said Earl Williams. "We need more people to get in-



Militant/Maurice Williams

Hundreds rallied April 22 to protest death of Black man in police custody in Orange, New Jersey.

involved, to bring this full circle."

"We want justice. We gotta keep marching," said Sagirah Williams. "All his boys where are you?" she asked, inquiring if they would fight for justice for their friend.

"Yeah," responded about 15 Black youth in the crowd.

Charles Peters, an auto worker with 26 years at the Ford plant in Edison, New Jersey, said, "I'm here to show my support and demand those who killed the young man be brought to justice. If you kill a cop you pay a price; they should pay a price too." Peters was among several people at the rally who said this was their first demonstration against police brutality. He volunteered to be a marshal at the next protest.

"What happened was not an accident," said Larry Hamm, a member of the Peoples' Organization for Progress in Newark, one of the organizers of the protest "We are not going to let this get swept under the rug."

Hamm announced a march against police

brutality is planned for May 1 down Main Street in Orange.

The activists demanding justice for Faison have linked protests in New Jersey with demonstrations against the cop killing of Amadou Diallo in New York.

Other actions in New Jersey have protested state troopers' stopping, harassing, and arresting Blacks and other oppressed nationalities on the New Jersey Turnpike. It's a practice some describe as "racial profiling." Some 200 people marched April 23 from the turnpike to the state capital in Trenton.

Reflecting the mounting pressures from protest actions, New Jersey cops John Hogan and James Kenna were indicted April 19 for lying about the race of dozens of motorists they stopped on the highway and illegally searched, to make it appear that some of the Black drivers they had stopped were white. Last April, Hogan and Kenna fired 11 shots into a van carrying four unarmed Black and Latino young men, wounding three of them.

LETTERS

Racists at 'antiwar' rally

At an April 17th demonstration called to protest the U.S.-NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, former Socialist Workers Party DC mayoral candidate, Sam Manuel, was surrounded by several Serbian nationalists for carrying a sign that called for "Independence for Kosovo."

As some 200 people were gathering to form a picket line in front of the White House, Manuel was asked if he knew where Kosovo and Yugoslavia were and told they were not in Africa. "Go back to Africa," one of them said to Manuel who is Black.

One of them proceeded to grab copies of the *Militant* with the headline, "Stop the imperialist bombing of Yugoslavia! Support the fight for self-determination in Kosovo!" As Manuel and another *Militant* supporter proceeded to retrieve the papers, Manuel's sign fell to the ground and was stepped on and ripped up.

The three *Militant* supporters decided to stay a little while longer, and protested the racist comments of these participants to the organizers of the demonstration. One of them simply said that the focus of the demonstration was against the bombing and not for independence of Kosovo, thereby dismissing the significance of the racist elements they were allying with. We left shortly thereafter.

The demonstration, called by the International Action Center, focused on protesting the U.S.-NATO bombing of Yugoslavia and these were the predominant chants and signs. It attracted many opponents of U.S. aggression around the world, but also a few dozen Serbians. Before leaving, five copies of a *Militant* were sold, including

one to a high school student from Belgrade, who in addition to opposing the bombing, opposed Milosevic and the Serbian leaders' campaign against the rights of the Kosovar Albanians.

Janice Lynn
Washington, D.C.

Why is Hungary in NATO?

Congratulations on your coverage of the war against Yugoslavia! You are the ONLY people to both demand a stop to the bombing and to support Kosovar demands for independence, the only politically consistent positions to take.

Your stance on the so-called "refugees" is truly refreshing. Yes, they are victims of horrendous crimes perpetrated by the Milosevic regime, and, yes, their plight is used by the imperialists as war propaganda.

But the real point — and, here again, you are the ONLY people saying this — is that the "refugees" are themselves potentially active agents, not passive objects. It is fundamentally disrespectful to pity them, to want to ride in like knights in shining armor and "save" them, like poor damsels threatened by a fire-breathing dragon.

The Kosovars are workers and farmers under attack both by the Belgrade bureaucracy and by imperialism. They will undoubtedly show the resiliency characteristic of humans under attack, as did their parents and grandparents a half century ago in a roughly analogous situation.

That said, some aspects of the war are very puzzling to me, and I hope you can help clarify them. For example, isn't it clear that the United States wants to roll back the workers

states in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, as much as in Yugoslavia and Russia? If so, then why do these regimes want to be members of NATO? Are they so blinded by their zeal to be capitalists that they don't see the obvious fact that they are being tricked, and that the imperialists plan to stab them in the back in the very near future?

This question is particularly poignant for Hungary. Two weeks after they signed on the dotted line, NATO bombed bridges across the Danube from at least Novi Sad to Belgrade, closing all river traffic be-

tween Hungary and the Black Sea; Hungarian television is showing ships backed up at the Yugoslav border.

Isn't the Danube one of the main routes for fuel and other essential commodities for Hungary? Not only is this clearly wrecking Hungarian commerce, the bombing of Vojvodina, with a large concentration of Hungarians, is undoubtedly raising a lot of rank and file concern in Hungary.

These NATO actions were clearly predictable before Budapest signed on to NATO. Please help me under-

stand why they joined — is it simply that the zeal referred to above has rendered them completely oblivious to reality?

Chuck Cairns
New Hyde Park, New York

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.

Clifford Barnes: a fighter for Black, union rights

Dear Editor,

Clifford Barnes, an electrician at the Shell Oil Deer Park Manufacturing Complex (DPMC) in Texas, died suddenly March 18 at the age of 52. He was an ardent supporter of the *Militant*, well known as a principled fighter for Black and union rights.

Clifford began reading the paper in 1981, when socialist workers in Houston joined the ranks of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union members working at Shell. He was also a regular reader of *New Internationalist* magazine and Pathfinder books. Clifford used these socialist publications generously in the lively conversations and debates for which he was known. He especially enjoyed testing the "working-class common sense" and analyses presented, in discussions with co-workers.

Clifford was respected on the

job and in his community as an outspoken and determined fighter. He would stand his ground, whether up against the Shell Oil bosses or the local police, who often harassed Black youth in McNair, the city just east of Houston where he lived.

He got hired at Shell in the aftermath of the 1960s civil rights movement. That's when Shell began hiring Blacks into some operations jobs — a change from herding them into the exclusive categories of sour tank cleaners and landscapers.

In 1975 some of these workers decided to fight back. Clifford, Leon Bigham, and others filed a class-action lawsuit against Shell. This suit was also directed against the local OCAW, whose leadership in earlier years had been complicity in Jim Crow segregation at the plant.

After five-years of stonewalling, Shell finally submitted to a consent decree that upgraded the seniority dates of all class members. This paved the way for the class to trans-

fer into better jobs and into the skilled trades. Each member of the class also received some compensation.

Again, in 1988, Clifford joined with Earl Davis and other Black workers to file a suit against Shell for discrimination in the areas of hiring, firing, and promotion. This time a federal judge threw out all charges except those concerning promotions. A settlement was agreed upon in 1994, with only a small monetary award for class members and a very weak consent decree.

Clifford considered solidarity with his co-workers part of his job description. He worked with fighters whether they were Black, white, Chicano or Asian, male or female, skilled or unskilled. His presence will be sorely missed.

Willie M. Reid, Detroit
Jerry Freiwirth, Houston

Cuban youth exchange ideas with students on California campuses

BY JIM ALTENBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — More than 500 people joined Itamys García Villar and Luis Ernesto Morejón at meetings on three northern California campuses to discuss the Cuban revolution and the situation of youth in Cuba today.

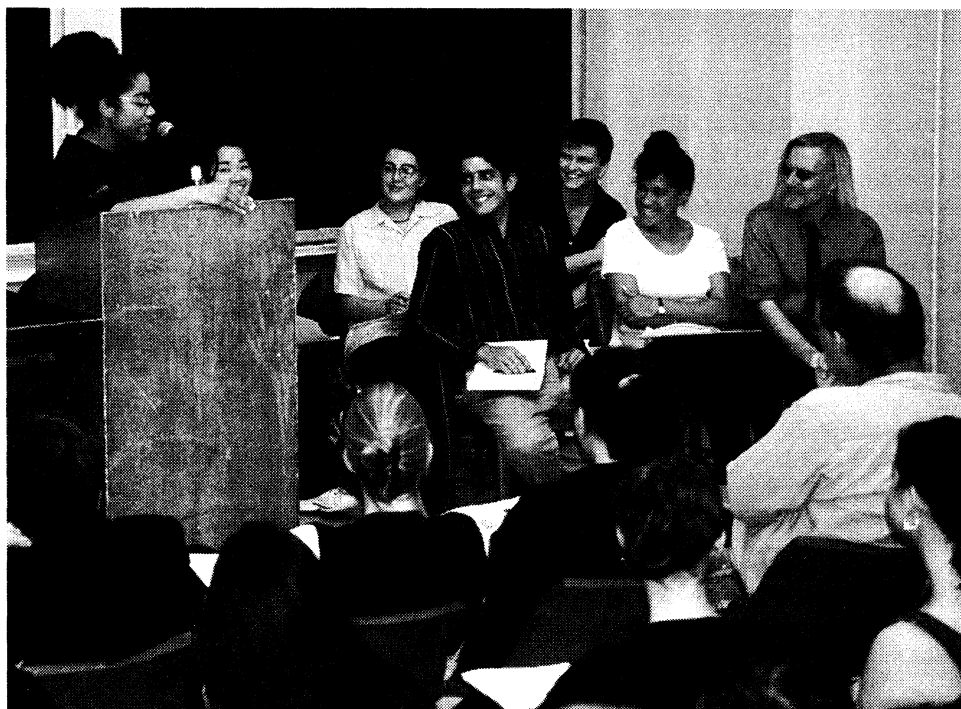
García, 27, is a veterinarian and leader of the Federation of University Students. Morejón, 23, is a professor at the Enrique Jose Varona Teacher Training Institute. Both are members of the Union of Young Communists. They spoke at the City College of San Francisco and San Francisco State University, as well as the University of California at Santa Cruz, as part of a national speaking tour of colleges and universities.

"Our purpose is to have an open exchange of ideas with people whose voices are not often heard," Viridiana Vázquez told 180 participants at San Francisco State as she opened the April 22 meeting. Vázquez and Melissa Murga, both on the San Francisco Student Committee on Youth and Education, co-chaired the event. University president Robert Corrigan and Felix Kury, speaking on behalf of the La Raza Studies program and College of Ethnic Studies department, also welcomed the Cubans to the campus.

After hearing presentations by both García and Morejón at San Francisco State, a student there, who said she was Cuban, demanded to know why "everything was based on dollars" in Cuba.

"The revolution has gone on 40 years," said another. "What good is it if the economy is stagnant?"

At the beginning of the 1990s, García explained, with the collapse of the "socialist bloc, the region of the world with which we had the most exchange," Cuba lost 85 percent of all of its trade. "The U.S. government saw this as an opportunity to finish off Cuba," she said. "They strengthened the blockade. Washington proclaimed the im-



Noluthando Williams, chair of African Student Union at University of California at Los Angeles, gives greetings to Cuban youth leaders April 15 (see article below).

minent end of the Cuban revolution."

Under these circumstances, "precisely to defend the revolution's gains, the decision was made to open up to foreign exchange. It was not an arbitrary decision of the government. It was debated inside Cuba for a year. Through foreign exchange earned by tourism, the economy has been revitalized."

Morejón reminded participants Cuba remains an underdeveloped country. Because of the gains of the revolution, Cuban workers and farmers enjoy living standards far higher than what is available to the vast majority of people in the underdeveloped coun-

tries. "Within the Third World we are privileged," he said. "The whole world is in a special period," referring to the term used in Cuba to describe its economic crisis of the 1990s.

García pointed out that the Cuban leadership "knew that decriminalization of possession of foreign exchange would have a price. There is social differentiation. We're trying to make sure that every Cuban still has what the revolution was fought for."

"How are youth looking at the future in Cuba?" asked a student at City College, where 80 people heard the Cuban youth.

'You've totally changed the way I look at Cuba'

BY LAURA ANDERSON

LOS ANGELES — "Before coming here we knew nothing about the protests in New York against the murder of Amadou Diallo. We did not know about the demonstrations to stop the execution of Mumia Abu Jamal. If we had not been here when it started, we would not know the protests against the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. The world does not know about the struggles of students for affirmative action and bilingual education," said Luis Ernesto Morejón, speaking with 45 people at a reception at Occidental College April 16.

Between April 15 and 21, Cuban youth leaders Morejón and Itamys García Villar spoke to more than 450 students and others at the University California at Los Angeles (UCLA), Occidental College, Glendale Community College, California State University Los Angeles, California State University Northridge, and three smaller receptions.

In addition, workers involved in various struggles at the Los Angeles airport attended a house meeting. The Cubans visited a predominantly Black high school community center in south central Los Angeles. And they attended a reception organized by Amerindia, an organization of Cuban Americans who oppose the U.S. embargo and support normalization of relations with Cuba.

At the Occidental meeting, García expanded on what the two have learned since their speaking tour began in Atlanta in March. "We met Black farmers from the South who are fighting to keep their land. We met many immigrants in this country who are carrying out struggles to defend the rights they should have as any other citizen," she said. These fights "are what we will take back with us to share with young people in Cuba."

The UCLA meeting, attended by 110 students and others, was sponsored by the Committee on Cuban Youth and Education, the

Undergraduate Student Association, Raza Women, Samahang Pilipino, and the Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba. Stacy Lee, president of the Undergraduate Students Association at UCLA, chaired the event. Professor Peter McLaren, the chair of the Committee on Cuban Youth and Education, which coordinated the seven-city speaking tour, and Cristina Gonzales and Cathy Bravo, members of Raza Women, introduced the speakers. U.S. Representative Maxine Waters sent greetings to the meeting.

Noluthando L. Williams, chair of the African Student Union, also thanked the guests, "not just for what the Cuban students are doing, but what the [Cuban] nation is doing." She contrasted revolutionary Cuba to the increased "locking of people out of access to this university" through attacks on affirmative action.

Melinda Mann, an Arts and Culture major, appealed for funds to defray tour expenses, raising more than \$450 in a collection from those attending the meeting. "We know the U.S. government wants to make it hard for this kind of meeting to happen. But we won't let them stop us!" she declared.

Responding to a question "What occurs after Fidel Castro's death?" Morejón answered, "It would be kind of an insult to suggest one person represents all the gains of the revolution. There are many leaders of the Cuban revolution. This is what makes it possible for a revolution to project itself through time. More important than Fidel is the alliance of workers, peasants, and youth."

Professor Carlos Ugalde invited the Cubans to speak at Glendale College to two of his classes, which a total of 55 students attended. Some of the students said they couldn't believe that the Cuban government was any different than other governments in suppression of democratic rights.

"Of course it is today's youth who will be primary actors in the new millennium," replied García. "It is our responsibility that the country overcome our difficulties."

Morejón added that Cuban students are represented in the national parliament through seats reserved for members of the federations of university and high school students.

An extended, at times sharp, debate over the extent of democratic and political rights in Cuba took place at the meeting at UC Santa Cruz. One person, who identified himself as Cuban and a former member of the Union of Young Communists, began by claiming he had suffered at the hands of the Cuban police and that no one in his old neighborhood had any rights.

Among the 240 people attending the meeting were a handful of right wingers, who pressed to turn the discussion into a debate between the speakers and this individual, whose commentary soon degenerated into screaming and shouting. They were able to win the backing of some liberal forces in the crowd, who echoed the idea that the disrupter should get a "fair" hearing for his views.

All these efforts to prevent a civil discussion from taking place proved unsuccessful, however. The meeting proceeded for well over an hour without incident. As it drew to a close, the rightist opponent of the Cuban revolution and his supporters stood outside bellowing insults and claiming that they had been not been allowed their say.

García and Morejón's San Francisco tour was capped by a send-off reception April 24 hosted by New College professor Febe Portillo. Sixty people attended, including tour activists and young people who learned of the event at the demonstration to free Mumia Abu-Jamal held earlier in the day.

Morejón and García answered their questions point-by-point, and after the meeting one of these students told Morejón, "You've totally changed the way I look at Cuba."

At California State, García and Morejón spoke to 120 people at a meeting sponsored by the Latin American Society, Latin American Studies Program, Pan Afrikan Resource Center, Chicana/o Latina/o Resource Center, and MEChA at California State University Los Angeles. Evonne Santiago, chair of LAS, introduced the program.

Professor Donald Bray of the Latin American Studies Program welcomed the Cuban youth and spoke about an exchange program being developed between the California State University system and universities in Cuba. David Sundol, director of the Educational Opportunity Program, also welcomed the youth to CSLA. A member of the California Faculty Association reported on the fight the faculty in Cal State system are waging for a contract.

After the main presentation, a woman said she left Cuba in 1971, at age 13. While not supporting the revolution, she said she opposed Washington's 40-year economic war against Cuba. She thought few Americans supported the embargo, but a small group of Cubans with money influence the U.S. government.

Morejón responded, "We came to the U.S. with the same impression you expressed. We really thought a small number of Cubans and Cuban Americans had the weight on the U.S. government. Being here, we changed our minds. The Cuban American National Foundation is the pretext the United States government uses to maintain the blockade," reflecting the U.S. rulers' undying hatred for the fact that working people in Cuba have taken their country into their own hands.

Marjorie Bray, chair of the Latin American Studies Program, closed the meeting.

L.A. airline workers meet Cuban youth

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

LOS ANGELES — At an informal meeting near Los Angeles International Airport, nine airline workers, members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the Teamsters unions, met and talked with Cuban youth leaders Itamys García and Luis Morejón currently on a U.S. tour.

United Airlines mechanic Jorge Suárez and Cesar Guerrero, an IAM member at Hudson General, said a few words welcoming the Cubans. Guerrero also explained the current fight for a contract at Hudson General, an airport ground services company.

Also attending the event was Maureen Vieck, a Teamsters member and flight attendant at Northwest Airlines. She is active in the union's Contract Action Team, which has organized regular demonstrations at the terminal for a decent contract. "Our struggle with Northwest as flight attendants is an ongoing one and a culmination of the struggles by pilots, machinists, and others," she said.

A lively discussion followed with questions and exchanges on the nature of the U.S. embargo against Cuba and what could be done to fight it, the role of women before and after the revolution, Cuba's relations with other Caribbean and Latin American nations, and the character of Cuban democracy.

Morejón and García expressed their gratitude to the workers present, saying, "We can fight better and resist, knowing that there are people like you."