

Free Puerto Rican fighter Antonio Camacho!

The U.S. government should immediately free Puerto Rican patriot Antonio Camacho, who was recently rearrested, flown out of his country, and locked up in a federal prison in Miami (see article on page 9).

Camacho's real crime in the eyes of

EDITORIAL

Washington is not a parole violation. It's the fact that he refuses to be cowed into silence, that he continues to speak out against U.S. colonial rule of Puerto Rico and advocate independence for that Caribbean nation. That makes him a dangerous man and a bad example. All the more so because there is an increasingly receptive audience for these ideas and this fearless stance among a new generation of nationalist-minded Puerto Ricans, both on the island and in the United States.

Camacho's case, along with that of 14 other Puerto Rican independence fighters who are currently in U.S. prisons because of their political views and activities, reveals the brutal face of U.S. rule over Puerto Rico. He was among a group of 15 Puerto Rican activists who were arrested and framed up by the FBI in 1985 and 1986. Most of the Hartford 15, as they became known, were taken in chains from Puerto Rico to the United States, denied bail for more than a

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McDonald's workers in Ohio strike for dignity

BY TONY PRINCE

MACEDONIA, Ohio — "This strike was about respect. It really wasn't about money." That is how 15-year-old striker Mike Madeja summed up the five-day walkout a group of workers carried out against a McDonald's restaurant in this suburb of Cleveland. According to the *Lorain Morning Journal*, this may have been the first strike at a McDonald's in the United States.

The strikers, most of whom are in their teens, walked out April 12 in protest against management's continued mistreatment of the workers. Madeja explained, "The boss called my friend names. He also harassed an older lady, Margaret, and made her cry. He grabbed her arm and yelled at her because she put a garbage bag in the wrong place." The young workers were also angry that they were being paid \$5.85 per hour to train new employees who were being paid \$6.50 per hour.

Jamal Nickens, 20, described what happened after the incident with the older worker. "We talked to the younger workers and got everyone to agree on walking out. Then on Sunday morning [April 12] we all

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Mass pickets defy cops and courts in Australia

Freight stops as solidarity with dock workers grows

BY DOUG COOPER AND BOB AIKEN

SYDNEY, Australia — Thousands of defiant unionists, working people, students, and others have weighed in on the side of the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) by ignoring state Supreme Court interim injunctions banning peaceful MUA assemblies at wharves in Melbourne, Sydney, Fremantle, and Newcastle. Chris Corrigan, the boss at Patrick Stevedores, is attempting to set up a nonunion operation. With full backing from the federal government headed by Prime Minister John Howard, Patrick's sacked its nationwide workforce of 2,100 MUA members April 7.

As mass pickets continued to prevent many goods from reaching their destination, a Federal Court justice stunned the Howard government and Patrick Stevedores April 21 by ordering reinstatement of all sacked

As we go to press, thousands of workers are celebrating on the picket lines after the Federal Court upheld the April 21 court order reinstating all sacked Patrick workers, dealing a further blow to the union-busting attempt by the company and government.



Mass pickets at all major ports have stopped Patrick freight. Sydney police dragged 200 peaceful MUA supporters from the path of this scab truck (both photos) and briefly detained 41 at Patrick's Port Botney wharf, as more than 400 stood in defiance of a court injunction. Most of the 41 were back at the picket line before the cops.

workers, saying the company had "engaged in an unlawful conspiracy." This announcement was greeted by rousing applause on the picket lines. Patrick immediately appealed the order, and the battles at the wa-



terfront continue.

At Melbourne's East Swanson Dock, in a test of strength and resolve that began on the evening of April 17, 3,000 MUA sup-

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Sinn Fein conference discusses next steps in the Irish freedom struggle

BY ANNE HOWIE AND CELIA PUGH

DUBLIN, Ireland — More than 1,000 delegates, observers, and visitors gathered at the annual Ard Fheis (national conference) of Sinn Fein here April 18-19. A large international press contingent came to cover the republican movement's response to the "Good Friday Agreement," the document

produced April 10 after multi-party negotiations on the future of Ireland. Sinn Fein negotiators did not sign the agreement, but initiated a discussion of all party members. The Ard Fheis was preceded by discussion in local cumann (branches), and the delegates voted to continue that process until a reconvened conference makes a final decision in early May.

In his presidential address Gerry Adams said, "The talks process has not settled centuries of British interference in Ireland. Major issues remain unresolved.... Britain will never have any right to be in Ireland." Adams continued,

"While the agreement is not a settlement, it is the basis for advancement. It heralds a change in the status quo and it could become a transitional stage towards reunification."

Referendums on the agreement will be held in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic May 22. In the Republic, the agreement will most likely be packaged with a proposal to amend Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution, which currently lay unconditional claim to the whole island of Ireland. The proposal would read that "a united Ireland shall be brought about only

by peaceful means with the consent of a majority of the people, democratically expressed, in both jurisdictions in the island."

In his address Adams pointed to contradictory aspects of the agreement, which "on the one hand upholds the Unionist veto over the constitutional position of the north, and on the other hand it reduces the British territorial claim...while it compels Unionists to accept key and fundamental changes involving all-Ireland dimensions to everyday

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UN report sets stage for provocations against Iraq

BY MEGAN ARNEY

The United Nations "weapons inspections" team in Iraq issued a report April 15 that threatens to serve as a pretext for future imperialist intervention in the Mideast.

"The evidence in the report of Iraq's failure to provide any new information on its weapons, coupled with a new outburst of defiance today from Baghdad, raises once again the prospect of confrontation between Iraq and the United States, which has twice threatened military action against Iraq," declared the *New York Times* the next day.

State Department spokesman James Rubin said April 16, "We need

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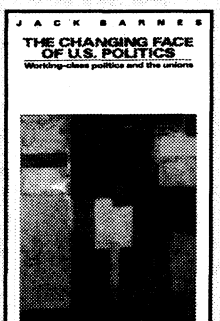
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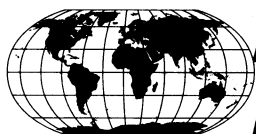
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Workers strike in Brazil, Bolivia

More than 1,000 workers building a lucrative natural-gas pipeline between Brazil and Bolivia halted production in mid-April demanding higher pay, better health benefits, and safer working conditions. Brazilian, British, Dutch, and Spanish gas moguls have a stake in the pipeline. Workers say the high temperatures and rough conditions in the Amazon region where the pipe is being built are causing illnesses.

Clinton pushes trade pact at summit

The second Summit of the Americas meeting that drew officials from 34 countries took place in mid-April in Chile. U.S. president William Clinton used the conference to push the "Free Trade Area of the Americas" pact. Through this deal, a layer of the ruling class in the United States hopes to deepen the domination of U.S. capital in Latin America, against increasing competition from their European rivals, and trade blocks among the largest countries in South America.

Protesters were on hand at the summit protesting Clinton's presence, and 5,000 cops were deployed on the U.S. president's arrival. The last time Clinton set foot in Latin America, he was jeered and picketed at his every showing.

Black youth sentenced to jail in 'double jeopardy' trial

Lemrick Nelson, a Black man tried and acquitted in 1992 for the 1991 stab-killing of Yankel Rosenbaum in Brooklyn, New York, was retried and convicted last year in a federal "civil rights" trial. He received the 19-and-a-half-year maximum sentence for what Judge David Trager ruled was second-degree murder. "Even though I've been found guilty of this crime, I'm like a scape-



Workers and students in Chile protest the presence of U.S. president William Clinton at the Latin American economic summit. Sign reads: "Clinton, your business is the poverty of Latin America."

goat," Nelson said. Arguing that his civil rights have been violated for being tried twice for the same crime he said, "It's like double jeopardy." In August 1991 a Hasidic motorist struck and killed a Black child, which set off clashes between some Blacks and Jews in Crown Heights. During the scuffles, Rosenbaum was stabbed and died. Complaining that Nelson showed "no remorse" for a crime he insists he is innocent of, Trager warned that "even with this sentence he will be out as a relatively young man" who, the judge asserted, "will continue to constitute a threat to the community."

Race rigged so 'Americans' win

Corporate sponsors for the Bolder Boulder distance races complained that runners from Kenya were winning all the medals and accompanying cash bonuses. Sponsors imposed a limit of three runners from other countries, while an unlimited number of "American" runners could be fielded. "We hope to level the playing field," remarked Bill Reef, the director of the races. "It's our event, our country, our money."

U.S. participants will also receive double

the cash prize if they finish in any of the top five positions. The organizers of the Boulder, Colorado, event are not alone. Some U.S.-run races only give prizes to U.S. participants; other are eliminating cash prizes altogether. Posing U.S. runner Keith Brantly, "Do you think if a white American runner had won the last few years, they'd be cutting prize money?"

Florida probes indefinite jailing

Florida legislators are floating a series of bills that would, upon court decision, force prisoners convicted of sex offenses to serve indefinite, extended time in prison or in a "treatment" facility. The legislation is named after Jimmy Ryce, a young boy killed in 1995, allegedly by a sex offender. The man accused of the killing has no former record of sex offense.

Last year, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the argument that such laws are, in effect, locking someone up a second time. The court move allowed five states to implement such laws.

French farmers: more gov't aid

Farmers in Brittany, France, dumped 400 tons of cauliflower across the four-lane N12 highway April 15, demanding at least \$10.5 million in subsidies. They had been protesting for a week the drop in cauliflower prices to below production costs. French agriculture minister Louis Le Penec condemned the protests as violent and disruptive, but gave in April 17, promising a case-by-case examination of the claims for support by up to 4,000 farmers. The farmers then lifted their blockades.

Income gap in Israel grows

"The gap between rich and poor in Israel is greater than in any Western country except the United States and France — and it is growing," read a March 9 article in the

Miami Herald. Unemployment is at 7.8 percent and at least 800,000 of the country's more than 5 million people are below the poverty line — some 16 percent. A 1996 Tel Aviv University study revealed that Israelis from North Africa and other dark-skinned ethnic groups earned 30 percent less than Jews of European or North American descent. Israeli Arabs barely earned half.

Nigerians demand share of oil bosses' profits

Nigerian youth are stepping into the forefront of the fight to demand that oil bosses, as well as the Nigerian government, apply a portion of the enormous profits they reap to develop "oil communities."

The government is supposed to allocate 13 percent of gross oil revenues for development, but villages in many of those areas still lack electricity, running water, schools, and clinics. The military dictatorship, headed by Gen. Sani Abacha, has faced resistance from workers and peasants. Villagers frequently occupy and close oil platforms, halting up to 10 percent of production. The government has instituted a new "anticrime patrol" to crack down on and intimidate activists. Troops have even raided churches, warning preachers not to talk about environmental and political issues.

In 1990 the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People organized protests demanding development. The capitalist dictatorship responded with sweeps and military raids. By 1993, Nigerians in the Ogoniland region had forced Shell to halt its operations there. A year later four Ogoni leaders were assassinated and the dictatorship charged nine activists with the killing. They were convicted and executed.

Pilots maintain strike in Japan

Pilots at the All Nippon Airways Company forced the company to cancel 54 more flights through April 16 after a second day of negotiations failed to resolve their two-week strike. The company said the walkout had cost it \$18.2 million. The airline's first-half profit will fall by 50 percent, the *New York Times* reported April 18.

Meanwhile, the Japan-based Nissan Motor Company is also facing economic troubles. The auto company announced April 17 that its profits dropped 79 percent for the 1997 fiscal year. The credit rating company Standard & Poor's lowered the company's ratings to one level above junk bond status.

— BRIAN TAYLOR

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Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot dies in Cambodia

BY HILDA CUZCO

Pol Pot, the longtime leader of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, died April 15 in a village near the Thai-Cambodian border at the age of 73. He headed a regime that in 1975-79 was responsible for the deaths of some 2 million people from famine and repression, out of a population of 8 million. Since the liberation of Cambodia (at that time called Kampuchea) and ousting of Pol Pot with the aid of Vietnamese forces in 1979, the Khmer Rouge has carried out a murderous guerrilla war in northern Cambodia.

A week before Pol Pot's death, the *New York Times* reported that Washington, which supported Pol Pot's "government-in-exile" into the 1990s, was planning to intervene in Cambodia in the name of arresting and trying the Khmer Rouge leader. U.S. officials now complain that there was no autopsy before Pol Pot's body was cremated, and say they still plan to pursue the arrest of other Khmer Rouge leaders for "war crimes."

Born in central Cambodia's Kompong Thom province as Saloth Sar, Pol Pot was involved with the Stalinist Communist Party of France as a student in Paris in the early 1950s. He returned to Cambodia in 1953 and became a leader of the underground movement against the regime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and later the Khmer Rouge forces.

A U.S.-backed military regime headed by Lon Nol seized power in 1970, at the height of Washington's war in Vietnam and the rest of southeast Asia. Over the next five years, U.S. forces carried out massive carpet bombing of Kampuchea, killing tens of thousands of people, destroying crops, and demolishing factories. In April 1975 the Khmer Rouge captured the capital city of Phnom Penh, the same month the Vietnam-

ese liberation forces took Saigon.

Although the party called itself communist, within hours after taking power the dominant wing of the Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot, ordered a forced evacuation of the population from all the cities. They established forced labor camps in the countryside, instituted the seven-day workweek and child labor, and virtually eliminated all education and medical care. A mass extermination campaign was directed against those who opposed and were labeled "enemies" of the government — often meaning anyone who could read.

Taking the so-called Cultural Revolution of Mao Zedong in China as a model, Pol Pot imposed his own "Great Leap Forward," to establish his agrarian program. His regime said it aimed to create a rapid development in export, particularly with revenues from the rice crop, by limiting domestic consumption to starvation levels. Far from leading toward socialism, his regime turned against the workers to destroy them as a class, carrying out a hate campaign against "city people," and their "decadence."

The most open supporter of the Khmer Rouge regime was the Chinese government, which was at the same time forging closer ties with Washington and preparing a military campaign against Vietnam in 1978. Faced with this, as well as increased border incursions by Khmer Rouge forces, 100,000 Vietnamese troops and 20,000 Kampuchean opponents of the Pol Pot regime crossed over into Kampuchea on Dec. 19, 1978, and took Phnom Penh in less than a month. Throughout the country they were welcomed as liberators by the overwhelming majority.

After the overthrow of Pol Pot, Cambodia had to rebuild agriculture, fishing, and

industry practically from scratch. There were severe energy and food shortages; the first year the government had to deal primarily with famine. In addition, unexploded bombs and land mines left by Washington's war during 1970-75 continue to kill or maim farmers and villagers to this day at a rate of more than 200 a month.

Contrary to Washington's professed concern today over bringing the Khmer Rouge leaders to "justice," the U.S. government immediately recognized the Pol Pot regime-in-exile as the "official" government of Kampuchea in January 1979, and gave economic and military backing to the guerrillas battling the new government. Under the pretext that Pol Pot was overthrown by a Vietnamese invasion, the UN General Assembly voted to recognize the Pol Pot forces as representatives of Kampuchea at the urging of the U.S. government.

The decision jeopardized the call for international aid to famine-stricken Kampuchea in 1979-80. Challenging U.S. and British allegations that Vietnam was putting obstacles for aid to relieve the famine, John Pilger, a reporter for the London *Daily Mirror* wrote on Sept. 13, 1979, "Any relief plane can come, without conditions." In fact most aid was delivered to the "official" forces of Pol Pot, who were joined in a loose alliance with rightist supporters of the former monarchy.

The royalist forces and the Hun Sen government signed accords in 1991 that led to the formation of a coalition government in 1993. Prince Norodom Ranariddh of



FUNCINPEC, the son of King Sihanouk, served as "first" prime minister, and Hun Sen, of the Cambodian People's Party, as "second" prime minister. Forces supporting Hun Sen forced Ranariddh out of the government last July, after the prince allegedly made moves to link up with the Khmer Rouge rebels, who opposed the UN-brokered "peace" agreement. After spending nine months in Thailand, Ranariddh returned to Cambodia for a brief visit the end of March accompanied by a former U.S. congressman in preparation for July national elections. Over the last year, the Khmer Rouge has shown increasing signs of disintegration. In July 1997, Pol Pot was reportedly sentenced to "life imprisonment" by another faction of the organization.

William Richardson, U.S. chief delegate to the United Nations proclaimed Washington's intent to more actively intervene in Cambodian affairs during an April 19 visit to Thailand. "We're all going to make major efforts to find these individuals and bring them to justice," he said, referring to the leaders of the Khmer Rouge.

The financial institutions that represent big capitalist interests in the United States and elsewhere have sought to put a squeeze on the Hun Sen government. Since the ouster of Prince Ranariddh last year, the International Monetary Fund has withdrawn its representative and cut its \$120 million three-year "aid" package.

The Cambodian economy had reached an economic growth rate of 6.5 percent last year, from near zero at the beginning of the 1990s. Annual inflation, which ran at 152 percent in 1990, subsided to about 7 percent last year. Now a \$1.3 billion airport renovation and \$82 million power projects have been put on hold.

NATO expands, Latvia-Russia tensions grow

BY BIRGITTA ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Tensions have escalated between the government of Latvia and Moscow over the past two months as Washington attempts to draw the Baltic countries closer toward the NATO military alliance and tighten the imperialist encirclement of Russia. In response to these moves, the Russian government has demanded immediate repayment of debts from the government in Riga and has threatened to cut off some oil shipments to Latvia. Moscow also accused the Latvian government of discriminating against Russians.

On March 3 Latvian police in riot uniforms attacked a demonstration of a few thousand mainly Russian retirees who were protesting the denial of rent subsidies and rising housing costs. The cops' assault on the elderly protesters was shown on national television in Russia. There are about 700,000 Russians who do not have Latvian citizenship among the 2.5 million people living in the country. Using the attack on the demonstration as a pretext, Russian president Boris Yeltsin ordered his government to route oil shipments and other goods to harbors away from Latvia April 8. Moscow has also threatened economic sanctions.

One week later, U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright wrote to Russian foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov warning against using sanctions. U.S. imperialism is probing to step up its intervention in the Baltics citing concern over Moscow's "bullying rhetoric and tactics against Latvia."

Earlier this year U.S. president William Clinton signed a "charter of partnership" with the governments of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, which pledges Washington's support for their application to join NATO. The three presidents of the Baltic states met with Clinton and signed a new treaty. "This is a happy day, which make us allies in the next century," said Latvian president Guntis Ulmanis, while his Estonia counterpart, Lennart Meri, remarked, "NATO is the only guarantee for stability in Europe."

Under pressure from Washington, Stockholm, and other imperialist powers, the Latvian cabinet announced April 15 new changes in its citizenship laws. The new legislation grants citizenship to children born in Latvia after August 21, 1991. The Latvian parliament will begin debating the new citizenship laws on April 23.

Swedish prime minister Göran Persson had flown into Riga April 15 at the invitation of Ulmanis. "We, the friends of Latvia in Europe look upon your decision with great respect," Persson declared after the meeting with the Latvian president. He promised to maintain close contact, support, and Swedish investments in Latvia.

On April 4 the Latvia National Security council, which includes President Ulmanis, the prime minister, and the speaker of parliament, dismissed top army commander Juris Dalbins after he participated in the memorial march of Latvian veterans of Hitler's SS forces in World War II. Dalbins was accompanied by the head of the navy and air force at the March 16 event that involved around 400 veterans from the Latvian

SS-legion. They were met by a counterdemonstration who shouted "fascists" and "nazis."

Dalbins was ousted on the same day the security council fired National Police Chief Aldis Lieljukis, who was responsible for the security of a newly restored Jewish synagogue. The synagogue was destroyed by a bomb on April 2. Four days later another bomb exploded outside the Russian embassy in Riga. No one was hurt, but the buildings and Russian diplomat cars were damaged.

The U.S. diplomat Richard Holbrooke has visited Latvia and promised FBI-help to investigate the bombings.

Birgitta Isacsson is a member of the Metalworkers Union in Stockholm.

NATO floats troop deployment in Albania

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

A special NATO delegation arrived in Tirana, Albania's capital, April 20 for talks with the country's defense ministry on the Albanian government's request to deploy troops from the Atlantic military alliance at the border between Albania and Kosovo. NATO had rejected such previous requests but had dispatched advisers to Albania to "train" the country's military.

The NATO team arrived in Tirana as state media in Belgrade reported clashes in that border area between Serbian troops and Albanians who were supposedly smuggling arms from Albania into Kosovo — formally a region of the Republic of Serbia. The government in Tirana denies the charges. These reports "have raised fears of a wider Balkan conflict," said an article in the April 21 *Financial Times* of London.

A few days earlier on April 17, Albania's parliament passed a resolution calling for NATO troops to be deployed in Kosovo and urging U.S. president William Clinton to follow the dictum of his predecessor George Bush. In late 1992, shortly before he was to be replaced by Clinton, Bush issued his so-called Christmas warning, stating that in "the event of conflict in Kosovo caused by Serbian action, the United States will be prepared to employ military force against the Serbians in Kosovo and in Serbia proper."

"The Albanian parliament demands the deployment of NATO troops to avoid the extension of the conflict and serve as a guarantee that military violence would not be exercised against unarmed civilians," the resolution approved in Tirana said, pointing to ongoing violence by Belgrade authorities against Albanians in Kosovo.

As *Militant* reporters found during a visit to Albania in mid-March, this consistently pro-imperialist stance of the Albanian government, dominated by the Socialist Party, and most opposition parties is not shared by many youth and working people who are strong supporters of the fight for self-determination of Albanians in Kosovo.

Reports of a buildup of Serb army and police units at the Kosovo-Albania border and other areas of Kosovo, and of repression against Albanians there continue to mount. Following are a few examples, according to the Kosovo Information Center:

- Heavy Serbian police and military forces were deployed April 22 at the Serb refugee settlement near the Baballoq village of Decan, a region of Kosovo near the Albanian border. Baballoq is a majority Albanian village of about 1,600 people. The Serb settlement has been built 300 meters away, and sporadic shooting originated from there in the direction of the village that day.
- Fresh Serbian troops have also been de-

ployed in the Drenica region, where the 50 villages have remained under siege since a bloody assault by Serb forces there left 85 Albanians dead in early March. Two Albanians were reported wounded as a result of renewed armed actions by the occupying troops April 21.

- Serbian police continue raids at homes of dozens of Albanians and arrests of people. Over a dozen cops, for example, raided the home of Muhamet Shigjeqi at Plane village in the Prizren region, and arrested Shigjeqi's four sons. Their grandmother, Fatime Shigjeqi, died from the trauma of the raid.

Washington and other imperialist powers are trying to exploit the conflict to deepen their intervention into the Balkans. The so-called Contact Group has scheduled a third meeting for Rome April 29. The U.S. government is pushing for a freeze of Yugoslav and Serbian government funds abroad if the regime of Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic doesn't withdraw special police forces from Kosovo. The Contact Group — made up of the governments of the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia — is charged with overseeing the implementation of the Dayton accord, which Washington forced the warring regimes in Yugoslavia to sign in 1995, paving the way for Bosnia's occupation by NATO troops.

Sinn Fein conference

Continued from front page

life." He said, "Sinn Fein will subscribe to what we view as positive in the agreement, to those aspects which contribute to moving us towards our overall objectives. Some critics will say: 'You can't do that! You have to buy into it, all or nothing!' But they are wrong. We can do and will do whatever we are mandated to do."

Prior to a second round of discussion on the agreement, the Sinn Fein leadership invited Thenjiwe Mtintso, deputy secretary general of the African National Congress, to describe the experience of South African fighters when they entered negotiations with the racist apartheid regime. Mtintso described how she had been a commander in Umkhonto We Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing, and had initially opposed talking to the government.

Mtintso stressed the similarities in the two situations. "The regime had concluded that it couldn't rule in the same old way. They had tried every means of repression." The key thing, she said, was not to see negotiations as a substitute for the broader struggle, but just another terrain. "We saw negotiations as a space which we needed to occupy." Whatever position Sinn Fein decided to take on the agreement, the ANC leader said, "don't lose sight of your strategic goal."

Long queues of delegates waiting to speak snaked the hall as soon as the discussion opened. Overwhelmingly they expressed confidence in the Sinn Fein leadership. Many said that they had not expected an end to British colonial rule from the negotiations but saw the gains won by Sinn Fein negotiators as a product of decades-long struggle, which pointed to the future.

'For nationalists this is just a start'

Councilor Pat McNamee from Newry and South Armagh asked the party to weigh whether the agreement could be used to advance the fight. "Whatever is necessary for republicans to do to advance our struggle, that is what we will do," he said "and whatever we do we must do it together."

Referring to the weakness and disunity of pro-British Unionist parties, Glen Mac Bradaigh from Belfast said "For unionists this is as good as it gets.... For nationalists it's just a start."

A number of delegates raised reservations about the agreement, or said it should be rejected. Eoin O Brun, a leader of Sinn Fein Youth (SFY), described most youth he had talked to as "angry at the weakness of the section on the Royal Ulster Constabulary [RUC]." The agreement provides for the setting up of a commission to "inquire into policing in Northern Ireland" and make proposals on how it should be changed. Earlier in the day O Brun had described how the RUC has recently "mounted a concerted campaign against youth," harassing individuals as well as targeting political activities. SFY, he said, currently has 10 court cases pending as a result. Sinn Fein calls for the disbanding of the RUC.

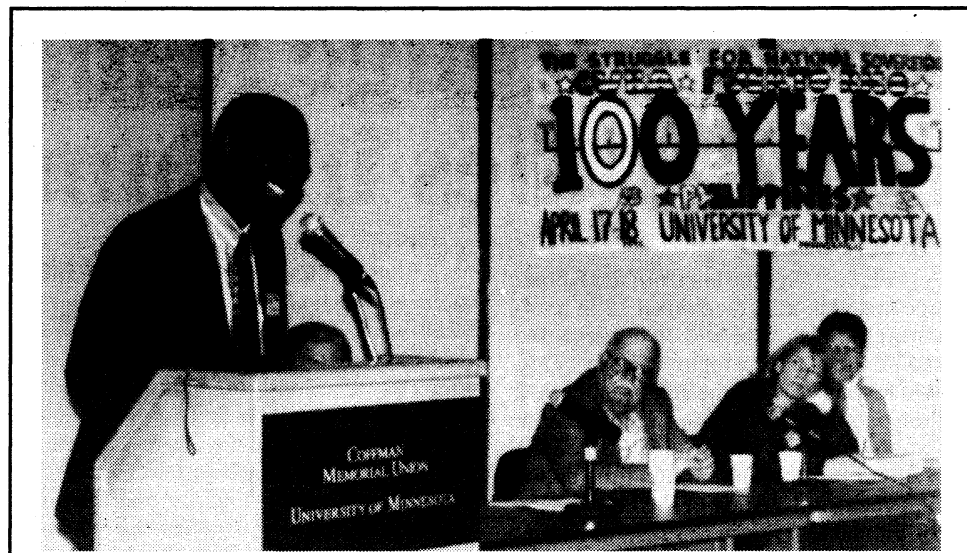
Another point of debate was the proposed deletion of the Republic of Ireland's constitutional claim to the territory of the six counties of Northern Ireland. A number of delegates said they thought this weakened nationalists, guaranteed the Unionists' veto on change, or accepted the partition of the island. Other major points of discussion were whether the stated two-year time frame for the release of all political prisoners was too long, and whether Sinn Fein should support or participate in the proposed elected assembly in the North.

In his talk, Adams said that the Sinn Fein leadership had "called on all republicans to examine the document in great detail. While this is probably a necessary exercise, it is not enough to read this document on its own.... It needs to be examined in the context of strategy and struggle. And in preparing for the next phase we need also to examine the positions and strategies of our opponents and enemies."

Summing up the discussion, Adams said, "This wasn't about two weeks of negotiation but about 30 years of struggle, which goes on. Our business is the business of revolution, of national reunification, independence, and building a real democracy on this island of Ireland. You people are the struggle. We are not verbalized republicans who wrap ourselves in the flag. We are people who do." He added, "We don't reduce the struggle to a negotiating strategy, to a closed room perspective," and explained that the struggle was also on the streets, in the ballot boxes, and in the mass movement.

Calls for release of prisoners

Over the two days delegates described the continued resistance. Sinn Fein Youth member Colleen Gildermen from South Tyrone said,



Félix Wilson of Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., addresses conference in Minneapolis on "100 years of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, from Cuba to Puerto Rico and Philippines." Next week's *Militant* will feature coverage of the April 17-18 event, which drew more than 150 students and others.

"We will continue to struggle for a united Ireland. No amount of RUC and British army harassment will stop us."

Calls were renewed to speed up and extend the release of political prisoners. Targeting the British government, Derry City councilor Cathal Crumley said, "We are either in a conflict resolution situation or we are not. If we are, all political prisoners should be freed.... The British government can do this at a stroke of a pen. Failure to do so will be seen as bad faith." A number of political prisoners were granted special parole to attend the Ard Fheis. One of the nine prisoners freed by the Irish government the week after the agreement read a message on behalf of Irish Republican Army (IRA) prisoners in Portlaoise supporting the Sinn Fein leadership. It called on republicans not "to be distracted by those who cry sellout without offering realistic alternatives."

Gerard Magee, an H-Bloc prisoner on temporary release from Belfast, paid tribute to the Sinn Fein leadership for keeping the prisoners issue at the top of the political agenda during negotiations.

Eoghan Mac Cormac, Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle (Executive Committee) member and chair of the political prisoners campaign Saoirse, appealed for continued campaigning. He asked people to join Saoirse rallies, pickets, petition, and post card campaigns. In the last week, he reported, three women had been strip-searched at Magherry prison, a humiliating procedure used for decades under colonial rule.

Executive Committee member Francie Molloy appealed for Sinn Fein members and

others to respond to calls for solidarity action from residents of Catholic communities during the sectarian loyalist parades in the coming months. The Ard Fheis reiterated Sinn Fein's view that these pro-British marches should be rerouted unless there is consent from the residents of the areas they pass through. Neither British minister Majorie Mowlam nor RUC chief Ronald Flanagan should have the right to make these decision, Martina McLikenny from Belfast explained.

A new section was added to the Sinn Fein constitution recognizing Sinn Fein Youth as the official youth section of Sinn Fein open to those between 16 and 25 years old. O Brun said that since its founding last year, 30 groups have been established in the north and south with around 400 members. "We aim to get young people to be protagonists of struggle," he said. Many delegates noted the impact of Sinn Fein youth on the whole conference, leading in the political discussion, as well as organizing the bookstall, fund-raising, and other conference events.

The conference debated resolutions and reports on a range of other issues, including Irish language rights, the minimum wage, homelessness, and defense of immigrant rights. A resolution submitted by women of Magherry prison supporting the right to choose abortion was voted down.

Anne Howie is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union in Manchester, England. Celia Pugh is a member of the Amalgamated Union of Electrical and Engineering workers in London.

Militant Fund Drive March 14 - May 10

CITY/COUNTRY	GOAL	PAID	%
New Zealand			
Auckland	930	667	72%
Christchurch	700	418	60%
Wellington	115	67	58%
N.Z. Total	1,630	1,152	71%
United States			
Detroit	4,200	2,897	69%
Des Moines	2,500	1,655	66%
Washington, D.C.	3,800	2,145	56%
Los Angeles	9,000	4,840	54%
Philadelphia	4,000	2,113	53%
Chicago	11,000	5,680	52%
Pittsburgh	5,000	2,395	48%
Birmingham	2,500	1,159	46%
Miami	2,850	1,165	41%
Atlanta	3,200	1,225	38%
Newark	8,500	3,150	37%
Twin Cities, MN	7,000	2,515	36%
Houston	6,000	2,125	35%
San Francisco	10,000	3,455	35%
Boston	6,000	1,890	32%
Seattle	7,000	1,950	28%
New York	14,000	3,161	23%
Cleveland	3,000	492	16%
Other	0	463	
U.S. Total	109,550	44,475	41%
Canada			
Montreal	1,517	478	32%
Toronto	2,414	638	26%
Vancouver	1,000	240	24%
Canada Total	5,000	1,356	27%
Sweden	700	145	21%
Australia	650	50	8%
United Kingdom			
London	600	213	36%
Manchester	400	0	0%
UK Total	1,000	213	21%
France	220	100	45%
INT'L TOTAL:	118,750	47,491	43%
SHOULD BE:	110,000	68,750	63%

Broad reach needed for Militant Fund

BY LEE OLESON

NEWARK, New Jersey — Industrial workers who are *Militant* supporters in a number of cities have begun to solicit and receive contributions from co-workers. This is an essential aspect of the effort to reach out as broadly as possible and raise \$110,000 for the Militant Fund by May 10.

After five weeks, we stand at 43 percent of this international goal. This was the second week that substantial amounts of money were raised. But the last three weeks in the drive will require an escalation in the effort to collect funds and, where necessary, to increase the total pledges to be able to meet the local goals. More than \$61,000 remains to be collected. *Militant* supporters in a few cities, particularly Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles, sent in a healthy chunk of money last week and took a jump toward the top of the chart that appears on this page. Quite a few areas, however, remain significantly behind.

Worker-correspondent Clay Dennison reports that at an April 18 *Militant* Fund rally in Birmingham, Alabama, Meg Novak, who works at Meadowcraft, a lawn furniture factory organized by the United Steelworkers of America, described the positive response from several workers at the plant to the *Militant* Fund. She noted that the fund campaign is taking place at a time of shop floor skirmishes in the plant, as both workers and the company

prepare for the June expiration of the union contract.

Communist workers in Birmingham who work at Meadowcraft took an initial goal of raising \$25 from co-workers for the fund, Novak reported, but later raised it to \$50 given the good results. They have met weekly to discuss how to approach fellow workers who had purchased the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in the past and expressed interest in the coverage of these socialist periodicals.

As a tool they prepared a letter that explains the importance of the *Militant* and the fund drive. The result is that three co-workers contributed \$5 each and a further \$40 has been pledged. One worker, an immigrant from Mexico who is a subscriber to *Perspectiva Mundial*, helped translate the fund letter into Spanish — an important aid in reaching out to workers in the plant whose first language is Spanish.

The *Militant* Fund event in Birmingham succeeded in raising nearly \$500. It got a boost from the attractive program, which featured visiting Young Socialists leader Joshua Carroll, who spoke on "Revolutionary Cuba Today." Carroll was part of a *Militant* reporting team in February that covered the Havana International Book Fair and a range of meetings with Cuban workers and farmers.

Panelist Jamila Williams, a Young Socialist in Birmingham, spoke about the irreplaceable role the *Militant* plays in providing facts about working-class struggles around the world and why contributions to the fund make such coverage possible.

From Des Moines, Iowa, Maggie Trowe reports that there are 29 subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in the

nearby Swift meatpacking plant, and all of them are being asked to give to the \$110,000 fund.

"People in the plant don't have a lot of money," Trowe says, "but workers understand that they as readers are the ones who sustain the *Militant*." So far, two workers there have made contributions, and a few more donations are expected.

Some of the workers at the plant are planning a poetry reading to raise money for the fund, Trowe reports.

In Newark, Jane Harris, a rail worker and *Militant* supporter, recently received a \$10 contribution from a co-worker who reads the *Militant* issues that are posted every week on the Internet. Another *Militant* supporter in Newark sent a letter to about 20 other readers in northern New Jersey. The letter brought a \$100 check from one *Militant* reader and a \$400 pledge from another.

From Pittsburgh, local fund director Charlene Adamson reports that one highlight of the April 4 fund-raising event there was the remarks by Harry, a young worker from Indonesia, who explained how much he valued the *Militant* for explaining the truth about the economic crisis in Indonesia and the mass protests against the austerity policies of the Indonesian government that have been demanded by imperialist governments and banks.

Adamson noted that *Militant* supporters in Pittsburgh are at 50 percent of their goal. But while pledges exceed the \$5,000 goal, only a few donations from *Militant* readers beyond those who are already members of the socialist movement have been received. Adamson reports they have set out to broaden this base of donations by seeking donations from a total of 40 people.

Sales teams at factories, campuses net 'Militant' subscriptions

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* (PM) face a challenge to put the subscription drive on schedule, but the campaign is starting to pick up steam. Last week marked the highest sales yet in the eight-week sales campaign. For the last three weeks of the drive, supporters of the socialist press need to average above 250 *Militant* subscriptions per week to reach the international goal of 1,400 by May 10.

Activists in Los Angeles stepped up the pace over a 10-day time span, selling 36 *Militant* subscriptions and 20 subscriptions to the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*.

"Our campaign team to the Central Valley region inspired others to stay out longer and supporters to take days off from work to join sales teams," said garment worker Gale Shangold, who is also the Socialist Workers candidate for governor in California. "We sold 20 *Militant* subscriptions last week, including 13 on April 20 — seven at the Earth Day event in Santa Monica and six at the University of San Diego, California."

"We sold four *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions to farm workers in Oxnard and three subscriptions to the Spanish monthly at a rally to defend bilingual education in Watsonville," she added.

Sam Farley, an airline worker, who participated in the Central Valley regional sales team, said, "The first leg of the trip was to the Santa Fe rail yard. We sold a *Militant* subscription to a conductor who was impressed with our candidate for Congress, fellow rail worker Marklyn Wilson. He said we need more workers to run this type of campaign."

Shangold said *Militant* supporters set up a literature table at a demonstration for affirmative action where they sold two copies of the Marxist magazine *New International* and one subscription to the *Militant*. "Our table was a center of discussion."

The garment worker said they are also helping to build a tour of a member from the Movement of the Landless Rural Workers (MST) and planning a stall at the Los Angeles Times Bookfair for the weekend.

"We sold four *Militant* subscriptions and two copies of *New International* in our most successful week of the sales drive so far," wrote Ron Poulsen from Australia. "We sold 21 copies of the *Militant* and two subs on the picket lines to striking wharfies (dockworkers), including one at Darling Harbour in Sydney, and one at the Newcastle picket line."

Poulsen said supporters of the paper set up a book stall at a family BBQ in Newcastle sponsored by the Maritime Union of Australia, which organizes the dockworkers. "One wharfie remembered us from a previous trip up to Newcastle and subscribed right away. We sold five *Militants* at the picnic as well, including one to a seaman who had bought a *Militant* from a street stall in Auckland, New Zealand, when his ship docked there."

Poulsen said the 76 copies of the *Militant* they sold during the past week "were directly attributed to increased interest in the socialist press as a result of the wharf struggle — the most *Militants* in a single week here that I can remember!"

Socialist workers in Miami regrouped after a one week lapse. "This past week we made a decision to fight for more teams to get out for longer amounts of time," reported Angel Lariscy. "This will help us get back on schedule after falling behind for the first time in the drive."

Lariscy said they sold 22 copies of the *Militant* and one copy of *Perspectiva Mundial* to members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at the plant gate of U.S. Sugar in Clewiston, Florida. Socialist workers at United Airlines in Miami sold two subscriptions to co-workers and one copy of *New International*. Rail workers at the CSX railroad purchased a *Militant* subscription and *New International* no. 5, featuring the article "The Coming Revolution in South Africa."

"While selling the *Militant* in working-class neighborhoods and at campus tables, we are building a May 2 meeting entitled, '100 Years of Resistance: the struggle of the Puerto Rican and Cuban People to U.S. imperialism,'" Lariscy continued. "We got a good response. A Puerto Rican woman bought a PM sub and students at Florida Atlantic University purchased two subscriptions to the *Militant* and a copy of *New International*."

Supporters of the *Militant* across the world continue to receive a good response when they sell at plant gates. "At our most recent two days of plant gate sales we sold 25 *Militants* and one subscription to Case foundry workers in Racine, Wisconsin," reported Cappy Kidd from Chicago. "And a team outside an LTV steel mill sold eight papers at the plant gate."

John Staggs from Philadelphia said he joined a regional

team that sold 22 *Militants* to members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union who were voting on a contract. More than 1,000 unionists were attending a meeting at the Merck plant in West Point, Pennsylvania. "They were especially interested in the coverage of other union struggles going on."

Staggs reported that a sales team in York, Pennsylvania, sold 28 copies of the *Militant* and one subscription to members of the United Auto Workers union at Caterpillar, who were attending their monthly union meeting. They had just heard an announcement that the Caterpillar plant there will close by the end of the year. One worker who was just laid off remarked, "As I see it, the fight is just starting and things will get a lot worse if we don't keep fighting."

Supporters of the *Militant* in New York have been getting out to Albanian and Irish neighborhoods, reported Phyllis O'Grady. "On April 19 a literature table in the Bronx calling for 'Independence for Kosovo' and 'No to NATO expansion' drew a lot of attention," she said. Partisans of the socialist press at that table sold three *Militant* subscriptions. "Many of the Albanian immigrants who came by the table were interested in hearing Argiris Malapanis speak," O'Grady reported. Malapanis recently returned from the Balkans where he headed a *Militant* reporting team.

With the recent development in the Irish freedom struggle, partisans of the socialist press in New York have also stepped up sales in the Irish community. "On April 17 we sold more than 30 copies of the *Militant* at a Manhattan meeting of some 500 people who came to hear Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a longtime figure in the Irish freedom struggle," O'Grady reported.

An April 19 team to Woodside, Queens, an area where many Irish immigrants live, netted one subscription each to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as a copy of the issue of *New International* that features articles on the 1916 Easter Rebellion in Ireland by Bolshevik leaders V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky.



Militant/Tony Lane
Young Socialists leader Verónica Poses staffs literature table at April 17-18 event celebrating the 100-year fight against U.S. colonial domination at University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE MARCH 14 - MAY 10

Week 5 should be 63%

	Militant Goal	Sold	%	PM Goal	Sold	NI Goal	Sold
Sweden*	18	10	56%	6	4	12	5
New Zealand							
Christchurch	25	19	76%	1	1	8	7
Wellington	4	2	50%	1	0	1	0
Auckland	35	14	40%	2	0	8	2
N.Z. Total	64	35	55%	4	1	17	9
Canada							
Vancouver	50	27	54%	6	3	20	10
Toronto	45	18	40%	8	4	20	17
Montreal*	25	8	32%	10	9	25	19
Canada Total	120	53	44%	24	16	65	46
United States							
Atlanta*	35	24	69%	13	4	18	6
Houston*	40	27	68%	10	7	18	13
Boston	50	30	60%	20	16	40	17
Los Angeles	100	60	60%	50	29	50	57
Miami	45	26	58%	22	14	20	19
Philadelphia	35	20	57%	8	4	10	7
Des Moines	45	23	51%	25	12	25	7
Seattle	70	35	50%	15	12	25	4
Washington, DC	45	21	47%	15	7	15	21
Birmingham, AL	50	23	46%	10	4	15	5
Twin Cities, MN	70	26	37%	12	4	20	6
San Francisco	80	29	36%	30	18	35	11
Chicago	90	32	36%	40	15	30	16
Detroit	40	14	35%	8	3	15	6
Cleveland	35	12	34%	8	4	10	3
New York	150	50	33%	75	38	75	33
Newark, NJ	125	40	32%	50	14	60	34
Pittsburgh	50	14	28%	3	0	15	7
U.S. Total	1155	506	44%	414	205	496	272
Australia	16	6	38%	5	3	10	7
United Kingdom							
London	45	19	42%	8	5	35	14
Manchester	26	5	19%	2	0	18	4
UK Total	71	24	34%	10	5	53	18
Iceland	9	3	33%	1	0	3	0
France	3	0	0%	5	0	30	10
International totals	1447	637	46%	468	234	683	367
Goal/Should be at	1400	875	63%	450	281	600	375

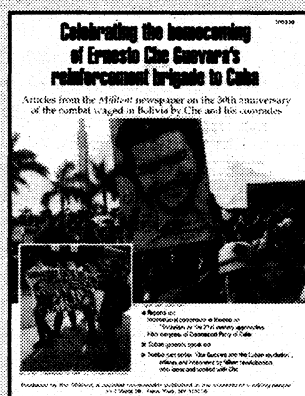
IN THE UNIONS

United States							
UFCW	15	7	47%	16	11	10	6
UTU	50	22	44%	5	0	20	5
IAM	60	26	43%	14	6	35	11
UAW	45	14	31%	10	1	22	6
USWA	55	16	29%	7	3	30	6
OCAW	27	6	22%	5	0	20	0
UNITE	10	2	20%	12	7	10	3
U.S. total	262	93	35%	69	28	147	37
Canada							
CAW*	4	1	25%			3	2
USWA	6	1	17%	1	2	6	1
IAM	9	1	11%	1	0	5	1
UNITE	2	0	0%	1	0	2	0
Canada total	21	3	14%	3	2	16	4
New Zealand							
MWU	3	1	33%			1	0
EU	5	0	0%			1	0
SFWU	2	0	0%			1	0
N.Z. total	10	1	10%			3	0
Australia							
AMWU	3	0	0%		0	2	0
TCFU	1	0	0%	1	1	1	0
Australia total	4	0	0%	1	1	3	0
United Kingdom							
AEEU	5	0	0%			6	0
RMT	3	0	0%			3	3
TGWU	5	0	0%			3	0
UK total	13	0	0%			12	3

*raised goal

AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMWU — Amalgamated Manufacturers Union; CAW — Canadian Auto Workers; EU — Engineers Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU — Transport and General Workers Union; TCFU — Textile, Clothing and Footwear Union; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFBGWU — United Food, Beverage, and General Workers Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; UNITE — Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union.

Special offer: \$5 with any subscription to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*



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Young Socialists launch fund drive

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, 1573 N. Milwaukee, P.O. Box #478, Chicago, Ill. 60622. Tel: (773) 772-0551. Compuserve: 105162,605

BY VERÓNICA POSES

CHICAGO — The Young Socialists has launched a six-week national fund drive to raise \$5,200. The drive will go from April 17 to May 31. The funds raised during this campaign will be used to pay for basic operating expenses of the YS national office.

"This drive is an opportunity to organize weekly fund-raising events where we can invite young people interested in the Young Socialists. Having regular events, even if modest, throughout the course of the drive will be the key to making our local goal of

\$800," said Sarah Katz, fund drive director for the Chicago YS chapter.

As of this date, Young Socialists around the country have pledged \$4,600 towards the goal. An extra effort will be needed in the first weeks of the drive to secure enough pledges to make the national goal of \$5,200.

Meg Novak from Birmingham reports that the YS there is planning to "tie the fund raising activities with activities to build the conference in Miami." The Birmingham YS is actively getting the word out to youth and workers in the Birmingham area about a conference celebrating 100 years of resistance to U.S. imperialism taking place May 2 in Miami as well as an educational conference taking place in the same city the next day (see ads on pages 8-9). They project doing a film showing before the conference to raise money towards the drive.

The Seattle chapter of the YS is organizing a tour for Jack Willey, organizer of the National Executive Committee of the Young



Some 45 Palestinians and others protested a two-hour TV show in Los Angeles April 16 that glorified Tel Aviv's colonialist history. This year marks the 50th anniversary of the formation of the state of Israel.

Militant/Carole Lesnick

Socialists. Willey will speak at the University of Washington on rebuilding an anti-imperialist youth movement worldwide. He will receive speaking honoraria from the

university.

Contributions can be sent to: Young Socialists Fund Drive, 1573 N. Milwaukee Ave #478, Chicago, IL 60622.

Release of mayor reflects political shifts in Iran

BY MA'MUD SHIRVANI

Gholamhossein Karbaschi, the mayor of Tehran, was arrested April 4 on embezzlement charges. He spent 11 nights at Tehran's Evin prison and was released on bail after Iran's head of state, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, intervened in the case. While the mayor's arrest was the product of factional disputes in the country's ruling circles, his release was the consequence of mounting mass pressure on his behalf.

The mayor has been in the office since 1989. He is credited with improving public services and beautifying Tehran's public parks. Karbaschi has also imposed fines for violations of city ordinances that have not been popular with large merchants, known as Bazari.

Political tensions have increased since the election last year of president Mohammad Khatami, for whom the mayor campaigned extensively. In the presidential elections, Khatami unexpectedly defeated Hojatolislam Ali Akbar Nateq-Nouri, who had the backing of key figures in the state and clerical

hierarchy and Bazari. This dealt a blow to the conservatives, the so called "traditional right," who have a majority in the Majlis (parliament), and strengthened the faction in the ruling class who favor using the government as leverage to build a modern capitalist state. The judiciary system is controlled by the conservatives and is headed by Ayatollah Mohammad Yazdi. Since the presidential elections, Ayatollah Yazdi has detained all of Tehran's 16 district mayors for a time.

Nateq-Nouri's defeat in the presidential elections last year reflected a shift that has taken place in working-class resistance in the country. This was also registered in February 1997, when hundreds of refinery workers from various cities converged in Tehran and did not budge when they were attacked and some arrested. They forced the government officials to meet with them and agree to substantial pay raises. The news, which spread around the country, carried with it the reputation of the oil workers who initiated the general strike in 1978 that led

to the revolutionary overthrow of the Shah's monarchy in 1979.

Early in the March of this year the Bureau for Fortification of Unity (DTV) organized a demonstration of 3,000 students in front of Tehran University. They were protesting the undemocratic action of the conservative Council of the Guardians, who ruled some of the longtime political activists off the ballot in the special Majlis elections. DTV is a student group whose roots go back to the students who occupied the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979 to protest Washington's moves against Iran's revolution. The March demonstration was attacked by dozens of Ansare Hezbollah (Supporters of the Party of God), an extra legal formation connected to the Bazari and conservatives. Some students were injured, but the demonstrators held their ground and did not disperse. They marched toward the Azadi Square, chanted slogans in support of president Khatami and one of their chants was "Violence and ossification is Taliban's Islam; Taliban's Islam is the American Islam."

They were referring to the Islamic sect of Taliban in Afghanistan that occupied the capital city Kabul in 1996 and imposed undemocratic and reactionary decrees in the areas under its rule.

President Khatami's cabinet condemned Karbaschi's detention and stated that he would continue to act as mayor even from jail. They emphasized their commitment to the "rule of law and order." The government rapidly organized an exhibition in Tehran to show Karbaschi's accomplishments as the mayor of Tehran. Mayors around the country published statements against Karbaschi's arrest, as did Mohsen Makhmalbaf, a well-known Iranian writer and film director. Opponents of Karbaschi countered that judiciary is independent of the cabinet, and said the arrest was in accordance with the law, which permits imprisonment for up to a month without bail. Ayatollah Yazdi, the head of the judiciary, is appointed by Khamenei and is accountable only to him.

On Saturday, April 11, the student group DTV called a demonstration in opposition to mayor's arrest for the coming Tuesday. Immediately they came under pressure to call off the action. The cabinet met on Sunday and appealed for calm and against public rallies in defense of the mayor.

On April 13 DTV called off the demonstration. Nevertheless, between 4,000 and 5,000 students demonstrated the next day in front of Tehran University and then marched toward the Ministry of Interior. The demonstrators chanted in support of Khatami and the mayor, "Karbaschi the hero, Iran's Amir Kabir must be freed!" Amir Kabir was a secular bourgeois reformer who headed Iran's government in the last century but was dismissed in 1851 by the Qajar king and executed soon after. Iran's first revolution rose early in this century against Qajar autocracy.

There was a small counter demonstration April 14 in front of the university at the same time, where people chanted, "Death to Karbaschi!" Other actions took place that day in support of the mayor. Some 2,000 students rallied in the Shahid Beheshti University in Tehran.

The protests became a warning signal to the authorities. *Iran Daily*, an English-language newspaper published by the official news agency, cautioned the judiciary that "its recklessness is harming the nation's political and social fabric." Ayatollah Khamenei intervened in the situation and Karbaschi was released April 15. Subsequently, former president Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaking on the Friday Prayer meeting in Tehran, stated, "If the leader had not intervened in this issue... we should have expected other consequences." Karbaschi's release was not immediately publicized inside the country. But a few hundred people who heard the news still assembled in front of his house, celebrating with flowers and pastries. Karbaschi is still scheduled to stand trial on corruption charges within several weeks.

Assault on Islamic table in Toronto is attack on free speech

BY MICK MACDONALD

TORONTO — In the midst of a war drive by imperialist powers in Washington, Ottawa, and London against Iraq, Monira Kayhan and Nasreen Rizvi, two Muslim women, set up a table on "Positive Images of Women in Islam" at an International Women's Day event at Ryerson Polytechnic University here March 7. They displayed pictures of Muslim women in Iran carrying out various tasks in society, including debating in parliament, performing surgery,

and teaching. The display featured leaflets depicting Islam as a "religion of peace" in contrast to propaganda in the big-business media equating Islam with "terrorism."

A crowd of 30-35 people led by the Worker-Communist Party of Iran as well as members of the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq, Socialist Action, and the Trotskyist League assaulted the two women and drove them out of the event. The assailants denounced the women as "agents of the Islamic Republic of Iran" and chanted "Down, Down, with Iran," and "Out, Out, Out" in Farsi and English.

At one point the crowd pushed the table over on top of one of the women, who was pregnant. Some placards read, "Stop sexual apartheid in Iran." Later that day the forces who had initiated the attack hosted a workshop on the alleged torture of women in Iran.

Marshals for the event, some pacifist activists, this reporter, members of the Communist League, and a few others linked arms and acted as a line of defense to prevent the thugs from assaulting the women further, while they were escorted out.

The Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) passed a resolution on March 16 approving of this attack. OCAP's tactics of picketing prominent individuals' private homes has caused controversy in recent months, leading the Canadian Auto Workers union to threaten to withdraw its funding of the group.

Kayhan and Rizvi replied to OCAP in an open letter on March 31. "Our purpose was to promote positive images of Muslim women, because of the fact that we are so often misunderstood. The society in general thinks of us as oppressed and mistreated. As Canadians, we cherish human rights and the opportunity to be respected when we express

an opinion," they wrote. "We are not agents of the Iranian Government," the letter continued. "Here you have two Muslim women dressed with the Islamic scarf and all of a sudden, the idea of us being foreign government agents found quick acceptance. This form of discrimination disgusts us."

The Federation of Muslim Women also made a public statement, adding further, "It was men who intimidated, harassed, shouted at, and eventually physically threatened Muslim women in headscarves that day."

On April 1, an evaluation meeting was held by the International Women's Day Committee. The meeting voted to condemn the attack and extend solidarity to the two women.

Speaking at the IWD meeting, Sylvie Charbin of the Communist League underlined how the demonization of the Iraqi and Iranian governments fits right in to the imperialists' war drive against the peoples of the region. She spoke of the strength of the revolutionary mobilizations of the Iranian people, who have not been defeated by foreign powers, and rejected the focus on them as victims, stressing their contribution as fellow fighters.

Participants at the meeting from the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq refused to vote in favor of a motion condemning anti-Muslim campaigns in Canada. This party was involved in organizing demonstrations in February during the stepped-up drive by Washington to bomb Iraq, denouncing Iraqi president Saddam Hussein and calling for his overthrow.

Mick MacDonald is a member of the Young Socialists. Katy LeRougetel, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 5338, contributed to this article.

Young Socialists Fund Drive April 17 - May 31

CITY	GOAL
Birmingham	200
Chicago	800
Des Moines	200
Los Angeles	350
Miami	200
New York	800
Newark	350
Philadelphia	200
Pittsburgh	550
San Francisco/	
Santa Cruz	150
Seattle	300
Twin Cities, MN	250
Washington, D.C.	250
U.S. total	4,600
Goal	5,200

Kosovo: roots of fight for national rights

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS
AND ANNE HOWIE

MITROVICA, Kosovo, Yugoslavia — Shashivar Begu, secretary of the Union of Miners of Kosovo, is fighting for the reinstatement of the 2,750 miners here who were fired in 1990 for their part in opposing the Belgrade regime's withdrawal of autonomous status for Kosovo. Begu is Albanian, like 90 percent of this region's population of 2.1 million. The limited self-determination that had been won in 1974 was the closest thing that Kosovo Albanians have ever had to winning national rights — a republic where education and government are conducted in the Albanian language along with other tongues. "After the blood that has been spilled" in February assaults on Kosovo villages by Serbian forces, "our fight is for independence," Begu declared.

The regime of Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic has begun to implement a program of privatization of the substantial mineral wealth in Kosovo. "These mines have been ours for 50 years," Begu told these

present-day Macedonia and Montenegro, and it became part of the kingdom renamed Yugoslavia in 1929. Yugoslavia was a prison house of nations, dominated by the Serbian monarchy, in which Croats, Slovenes, and Montenegrins were treated as second-class citizens, while Albanians and Macedonians had virtually no national rights at all.

In the period between the two world wars, the capitalist government in Belgrade applied a policy of forced migration of Albanians out of Kosovo, primarily to Turkey, and organized the settlement of Serb families in Kosovo. Albanian-language schools and publications were forbidden. Without the enactment of a land reform, Kosovo, like the rest of southern Yugoslavia, remained economically underdeveloped. When the Nazi armies occupied the region in 1941, Yugoslavia was dismembered along national lines. Kosovo was occupied by Italian troops and annexed to Albania. The rest of Yugoslavia was occupied by the German, Bulgarian, and Hungarian armies. In the non-Serb areas,

until World War II the CPY did not raise the need for self-determination of those nations oppressed within the borders of Yugoslavia. By 1942, however, under pressure from the masses of toilers Tito was writing in the party's newspaper *Proleter*, "The current national liberation struggle and the national question in Yugoslavia are inseparably connected. The CPY will never depart from the principle... [of] the right of every nation to self-determination including secession."

Partisan leader Svetozar Vukmanovic (General Tempo) was assigned to strengthen the development of armed units in the areas of Macedonia and Kosovo. "To battle

pation in the Balkans have been expelled." But word came from Tito "not to set up a Balkan headquarters because it is politically inappropriate at the moment," Vukmanovic later explained. The Greek representative likewise never received approval to co-sign the agreement from the Communist Party in the leadership of the Greek Partisans.

The meeting of partisans from three nations had also resolved that in the Kosovo region and in the predominantly Albanian areas of Western Macedonia, "The National Liberation Army of Albania and Yugoslavia simply has to act as one body." It called for the Albanian partisans to send detachments to the area. Acting together, Albanian, Kosovan, and Serb units would "guarantee to the peoples of Kosovo and Metohija that they will decide their future for themselves," said the joint declaration. Again the CPY stepped in against the idea of Kosovo seceding from Yugoslavia to Albania in the name of preserving the unity of the national liberation struggle in Yugoslavia.

The push toward unity in action reflected the wishes of many fighters on the ground. Although it was not conducted formally, de facto collaboration across the borders was widespread. Touring the region in 1943, Captain McDonald of the British government mission observed, "One of the most characteristic features... is the active cooperation of Macedonians, Kosovars, Greeks and Albanians, without any signs of suspicion or intolerance between them."

Stalinists oppose self-determination

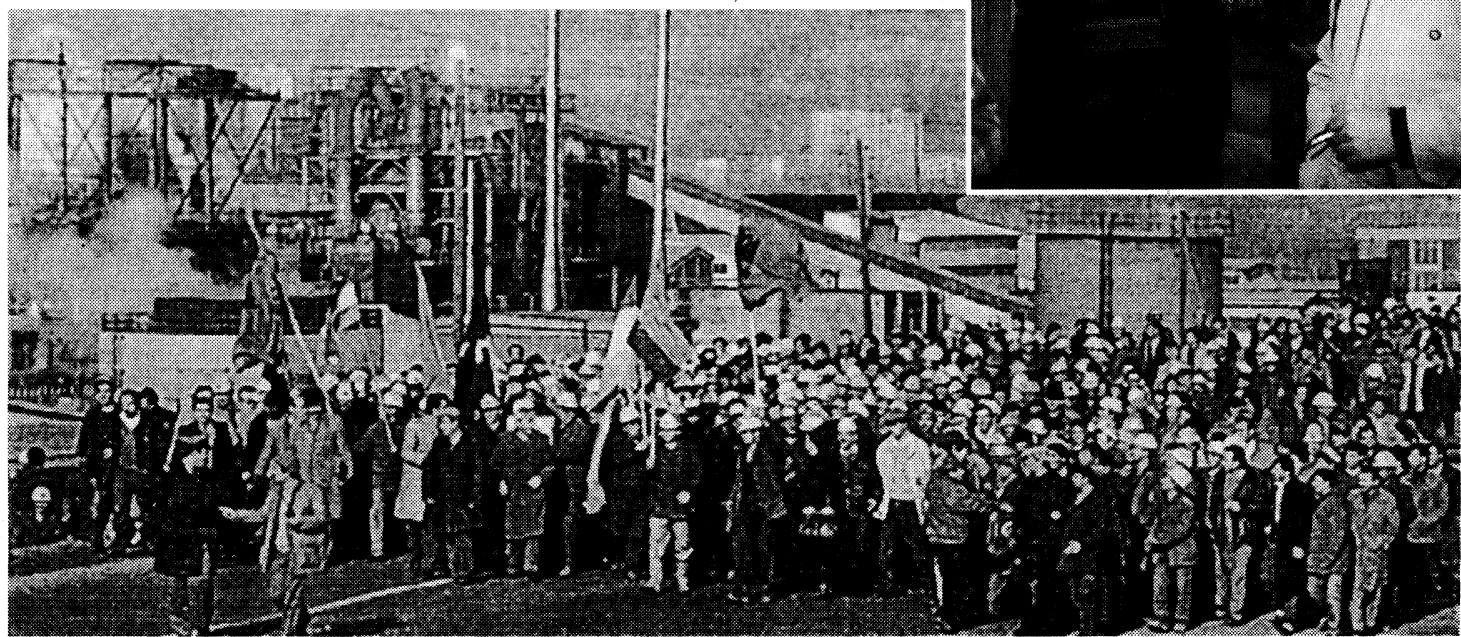
As victory drew near, the Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation (AVNOJ), the umbrella organization at the helm of the armed struggle, was laying the basis for a postwar government. Its local committee in Kosovo called a congress in December 1943 to set up a civilian authority in the region.

The body of 49 delegates, 40 of whom were Albanians, hailed the formation of the New Yugoslavia and resolved that "Kosovo and Dukagjin [Metohija] form a region in which the Albanian inhabitants preponderate; they, as always, still wish to be united with Albania. The only way for the Albanians of Kosovo and Dukagjin to unite with Albania is through common struggle with the other nations of Yugoslavia against the invaders and their forces, because this is the only way to win freedom, when all nations, including the Albanian, will be free to choose their own destiny, with the right of self-determination including secession." The CPY leadership responded with heavy criticism and instructed its members locally not to proceed with the formation of an Anti-Fascist Council, a local governing body.

Despite the CPY's opposition to their self-determination, by the end of the war there were 50,000 Albanian partisans under arms. These partisans openly revolted against the return of Kosovo to Yugoslavia. Just six weeks after the departure of German troops, Kosovo again found itself under military rule, by 30,000 some fighters of the People's Liberation Army. The military administration established tribunals and summary executions, drowning the revolt in blood.

These policies of the Tito leadership closely parallel those enforced by Stalin in the Soviet Union starting in the late 1920s. Stalin enforced the worst forms of Russian

Continued on Page 12



Inset: from right to left, unemployed miner Mon Uka, his wife Shemsie, and Shashivar Begu, secretary of miners' union in Mitrovica, Kosovo, March 14. "Since the 1945 revolution we, the workers, are the owners of the mines," Begu said. Attempts by Serbian authorities to privatize them "are the biggest robbery in history." Above: Miners rally in Kosovo, April 1990, in preparation for strike in August of that year against austerity by the regime in Belgrade and for returning Kosovo's status of autonomy. Miners with Albanian, Serbian, Croatian, and other flags can be seen in front. Fight for rights of Albanians has been intertwined with defense of gains of 1945 Yugoslav revolution.

reporters in March. They were nationalized with the victory of the mass movement of workers and farmers, which in the 1940s fought arms in hand to free the country from Nazi occupation, and then went on to decisively confront the local landlords and capitalists. That struggle, in which working people of all nationalities fought together, gave the world a glimpse of the critical importance of the defense of national rights as the only road that can lead to the unity of the toilers throughout the Balkans.

The Kosovo Albanians, as well as those living in present-day Albania, western Macedonia, and southern Montenegro, are among the original inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula. All the Balkan nationalities were for centuries subjects of the Ottoman empire and had no borders between them.

Capitalist powers carve up Balkans

The national bourgeoisies that formed in the 18th and 19th centuries led the charge to form capitalist nation-states. They relied on the governments of Austria-Hungary and Italy, or Britain, France, and Russia in their competition for territory. It was these powers that finally carved up the contested Ottoman territories into puppet states and spheres of influence.

An independent Albania was declared on Nov. 28, 1912, in Vlore. But the weak Albanian bourgeoisie, rather than allow the continued peasant mobilizations necessary to carry out redistribution of the land, looked to the imperialist powers engaged in the Balkan Wars at that time for support.

At the London Conference in 1913, representatives of six imperialist powers (Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia) plus one Albanian formed a committee to organize the new rump Albanian state. It included only 800,000 out of 1.5 million Albanians. The new state eventually became a virtual colony of Italy, so that in 1939 Victor Emmanuel III of Italy also assumed the title of King of Albania. Supported by the victors of World War I, Serbia incorporated Kosovo along with the predominantly Albanian areas of

each occupier claimed to be acting in the interests of national liberation, against Serb domination. In Kosovo, as in Croatia and elsewhere, the puppet regime that was set up undertook "retaliation" against the Serb minority living in the region. For workers and peasants, however, the occupation simply meant that to their poverty and national humiliation was added the brutality of fascist puppet regimes and forced expropriation of their produce.

Partisan struggle unites toilers

Resistance, arms in hand, soon began to erupt here, as it did in neighboring Albania and Greece. The Partisan movement, a national liberation army, led a determined struggle by workers and peasants of every nationality in Yugoslavia, as well as prisoners of war and deserters from occupying armies, in a common struggle against fascism. Numbering 800,000 fighters by the end of the war, its program called for equality and mutual respect for all nationalities.

The Partisan movement was led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), the only truly national party in the country claiming to speak for the rights of workers and farmers of all nationalities. Headed by Josip Broz Tito, it had become by the time of the war a Stalinist organization that did the bidding of Moscow and sought accommodation with Yugoslavia's capitalist classes rather than their overthrow.

In the face of the threatened invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany, Moscow sought an alliance with the French and British imperialists, and attempted to hold the struggles of workers and peasants around the world hostage to this deal. Soviet premier Joseph Stalin attempted to confine the struggle in Yugoslavia to a fight against the Nazi occupation, in alliance with the Serbian monarchists, known as the Chetniks.

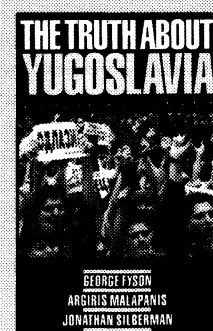
The titanic force of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants under arms proved stronger than the leaderships of either Stalin or Tito, eventually pushing the CPY leadership to reject an alliance with the British imperialists and the Yugoslav monarchy. Up

Macedonians, the holy battle for the liberation of your people!" he wrote in his first appeal. "You began your struggle at a time when the illusion was still cherished amongst the broad masses of Macedonian people that the German imperialists and their Bulgarian servants had come as 'liberators' from Great Serb tyranny. Today, though, the Macedonian nation is finding that the regime of Great Serb tyranny has only been replaced by a regime of Great Bulgarian tyranny.... Macedonia has only changed its overlords."

Proposals for Balkan federation

In June 1943 representatives of the Yugoslav, Greek, and Albanian partisans proposed founding a Balkan Supreme Command in order to coordinate operations between the three liberation armies. This step would also "remove all difficulties and open the path to the formation of a Balkan Confederation, once the fascist forces of occu-

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Women at Havana conference discuss struggles for justice

BY ELIZABETH STONE

HAVANA, Cuba — Three thousand delegates from 79 countries came here for an "International Meeting of Solidarity Between Women." The conference, which took place April 13-16 was sponsored by the Federation of Cuban Women, the Continental Front of Women, and the International Democratic Federation of Women.

The largest delegations hailed from Latin America and the Caribbean, including 500 women from Brazil and 300 from Mexico. Substantial delegations also participated from Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, Russia, and South Africa. More than 100 people attended who came from the United States.

The official Cuban delegation was 150, with more Cubans attending specific events.

A large number of those present were professional women, professors, and social service workers. Many were members of political parties, women's organizations, and trade unions.

The central focus of discussion was how to confront the growing attacks on the standard of living and conditions of working people that the employers and the governments that represent them are demanding worldwide as the crisis of the world market system worsens.

A document on economic development prepared for the conference by the Federation of Cuban Women listed statistics illustrating the devastating effect of these attacks on the majority of the world's women, particularly in the semicolonial countries.

One out of three people in the Third World live in conditions of the most extreme poverty, the document points out. And women make up two-thirds of those who are poor.

Struggles against austerity, colonialism

One delegate after another explained how these conditions, which are not new in the semicolonial world, are being made worse by austerity policies that are pushed by the capitalist rulers of the United States and other imperialist countries — often in the form of pressure from the International Monetary Fund or World Bank — and

implemented by the national bourgeoisie.

Susana Martínez, the secretary general of a trade union representing workers in the advertising industry in Argentina, explained how these attacks affect working people in her home town of Córdoba. She said Fiat, which has a large plant in Córdoba, is laying off workers. Two banks are being merged, leading to a 50 percent cut in the total number of employees, something the workers are fighting against. Budgets for hospitals and public education are also being cut.

Martínez said that throughout Argentina state-owned enterprises in telecommunications, water, postal services, and industries such as sugar are being sold off to private capitalists, who often impose further layoffs.

As more men have become unemployed, women have come into the workforce to help make ends meet, many of them forced into low-paid work as street vendors or domestic servants. At the same time, she said, women are becoming more active in protests and political life in general.

In the workshop on Health, Education, Culture, and Social Security, delegates described how health care, public education, and social security programs are being undermined in many countries by the privatization of schools and hospitals and cutbacks in social spending.

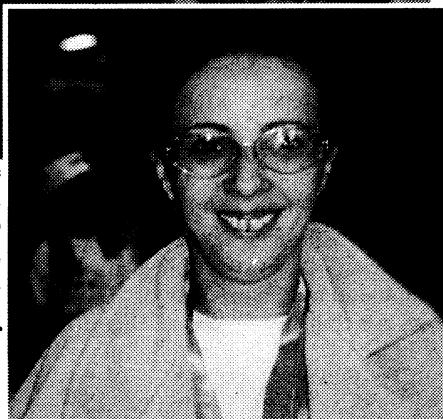
Women also spoke of struggles against these conditions. María Angélica Ribeiro, who is a teacher and an official of a teacher's union from São Paulo, Brazil, told *Militant* reporters about the growing role of women in the fight for land being organized by the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST).

She has participated in land occupations carried out by peasants and unemployed workers in which women formed the front lines when the land was occupied and surrounded. Women also stood in front of the tractors brought in by the landlords and cops to try to remove the occupiers. Women are among the first to set up tents, turn over the soil, and begin the planting at a new encampment.



Militant/Elizabeth Stone

Above, Cuban delegates at international women's conference in Havana. From left to right: Lisbel Tena Ballagas, Irialis Hernández, and Yamilet Fernández. Right, Maria Angélica Ribeiro from Brazil, who participated in land occupations organized by the Movement of Landless Rural Workers.



A delegate from Bolivia spoke of a general strike being carried out by workers in Bolivia.

In the workshop on Independence, Sovereignty and Peace, Palestinian and Puerto Rican women spoke of their continuing fights against occupation of their lands.

Camille Dieudonne came to the conference from Reunion, a French-controlled island off the coast of Africa near Madagascar. She said her organization, the Union of Women of Reunion, was fighting for the right of students to study in their own language, as opposed to French.

In a number of countries in South America, women have organized to fight for legalized abortion and access to birth control in an organization called "Catholics for the Right to Choose." Marta Alanis of Córdoba, Argentina participates in demonstrations and other activities sponsored by that group. She said that abortion carried out in unsafe conditions was the principle cause of death of young women in Argentina.

The example of Cuba

The clearest perspective for how to advance the struggles of working people and women was presented by the delegates from Cuba. In the opening session, the president of the Federation of Cuban Women, Vilma Espín, explained that in the Cuban revolu-

tion, "Women decided we would not stay behind. Women became the constructors of society, as well as men."

Cuban women today have a strong presence in the workforce, making up 42.5 percent of it. They are 65.5 percent of the technical and professional workforce and 58 percent of university graduates.

Women are not as strongly represented in industry and agriculture, but special efforts have been mounted to encourage participation in nontraditional jobs, which continue to today. *Militant* reporters spoke with delegates from Sancti Spiritus province, Yamilet Fernández, a locomotive engineer, and Irialis Hernández, who works on an agricultural cooperative. They both reported having attended a conference sponsored by the FMC a year ago dedicated to increasing the number of women industrial workers.

Dolores Alvarez, the secretary general of the FMC in Ciego de Avila, was another Cuban delegate who had an interest in getting women into nontraditional jobs. Her head was full of statistics on women and work. Alvarez said there are plans to expand tobacco in the province, and already they are discussing how to increase the participation of women in this industry. She said three women are now running the big com-

Continued on Page 9

European Union drops challenge to anti-Cuba law

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The European Union (EU) has let the deadline for pursuing its year-long legal challenge before the World Trade Organization (WTO) to Washington's "Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act" lapse.

EU officials filed the WTO complaint last year, charging that the Helms-Burton Act, signed into law by the Clinton administration in March 1996, violated international trade rules. Washington vehemently objected and refused to attend the hearings of a WTO panel on the matter.

The legislation and its aggressive use by Washington since its passage has substantially escalated the U.S. rulers' economic war on the Cuban people, slowing down foreign investment and credits to the Caribbean island. It has also registered an intensifying trade offensive by the U.S. rulers against their imperialist allies, who are also competitors, especially in Europe and Canada.

Title III of the law allows Cuban-American and other U.S. businessmen whose property was expropriated by workers and peasants after the 1959 revolution in Cuba to sue in U.S. courts anyone investing in those properties. EU officials have charged that this and other provisions show an "extraterritorial reach" of the U.S. legislation and are an infringement by Washington on the rights of these capitalist powers to trade with whomever they choose.

EU and U.S. officials, who have been negotiating on the matter since last spring, indicated the dispute is not over. U.S. undersecretary of state for economic and business affairs Stuart Eizenstat was the

more upbeat, welcoming the EU decision to back down. But he added, "We are a long way from being home."

EU officials, on the other hand, emphasized that the decision didn't foreclose resuming the challenge. By not forcing the legal issue, said EU envoy to the United States Hugo Paeman, negotiations can continue. "I want to stress, stress, stress that we can go back [to the WTO] whenever we want," said Ella Krucoff, an EU spokeswoman in Washington.

While the law has been in effect for two years, no company has yet been sued. The Clinton administration has repeatedly waived Title III of the Helms-Burton Act, using it as a bludgeon against Washington's competing powers in Europe and Canada. At the same time, the White House has used another provision to suspend travel visas to the U.S. of about a dozen business executives working for companies targeted under the legislation. They include top officers of the Canadian Sheritt International Corp., which has investments in nickel mines in Cuba, and of Mexican and Italian firms with stakes in Cuba's telephone company.

U.S. fails on 'human rights' smear

In a related development, Washington suffered a blow in its eight-year-long attempt to use the United Nations Human Rights Commission to smear the Cuban government with alleged human rights violations. At a meeting of the 53-member body in Geneva April 21, the commission voted down the U.S.-sponsored resolution this year. The panel had approved similar reso-

lutions the last seven years.

The U.S. government motion was defeated by a vote of 19 against, 16 in favor, and 18 abstentions. In addition to the Cuban representatives, those of China and Russia rejected the resolution. The governments of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan, were among those who joined Washington in voting yes. Most of the governments in Latin America —

with the exceptions of Argentina and El Salvador — abstained, including Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, and Uruguay.

"We all know this exercise is a mockery and manipulation by the United States against Cuba," said Miguel Alfonso Martínez, a Cuban delegate at the meeting. The economic warfare by Washington against the Cuban people is the "only mass, flagrant violation of human rights."

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Puerto Rican independence fighter sent back to prison

BY ROSE ANA BERBEO

NEW YORK — About 45 people rallied in front of the Federal Building in New York April 20 to protest the arrest by U.S. federal agents of recently paroled political prisoner Antonio Camacho Negrón in Puerto Rico.

Camacho was arrested April 16 at a friend's house in Naranjito, according to the New York newspaper, *El Diario La Prensa*. U.S. marshals came to the door with a warrant charging the pro-independence fighter with violating the conditions of his parole. The next day he was flown out of Puerto Rico to the United States and held in a Miami prison while awaiting a hearing.

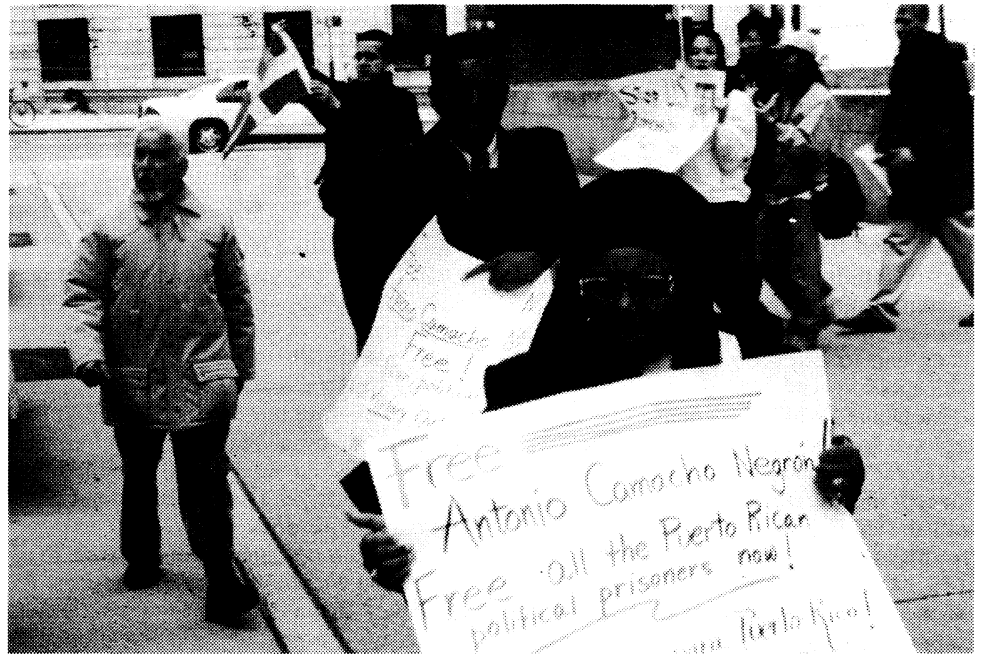
Camacho was released from a U.S. prison in Pennsylvania February 13 after spending 10 years behind bars for his conviction of transporting money stolen from the Wells Fargo company in Hartford, Connecticut. The Puerto Rican People's Army — Macheteros took credit for the action.

Upon his release, Camacho returned to Puerto Rico, where he held a press conference announcing that he would not comply with the restrictions that were part of his release. He was supposed to report to the U.S. federal building in San Juan every 72 hours and was forbidden from associating with others convicted by U.S. courts, includ-

ing fellow Puerto Rican independence fighters. In the two months since his release, Camacho spoke at a number of public events, expressing his continued advocacy of independence for Puerto Rico and his opposition to the U.S. military presence on the island.

Camacho has never tried to hide his activities. "Even though he didn't report, they knew all the time where he was," said his sister, Marilyn Camacho, who joined in the April 20 protest in New York. "We knew this was going to happen, that it was part of the process. He had wanted to come out with no conditions on his release. He had to make a political decision — to come out and fight again, or to stay and fight inside."

At first, officials at the Miami prison denied he was there, Marilyn Camacho added. "He said he is okay, except that his glasses were broken during the arrest and his wallet was taken by the cops, including phone numbers of people he knows."



Militant/Brian Taylor

April 20 demonstration in New York protested rearrest of Antonio Camacho Negrón.

In an April 22 interview, his sister reported that the day before, Camacho was brought before a U.S. judge. He was not permitted to notify his lawyer prior to the hearing, and no one has been allowed to see him in prison.

At the hearing, the judge offered Camacho a court-appointed attorney. The *independentista* declined, and represented himself, Marilyn Camacho said. When the judge asked Camacho what he wanted, the

Puerto Rican activist replied, "I want to go back to Puerto Rico." The judge ruled that even by U.S. law Camacho should not have been brought to the United States; the hearing on his alleged parole violations was supposed to take place in Puerto Rico.

"We don't know if the FBI is going to comply," Marilyn Camacho said. "He's still being held there."

Supporters of Antonio Camacho are planning further actions to demand his release.

Cuba conference

Continued from Page 8

bines used in agriculture. They are also six *macheteras* — women who cut sugar cane with a machete — in the province.

Reflecting the gains made by the revolution in areas such as nutrition, potable water, health, and education, the life expectancy of Cuban women is 77.6 years, while in the rest of the Third World the average for women is 63.5 years.

"What we have won was through the revolution," Espín told the congress.

To make gains for women, "You have to fight for a government that defends the interests of the people," Giselo Loso of the Cuban Ministry of Science and Technology told the workshop on development. "This is the Cuban experience."

Another Cuban delegate, Tania García, pointed out that sovereignty and independence is key. "The Cuban model is focused on men, women, and children, not on capital," she added.

Solidarity with Cuba

Delegates at the conference took a strong stand in opposition to Washington's attacks against Cuba. A whole conference session was devoted to speeches by leaders of the Cuban revolution taking up this question.

Carlos Lage, vice president of the Cuban Council of State, described a century of attempts by the U.S. rulers to dominate Cuba, asserting that what Cuba faces "is not an embargo, it's not even a blockade, it is economic warfare against the revolution." He called the recent offer of the U.S. government to give "humanitarian" aid to nongovernmental bodies in Cuba unacceptable. It is "something undignified and cynical to blockade a country, to try to bring it to its knees by hunger, and then on the other hand to offer alms," he said.

Ricardo Alarcón, president of the National Assembly of People's Power, described how Cuban democracy includes a broad process of discussion and decision making at the workplace and in the communities. Rosa Elena Simeón Negrín, the minister of science, technology and the environment, documented a long history of biological warfare against Cuba and the contribution of Cuban women to fighting this.

At the final session María Adelia Cornejo

Continued on Page 14

Southern Regional Socialist Conference REPORTS FROM KOSOVO, CAIRO, AND HAVANA

Miami, Sunday, May 3, 1998

8:00 a.m. – 9:00 a.m. REGISTRATION

9:00 a.m. – 9:15 a.m. WELCOME

9:15–11:30 a.m.

EYEWITNESS TO RESISTANCE IN KOSOVO AND ALBANIA

■ *The Dayton Accord Marches East: NATO Encirclement Tightens around Russia*

■ *From Iraq to the Caspian Oil Fields and the Silk Road: NATO's Southern Front in Formation*

■ *Why Washington Lost the Cold War*

■ *Youth in Balkans Confront Imperialism*

Speaker: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Staff writer for the 'Militant'; coauthor of *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention*

[Discussion will continue following the second talk.]

11:30–1 p.m. LUNCH (CATERED)

1:00–2:45 p.m.

REBUILDING AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST YOUTH MOVEMENT WORLDWIDE

■ *International Response to U.S. Aggression against Iraq*

■ *From Central Illinois to the Australian Wharves: The Retreat of the Working Class has Ended*

■ *Report from Cairo Conference of the World Federation of Democratic Youth*

■ *From Ireland to Puerto Rico, from Namibia to Cuba and the U.S.: A Vanguard of Anti-Imperialist Youth are in Contact*

Speaker: JACK WILLEY

Organizer, National Executive Committee of the Young Socialists

2:45–3:30 p.m. BREAK

3:30 – 5:30 p.m.

CUBA IN 1998—40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

■ *Cuba and Puerto Rico: 100 Years of Resistance since the First War of the Imperialist Epoch*

■ *Havana Book Fair: Politics and Publishing — the Truth about the Past is a Weapon for Today and Tomorrow*

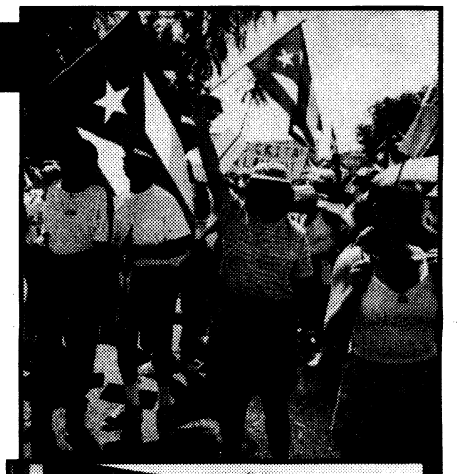
■ *How the Working Class Transforms Itself Through the Battle for Increased Discipline and Productivity*

Speaker: MARY-ALICE WATERS

President, Pathfinder Press; editor of *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War: 1956–58* by Ernesto Che Guevara



Rally in support of Caterpillar strikers, Peoria, Illinois, March 1992.



Top: Strike and rally against privatization of phone company in Puerto Rico, October 1997. Above: Selling the *Militant* at immigrant rights action in Miami, October 1997.

Special Appeal for the
\$110,000
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McDonald's workers strike for dignity

Continued from front page

walked out. It took them three hours to find enough people to get the store open. Management was taken completely by surprise. They had to call their corporate office in Chicago."

McDonald's initial response through its regional spokeswoman, Sue Hennessey was to say, "The owner-operator of the Macedonia McDonald's is eager to meet with the employees one-on-one and in small groups to listen to their concerns."

"I thought we were going to get fired when we went out on strike," Madeja admitted. Nickens pointed out, "When the union came in it made management understand." He was referring to the fact that a representative of the Teamsters union dropped by the picket line a day or two into the strike and offered the union's support. Twenty of the workers signed union cards.

The group was surprised by the amount of support they received in the five days they were on strike. Madeja said, "A lot of the community supported us, and most of the truck drivers. Plus we got donations." Striker Matt Casserlie, 17, said, "All the support helped our morale a lot, especially the honking. The truckers especially honked a lot."

The restaurant can easily be seen from the southbound lane of Interstate Highway 271, and tractor trailers on the highway were honking in support as we stood on

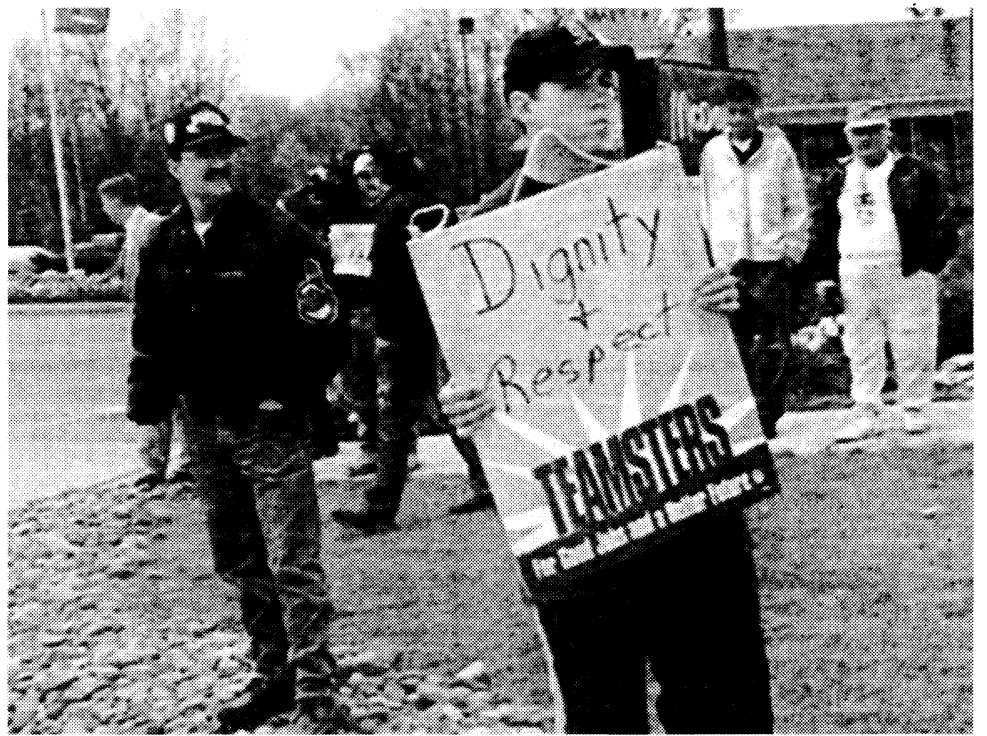
McDonald's front lawn.

The strike became national news. It was covered by CNN and featured on Jay Leno's Late Night Show, as well as on nationwide radio talk shows.

On April 16 the strikers turned back a truck delivering buns to the restaurant that was driven by a Teamster member, and McDonald's ran out of buns. A United Parcel Service driver also turned around without making his delivery.

That afternoon, management came to an agreement with the workers. Josh Jones, 15, explained that a couple of the main points were that "we get one week vacation after working one year, and the company is going to even out the wages." Management will also post weekly work schedules four days in advance. Most of the other points in the agreement include employee-of-the-month recognition, anniversary pins, and annual employee summer outings. Jones commented, "They say they'll put their employees first. It's hard to say if I believe that."

Steve Stem, a 19-year-old worker, said the agreement was "a compromise. They gave in on some things and we gave in on some things. We wanted them to fire one of the bosses and we gave in on that. The agreement is in writing and it's signed by six of us and three people from management, including the owner. It's not a union contract, though. There's no way McDonald's would



McDonald's workers and supporters picket restaurant in Macedonia, Ohio.

let a union in here."

Jones added, "We're not members of the Teamsters union. We're associates. We don't have to pay dues. But they told us that if we have any more problems to give them a call."

Some of the workers have had previous experience with unions. Nickens said, "I support unions. I used to be in UFCW [United Food and Commercial Workers] Local 880. Unions are good for full-time workers." Stem added said, "My dad has been a member of the UAW [United Auto Workers] and the Machinists. He worked at

Ohio Crankshaft. They were locked out for nine years, and they had some big fights on the picket line. My grandfather was a union man too."

Jones summed up the experience this group of young fighters went through by saying, "This gives us confidence. Management didn't take us seriously, but they do now."

Tony Prince is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 188 and Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress from the 10th Ohio District.

UK rail bosses step up attacks on wages, working conditions

BY PETE CLIFFORD

LONDON — Workers at Eurostar, the Channel Tunnel passenger rail company, are facing new threats against jobs, working conditions, and safety by the owners of London and Continental Railways (LCR). The consortium, which says it has a debt of £420 million (£=US\$1.60), claims it cannot raise the capital to build a high speed line between London and the Channel Tunnel.

When LCR bought the rights to build the line in 1996 for just £3 billion, Eurostar and other assets worth £5.7 billion were thrown in free as part of the deal. On Jan. 29, 1998, the government responded to LCR's demand for £1.2 billion extra government cash by initially giving them 30 days to find new sources of investment or lose the project.

In a front page article in the London Times entitled, "Eurostar Rail service to be nationalised," Deputy prime minister John Prescott was quoted as saying, "Preparations will be made for an orderly hand over of the business to the public sector." Some workers at Eurostar believed this meant a secure future for them.

As the days went by, it became clear the

government's concern was to ensure long-term profitability of the entire newly privatized rail network, including Eurostar, not to run the rail network as a "public service." Prescott has extended the deadline for resolving LCR's future until May 29 to allow the government to secure new private investors. The concern of Britain's rulers is partly fueled by rivalry with other European countries. Labour Member of Parliament (MP) Derek Foster commented, "How would [British prime minister] Tony Blair be able to take the lead in Europe, if we can't even build a fast link to the continent?"

Eurostar has been portrayed as the flagship of the newly privatized rail companies. Its profits were to be used to fund the building of the high speed link. To achieve this, LCR had to compete for cross-channel traffic with the ferry companies. In response, rival companies P&O European Ferries and Stena Line have merged, cutting their workforce in the process. Together with "Le Shuttle," the car train, they account for 80 percent of the crossings from Dover, England, to Calais, France, showing that Eurostar has so far been unable to dislodge its rivals.

Eurostar's profitability was hit by the fire that took place in the Channel Tunnel Nov. 18, 1996. The fire, which took nearly 14 hours to put out, damaged 600 meters of the tunnel. It started on a train that was transporting freight trucks. The Fire Brigades Union (FBU) maintained that the semi-open wagons carrying the trucks were unsafe, and called for a public inquiry. This never took place, and the semi-open wagons are still used by "Eurotunnel," the company that built the tunnel and runs its freight service. Recently there was an attempt to blame French truckers, who have been involved in a long running dispute with Paris, for supposed sabotage.

'Restructuring' cuts jobs, safety

The crisis facing LCR is a watershed for the 25 rail companies that have been sold to private capitalists. The government initially gained substantial revenue through the sell-off, and large short-term profits have been made by some of the operators, who have sought to make inroads against workers' rights and working conditions as part of the "privatization" process. These profits have been inflated by government subsidies. Last year the rail companies received £1.8 billion in government subsidies, double the amount paid to British Rail, the former state-owned railway system. The government's plan to reduce the subsidy and deflationary pressures from the economy threatens to

push down the new companies' profits, serving as a pretext for more attacks on jobs. Last summer 500 train drivers working for Connex South Central took action to protest the imposition of a new pay and conditions package that included wage cuts. On March 11 South West Train's (SWT) announced its intention of cutting hundreds of train-guards jobs, so the driver has sole operational responsibility. Currently the guard is responsible for the safety of the train. Similar "restructuring" moves are taking place in other companies and meeting a response from workers.

Railtrack, which owns the rail infrastructure, is the main company the government is negotiating with to take over the building of the channel tunnel high speed link. Its market value has more than doubled since privatization to £4.7 billion, and its profits have been made at the expense of safety. Railtrack announced March 2 that it aims to save £80 million on its repair bill this year, a 25 percent cut.

In February 1997 an accident at Bexley, South East London, was initially blamed on the driver. After it was revealed by track workers that faults had been reported months before and nothing had been done the government agency, the 'Health and Safety Executive' (HSE) prosecuted Railtrack. In September 1997, seven people were killed, and 160 injured in another rail crash at Southall. Reaction to that wreck has led to the government conceding a public inquiry.

In another accident in August 1996, which killed one person, train driver Peter Alford was indicted on a manslaughter charge. He was acquitted March 12, 1998. With backing from the drivers trade union ASLEF, Alford's defense argued that deficiencies in the track and signaling system turned a minor driver error into a major crash.

At Eurostar's Waterloo terminal, on the day LCR's crisis was announced, a team leader went around telling workers "This isn't a holiday camp you know!" Some workers said it would be better for them if Eurostar was taken over by the government. Others felt a change of management would not make any difference, and the pressure on workers to work harder and increase productivity would continue.

Behind the smart corporate image Eurostar projects is a growing move to make workers pay for its crisis. At the center of this is an annualized hours system, which allows management flexibility over shifts without paying extra wages. At the Eurostar engineering depot, they have been trying to increase the proportion of night shift from

50 to 60 percent and to cut the number of workers in the maintenance teams. Workers at a number of well-attended meetings of the Rail, Maritime and Transport union (RMT) have discussed resisting the extension of hours. The company uses subcontractors for cleaning, security, and food preparation, allowing the contracting firms to pay substantially lower wages. It also uses this to threaten Eurostar workers with "contracting out" their jobs.

'Privatization' of London Underground

The rail unions' response to the LCR crisis and other job issues facing workers in rail is to blame privatization, heralding the "golden days" of the state-run British Rail. RMT officials have called in the short term for the government to buy up shares in Railtrack, and in the longer term to re-nationalize all the rail companies when their franchises expire. The union leadership's efforts have been focused on opposing the privatization of London Underground (LUL), the last substantial state-owned part of the railways. A union leaflet headed, "If Rail Privatisation doesn't work, why should it work on LUL?" points to the way the New York subway, and the Paris metro are funded without mentioning the sharpening assault by LUL today against its workers.

For example, the lack of guards on LUL trains, and workers staffing platforms has directly affected safety. On February 11 an LUL train was so full that the pressure of passengers bust open the sliding doors in a tunnel during rush hour. LUL pays out £19,000 as compensation to the 12,000 people who complain about the service each week.

John Prescott announced March 20 that LUL's track, signaling, and rolling stock would be privatized with LUL just running the train service and paying charges to the new private owners. He claimed this is "not privatization nor nationalization but a new third way," and refused to guarantee fares would not rise or that jobs would not be cut.

Rail workers on LUL have been responding to the attacks on jobs and conditions by taking action. On March 26 guards on the Northern Line of LUL struck to protest the bosses' refusal to allow guards displaced by moves to driver-only operation to choose which depot they would work from. A further day of strike action drew broader support on April 9. Guards on the LUL Northern line are now planning another strike day in conjunction with drivers for May 1.

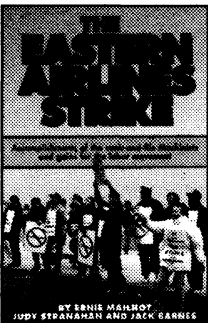
Pete Clifford is a member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport union in London.

from Pathfinder

The Eastern Airlines Strike

Accomplishments of the Rank-and-File Machinists and Gains for the Labor Movement

ERNIE MAILHOT, JUDY STRANAHAN, AND JACK BARNES



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Paperworkers end nine-month strike

BY PAUL KOURI
AND JACQUIE HENDERSON

CAMPBELL RIVER, British Columbia — Pulp and paperworkers at three Fletcher Challenge mills in this province ended their nine-month strike by narrowly approving a contract April 18. About 59 percent of the 81 percent who voted, cast their ballots in favor of the agreement. At the MacKenzie mill in northern BC, 68 percent of the 200 workers there voted against.

Two-thirds of the 2,400 strikers belong to the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union (CEP). The other third are members of the Pulp, Paper and Woodworkers of Canada (PPWC). Fletcher Challenge forced the workers out on strike July 14, 1997, demanding the unions agree to 365-day continuous production, a six-year contract, and "flexibility."

The strike centered on the last demand, which the strikers pointed out would eliminate jobs, undermine safety, and weaken the unions by allowing the company to compel workers to do whatever task it saw fit, regardless of seniority, job classification or experience.

The contract proposal, based on a modified version of a mediator's report rejected last February by a 93.5 percent vote of the membership, concedes these three demands to the employer, including on the key issue of "flexibility." It also includes small increases in wages, 0 percent in the first year and 2 percent yearly over the rest of the contract, some improvements in pensions, and a signing bonus of \$2,750.

Union officials argued in their contract summary that they had "been successful in securing many protections for members in the implementation of flex."

Gerritt Lettinga, accepted this statement. Lettinga has worked for the past five years as a papermaker at the Crofton mill, 150 miles south of Campbell River. He said, "Fletcher Challenge wanted one-way flexibility from top to bottom instead of cooperation, but in my opinion they didn't get it."

Robert Welsh and Tim Dorsay, both in their early thirties, spent an evening together carefully examining and discussing the proposed agreement. "When you take the time to read it critically you realize it's a lot of hype," Welsh said after voting in Campbell River. "They have some words there that suggest that there will be no job losses due to flexibility, but it's all very vague. Other

places in it they admit workers jobs can be 'displaced' due to 'efficiencies.'"

Dorsay added, "You'll never be able to pin down whether job losses were from flexibility or not."

Charlie Varco, a longshoreman at the Elk Falls mill, helped organize the strike support rally of 1,500 last April 4 in Campbell River. He elaborated further on the negative consequences of what the company calls flexibility. "The contract is a threat to safety because its going to force people to do jobs they're not familiar with.... It's also a vehicle for management to impose retribution on anyone they want — for example, someone who's been going after them on safety issues."

Kim Belling, 33, works on the Elk Falls spare board. He voted for the agreement, arguing that the company is "following a global trend of trying to reduce the labor force and their costs. Their competitors down east are already doing it." But he wasn't enthusiastic about the contract. "There's no real humanity in it anywhere," he declared.

The outcome of the strike at Fletcher Challenge, the longest in the history of British Columbia pulp and paper industry, will serve as a pattern for the rest of the pulp and paper industry in the province. In the next couple weeks CEP members on strike at Timber West in Elk Falls, sold off by Fletcher Challenge during the strike, will vote on the pattern contract. The other contracts in the industry also expired in 1997 and have been on hold waiting for the Fletcher Challenge settlement. All 11,000 members of the pulp and paper unions in BC contributed \$50 per week to provide the strikers with \$400 per week strike pay.

Pattern bargaining is relatively recent in British Columbia's pulp and paper industry. In 1992, workers shut down the entire industry for several weeks. Forest companies demanded, and got, the provincial labor board to make illegal industry-wide bargaining and job actions. The union officialdom then accepted this framework and targeted Fletcher Challenge in 1994-95. With the price of paper strong at that time, FCC settled after a strike of a few weeks without getting the major concessions on 365-day continuous production and flexibility that it and the rest of the industry wanted.

This time, Fletcher Challenge, with huge amounts of cash reserves from the sale of one of its mills in the United States and pa-

N.Y. nurses vote to accept contract



Nurses at Maimonides Medical Center in Brooklyn, New York, ended a three-week strike and approved a contract April 21. Nurses were protesting company moves to cut health benefits, rotate nurses from department to department, and impose changes in work schedules. The contract maintains the nurses' current health benefits, but allows the hospital to change many work schedules. Maimonides hired scab nurses during the strike, offering them 25-45 percent beefed up salaries to keep the hospital running. The strike drew support from other unions around the city. At the same time, hundreds of workers and neighborhood residents have rallied to protest major layoffs at Harlem Hospital.

per prices down, was in a better position to weather a long strike. "With the soft market and the down time in the industry, it probably did not cost us much," bragged a company spokesman.

During the strike, Fletcher Challenge claimed the unions were being unreasonable in their unwillingness to accept the same conditions that they said the CEP had already accepted in eastern Canada. Fletcher Challenge frequently threatened to pull out of BC. In March the company announced it was buying a newsprint mill in the Philippines.

The workers held their picket lines strong 24 hours a day during the strike, halting production at the mills. They organized several rallies during the course of the walk-out, the last of which drew 1,500 workers. In response to the company and media campaign, officials of the two unions offered nationalist rhetoric about problems with "foreign" companies. At the April 4 rally one of the local presidents, Fraser McQuarrie of CEP local 630, carried this chauvinism even further, stating in his address, "We don't want Malaysians, Indone-

sians, and others coming here to run our country."

The experience of this fight has deepened the discussion among unionists here on what it takes today to defend workers interests against the bosses' attacks. Mike Snelling, a veteran of many strikes during his 23 years as a shipper at the Crofton mill and years as a Longshoreman before that, commented, "We're fighting the biggest. Fletcher is worldwide. Maybe we should have picked a different company, or maybe we should have gone out all together."

Welsh, from Elk Falls, noted, "They're going after the underlying principles of unionism. We fought this long, now is not the time to give up."

Paul Kouri is member of the United Steelworkers of America local 2952 in Vancouver. Jacquie Henderson is a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 764 in Richmond, BC. Chuck Demers of the Young Socialists in Vancouver and Steve Penner, member of the Canadian Auto Workers in Langley, B.C. contributed to this article.

Workers, students in Australia side with wharfies

Continued from front page

porters with arms linked spent the night calmly facing down attempts by hundreds of cops to intimidate and disperse them. Cops, massed in formation, came within 25 feet of the blockade only to withdraw and try again. Overnight the road leading to the main gate was barricaded with railway sleepers (ties), rails, and an overturned shipping container. Australian Council of Trade Unions national secretary Bill Kelty, former Victoria state Labor premiers Joan Kirner and John McCain, and some 20 state and federal Labor MPs joined protesters in the early morning hours.

At 6:15 a.m. the protesters, ignoring the April 16 injunction won by the Melbourne Ports Corporation to evict protesters from its property, were joined by 2,000 Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) members.

Surrounded, the cops were forced to withdraw, only to counter with a police barricade of the Coode Road gate. Later 80 cops clashed with 400 MUA supporters at the Footscray Road entrance. The Appleton Dock rail gate was briefly secured by cops around 8:00 a.m. and at 10:00 a.m. some 100 cops attempted to move a train through protesters on the tracks who were heaping concrete blocks around themselves. Union organizers reported that the train driver "suddenly decided he wasn't feeling well, and called in sick." No arrests were made.

At Sydney's Port Botany wharf, hundreds of unionists and others responded to union calls on April 14, 16, and 17 to block trucks coming to pick up full containers. The state

Supreme Court granted a temporary injunction to Patrick late on April 15 barring MUA members and officials from this and other sites, including Darling Harbour, near Sydney's central business district, and the port of Newcastle.

With the injunctions, MUA officials and delegates handed over direct responsibility for the picket to officials of the CFMEU and the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union. Rank-and-file MUA members are taking on increasing responsibility at the pickets.

On April 14 police tried to clear a path for a scab truck to enter Port Botany, dragging dozens from the line who had sat down and linked arms. They arrested 22, who were taken to Surry Hills police station and released without being charged. Most were back at the picket within the hour. Earlier nine trucks arrived but turned back without attempting to enter.

On April 16, in the wake of the previous night's injunction, some 800 were on the line by 4:00 a.m. Later, police did not intervene and 28 trucks backed off. Protesters at Port Botany and Darling Harbour have not prevented buses carrying security guards and scabs from entering or leaving but have used each opportunity to loudly voice their opposition to union-busting. On April 17, 200 out of 600 protesters were forcefully removed at Port Botany as 70 cops failed to clear a path for a waiting truck. Forty-one were detained and released at Maroubra police station without being charged. Ralph, an MUA member on the picket, gleefully told the *Militant* later that day that the work-

ers who had been arrested hopped into taxis and beat the cops back to Port Botany.

Some 300 people also rallied in Burnie, Tasmania, April 14, when all 31 sacked Patrick workers rejected being rehired on three-month individual contracts.

Mass support galvanized

Mass support around the country was galvanized by the actions of 200 West Australian cops, some in full riot gear or on horseback, who raided the Fremantle picket camp at 2:00 a.m., April 16, just hours after the state Supreme Court injunction was issued. While some 100 pickets relocated 100 yards down the road, more than 2,000 supporters massed at the picket line the following morning. Another clash with the cops took place around 11:00 a.m.

No Patrick freight has been moved off the Melbourne, Sydney, Fremantle, or Newcastle docks since the pickets were set up April 7.

Patrick was forced to abandon attempts to work its Newcastle, New South Wales, operations with scab labor April 15 when a bus with six scabs and 15 security guards on board was forced to leave. "There were hundreds of people here — pensioners, students, actors," David Lewin, a sacked MUA member at Newcastle told the *Militant*. "I've seen nothing like it [in years]."

With Patrick facilities shut, "MUA labor is loading all the ships on the Newcastle docks," Eddie Seymour, a rank-and-file picket line coordinator there, said. "This is a victory for us."

The following evening some 300 people

attended a public meeting called by the Newcastle Trades Hall Council, and more than 400 took part in a protest April 17 in nearby Maitland called by the council to protest a visit by Prime Minister John Howard.

Federal Workplace Relations Minister Peter Reith was also met by a rowdy protest of 200 near Brisbane April 18.

Well-known actors, including Jack Thompson and Ernie Dingo, have publicly supported the MUA, along with former rugby league captain Wally Lewis and others. State Labor premier Robert Carr has visited Sydney picket lines three times, urging Patrick and Howard's Liberal-National coalition government to move to an arbitrated settlement.

The leader of the federal Labor opposition, Kim Beazley, visited the Fremantle picket April 16 and called on Prime Minister John Howard to end his partisan stance. "Govern for all Australians, intervene and get the parties together in this dispute and bring it to a conclusion," Beazley said. Howard hit back, noting, "The only two governments in Australian history that have used troops in industrial disputes have been Labor governments. It is not a precedent I desire to follow."

Some workers and others interviewed by the *Militant* on the picket lines believe the police in New South Wales have been held more in check due to the existence here of Australia's only state Labor government. While cops in Victoria, Western Australia, and Queensland have been more violent and

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The struggle for national rights in Kosovo

Continued from Page 7

chauvinism in the name of creating a "Soviet Nation." This went counter to the proletarian example set by the Bolsheviks in the early years of the Russian Revolution. V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik party saw the right to self-determination — including secession for the nations oppressed by tsarism — as the only possible road to forging an alliance between the workers and farmers of the oppressed and the oppressor nations. That voluntary alliance could be the only basis for a federated union of soviets.

Workers and farmers in Kosovo benefited from the land reform and the nationalization of industry carried out following the overthrow of the landlords and capitalists and the establishment of a workers and farmers government. About 95 percent of cultivated lands passed into the hands of working peasants, and a progressive taxation system was introduced. In 1948, some 3,100 medium to large enterprises were nationalized, practically the whole of Yugoslav industry. By the late 1940s, a workers state had been established even though deformed at birth by Stalinist domination.

But the mobilizations that won the war and pushed through the anticapitalist transformation could not prevent the consolidation of Tito's Stalinist regime. As political power was more and more concentrated in the hands of a privileged social layer in Yugoslavia, Kosovo's toilers were pushed farther away than those of other nationalities from exercising political power. The Albanians of Kosovo and the fight of the Albanian nation as a whole to unify became a chip in the power struggle over the Balkans between Belgrade, Moscow, and Tirana.

In the Yugoslav constitution of 1946, Kosovo was given only limited regional autonomy. Although important gains were made in the area of language and education, the key area of internal security and all managerial appointments were to be controlled from Belgrade. Using the pretext of suppressing Albanian irredentism, longtime chief of the Federal Police Alexander Rankovic, ordered police pressure on Albanians to emigrate. Between 1954 and 1957 some 195,000 Albanians left for Turkey.

Resistance to national oppression

Simmering resistance in the region flared into mass actions in 1968 and continued into the early 1970s. In the late '60s antibureaucratic struggles rose throughout Yugoslavia that also opposed the U.S.-led war in Vietnam, in the face of official government neutrality. Demonstrations in Kosovo began again to raise the demand for a Kosovo Re-

public. It was these mobilizations that led to the 1974 revision of the Yugoslav constitution, which recognized Kosovo as an autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia. All residents could now elect a parliament with veto on all issues effecting Kosovo. The Albanian flag came into official use and Albanian-language education became available up to university level. The University of Pristina, where instruction was offered in Albanian and Serbian, had already been established in 1970.

Beginning in 1952, Kosovo was accorded priority in the allocation of funds as an underdeveloped region within Yugoslavia. After 1968, favorable conditions for borrowing from federal banks were instituted. The affirmative action funds used in Kosovo, despite bureaucratic mismanagement and abuse, did advance industrial development, especially in mining.

Tito, however, had opened up the Yugoslav economy to foreign investment and loans from imperialist bank trusts, acting through institutions like the International Monetary Fund long before other regimes in Eastern Europe adopted similar policies. So when the 1974-75 worldwide recession hit, the shock waves sent the Yugoslav economy into drastic decline. Kosovo and other areas that lagged behind the rest of the country in economic development were especially hard hit. National inequalities widened as a result.

On the eve of the mass mobilizations of 1981, Slovenia was six times more developed than Kosovo; at the end of World War II that ratio had been 3 to 1. In 1975 Kosovo's per capita income was 33 percent of the national average. Five years later, it stood at 29 percent. Unemployment was three times the Yugoslav average, and farmers were leaving the countryside in growing numbers looking for jobs in the towns.

In the struggles against the devastating effect of the economic downturn, demands for national rights assumed increasing importance. What started on March 11, 1981,

as student protests against poor living conditions at the university dorms turned to mass demonstrations by April 2 of that year demanding republican status. The next day the Yugoslav Army moved in with tanks and armored personal carriers and instituted marshal law for the first time since 1945, resulting in an official count of 12 dead and 150 wounded. Some 140 people were tried and sentenced to a total of 999 years for offenses ranging from writing "Kosovo Republic" on a wall to belonging to an organization seeking secession. While martial law was lifted two months later, the security forces never left the outskirts of the main towns.

Tensions remained high, leading to another round of mass demonstrations in 1989 and yet another clampdown and declaration of martial law. The official count was 28 dead. The 1989 decision by Serbia's national assembly to rescind key aspects of Kosovo's autonomy was an important step in the consolidation of the Milosevic regime in Belgrade and the preparation for an offensive in Slovenia, Croatia, and then Bosnia. While Belgrade fired the opening shots in each of these conflicts, each regime fought for control of territory and resources to maintain the parasitic existence of the layers of the ruling caste loyal to them. And each side sought imperialist collaboration towards the restoration of capitalism, hoping to find itself at the helm.

Faced with continued mobilizations by workers and youth in Kosovo, including strikes by the miners and others, the Serbian government suspended Kosovo's parliament in July 1990 and imposed direct rule through its own police force. The current explosion in the struggle for self-determination is the latest attempt to throw off the yoke of the regime in Belgrade.

The struggles of working people throughout the Balkans, born from the ravages of World War II, led to victorious revolutions in Albania and Yugoslavia. The revolutionary upsurge in Greece was defeated due to

the betrayals of the Stalinist misleadership. These mass movements of the oppressed posed once again the possibility of creating a federation of socialist and equal Balkan states. For the first time, they also posed the possibility of uniting the Albanian people across the borders drawn by imperialism after the Balkan Wars and World War II. This window of opportunity was closed by the Stalinist leaderships in Moscow, Belgrade, and Tirana.

The struggle for national rights has flared up once again and has now objectively become a part of the resistance of the toilers of Yugoslavia, including in Serbia itself, against the imperialist-led attempts to restore capitalism. Through this struggle a new leadership can emerge that will reknit the continuity with the Bolsheviks and the best traditions of the Yugoslav revolution.



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BRITAIN

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The Northern Ireland Agreement and the Fight to End British Rule in Ireland. Speaker: Anne Howie, Communist League. Sat., May 2, 7:00 p.m. 60 Shudehill, first floor. Donation: £2. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

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British Troops Out of Ireland! Struggle Will Win Irish Freedom. Speaker: Danny Burns,

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The sane society — In 1986 Horace Kelly was convicted of committing three murders in California. He was ruled sane and sentenced to die. Now it's contended



Harry Ring

that he became insane while on Death Row. A jury is slated to rule if he is sane — a requirement for execution.

If found insane, Kelly will be sent to a mental hospital. If cured, he will be executed. One article inquired: "...what doctor would save a patient only to see him killed by the state?"

'Love thy neighbor' — "Westminster Abbey has introduced a compulsory entrance fee of £5 to stop overcrowding and to discourage tourists using it as a free waiting room." — London news item

...meanwhile — "A campaign was launched to persuade people who have deserted the Church to give it another try." — London

news item.

Sounds right — "Church is told to use spin doctors" — Headline, *The Times*, London

Really, Dick Tracy — Twenty years ago, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) ruled that employers must provide toilets for their workers. But they neglected to specify that the workers must be permitted to use them. They now say that they have enough complaints to merit issuing a memo.

Said memo declares that denying ready access to toilets can affect

health adversely.

We're all in this together — The Internal Revenue Service warns that children who earn more than \$650 or have more than \$1 in investment income, must file an income tax.

Snitch and snatch — You think that maybe those kids down the block aren't paying taxes on the income from their lemonade stand? Or you don't like their old man? Contact the Internal Revenue Service informers program. They pay up to 15 percent of the take to tipsters.

Sounds pretty crummy? Sure. But it's the American Way.

Makes you feel secure — "The developer of a British surveillance system claims its setup will ...ferret out car thieves before they strike. By monitoring the strides of people as they walk through parking lots, the controversial system can reportedly detect the difference between people who are searching for their own car and those who have an intent to steal...."

"Researchers predict that it will one day be used to catch shoplifters, bank robbers, and even terrorists." — *Wired* magazine.

Can parliamentary democracy replace the soviets?

The following article, "Is parliamentary democracy likely to replace the soviets?" was written by Leon Trotsky in February 1929. Trotsky, a central leader of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, had just arrived in Turkey as an exile from the Soviet Union. It is reprinted from the *Writings of Leon Trotsky — 1929*, the first in a 14-volume set. Another translation of the article was published in the May 22, 1929, issue of *The New Republic* under the title "Which Way, Russia?" Copyright © 1975 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted with permission. Subheadings and footnotes are by the *Militant*.

BY LEON TROTSKY

"If Soviet power is faced with mounting difficulties; if the crisis of leadership in the

BOOK OF THE WEEK

dictatorship is growing increasingly acute; if the danger of Bonapartism cannot be excluded — would it not be better to take the road of democracy?" This question is either posed point-blank or persists as an underlying theme in a great many articles devoted to recent events in the Soviet republic.

It is not my object to get into a discussion here of what is *best* and not best. My aim is to disclose what is *probable*, that is, what flows from the objective logic of developments. And I have come to the conclusion that what is least probable or, more precisely, what is absolutely excluded is a transition from the Soviets to parliamentary democracy.

Many newspapers have explained to me politely and in popular language that my expulsion was the result of the lack of democracy in Russia and, consequently, that I should not complain. But first of all, I have complained to no one; and second, I have also had occasion to be expelled from several democracies. That adversaries of the Soviets should regard the present acute crisis of leadership in the USSR as the inevitable consequence of the rule of a dictatorship — a dictatorship for which I, of course, assume full responsibility — is quite in the order of things. In the most general sense this observation is true. I am not in the least prepared, on the basis of my being exiled, to overthrow historical determinism. But if

the leadership crisis did not arise by chance from the dictatorship, the dictatorship itself also did not arise by chance from the short-lived democracy which replaced czarism in February 1917.¹ If the dictatorship is guilty of repression and all the other evils, then why did democracy prove itself powerless to preserve the country from dictatorship? And where is the evidence to show that it would now be able to hold dictatorship at bay, having taken its place?

To express my idea more clearly, I must expand the geographical frame of reference and at least recall to mind certain tendencies of political development in Europe since the war [World War I], which was not just an episode but the bloody prologue to a new era.

Almost all those who were leaders in the war are still alive. The majority of them said at the time that it was the last war, that after it would come the reign of peace and democracy. Some of them even believed what they were saying. But today not one of them would be so bold as to repeat those words. Why? Because the war brought us into an age of great tensions and great conflicts, with the prospect of more great wars. At this hour powerful trains are speeding toward each other down the tracks of world domination. We cannot measure our epoch by the yardstick of the nineteenth century, which was preeminently the century of expanding democracy. In many respects the twentieth century will differ from the nineteenth more than all of modern history has from that of the Middle Ages.

In a Vienna newspaper, [French bourgeois Radical Socialist Party leader Edouard] Herriot recently enumerated the cases of democracy's retreat in the face of dictatorship. After the installation of revolutionary power in Russia and the defeat of the revolutionary movement in a number of countries, we witnessed the establishment of fascist dictatorships throughout all of southern and eastern Europe. How can this extinction of the "altar fires" of democracy be explained? It is sometimes said that in these cases we are dealing with states that are backward or immature. This explanation is hardly applicable to Italy. But even where it is true, it explains nothing. In the nineteenth century it was thought to be a law of history that all backward nations would rise up the stairs of democracy. Why then does the twentieth century drive these nations down the road to dictatorship? We think that the explanation emerges from the facts themselves. Democratic institutions have shown that they cannot withstand the pressure of present-day contradictions, be they international or internal or, most frequently, both kinds combined. Whether this is good or bad, it is a fact.

Democracy acts as a safety switch

By analogy with electrical engineering, democracy might be defined as a system of safety switches and circuit breakers for protection against currents overloaded by the national or social struggle. No period of human history has been — even remotely — so overcharged with antagonisms as ours. The overloading of lines occurs more and more

frequently at different points in the European power grid. Under the impact of class and international contradictions that are too highly charged, the safety switches of democracy either burn out or explode. That is essentially what the short circuiting of dictatorship represents.

At the same time, the strength of the contradictions within each country and on a world scale is not declining but growing. There are hardly any grounds for consolation in the fact that the process has only taken hold on the periphery of the capitalist world. Gout may start in the little finger or big toe, but eventually it reaches the heart. Moreover, no matter what the state of affairs is in the countries where capitalism is strong and democracy is of long standing — a question that we cannot go into here — what we have pointed out thus far, we feel, throws sufficient light on the question posed in the title of this article.

Soviets are new property relations

When people counterpose democracy to the Soviets, what they usually have in mind is simply the parliamentary system. They forget about the other side of the question, the decisive one at that — namely, that the October Revolution cleared the path for the greatest democratic revolution in human history. The confiscation of the landed estates, the total elimination of the traditional class privileges and distinctions of Russian society, the destruction of the czarist bureaucratic and military apparatus, the introduction of national equality and national self-determination — all this was the elementary democratic work that the February revolution barely even addressed itself to before leaving it, almost untouched, for



Leon Trotsky in 1929

the October Revolution to inherit. It was precisely the bankruptcy of the liberal-socialist coalition, its incapacity for this work, that made possible the Soviet dictatorship, based on an alliance of the workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities. The very same causes that prevented our weak and historically belated democracy from carrying out its elementary historical task will also prevent it in the future from placing itself at the head of the country. For in the intervening time, the problems and difficulties have grown greater and democracy weaker.

The Soviet system is not simply a form of government that can be compared abstractly with the parliamentary form. Above all it is a new form of property relations. What is involved at bottom is the ownership of the land, the banks, the mines, the factories, the railroads. The working masses

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—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



May 4, 1973

May first is the international holiday of the working class, the day to celebrate the struggle of the workers movement everywhere against the oppression of capitalism. Over the years the U.S. government has done its best to portray May Day as something alien to the U.S., if not downright subversive. The truth of the matter is that May Day originated in the United States.

May 1, 1886, was set aside by the Knights of Labor and other trade union organizations as a day on which workers would leave work and demonstrate for the eight-hour day. In Chicago, where tensions had already been raised by a strike at the McCormick Reaper plant that had been going on for two months, there was a city-wide lockout the next day. On May 3 Chicago police opened fire on workers outside of the McCormick plant, killing four and wounding scores. A mass protest meeting was called for the next day in Haymarket Square.

As the Haymarket meeting was breaking up, it was attacked by police. A dynamite bomb was thrown into the police ranks by an agent provocateur, and the police opened fire on the crowd. Four workers and seven policemen were dead before the day was over.

On May 5 every prominent labor leader in Chicago was arrested. Eight men, all anarchists, were indicted for murder. The government was unable to link any of the eight

with the bombing (one of the defendants, Samuel Fielden, was speaking at the time the bomb was thrown), but it organized a witch-hunt trial that led to the conviction of all of them.



May 3, 1948

SEATTLE, April 26 — 15,000 workers at the Boeing Airplane plant are striking for a 30-cent wage increase, eight paid holidays and strengthened seniority provisions. Members of Lodge 751 of the International Association of Machinists since 1937, and traditionally conservative, Boeing workers have been goaded into their first strike in 32 years by the arrogant House of Morgan-controlled corporation.

The strike began at 12:30 a.m. last Thursday morning, ending two years of futile negotiations and attempts at arbitration. In the face of the year-old refusal of the IAM national officers to grant strike sanction, aroused union members pressured their local leadership into calling the strike.

There exists considerable public support and sympathy for the strike, and even the Hearst press is relatively subdued after its initial editorial outburst which pleaded with the workers to stop and reconsider in view of the national defense.

Boeing workers are in no mood to "cool off." As one committeeman put it: "I've cooled off for so long I'm frozen stiff."

From Pathfinder

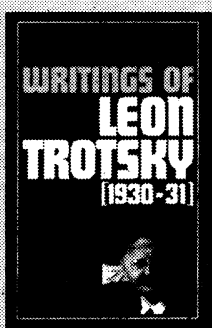
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¹ There were two revolutions in Russia in 1917. The February revolution overthrew the czarist monarchy and put in place a bourgeois democratic government. At the same time the soviets — councils of workers, peasants, and soldiers born in the revolutionary upsurge — formed a sort of dual power. The October revolution brought the soviets, in which the Bolsheviks had won a majority in many cases, to power and opened the road to the establishment of the first workers state in history.

U.S. hands off Iraq

Working people and all opponents of U.S. imperialism should join in condemning the latest round of U.S.-led provocations against Iraq. It is an important time to organize forums, teach-ins, and other events to tell the truth about who the real terrorists are.

From the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the genocidal war in Vietnam and carpet-bombing of Cambodia, to the slaughter of tens of thousands of fleeing Iraqi civilians and soldiers in the 1991 Gulf War, Washington has been the biggest user of weapons of mass destruction in human history.

Opponents of U.S. war moves should also remind their coworkers, fellow students and others that the "deal" United Nations secretary general Kofi Anan struck with Baghdad last February in fact legitimized Washington's use of military force against those who don't "follow the rules" the U.S. rulers decree. That agreement, signed in the name of preventing the massive bombing of Iraq by U.S. forces, made it more likely that another deadly confrontation can quickly develop. The Clinton administration has made clear its stance that any declared "violation" of the agreement can be used as justification for unilateral military action by Washington.

In the name of patrolling for biological and chemical weapons, the U.S. rulers seek to gain greater dominance in the Arab-Persian Gulf region. Along with their moves

to expand the NATO military alliance eastward, deepen intervention in the Balkans, and play a greater military and economic role in the Caspian Sea area, Washington's war moves against Iraq are increasingly aimed at tightening the imperialist noose around Russia, in preparation for an eventual attempt to restore the domination of capitalism there by military force. In the process, the U.S. rulers strive to gain a further edge over their capitalist allies, who are also rivals, in the oil-rich region.

Today's propaganda against Iraq goes hand-in-hand with political campaigns against "terrorism" and "Islamic fundamentalism," which serve to justify both imperialist military assaults and attacks on democratic rights inside the United States and other countries. These charges will be and are used to smear many who stand up and fight — the Palestinian people struggling for self-determination, fighters for Irish freedom and Quebec independence, Albanians in Kosovo demanding their national rights, and others throughout the Mideast and along the Silk Road who resist the impact of the crisis of the world market system today.

Working people the world over should join now in calling for an immediate end to the "weapons inspections" that violate Iraqi sovereignty, for the lifting of all UN sanctions, and for all U.S. and UN inspectors and troops to get out of the Mideast!

Free Antonio Camacho now!

Continued from front page

year, and tried on the basis of testimony from FBI informers, snoops, and hundreds of hours of tainted tape recordings. Camacho was locked up for 10 years.

The U.S. rulers, however, underestimated the public outcry against these brazen frame-ups. Numerous protests were held demanding the release of the Hartford defendants. Over time, many have won their freedom; meanwhile, the current campaign to win the release of 15 Puerto Rican activists still held in U.S. jails has gained broader and broader support.

To a growing number of working people, the real terrorists are the FBI and other U.S. cop agencies that have persecuted the independence movement, union activists, and other fighters for social change in Puerto Rico. The real criminals are the U.S. Navy, which has used the small Puerto Rican island Vieques for target practice — rehearsals for wars of aggression abroad — and endangered the lives and livelihoods of the residents of that fishing community. The real robbers are the U.S. corporations that use Puerto Rico's colonial status to superexploit labor, raking in massive profits — while Puerto Rican working people are subjected to high levels of unemployment and wages that are half those of Mississippi, the poorest U.S.

state.

When Washington was finally forced to free Camacho in February, it imposed outrageous parole conditions. He was ordered to report to U.S. authorities in San Juan every 72 hours and not to associate with other independence fighters who have also served time. Camacho, who was received by joyous crowds of hundreds on his return to the island, publicly announced he would not abide by these onerous and degrading restrictions, and instead continued to speak out in public. The U.S. cops, nervous about public sentiment on the island, lay low for a while, and only now have decided to re-arrest him. They spirited him out of Puerto Rico because they are fearful of public protests there. They have blocked family members and lawyers from seeing Camacho because they are afraid of his insistence on denouncing the abuses against him.

The U.S. government has no right to hold Camacho in its imperial prisons. We should demand they release him along with the other 14 independence fighters now. The *Militant* urges its readers to join with other supporters of democratic rights to hold public protests, as well as to build the actions that will take place July 25 at the United Nations, in Washington, D.C., and in Puerto Rico, demanding freedom for the jailed patriots.

Battle on Australian wharves

Continued from Page 11

confrontational, few if any charges have been laid against the locked out workers there either.

Pickets continue to be injured in the second week of the fight. One escaped serious injury after being knocked down by an accelerating semi-trailer at Darling Harbour, April 17. Retired wharfie Ron Cummins suffered broken toes after being run over by a bus carrying scabs in Newcastle, April 15. He was back on the picket line within hours.

Steady streams of people come to the picket camps at all hours. Unionists often arrive in organized contingents.

Bruce Frary, 37, a seaman and MUA member on CSR's *Goliath* cement carrier between Tasmania and Sydney, told the *Militant* April 18 at Darling Harbour, "This is an issue of democracy. If they succeed here, everyone's right to protest is threatened." Frary noted that "Howard thought he had a mandate, that he was immune" after the conservatives' sweeping election victory in March 1996. "But attacking the aged and other things has really weakened his position."

Longtime unionist Jack Lawrence said he was bringing his 80-year-old father-in-law, a retired wharfie, to Darling Harbour April 21. He worked on the wharves "when this street was known as the 'Hungry Mile' and men fought each other for jobs. I want the young blokes here to meet him. They stand on his shoulders," Lawrence said.

The fight in Australia has begun to win international support. "We will do everything we can to influence shipping companies not to do business with Patrick," declared International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) general secretary David Cockcroft, April 18, after the UK High Court lifted an injunction stopping the ITF from assisting the MUA. Maritime and longshore unions around the world, including in Japan, the United States, New Zealand, South Africa, Sweden, and Denmark, have announced plans to organize solidarity actions. On April 21 the Maritime Workers Industrial Union in Papua New Guinea placed an indefinite ban on goods handled by Patrick, with

two ships bound for Patrick terminals already affected.

As the MUA continues to make headway by reaching out, some commentators have begun to realize that the outcome of Howard, Reith, and Corrigan's union-busting drive is far from assured. Michael Gordon, writing in the April 19 *Sunday Age*, noted, "Either Chris Corrigan's company will be forced out of business and replaced by one prepared to deal with the union, or the MUA will become the anachronism the prime minister believes it already is." Whether the MUA prevails will be decided through continued action by unionists and working people in the weeks to come.

Doug Cooper and Bob Aiken are members of the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union.

Women's conference in Cuba

Continued from Page 9

of the Executive Committee of the International Democratic Federation of Women read a resolution calling for an end to the U.S. embargo, a cease of the bacteriological war against Cuba, and respect for Cuba's sovereignty.

In a speech closing the conference, Cuban president Fidel Castro discussed the devastating impact of the policies of the exploiting classes on millions of human beings around the world. A discussion of women's issues must start with the main issues of today's world, he asserted, such as underdevelopment, poverty, and the debts to the imperialist banks that are economically strangling the Third World.

Castro pointed out that the gap in economic conditions between countries is widening today, and within each country, the rich are richer and the poor increasingly poor. He argued that this will continue until the present capitalist economic order is replaced.

The Cuban president also discussed the negative im-

Threats against Iraq

Continued from front page

to bear in mind that even if the inspections of the palaces went reasonable well, that is not the issue. The issue is about compliance" with the terms dictated by Washington last February in a UN-brokered agreement to avert massive bombing of Iraq by U.S. and British forces.

Since 1990 the UN Security Council has imposed an embargo on Iraq. After the 1990-91 Gulf War slaughter organized by Washington under the figleaf of UN resolutions, it anointed a U.S.-led "inspection" team called UNSCOM to investigate that country under the pretext of threats of "weapons of mass destruction."

The latest report, written by top UN snooper Richard Butler, details inspections of eight government sites and some 1,000 buildings in an eight-day period, which revealed no signs of weaponry. "In all the sites outside of Baghdad, there were no documents and no computers. The buildings were largely empty," an annex to the report stated. The annex to the UN report is by Deputy Executive Chairman Charles Duelfer, who headed the recent UNSCOM team. The searches have "turned up no evidence of secret Iraqi nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs," the *Washington Post* reported April 15.

"The last time we released a report like this [six months ago], it triggered the crisis in the Gulf," Butler, who is Australian, said in an interview published April 18. The most recent inspections, like all those carried out since 1991, have been extremely provocative, heightening tensions between Baghdad and Washington, and Washington and other governments. "Document and computer searches were...intended to set a precedent," the UN annex read. The inspectors have also accused Baghdad of removing any "incriminating material" before the UN team arrives, a charge the Iraqi government denies.

The UN report complains about "the procedures and stated requirements for the presence of senior diplomats at specific locations. Iraq stated that UNSCOM...could not enter buildings without a diplomat being present.... In the future this may be problematic since no-notice visits require quick movement.... Assuring the presence of several diplomats at all locations will inhibit the possibility of surprise."

Butler and other UN snoops have complained that they have been escorted by Iraqi officials into that country's government buildings. And several times the U.S.-led team has been questioned about their inspections. Duelfer also complained in his report that foreign "diplomats engaged in argumentation and challenges to the work of UNSCOM... supporting the Iraqi views against those of UNSCOM." Duelfer's annex also asserts, without citing any facts, that Baghdad may return to obstructing the inspections, the *Washington Post* reported.

Pointing to activities that directly defy Iraqi sovereignty, Duelfer states, "The most contentious issue was the overflight and photography of the presidential sites by the UNSCOM helicopter.... Iraq initially denied permission for such activity.... Ultimately, the Secretary-General [Kofi Annan] supported the UNSCOM position and Iraq relented."

The U.S.-dominated team continues to assert the right to conduct "open-ended" searches. "The matter of continuing access is unsettled...as the Iraqi side clearly feels that the phrase in the [UN agreement on February 23] referring to 'initial and subsequent visits' means for a limited period only." Baghdad has stated it is opposed to any "open-ended" searches.

Another recently released UN report accuses the Iraqi regime, headed by President Saddam Hussein, of executing 1,500 people last year. This report, written by Max van der Stoep, former foreign minister of The Netherlands and a UN "specialist" in human rights since 1995, is based on interviews with Iraqis outside the country. Van der Stoep has never been to Iraq.

In the 1991-92 Gulf War, the U.S. government led an assault on the Iraqi people, killing more than 150,000. The UN embargo has been responsible for the deaths of more than 500,000 people since it was first imposed. While it is not front-page news in the big-business press at the moment, Washington maintains an armada of weaponry, war ships, and planes in the region. This includes some 36,000 U.S. troops, 2 aircraft carriers, 30 warships, 400 attack planes, and 6 navy vessels capable of launching Tomahawk cruise missiles.

pact of the growing domination of "U.S. culture" in other countries, including how the media presents women. He pointed to the fashion industry, which presents a prototype of "female beauty" that has nothing to do with the diversity of women in the world. "It is an insult, a humiliation," he said.

He detailed how Washington tries to dictate to other countries and intervening in their affairs. "They tell Indonesia what to do. They tell Thailand what it has to do. They tell South Korea what to do. They decide whether there is a loan or not. 'We are the only ones who escape!'" he added. "There are a lot of difficulties because of the blockade, but we are the only country they can't tell to do something."

Elizabeth Stone is a member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) in Chicago. Virginia Garza of Los Angeles and Rebecca Arenson of Philadelphia, also a member of the IAM, contributed to this article.

Parliamentary democracy or soviets?

Continued from Page 13

remember very well what the aristocrat, the big landowner, the official, the loan shark, the capitalist, and the boss were in czarist Russia. Among the masses there undoubtedly exists much highly legitimate dissatisfaction with the present situation in the Soviet state. But the masses do not want the landowner, the official, or the boss back. One must not overlook these "trifles" in intoxicating oneself with commonplaces about democracy. Against the landowner's return, the peasants will fight today just as they did ten years ago, to the last drop of blood.

The great proprietor can return to his estate from emigration only astride a cannon, and he would have to spend his nights out on the cannon as well. It is true that the peasants could reconcile themselves more easily to the return of the capitalist, since state industry thus far has provided the peasants with industrial products on less favorable terms than the merchant used to earlier. This, we should note in passing, is at the root of all the internal difficulties.

But the peasants remember that the landowner and capitalist were the Siamese twins of the old regime, that they withdrew from the scene together, that during the civil war they fought against the Soviets together, and that in the territories occupied by the [counterrevolutionary] Whites, the factory owner took back the factory, and the landowner, the land. The peasant understands that the capitalist would not come back alone, but with the landlord. That is why the peasant wants neither of them. And that is a mighty source of strength, even though in negative form, for the Soviet regime.

Things must be called by their right names. What is involved here is not the introduction of some disembodied democracy but returning Russia to the capitalist road. But what would Russian capitalism look like in its second edition? During the last fifteen years the map of the world has changed profoundly. The strong have grown immeasurably stronger, the weak incomparably weaker. The struggle for world domination has assumed titanic proportions. The phases of this struggle are played out upon the bones of the weak and backward nations. A capitalist Russia could not now occupy even the third-rate position to which czarist Russia was predestined by the course of the world war. Russian capitalism today would be a

dependent, semicolonial capitalism without any prospects. Russia Number 2 would occupy a position somewhere between Russia Number 1 and India.

The Soviet system with its nationalized industry and monopoly of foreign trade, in spite of all its contradictions and difficulties, is a protective system for the economic and cultural independence of the country. This was understood even by many democrats who were attracted to the Soviet side not by socialism but by a patriotism which had absorbed some of the elementary lessons of history. To this category belong many of the forces of the native technical intelligentsia, as well as the new school of writers who for want of a more appropriate name I have called the fellow travelers.

There is a handful of impotent doctrinaires who would like to have democracy without capitalism. But the serious social forces that are hostile to the Soviet regime want capitalism without democracy. This applies not only to the expropriated property owners but to the well-to-do peasantry as well. Insofar as this peasantry turned against the revolution, it always served as a support for Bonapartism.

Soviet power or Bonapartism

Soviet power arose as the result of tremendous contradictions on the international and domestic scene. It is hopeless to think that democratic safety switches of a liberal or socialist type could withstand these contradictions, which during the past quarter century have built up to their highest tension; or that they could "regulate" the thirst for revenge and restoration that inspires the ousted ruling classes. These elements are stretched out in a long line, with the merchant and industrialist holding onto the kulak, the landlord holding onto the merchant, the monarchy tagging along behind them, and the foreign creditors bringing up the rear. And all of them are straining to take first place in the country in the event of their victory.

Napoleon correctly summed up the dynamics of the revolutionary age, dominated as it is by extremes, when he said, "Europe will be either Republican or Cossack." Today one may say with far more justification, "Russia will be either Soviet or Bonapartist."

What I have just said should indicate that I am not about to assert the existence of ab-



The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Soldiers, Peasants, and Cossacks Deputies, in January 1918.

solute guarantees for the permanent stability of Soviet power. If the Opposition thought that, there would be no sense in the struggle we are waging against the danger of Bonapartism. I am even less inclined to claim that the solidity of the Soviet system can remain unaffected by the particular policies of the present Soviet government. The bitterness of our internal struggle shows full well how dangerous we think Stalin's zig-zag policies are for Soviet power. But the very fact of our struggle testifies also that we are far removed from the so-called attitude of pessimism. We proceed from the conviction that the Soviet system has great inner reserves and resources. The line of the Opposition is not toward the collapse of Soviet power but toward its strengthening and development.

Our conclusions may be formulated in the following brief propositions:

1. Independently of its socialist mission, the support for which lies first of all in the most advanced section of the industrial proletariat, the Soviet regime has profound social and historical roots in the masses of the people and constitutes insurance against a restoration and a guarantee of independent, i.e., noncolonized development.

2. The main historical struggle against the Soviet Union, and the main internal struggle against Communist rule, has been conducted, not in the name of replacing dictatorship by democracy, but of replacing the present transitional regime with the rule of capitalism, which would inevitably be a dependent and semicolonial one.

3. Under these circumstances, a switching over onto the track of capitalism could

be accomplished in no other way than by a prolonged and cruel civil war, accompanied by open or disguised intervention from without.

4. The only political form such an overturn could take would be a military dictatorship, a contemporary variety of Bonapartism. But a counterrevolutionary dictatorship would have, lodged in its very foundations, the powerful mainspring of a new October Revolution.

5. Not only is the struggle of the Opposition waged solely and completely on Soviet foundations; it is also the direct continuation and development of the basic line of Bolshevism. The present stage of this struggle is not a decisive but, so to speak, a conjunctural one.

6. The further development of the Soviet system, and consequently the fate of the Opposition as well, depends not only on factors of a domestic nature but to a very great extent on the further evolution of the entire world situation. What direction will developments take in the capitalist world? How will the strongest states, in need of expansion, deploy themselves in the world market? What form will the reciprocal relations between European states take in the coming years — and of immeasurably greater importance, those between the United States and Europe, above all Great Britain?

There are a great many prophets who, without much thought, take up the question of the fate of the Soviet republic but remain silent on the dominant fate of capitalist Europe. Yet these two questions, although in an antagonistic way, are inextricably bound together.

LETTERS

Stalinism and Cold War

In recent issues of the *Militant* there has been some very valuable coverage linking the U.S. war drive against Iraq to imperialism's long-term goal of restoring capitalism in the workers' states.

But I think some of the terminology used in these articles might be unclear or misleading.

To approach these issues I will pose two interrelated questions:

1. Is the Cold War really over?
2. Did the Stalinist regimes really collapse?

In discussing these two issues, I think the *Militant* has sometimes lacked clarity.

Regarding the Cold War, the *Militant* writers have many times used the phrase: "The U.S. lost the Cold War." Using this phrase implies that the Cold War is over, and is no longer a living force in the world. At the same time, the *Militant* conveys the message that key aspects of what has been called the "Cold War" are still very much a reality in today's world.

The goals of imperialism are the same, the resilience of the workers' states to political and military pressure is still a reality, the ruling petty-bourgeois castes still serve as transmission belts for imperialist pressure, and the apparatus of nuclear weapons that Washington uses to intimidate the world's working people endures in the same form. Aren't these some of the essential features of the Cold War?

It seems to me that the Cold War

is still with us today, and is deepening, as the *Militant* has pointed out, e.g., with the proposed expansion of NATO, the deployment of imperialist troops in Yugoslavia, etc. The Cold War will still be alive until it is transformed into a Hot War, which is the direction that imperialism is headed.

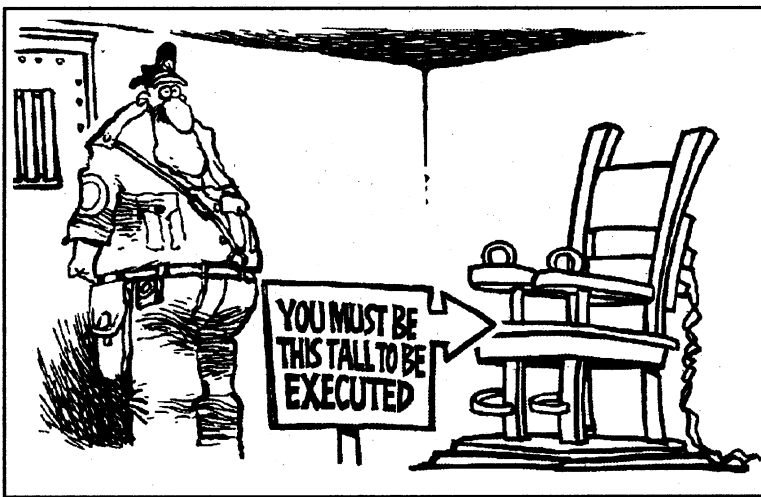
But maybe the *Militant* is using a narrower definition of the term "Cold War" than I am. It would be good if you could clarify this.

On the other question I raised, that of the "collapse" of the Stalinist regimes — here I think the *Militant* has not spelled out clearly enough what has changed in the form of rule that prevails in the workers' states, and what has not changed.

Does the *Militant* have a clear position on whether the Stalinist regime has "collapsed" in Yugoslavia? The *Militant* refers to the Serbian government of Slobodan Milosevic as a "Stalinist regime." In using this phrase, you give the impression that the Serbian Stalinist regime is one that has not "collapsed."

Perhaps that's true. In the March 16 *Militant* lead editorial, you say that: "Under the pressures of a deepening economic stagnation of world capitalism, the Stalinist murder machine that had dominated Yugoslavia began to disintegrate in the beginning of this decade."

But is it really true that the Stalinist murder machine in Serbia has only "started to disintegrate," while



its sister regime in the former USSR has "collapsed"? Are you trying to convey the impression that the process in Yugoslavia has only gone part of the way, while in Russia it has gone all the way to "collapse"?

It seems to me that the changes in Yugoslavia are not that different from the changes that have taken place in the former USSR. In each case, there has been partial abandonment of the old methods of rule, the emergence of new "leaders" with purportedly different strategies, an increase in the rhetoric of "democracy" and the "free market," and the exacerbation of nationalist rivalries within the bureaucracies, which has provoked schisms and wars.

Working people forced the bureaucrats to junk the unsustainable, unbearable, strictly-Stalinist meth-

ods and organizational forms. But this divestment of old forms did not change the basic sociological and political foundations of the workers' states, nor did it register a new rise in the preparedness of the workers in those states to restore genuine Soviet democracy. These changes did, however, mark a shift in the relationship of class forces to the benefit of the workers and farmers, and thus, a substantial weakening of the structures of bureaucratic misrule.

Instead of saying that the Stalinist regimes "collapsed," I would think it might be more accurate to say that the Stalinist regimes were significantly weakened as effective political instruments of the ruling bureaucratic castes. And this would be just as true of Serbia as of Russia — perhaps even more so, given

the presence of imperialist troops in Bosnia and Macedonia.

Jim Miller
Seattle, Washington

Imperialism in Philippines

Thank you for the excellent coverage on the events commemorating 100 years of struggle against U.S. imperialism. I remember reading a very informative article in the ISR [*International Socialist Review*] insert of the *Militant* on the fight against U.S. domination in the Philippines at the turn of the century. It was published around the time the Marcos regime was overthrown by the popular mobilization in 1986. I learned from the article that Filipino patriots waged widespread resistance against the U.S. occupations of their country. Filipino insurgents were brutally suppressed. The U.S. forces used methods similar to those used against the Vietnamese people 60 years later. One might rightly call the war in that part of the world the Spanish-Filipino-American War.

Ken Kawakubo
Seattle, Washington

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.

Debate heats up on Puerto Rico status

BY WENDY LYONS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — On the 100th anniversary of the U.S. take-over of Puerto Rico, the U.S. Congress is considering a plebiscite to allow Puerto Ricans to vote for statehood, independence, or "commonwealth" (the present status quo). A bill sponsored by Rep. Donald Young of Alaska passed the House of Representatives but has stalled in the U.S. Senate. The measure has sparked much discussion among Puerto Ricans here and in the United States.

In fact Puerto Rico is a colony. The United Nations has adopted resolutions almost yearly since 1972 supporting Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and independence from colonial rule. Washington has historically used Puerto Rico as a launching pad for its aggression abroad through its military bases on the island. Puerto Ricans can be drafted into the U.S. military. They cannot vote in U.S. elections, though it is Washington that exercises control over matters of war, foreign relations, immigration and emigration, citizenship, finances, postal service, communications, maritime transport, parks, forests, natural resources, and education there.

In 1993 a plebiscite was held where maintaining the "commonwealth" status narrowly beat out statehood. Neither got a clear majority vote. Around 4 percent of the population voted for independence.

The present ruling party in Puerto Rico is the New Progressive Party, which favors statehood. In discussions in a working-class shopping area in Río Piedras, those who strongly favored that party tended to support statehood as well as the plebiscite. Those who backed the Popular Democratic Party (PPD), which supports maintaining the present status of Puerto Rico, generally said that they didn't think there should be another referendum. Many felt the whole issue was being decided somewhere else and didn't have much to do with them.

Juan Davila, a 69-year-old a jitney driver, has been a supporter of the PPD since it was founded in the 1940s. He said he felt that Puerto Rico had made so much progress under commonwealth that it was a "showcase" for the rest of Latin America. His father was a sugarcane farmer who received land from the government to build a house and help for its construction from a government-sponsored mutual aid group.

"I like statehood," said José Carrión. He had just parked a telephone company truck on the sidewalk to work on the phone system. He is 36 and a member of the Independent Union of Telephone Employees (UIET). He said he felt that laws were applied in a more just manner in the United States than in Puerto Rico.

On March 28 former Governor Rafael

Hernández Colón, a leader of the PPD, called for a Yes or No vote on commonwealth. Under his proposal, if the commonwealth were to win, talks would begin to "perfect" it. If commonwealth were to lose, negotiations for statehood would take place. He said he would not include the independence option because it didn't have enough ballot support.

The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), a social democratic party, backs the U.S.-sponsored plebiscite. Vance Thomas, president of the PIP Youth, told the *Militant* that "this is the first time since 1952 that the powers that be in the United States are willing to talk about Puerto Rican status. The Young project is flawed but it is a good starting point."

"We would need a 10-year transition period for independence," he said. "Puerto Rico has not been able to develop her own economy because it's been a colony. We would need aid in the beginning and access to U.S. markets." When asked about Washington's military bases, he said, "We would ask the U.S. to give up all the land to Puerto Rico but the U.S. originally invaded Puerto Rico for military reasons and we might have to give up part of the land to achieve independence."

When asked what he thought of ultrarightist U.S. politician Patrick Buchanan's chauvinist opposition to statehood for Puerto Rico, he said, "I can understand that someone that is race oriented would have practical reasons for opposing it. I would be concerned if I had to admit a Spanish-speaking culture into the United States — people who want statehood because of economic reasons, not because they feel American. People feel Puerto Rican first, not American."

Rafael Cancel Miranda, a longtime independence fighter who spent 25 years in U.S. prisons, called the plebiscite "a way of justifying the unjustifiable. You have to recognize the invasion of Puerto Rico, of a country occupied and ruled politically, socially, and economically. There cannot be a plebiscite in a colony, a militarily occupied country." The position of the Federation of Pro-Independence University Students (FUPI) is that the plebiscite would be something imposed by U.S. colonial rule. The issue is being debated among Puerto Ricans in the United States. Among Puerto Ricans who work at the garment shop where this reporter works, a small minority are for independence. Statehood has more adherents, and maintaining the status quo has the majority. Many say that independence is not feasible because the economy would collapse if the United States were to pull out. Many are glad that unlike other immigrants, they have legal status to work and live in

S. Korea auto workers strike Kia Motors



Reuters/Lee Young-ho

More than 13,000 auto workers in south Korea struck Kia Motors Corp. April 16 to protest Seoul's alleged plan to sell off the company to a private owner. Production was completely halted. The day before the strike the south Korean government put Kia under receivership, which meant freezing company assets and replacing management. Unionists are convinced that this will lead to union busting and more layoffs. About 200 workers seized the main lobby at Kia a day before the strike. Above, 3,000 workers and students protest in Seoul April 18.

the United States. At the same time there is pride in being Puerto Rican among everyone regardless of their position on the status of the island and most are angry at the domination of Washington over the affairs of Puerto Rico. This anger flared up over the debate in the U.S. Congress over making English the dominant language in Puerto Rico.

At the recent FUPI Congress here, I asked Ludwig Medina how he would answer some of my co-workers' arguments against independence. Some people say that Puerto Rico would end up like Cuba and be blockaded by Washington. "Well it would be good, if we ended up like Cuba and had a revolution," Medina replied. "That is what we need to really guarantee our independence. As for blockading Puerto Rico, think about the reaction that would cause in the United States. Do you think all the Puerto Ricans who live there would let them get away with it? Tell them that lots of others would join to stop it too. This would cause a tremendous problem for the United States."

In the United States, Lorenzo Rosselló of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners, answered the same question at an April 4 demonstration in front of the United Nations, calling for freedom for Puerto

Rican prisoners. "People ask how can we survive without the United States. This turns things around. It is the U.S. corporations who live off the Puerto Rican people, not the opposite. If the industries went to the people who are actually producing things, we would be OK."

Pedro Pietri, a Puerto Rican poet who read his *independista* poems at the same demonstration, said in an interview, "Independence won't come through a plebiscite. It will come through the struggle of people to resist oppression — to take what's ours and develop it."

"We can survive if we cooperate together in Puerto Rico and with other nations to develop ourselves. We need to become part of the world on our own — to be a sovereign and peaceful nation."

Washington "would probably try to destabilize us in every way possible if we win our independence. We would just have to fight like many nations before us have done for our rights as a nation." When Puerto Rico does win its independence, he added, "there will be a terrific reaction from Puerto Ricans here in the United States against U.S. aggression."

The debate over the status of Puerto Rico takes place in the framework of rising resistance to the attacks on working people on the island. Last fall the labor movement responded with a general strike to threats by the Puerto Rican government to privatize the phone company. It seems every third car you see on the road has a sticker on it opposing privatization. This resistance is reflected in renewed pro-independence activity among youth. FUPI had dwindled in size but is now growing.

After a lull of several years, protests are building against the U.S. military base on Vieques and the planned installation of radar equipment on the island. Part of the Southern Command of the U.S. Army has recently been moved there. The more obvious drive to war by the U.S. government is prompting action by growing numbers.

The continued harassment of pro-independence activists by U.S. government agencies is also sparking protest. On July 25 there will be mobilizations in both Puerto Rico and in the United States to demand freedom for independence fighters imprisoned in U.S. jails and for self-determination for Puerto Rico.

Wendy Lyons is a member of the Union of Needle Industry and Textile Employees in New York. Ron Richards, a member of the American Federation of Government Employees in San Juan, contributed to this article.

Iowa tire workers prepare for strike

BY TIM MAILHOT AND RAY PARSONS

DES MOINES, Iowa — On April 17 members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 164 at Titan Tire Corp. voted unanimously to authorize strike action as the April 30 expiration of their contract draws near. A big majority of the local's membership turned out for four meetings held that day to discuss the question, with 486 out of some 600 members of the local taking part in the vote.

Titan produces tires for construction, agricultural, mining, and military use. It is a subsidiary of Titan International, a major manufacturer of wheels for industrial and agricultural applications.

Three years ago, the union accepted a pact that imposed concessions, after voting down two offers. During that contract fight, Titan had made moves to hire replacement workers. In the same period Bridgestone/Firestone, a major competitor of Titan with a plant also located in Des Moines, replaced strikers during a 10-month battle.

The contract approved in 1994 slashed

rates for some classifications by as much as \$4 an hour and established a hire-in rate of just \$7 an hour for many jobs. The pension plan was eliminated and workers were forced to begin paying for medical coverage. Incentive pay was also eliminated, lowering pay even more on some jobs. Under the contract the company has imposed 20 hours of overtime per week, as well as working three weekends in a row. For more than a year, many workers have typically gotten only two days off a month.

At the strike authorization vote, many workers could be seen buying and wearing buttons and T-shirts that feature a hooded cobra and the slogan, "If provoked, I will strike." One union member told the *Militant* that this would be a good time to take back some of what they lost. "Unemployment is low and there's nothing in the warehouse, except the tires that don't sell." Another added, "There's one thing Taylor wants and that's money. He'll compromise to avoid a strike."

Titan, previously owned by Pirelli Armstrong, was purchased by Maurice Tay-

lor, Jr. in 1994, one day after the contract with Pirelli expired. Taylor is CEO of Titan International of Quincy, Illinois. In 1994, he campaigned for the Republican nomination for president. His views, printed as a full page ad in *USA Today*, called for raising the retirement age, sterilization of welfare recipients, televised whipping as punishment for misdemeanors, and solitary confinement for felons. He also supported use of the death penalty and the expulsion of undocumented immigrants.

At the Bridgestone/Firestone plant across town, members of USWA Local 310 discuss the contract fight at Titan on a daily basis. Many have relatives or friends working at Titan, or have worked there themselves. Terry Welch, an inspector at Firestone, described the solidarity Local 164 extended to them during their fight. "When we had to have all our members at a union meeting, they came down and did picket duty for us. Now it's our turn to help them."

Tim Mailhot and Ray Parsons are members of USWA Local 310.