



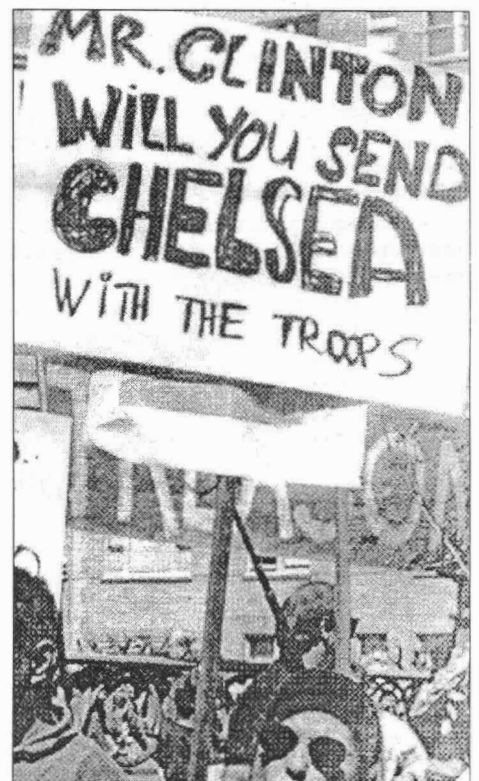
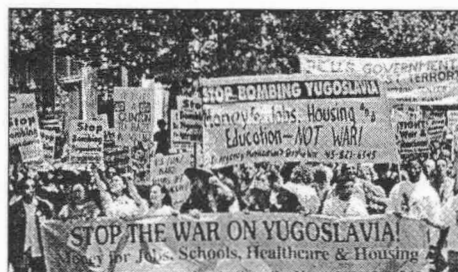
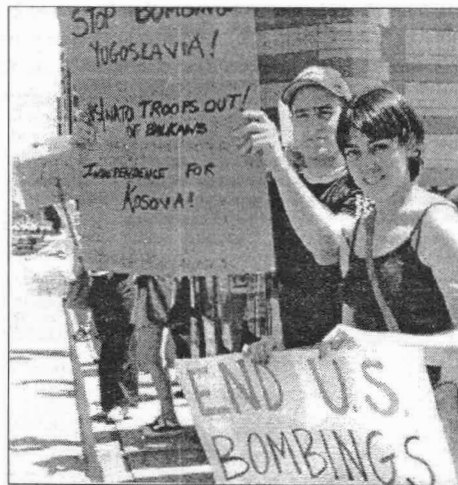
U.S. and NATO governments finally stopped bombing Kosova and Serbia, but working class people in Kosova, Serbia, Europe and the U.S. are still paying the price.

The ethnic Albanian residents of Kosova find their cities destroyed by the combination of the U.S. and NATO dropping bombs on them and Milosevic's forces torching them. U.S., NATO and Russian troops are moving into Kosova; U.S. businessmen are flying after them, eager to get lucrative contracts to build bases, bars, brothels, and other enterprises that accompany U.S. troops. But U.S. and NATO authorities have informed ethnic Albanian refugees, still housed in tents, they will not return to their homes for at least two years. The U.S., England, France, Germany and Italy have divided Kosova into five sectors and occupy it. They have forced the Kosova Liberation Army to give up its weapons and uniforms and to agree not to seek, try, and punish the racist paramilitary death squads persecuting ethnic Albanians. The U.S. and NATO agree Kosova will be part of Serbia, governed by the U.S., NATO, the UN and the Serbian government; there will be no election or referendum in which the residents of Kosova will have the right to vote on whether they want to separate from Serbia and form their own government or not.

The situation facing workers in Serbia is equally shocking. The Federation of Free and Independent Trade Unions in Serbia, which is independent and opposed to the Milosevic regime, says cities where the majority voted against Milosevic were hit hard by U.S./NATO bombs. The U.S. and NATO killed over 5,000 civilians and soldiers, including hundreds when the U.S. bombed retreating troops *after* it signed an agreement. The U.S. and NATO destroyed at least 50% of the productive capacity of Serbia, particularly state-owned enterprises; the majority of workers are laid off. The U.S. says it will give no aid as long as Milosevic is in power; it is going to punish the long-suffering Serbian people as it is punishing the Iraqi people.

Workers in the U.S. and Europe will pay over \$2 billion for this destruction of their

# Solidarity with workers of Kosova and Serbia!



*Continued on page 2*

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working class brothers and sisters and their property in Kosova and Serbia.

Who profits?

- The owners of U.S. and European military industries and their families.
- The owners of other U.S. and European enterprises and their families who will use Kosova as a base to expand operations into Eastern Europe and the old USSR.
- All the ruling families of the U.S. and the richest European nations, who want the U.S., England and France to rule the world, who don't want smaller nations like Kosova, Serbia, Iraq, to have any rights.

• Milosevic, other rulers and ruling families in Eastern Europe, the old USSR, and China, facing working class and popular opposition, or movements for self-determination like the one in Kosova, who know they can rely on the U.S. and NATO to help them crush those movements.

Workers can't change the immediate situation facing workers in Kosova and Serbia. The U.S. and NATO won the war. They defeated those in Kosova fighting for their right to self-determination, to separate from Milosevic and Serbia and form their own nation. They defeated those in Serbia fighting for more working class and popular democracy and more solidarity between workers of different ethnic groups against Milosevic and his policies. Workers and oppressed in Kosova and Serbia are going to have to go through a period of rebuilding their movements and organizations.

But workers can fight now for:

- solidarity with workers of all ethnic groups in Kosova, Serbia and the Balkans;
- labor and student organizations in the U.S. to gather material aid for their counterparts in Kosova and Serbia to help them rebuild their movements;
- the right to self-determination for Kosovars, the right to separate and establish their own nation if they chose to do so; equal rights for ethnic minorities in all states;
- working class and popular tribunals to try and punish Clinton, Milosevic, and others guilty of crimes against the people of the Balkans;
- U.S., NATO and Russian troops out of Kosova and all Balkan countries; make U.S. and European corporations pay reparations to Kosova and Serbia so workers can rebuild.

The labor movement is the force most capable of aiding workers in Kosova and Serbia in resolving their problems. The labor movement is the force that fights most for the interests of working class people and for solidarity between workers of different ethnic groups. It's impossible to rely on U.S., NATO, or Russian generals or troops. They don't support the labor movements or promote solidarity between workers of different ethnic groups in their own countries. They aren't going to do it in Kosova. Workers need to make a united fight to get all U.S., NATO and Russian troops out of Kosova! □

## U.S. and NATO lies

The U.S. and NATO governments have told so many lies to justify their bombing of Serbia and Kosova and their occupation of Kosova. It's impossible to respond to all of them. Here are two of their lies and the truth.

*1. U.S. and NATO governments have to bomb Serbia and Kosova and occupy Kosova in order to help ethnic Albanians being persecuted by the Milosevic regime and its forces. If the U.S. and NATO didn't bomb Serbia and Kosova and occupy Kosova, Milosevic and his forces would kill ethnic Albanians and drive them out of Kosova.*

The ethnic Albanians in Kosova were helping themselves before the U.S. and NATO got involved. First they organized protests against Milosevic, then they organized civil disobedience, then they began to arm themselves, form the Kosova Liberation Army (KLA) and fight for their right to separate from Milosevic and Serbia and form their own nation. The U.S. and NATO maintained, and maintain, an arms embargo against Kosova and Serbia making it difficult for anyone in Kosova and Serbia but Milosevic's forces to get weapons. Both the U.S. and NATO refused to support the struggle of the people of Kosova for their right to self-determination; they refused to recognize Kosova as an independent nation. The U.S. and NATO forced the KLA to abandon its fight for the right to self-determination as an immediate goal and to go along with U.S. and NATO intervention; it threatened to join forces with Milosevic to crush the KLA. It refused to drop supplies to the KLA during the U.S. and NATO bombing.

Now that the bombing has stopped, the U.S. and NATO have forced the KLA to give up its weapons and uniforms and to agree not to find, try and punish those who took



part in Milosevic's racist death squads. The U.S. and NATO say they are going to take care of all these things themselves. But their record in Bosnia — where racist death squad members continue to roam free and Bosnians still have not been able to return to their homes after four years of U.S. occupation — shows the truth. This is how the U.S. and NATO are "helping" ethnic Albanians in Kosova. As the saying goes: "With friends like this, who needs enemies?"

*2. Milosevic is another Hitler. If the U.S. and NATO didn't bomb Serbia and Kosova and occupy Kosova, Milosevic and his forces would takeover Europe, just the way Hitler and his forces did.*

This is one of the U.S.'s and NATO's most complicated lies. It is a combination of lies about the rise of Hitler, the role the U.S. played in the rise of Hitler, and Milosevic.

First, it is necessary to understand what gave rise to Hitler and his movement in the first place. The rise of Hitler and his movement were the consequence of U.S., British and French policies after World War I. The U.S., Britain and France won the war against Germany; they imposed such terrible penalties against the German people — impoverished them, humiliated them — that a movement in Germany arose to overcome this poverty and oppression, headed by Hitler, that was totally hostile to other ethnic groups and nationalities in Europe. Neither the U.S., Britain, nor France did anything to stop the rise of the Hitler movement in the beginning, because they supported what it was doing — attacking trade unionists, socialists, and communists. This very much served the interests of capitalist corporations in the U.S., Britain and France. When Hitler began to attack the Jewish people, the U.S. refused to allow Jewish people fleeing him into the U.S. The U.S. turned away whole ships of Jewish people at U.S. ports.

The forces most responsible for confronting, overcoming and finally defeating





Hitler's movement, were the workers in Europe and the USSR. Thousands and thousands of Soviet workers died fighting Hitler's movement. U.S. corporations sold weapons to both sides during the war. The U.S. did not get involved until the very last moment, when England, France, the USSR, and Germany were all exhausted. U.S. capitalists have long had a policy of encouraging other capitalist powers to fight it out to the point of exhaustion, to then walk in and reap the spoils of a war they didn't fight.

In short, the U.S., Britain and France were very much responsible for the rise of Hitler and his movement; they sat back while workers died fighting against Hitler; then they attempted to walk in, takeover, and stop workers from turning the defeat of Hitler into a victory for the working class and the fight for workers' power in Europe.

So Milosevic is not another Hitler in the sense that he is not the head of a movement that has arisen as a consequence of U.S., British and French persecution of Germany. If he were, the way to deal with him would be to support the workers and oppressed peoples fighting against him, not to bomb the workers and oppressed fighting him as the U.S. and NATO have done in bombing

Serbia and Kosova.

To say Milosevic is not another Hitler is not to say he and his movement are not racist and dangerous. They are. But the best way to deal with Milosevic is to support the workers fighting against him in Serbia and

Kosova — for more working class and popular democracy, for more workers' control of industry, for the right to self-determination for Kosova, Bosnia, etc. Bombing the workers fighting Milosevic has strengthened Milosevic. — Fred Russo □

## Milosevic's lies

One of the reasons it has been difficult to counter the U.S.'s and NATO's lies has been the lies spread by the Milosevic regime, many of which have been picked up and echoed by anti-war activists in the U.S., operating on the premise "my enemy's enemy is my friend." Here are some of these lies and the truth.

*1. Milosevic and his forces aren't really persecuting ethnic Albanians. U.S. and NATO have made this up to justify their bombing of Yugoslavia.*

Many working class and popular organizations in Europe, including socialists, communists, revolutionaries, have documentary proof of Milosevic's persecution of non-Serbian ethnic groups in the Balkans.

*2. There are a lot of problems with Milosevic and his policies, but he's not as pro-capitalist as the other leaders in the old USSR and Eastern Europe. That's why the U.S. is attacking Milosevic and Yugoslavia.*

Milosevic is for the restoration of capitalism in the Balkans; he wants to do it in a very nationalist, racist, and undemocratic way. The U.S. is attacking Serbia and Kosova, and occupying Kosova, because it is afraid the struggle in Kosova and Serbia against Milosevic will get out of hand and inspire similar struggles in Eastern Europe, the old USSR, China and throughout the world. It wants to take advantage of the conflicts in the Balkans to expand its base there — the U.S. already has bases and troops in Bosnia — and use them to promote the interests of U.S. and European corporations in the region and put down any working class and popular movements that may arise.

*3. Everything was fine in Yugoslavia until the U.S. and NATO got involved. They've been trying to turn workers of different ethnic groups against each other, to destroy Yugoslavia because it's more socialist than other countries. The movements for self-determination in Bosnia and Kosova are nothing but fronts for U.S. imperialism.*

The land that was once Yugoslavia, is a land in which workers took over the banks and basic industries and began to try to build a socialist society. But, from the very beginning, a privileged dictatorial bureaucracy led by Tito existed, took an unfair share of the benefits and power for itself, and prohibited workers from exercising workers' revolutionary democracy. The name of the country itself — Yugoslavia means land of the Southern Slavs — indicates some of the problems it had. Workers didn't achieve equality between different ethnic groups. Serbs and other Slavs were relatively privileged within Yugoslavia. As working class and popular movements began to arise against the privileged bureaucracies in Germany, Eastern Europe and the old USSR, Milosevic and others like him tried to save themselves by turning Serbian workers against workers of other ethnic groups and nationalities in much the same way U.S. bosses try to turn white workers against workers of color. Neither the U.S. nor NATO directly created this situation; they simply knew how to take advantage of it in the same way the bosses know how to take advantage of conflicts within the labor movement anywhere. Whenever union, working class and popular movements have arisen against the privileged bureaucracies in the old USSR, Eastern Europe, China, U.S. corporations have tried to infiltrate, influence, bully, and takeover these movements. But that doesn't mean these movements were started by or are simply fronts for U.S. imperialism.

When working class, socialist, and communist movements in the capitalist countries refuse to support working class and popular struggles and movements against the privileged bureaucracies in countries where workers tried to build socialist societies, they leave these struggles and movements open to the influence of U.S. and European corporations. — F.R. □

### U.S./NATO attacks: Who they killed; What they destroyed

An independent union in Serbia has compiled a list of U.S./NATO attacks, who they killed and what they destroyed. If you would like a copy of this list, which shows how U.S./NATO attacks hurt workers of all ethnic groups, including and especially Kosovars, write to socialism-FI@igc.org or send \$2.00 to cover the cost of copying and mailing to *Socialism!*

# Appeals from unions in Kosova and Serbia

*We are publishing appeals for solidarity from independent unions in Kosova and Serbia. These appeals were written before, during and after the U.S. and NATO attacks. Today, SBASHK, the Union of Education, Science and Culture in Kosova, is calling for a conference of trade unionists for solidarity between workers of all ethnic groups in the Balkans. It will be held in Pristina, Kosova at the end of July. This conference will discuss how to build the labor movement in the Balkans on the basis of solidarity between workers of different ethnic groups and what workers in other countries can do to aid this struggle. If you would like to participate in this conference, make a contribution to help finance a delegation from the U.S., and/or make a contribution to help build the labor movement in the Balkans, please contact us at: 313-438-2342. □*

## To the people of Europe

To Trade Unions and Associations, Student Unions, Democratic Rights Organizations and Humanitarian Organizations:

The people of Kosova desperately need your help. Ethnic cleansing has driven hundreds of thousands of Albanian Kosova citizens from their homes. This violence and injustice has been growing since 1989 when Serbian troops occupied Kosova, which had the right of veto at the federal level, illegally crushed its parliament, constitution and all legitimate institutions, closed its schools, colleges and hospitals to all Albanians and sacked Albanian workers from their jobs.

We appeal to the people of Europe to defend us from this fascist violence. Please, come to Kosova with humanitarian aid, come to show your solidarity, come to see for yourself what is happening. We need you by our side or the Serbian regime's genocide is going to continue until they get their "ethnically pure state".

But if you want to reach us you will have to confront an obstacle – the Serbian regime will not grant visas to anyone who they think will tell the truth of what they have seen in Kosova and campaign for solidarity. There is a blockade around Kosova which isolates the suffering people from the outside world. We need you to break this blockade. We need a humanitarian corridor reaching from the outside world right into Kosova.

Let the fleeing victims of ethnic cleans-

ing escape their torturers! Let food, medicine, educational supplies, and everything else needed for a human life, reach the communities who are resisting ethnic cleansing.

Let Kosova live!

Therefore if you are to reach us you will need to organize yourselves to be strong enough to demand from the Serbian regime the right to travel to Kosova. We ask everyone who hears this appeal to unite to organize a "convoy of aid and solidarity".

Your action will signal that the people of Europe will not sit back and allow ethnic cleansing and will not allow politicians to make the promise "No more Bosnias" become empty words.

## May Day Declaration from Nezavisnost

This is the eighth consecutive year in which May First has occurred during a time of war. In this century, there has not been any other European country that has suffered through such a long war. It is certain, nevertheless, that Serbia was not at war, or, in any case, that it had not declared war. Yet, for eight years, war has been the main thing in our lives and in our fate. For eight years, the Workers' May First Holiday has been drenched in blood, drenched in our blood and drenched in the blood of those who, up until a short time ago, were our compatriots.

It has been eight years now since Serbia has lived without her working class, eight years in which we have heard only the hymns and slogans of the nationalist and chauvinist salesmen of war, eight years in which we have been divided between "Serbs" and "others," while, "in the name of the interests of the working class," they have been closing factories, throwing workers into the streets, into the centers for street vendors, without a future or hope.

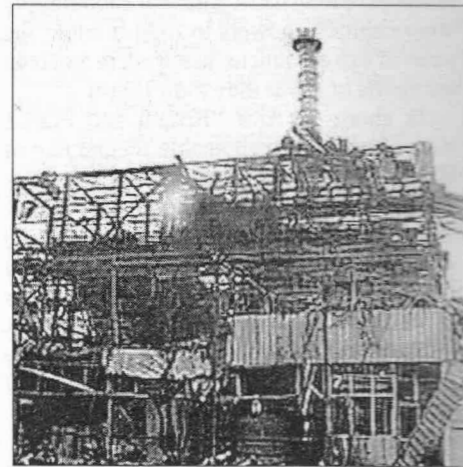
NATO has arrived at the end of the last act of the tragedy. Now the workers whose factories have been destroyed are joining those who have been expelled from their work because of the anti-worker, irresponsible and adventurist policy of the Serbian regime. We hope that this will be the final episode of our collective tragedy, of the alliance against us by our two enemies, those at home and those abroad. And on this May First, we hope that workers will open their eyes and say why all this has happened.

Throughout this entire period, they have asked us to give proof of our patriotism, to obey the authorities, to betray our interests

Your action will give hope and strength to all the people in Kosova who want to establish a just and democratic society in which everyone can live and work in peace. Please contact us today, this minute. Our future is in your hands.

Agim Hyseni,

On behalf of SBASHK - The Union of Education, Science and Culture of Kosova; Ardian Kastrati - Students Independent Union of University of Pristina; Nediha Grapci - Humanitarian Association of Kosova "Helping Hand"; The Independent Union of Health Workers of Kosova; Xhafer Nuli - Independent Union of Miners of Stari Terg Kosova, March 25, 1999 □



**October 14 plant producing bulldozers and other machinery in Krusevac, a city of 80,000 in Serbia, destroyed by NATO bombs. Recently thousands of parents of soldiers and reservists who refused to fight in Kosova marched here. They protested NATO bombing and demanded that Milosevic bring their sons back alive.**

as workers, betray the First of May. Many of us accepted this. Now Serbia is in ruins. This is why the First of May is drenched in blood.

Beginning with this First of May, we workers must use our heads. We should not be thinking about whether a worker is "Serbian," "Albanian" or anything else. We should be thinking about whether there is work or not. Serbian workers, Albanian workers, workers of any and every country, should be fighting for the rights and freedoms of workers, for better wages, for better, more secure pensions, for a decent life.

# U.S. labor against the war

Workers who are not divided along ethnic lines, who don't wear different badges, can make an enormous contribution to the construction of a democratic society, in which the individual is more important than the "nation." In this way we will finally achieve peace and guarantee that this is the last First of May drenched in blood. We owe it to our fellow workers who have lost their lives in different parts of the world fighting for the interests of working people, and whose sacrifice seems to have been forgotten in this dance of nationalism and chauvinism.

This is our opportunity to return to the values that the First of May — the International Workers' Holiday — is based on.

Nezavisnost

Independent union federation in Serbia  
Belgrade, Serbia

April 29, 1999 □

## Dear Friends:

Your expressed solidarity in these hard times meant a lot. It is estimated that air strikes destroys approximately 50% of producing capacity of Serbia, having as a consequence about 1,000,000 workers jobless, their families without means for living. Find attached the list of civilian factories and other objects destroyed or demolished within first 30 days of air strike.

At the moment we are informed about members of our union killed or injured during the bombing, we are still collecting infos and we shall send them later.

We want to stress the fact that the most affected are the towns where the local government is with the parties that are opposition to the actual regime in Serbia. It is important for you to know that the greatest number of destroyed factories and damaged are in the mentioned towns where our union has the greatest number of its members.

Most of our members are jobless and without salary, our union without membership fee and means for work. Therefore without possibility to help its members when they need it the most, so any help to our members from your side is welcome, to preserve union and to be able to help members in the coming harder times.

Under constant bombing, cut of electric supply and telephone, it is very hard to organize even normal life, not to mention work of Independent Syndicate. The most important is to keep contact.

Yours sincerely,

Dragan Milovanovic

President NSMS (Metalworkers' Union)  
Belgrade, June, 1999 □

*The majority of the leaders of the U.S. labor movement either actively supported the U.S. and NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosova, or were silent about it. However, there were some labor organizations that did take a stand against the war — the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers union (the UE), the San Francisco Labor Council, the Golden Gate Chapter of the Labor Party, the Steering Committee of the Detroit Metro Chapter of the Labor Party. The Cleveland and Pittsburgh Chap-*

*ters of the Labor Party did not take an official stand against the war, but they did poll their members and the majority opposed it. In this issue of **Socialism!**, we are publishing an appeal circulated in the Detroit area against U.S./NATO bombing and against Milosevic's attacks on ethnic Albanians, endorsed by trade unionists and Labor Party members. It shows there are working class forces in the Detroit area willing to speak out against the U.S., NATO and Milosevic. □*

## Stop the bombing! U.S./NATO out now!

We, the undersigned, urge labor, student, and community organizations to support the struggle to:

**Stop U.S./NATO bombing!**

**U.S./NATO forces out of the Balkans now!**

The labor movement cannot achieve its goal of improving the working and living conditions of working class people, if the U.S. government uses U.S. resources to blow up working people in other countries and their property. U.S./NATO targets include powerplants, factories, bridges and roads.

Labor organizations can best support the struggle against Milosevic's "ethnic cleansing" through solidarity and material aid to labor and community organizations in the Balkans fighting Milosevic's "ethnic cleansing," to get Milosevic's forces out of Kosova, and for the right of Kosovars to separate from Serbia if they chose to do so (self-determination). U.S./NATO bombing is not helping working class people in the Balkans; nor will U.S./NATO ground troops.

**Stop U.S./NATO bombing!**

**U.S./NATO forces out of the Balkans now!**

**Solidarity with labor organizations fighting Milosevic's "ethnic cleansing"!**

*Detroit:* Tim Allen, UAW Local 245\* Paul M. Bass, SEIU Local 80\* Garie Thomas-Bass, IUOE Local 547\* Al Cholger, International Representative, PACE\* Mary Dempsey, Trustee, South East Michigan Local, National Writers Union\* Mary Devine, UNITE!\* Jeff Ditz, UAW Local 2200\* David Elsila, Labor Party\* Paul Felton, Executive Board, APWU Local 480-481\* David Finkel, *Against the Current*\* Michael Funke, Steward, TNG Local 22, Detroit\* Daniel Gamlin, UAW Local 2071\* Maurice Geary, Grey Panthers\* James Griffin, Screen Actors Guild\* Margaret Guttschall, National Writers Union\* Barbara Ingalls, Locked-out Detroit newspaper worker, CWA\* Robert S. Ingalls, Jr., UAW Local 182\* Maria Kathleen, Refuse and Resist\* Ron Lare, Guide-Elect, UAW Local 600\* Paul Lefrak, Labor Party, Lesbian/Gay Caucus\* Dan McCarthy, President, UAW Local 417\* Alice McFadden, CWA Local 18, Retiree\* Rodger McFadden, UAW Local 160, Retiree\* Kim Morgan, Labor Party\* Alaina O'Connor, Southfield Lathrup High\* Carol O'Neal, Detroit newspaper worker, GCIU 13N\* Cheryl Peck, National Writers Union\* Craig Register, Graduate Employees Organizing Committee of Wayne State University\* Amy Rose, Co-Chair,

South East Michigan Local, National Writers Union\* Matt Siegfried, UFCW\* Jane Slaughter, National Writers Union\* Peter Solenberger, National Writers Union\* Lisa Schlicker, Labor Party\* Martin Selden, Labor Party\* Larry Skwarczynski, Locked-out Detroit newspaper worker, IBT Local 372\* Ben Solomon, Locked-out Detroit newspaper worker, IBT Local 2040\* Lonnie Spight, Executive Board, UAW Local 600; Co-Chair, Detroit Metro Chapter Labor Party\* Ferrer Vallee, Labor Party\* Prasad Venugopal, University of Detroit\* Anna Vitale, Roper School\* Fred Vitale, Co-Chair, Detroit Metro Chapter Labor Party\* Rodney Ward, Solidarity\* Judy Wraight, Executive Board, Tool and Die Unit, UAW Local 600\*

*Other cities and states.* Alan Akrivos, Executive Committee, New York Metro Chapter Labor Party, Labor Militant - a Socialist Organization\* Jason Coulter, Chicago Florence Ester, Chicago Caroline Lund, UAW Local 2244\*, California East Lansing Branch of Labor Militant Students for Economic and Social Democracy, Michigan State University  
*\*Organizations listed for identification purposes only. □*

# How to defeat the U.S. war machine

*In the last months, thousands of youth and workers in the U.S. and throughout the world have been speaking out and demonstrating against the U.S. and NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosova and the U.S. bombing of Iraq. The U.S. and NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosova has stopped for the moment. But the U.S. and NATO persecution of workers and oppressed peoples in these and other countries has not. How can we continue the struggle against the U.S. and NATO government's persecution of workers and oppressed? How can we continue the struggle against the U.S. corporate war machine? Above all, how can we defeat this machine?*

**1. Make a political struggle for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and NATO troops from Kosova and all foreign lands and waters.** Some tendencies that spoke out against the U.S. and NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosova are willing to go along with U.S., NATO and Russian troops being in Kosova, or so-called UN troops being in Kosova. But to go along with U.S., NATO, Russian, UN, or any other foreign pro-capitalist troops being in Kosova, is to accept the premise that the U.S., NATO, Russia, and/or the UN are capable of doing some good for workers in Kosova. It's essential to remember U.S. and European corporations own and control U.S. and European governments and troops. Their goal is profit for the owners of these corporations. Other corporations own and control the various governments and troops that wear the UN outfits. While corporations do not directly own and control the Russian government and the Russian troops, Russian troops are still led by a pro-capitalist bureaucracy, collaborating more and more openly with U.S. and European corporations to bring them back to Eastern Europe and the old USSR. A political struggle for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and NATO troops from Kosova, against any illusion that these troops will do anything but advance the interests of U.S. and European corporations in this region, is a precondition for a successful struggle against the U.S. corporate war machine. To make an effective struggle against an enemy, you have to say clearly who and what that enemy is. U.S. armed forces serve U.S. corporations, no one else.

**2. Build an anti-war movement in the working class that is not only politically**



Slogan against the Gulf War of 1991.

**independent of U.S. corporations and the U.S. government. It also has to be politically independent of all oppressive regimes, including the Milosevic regime in Serbia, and all the pro-capitalist bureaucracies that continue to talk about socialism or communism from time to time in Eastern Europe, the old USSR and China.** The most important task in the United States is to organize workers and youth in the United States against U.S. corporations and the U.S. government and their attacks on workers and oppressed. But this doesn't mean workers and youth against U.S. attacks shouldn't make it clear they oppose Milosevic and his policies. It doesn't mean we should deny support to workers and oppressed struggling against Milosevic. Tendencies in the anti-war movement that do this create confusion and undermine the movement. They make people think we are agents of Milosevic, we don't care about the people being persecuted by Milosevic, we just want to exchange one form of oppression for another. We limit the authority and size of the anti-war movement when we don't take a clear stand against all oppressive regimes and policies, even when our primary goal is getting rid of the worst one — U.S. corporations and the U.S. government.

**3. All working class and popular tendencies for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Kosova and all foreign lands and waters, for building a movement that is politically independent of the pro-capitalist regimes in the old USSR, Eastern Europe, and China, need to make a united fight.** There are many tendencies for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces and for building an independent movement, but they tend to come together only when the U.S. starts bombing. An ongoing, united fight is necessary.

**4. In the final analysis, the only way to defeat the U.S. corporate war machine is to build independent working class parties capable of fighting for political power, establishing workers' revolutionary governments based on independent mass mobilizations, and overcoming the resistance of that war machine.** Workers are going to have to ascertain which aspects of that war machine they can use, like the media, and which aspects are so bound up with the capitalistic and corporate way of doing things — like the FBI, the CIA, the Pentagon, and the standing armed forces — they have to be dismantled and discarded. Workers will have to establish their own working class security forces, owned and controlled by workers' organizations in workplaces, schools and working class neighborhoods. All the working class tendencies that see this need to work together to achieve these goals.

**5. Draw a balance sheet of the different political tendencies in the working class, particularly Social Democracy, Stalinism and Trotskyism.** Social Democratic tendencies in both the U.S. and Europe betrayed the struggle against the U.S. corporate war machine and called for the U.S. to send ground troops to Kosova, as if it were possible to rely on the U.S. to defend the rights of ethnic Albanians in Kosova when it has never done so in the past. This is consistent with the entire history of the Social Democracy which came to the fore as a distinct tendency during World War I, when Social Democrats in different countries each supported the war that bourgeois forces in their countries were waging against workers and oppressed in other countries.

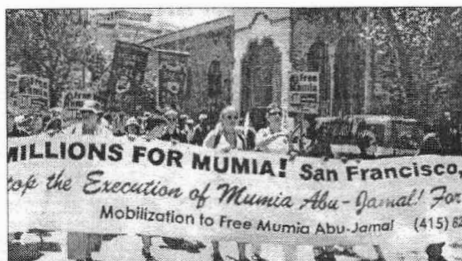
Tendencies that come out of the Stalinist tradition — like the Communist Party and the Committees of Correspondence in the United States — called for stopping the bombing and didn't call for sending in ground troops. But they aren't taking a clear stand for getting all U.S., NATO, Russian and UN troops out, against the presence of any foreign, pro-capitalist troops in Kosova. Nor are they taking a strong stand against Milosevic and his policies, for the right to self-determination for Kosova. These tendencies are one of the main sources of all the propaganda against the movements against Milosevic in Kosova and Serbia (the Kosova Liberation Army, the independent unions in Serbia), suggesting all these movements have been inspired by and are totally domi-

## Notes

nated by the CIA or some other agency of U.S. imperialism. This is consistent with the origins and history of the Stalinist tendency, which emerged as a distinct tendency representing the privileged, dictatorial bureaucracy in the Soviet Union headed by Stalin, and which consisted of this bureaucracy and its allies throughout the world. This bureaucracy and its supporters were characterized by their policy of making concessions to the capitalists, taking special privileges for themselves, and forcing poorer, less powerful workers to pay the price for their concessions and their special privileges, in the form of low wages, poor working and living conditions, etc. Anyone who protested their policy was called "divisive," "an agent of U.S. imperialism," persecuted, and in many cases killed

The tendencies that have made the most consistent struggle for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the Balkans and all foreign lands and waters, for the right to self-determination for Kosova and all oppressed peoples, for a movement independent of Clinton, Milosevic, and their counterparts, are the tendencies that come out of the Trotskyist tradition — in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Action, The Organizer, Justice/Labor Militant, the Trotskyist League, *Socialism!* ... These tendencies aren't perfect by any stretch of the imagination. They aren't sufficiently rooted in the working class, they tend to be too sectarian and factional. But when the U.S. makes war on workers in other countries, you can count on them to take a strong stand against it and not to ally themselves with the pro-capitalist bureaucracies in the old USSR, Eastern Europe and China. This is consistent with the origins of Trotskyism which emerged as a distinct tendency when Trotsky and his co-thinkers worked to continue the struggle for workers' revolutionary democracy and socialism against the capitalists and against the privileged dictatorial labor bureaucracy in the old USSR headed by Stalin.

Tendencies that come out of the Trotskyist tradition, in the U.S. and throughout the world, that are in favor of immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Kosova, that support the struggle for the right to self-determination for Kosova, against the U.S., NATO, Milosevic, and all the pro-capitalist bureaucracies, need to make a common fight for these goals. Their agreement on these goals is more important than their differences on other issues. — M.G. □



**Mumia Abu-Jamal.** Over 20,000 youth, activists, and workers gathered in solidarity with Mumia Abu-Jamal in Philadelphia and San Francisco on April 24. The vast majority of participants were young people, including many who had never gone to a demonstration before. They chanted, "We're gonna' free Mumia Abu-Jamal, brick by brick, wall by wall." There were signs against the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosova and against Milosevic's "ethnic cleansing." Members of the Labor Party from Detroit, Cleveland, North Carolina, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston participated in the demonstration with banners in solidarity with Mumia. Now the movement is preparing a week of action for Mumia September 19-25. For more information on the struggle in Detroit, call: 313-869-8383.

**Colorado.** Youth and workers were shocked when two students at a high school in Littleton, Colorado entered their school with automatic weapons and killed or injured dozens in the midst of the U.S. and NATO bombing of Kosova and Serbia. The corporate media has no clear explanation for why things like this are happening; the response in the schools was to crack down on young people in general and to encourage them to report angry classmates to the school administration and the police. The labor movement needs to establish an independent commission to investigate this inci-

dent and others like it, to figure out why this kind of thing is happening and what to do about it. We wouldn't be in the least surprised if the commission found that the following had something to do with it: long working hours for parents and teachers; classrooms and schools with too many students and not enough teachers in them; the lack of interesting and productive jobs for young people; the fact that making money, not caring for young people is what is most exalted in our society; the violence of the U.S. government, particularly the bombing of Iraq, Serbia and Kosova.

### **Should the Labor Party take a stand against U.S. intervention in the Balkans?**

While some unions and Labor Party Chapters affiliated with the Labor Party took a stand against the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosova and for getting all U.S. and NATO forces out, the national leadership of the Labor Party did not. It seems some Labor Party leaders are concerned that if the party as a whole takes an official stand against the U.S. government on this issue that it will lose the support of some unions for the Labor Party. This is an important problem; it should not be taken lightly. There needs to be a discussion in the Labor Party on precisely this issue. It is our position that while the party may lose some union support in the short run, it would gain in the long run because it would be fighting for what is best for workers of all ethnic groups and nationalities; it would show that it is a party that can be counted on to do this. If every labor organization in the U.S. did what is best for workers of all ethnic groups and nationalities in the long run, instead of what seems to be best for a small group of workers in the short run, the world would be a very different place. □

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*Socialism!* is a bulletin for the Labor Party, socialism and rebuilding the Fourth International published in Detroit. We support International Workers Unity (Fourth International), an international workers revolutionary socialist tendency making an important contribution to rebuilding the Fourth International. Signed articles do not necessarily represent views of *Socialism!* These are expressed in editorials. Editorial Board: Margaret Guttshall, Tim James, Kim Morgan, Fred Russo.

# The war and socialism

The U.S. and NATO bombing of Serbia, Kosova and other countries in the Balkans — formerly Yugoslavia — may cause workers and students to question whether a truly socialist and communist society is possible.

First, it seems that workers haven't been very successful in building socialist societies in countries like Yugoslavia. What used to seem like a relatively democratic, prosperous socialist society seems to have broken into pieces. Workers of different ethnic groups seem to be fighting with each other, using the most barbarous methods.

Second, it seems that even if they were being more successful, the U.S. could and would just bomb them until all the workers were dead and all their property destroyed. U.S. capitalists used to be so rich they could talk people out of socialism and communism. When they couldn't talk people out of socialism and communism, they started sending the U.S. army, as they did in Korea, Vietnam, and Nicaragua. Now they can't send the U.S. army any more because the U.S. army doesn't want to fight, so they bomb people from the sky. U.S. workers don't seem to be inclined to do much to stop them. Maybe the combination of the U.S. corporate lying media machine and the corporate war machine — one confuses and disorients while the other bombs — means an end to the development of socialism as the inevitable alternative to capitalism, developing within capitalist society itself.

Workers and students who ask these questions are right to do so. The struggle for socialism and communism has to be grounded in the real world, not in some form of religious faith.

## The former Yugoslavia

To understand what is going on in the former Yugoslavia, it is necessary to look beyond the surface. While it may seem like a relatively healthy socialist society is falling apart, torn apart by the pressures of U.S. and European imperialism on the outside, and conflicts between workers of different ethnic groups on the inside, this is not the case. Workers and oppressed people in the former Yugoslavia did take over the banks and basic industries and begin to try to build a socialist society after World War II. But from the very beginning they had to deal with a privileged labor bureaucracy, like the labor bureaucracy in the U.S. or the Stalinist labor bureaucracy in the old USSR, which took a disproportionate share of the benefits and power of the revolution for itself, kept workers from exercising workers' revolutionary democracy, and discriminated against non-Slavic ethnic groups. What has been developing within the former Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe, the old USSR, and China has been a struggle against this

“...While globalization and wars ... create more tension between the various capitalist powers, they bring workers of different ... nationalities together. In this lies the Achilles heel of the U.S. corporate war machine...”

privileged, dictatorial labor bureaucracy, for more working class and popular democracy, for more direct workers' control of the economy, and for more equal rights for oppressed ethnic groups and nationalities, including the right to self-determination — Bosnia, Kosova and others.

Some elements of this privileged labor bureaucracy in and around the old Communist Parties, like Milosevic, retaliated against these working class and popular movements by forming alliances with openly racist and fascist forces within the society, by trying to pit workers of different ethnic groups against each other.

What may look like workers of different ethnic groups and nationalities fighting with each other for no reason — and certainly this is what the corporate/capitalist media would like us to think — is, in reality, workers of different ethnic groups and nationalities fighting for rights for themselves and oppressed ethnic groups against a privileged labor bureaucracy and its racist and fascist allies. This is not to say there are no conflicts between workers of different ethnic groups simply because of ethnic differences, but this is not the *essence* of what is going on.

The U.S. and NATO bombing has certainly damaged the struggle of workers and oppressed against the privileged bureaucracy in this area, but it hasn't completely destroyed the struggle.

One of the biggest problems still facing the movement is the political and military intervention of the U.S. and NATO. They certainly plan to intervene in Serbia, to base themselves on working class and popular discontent, to try to replace Milosevic with someone even more favorable to U.S. and European imperialism.

Workers in the U.S. need to develop ties to independent unions in Serbia and Kosova and support their struggles for the needs and rights of workers against the U.S., NATO and Milosevic. We shouldn't give in to the cold war mentality that says that there are only two choices: Clinton or Milosevic. There's another choice: workers' revolutionary democracy

and socialism.

## US. military power

The U.S. media and military power and technology is daunting. So is seeing the massive destruction of Iraq, Serbia and Kosova, and the occupation of Kosova. The U.S., Britain and France seem to be trying to avoid another Vietnam — which for them means a mass, successful movement against U.S. and European imperialism — by having troops from a number of different countries occupy Kosova.

The problem with the method that U.S. and European corporations are developing to deal with movements that threaten their power — Iraq, Kosova, Serbia — is that it undermines their credibility and taxes their resources. How many times can you “help” people by bombing them to death before nobody wants this “help” anymore? Tensions are already developing between the various powers over Iraq, Kosova and Serbia. The more these powers use already limited resources to bomb and destroy, the more they are going to have to attack the working and living conditions of the workers in the U.S. and Europe, the more workers in the U.S. and Europe will have little to lose.

There are two ways the working class will dismantle and disarm the U.S. war machine. Either workers and oppressed people will take power in a country or countries with access to long range weapons, and use these weapons to defend themselves against the U.S. government. Or workers in Latin America and North America will rise up, take power, and takeover the most important military installations in the U.S. Or a combination of the two.

Globalization, the expansion of the largest U.S. and European corporations and their armed forces throughout the world, is creating a working class that is more international and internationalist. While globalization and the wars that inevitably accompany it are going to create more tension between the various capitalist powers as they exhaust the ways in which they can make profits, they are going to bring workers of different ethnic groups and nationalities together. In this lies the Achilles heel of the U.S. corporate war machine.

The road forward for partisans of workers' revolutionary democracy and socialism, lies in unifying workers of all ethnic groups and nationalities, in making a united fight for workers' revolutionary democracy, the right to self-determination for oppressed ethnic groups and nationalities and socialism as the first stage of a classless, communist society. Progress toward socialism demands revolutionary democracy and no tolerance for privileged bureaucracies.—M. Guttschall □