

Socialist ACTION



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Lithuania.**

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Alain McLaughlin/Impact Visuals

500,000 say 'Bring the Troops Home Now!'

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What strategy for antiwar movement?

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How you can tell when the President's lying

During the Vietnam war, a stand-up comic told this joke about President Lyndon B. Johnson. Question: How do you know when the president is lying? Answer: His lips are moving.

This is no joke when it comes to President Bush, who for many years headed the CIA. After all, you don't give a guy the secret Rolodex files unless you can trust him to keep his mouth shut on every dirty trick ever turned by the U.S. capitalist class and their war machine.

In fact, Bush created the "contras," the El Salvador death squads, and who knows what else. Let's look at some of the lies he has been spewing forth since he attacked Iraq.

Who spilled the oil?

The first TV announcement of the disastrous oil spill in the Gulf said that a Kuwaiti oil storage tank had ruptured and spilled thousands of gallons of oil. Bush immediately went on the air and denounced Saddam Hussein as a madman for turning on the oil spigot and trying to destroy the environment.

What is the truth? Hussein has said that he is not responsible for this disaster and that the spill is a result of the massive U.S. bombing raids. Even though I have no reason to take anyone's word in such a situation, the circumstantial evidence tends to support Hussein.

The fact is that the U.S. has been trying to blow Kuwait and Iraq to smithereens. The generals have been on TV announcing the relentless "surgical" air and sea strikes against Iraqi "military targets." Given the admitted 2000 daily bombing runs, in the first 10 days alone that adds up to 20,000 "surgical" strikes. That's some surgery!

It seems more likely that the oil spill resulted from this unrestrained bombing, which is designed either to demoralize the Iraqis and get them to quit, or to soften up Kuwait in preparation for the ground assault against Iraqi troops dug in there.

Two years ago, the Alaskan oil pipeline ruptured—and it wasn't even bombed. It had been pronounced as the strongest, safest pipeline in the world; nevertheless, it ruptured and spilled oil. Kuwait is surrounded by massive oil storage tanks; some of the pipes are so large you can drive a car through them.

Isn't it more likely that U.S. bombs, and not "madman" Hussein, caused the damage to the oil storage tank? I believe it is "Madman Bush"—not Saddam Hussein—who is destroying the ecology of the Gulf.

Even the burning oil in Kuwait



Fightback

By
Sylvia Weinstein

is, in my opinion, the workings of the U.S. bombing raids. First of all, U.S. generals were complaining about low cloud cover over Kuwait two weeks before the oil storage fire. They were crying that it made "surgical bombing" difficult. The Iraqi troops did not need the huge oil fire to provide cloud cover.

In fact, that massive oil fire is probably doing more damage to Iraqi troops than it is providing cover. Common sense says it is the U.S. bombings, and not the Iraqi troops, that have set-off these fires.

From the very beginning, Bush has portrayed Saddam Hussein as another Hitler in order to justify his cold-blooded "desert storm" on Iraq. In order to do that he has constantly referred to the "fact" that Hussein used chemical and gas warfare against the Iranians and his own people, the Kurds.

In the Jan. 30 *San Francisco Chronicle* "Briefing" section, an article by Knut Royce, a reporter in the Washington bureau of *New York Newsday*, gives a different view of the so-called "poison gas" war of Saddam Hussein. Royce writes: "The evidence that Iraq purposely gassed Kurds is flimsy, according to officials who have reviewed the classified material and a U.S. Army study of the Iran-Iraq war."

Royce continues: "The evidence relates to two episodes, both in 1988. The first was in mid-March when both Iran and Iraq used chemical weapons in attacking the Iraq border city of Halabja, which each side mistakenly believed was being held by enemy troops."

"U.S. analysts later reviewed photographs and accounts from eyewitnesses and determined that the Kurds had died of cyanide gas, which produced telltale blue lips on the corpses. Only the Iranians possessed cyanide gas."

"It seemed likely that it was the Iranian bombardment that had actually killed the Kurds," concluded an Army War College team that reviewed the intelligence for an analysis completed in February, of the Iraq-Iran war."

Royce says that the second episode of poison gas warfare occurred in late August 1988, shortly after the war with Iran ended. Republican Guards had been sent to northern Iraq to crush an insurrection by the Kurds, who had earlier teamed up with Iran to form a second front against Iraq.

"Kurdish refugees who fled to Turkey," Royce writes, "reported incidents of explosions that 'released either white or yellow gas which quickly dissipated...that smelled of bitter lemon, bitter orange, or apple.'"

"However, Turkish doctors told the U.S. officials that they were unable to verify that the Kurds they treated for various ailments had been victims of chemical attacks."

"The Army War College study completed in February concluded, 'Having looked at all of the evidence that was available to us, we find it impossible to confirm the State Department's claim that gas was used in this instance (late August 1988).'"

George Bush has announced that the United States armed forces are prepared to use "nonlethal gas" to "save lives" in this war. This violates all UN and even U.S. treaties

on conduct during a war. It is really a threat in the hopes that Saddam Hussein will use chemical or gas weapons so the United States can try out its nuclear bombs (1000 of them) stored on U.S. warships in the Gulf.

In order to carry out a nuclear war, the U.S. must again paint Hussein as a "mad Hitler."

What's it all about, Alfie? Bush and the imperialists are using the Iraq war to warn all Third World countries that the United States will use any means necessary to stop any movement for freedom or self-determination. They are also warning Gorbachev that he had better continue to play ball, or else.

So the next time you hear of a poll showing how the majority of American people support Bush and his war, just remember his lies. And remember how you can tell when the president is lying—when you see his lips move. ■



Berkeley student conference: A forum to discuss antiwar strategy and tactics

By ADAM WOOD

Over five hundred students from the western United States met at the University of California, Berkeley, campus on Sunday, Jan. 27, to help build the movement against war in the Persian Gulf. The conference followed a massive mobilization against the war in San Francisco on January 26.

The students came from over 20 campuses in Southern and Northern California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, and Utah. A similar student conference was held in Washington, D.C. on the same day.

Most of the people attending the conference represented campus groups formed within the last few months or weeks to oppose the war. These student activists came to hear reports from other campuses, to discuss issues raised by the war, and to plan future actions.

The day began with an opening plenary session and quickly broke down into workshops. Some of the workshop topics included tactics and strategies for the antiwar movement, the war's impact on racism, and the war and Israel. A few workshops were formed spontaneously by students at the conference.

The conference ended with a plenary session designed to plan



common actions against the war and to establish a structure for the Western student movement.

The students voted to endorse a call for campus actions on Feb. 1, issued by a Chicago students conference held on Jan. 19. They also voted to join the call issued by the Washington, D.C. conference for campus actions against the war on Feb. 21. The conference voted to build these actions around the demands: Stop the War! Bring the Troops Home Now! No Legal or Economic Draft! Fight Racism!

The conference, however, failed to establish any long-term structure. Instead, a voluntary continuations committee was set up to coordinate actions planned by the conference and build communication between the campuses.

While the session on structure could have been better organized, the loose organization established by the conference reflects a new movement in its formative stages. Stronger organization will flow from common actions organized by the campuses. Through the experience of working together, the students and future conference organizers will learn what they want their regional and national organizations to look like.

The many regional student conferences taking place around the country reflect an antiwar movement growing faster than any other in American history. Obviously, today's students are picking up the fight against war where their parents left off in the 60s and 70s—and raising it to new heights. ■

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Timetable for U.S. 'victory' upset by Iraqi resistance

By MALIK MIAH

Washington's objectives in the Persian Gulf are becoming clearer day by day, as the most massive bombing campaign ever is leveled against the Iraqi people.

The bombing missions average roughly one a minute, according to the U.S. high command. This has left a wide path of destruction ("softening up" and "collateral damage," in military jargon), and deaths probably in the thousands. The raids have cut off basic necessities—including bottled water, bread, milk, and heating oil.

George Bush's goal is not the liberation of Kuwait. Washington seeks the total destruction of one of the oldest civilizations in the Arab world—Iraq. The aim is to impose a pro-U.S. puppet regime in Baghdad, build-up a permanent U.S. military presence in the Middle East, and establish a "new world order" based on U.S. political and economic domination in the region as a stepping stone for the entire world.

The U.S. government has already assembled the biggest military force since the Vietnam War. Some 500,000 troops and support personnel are now in the Persian Gulf region. These are backed by allies from France, Britain, Canada, and other imperialist countries. There are also modest forces from traitor Arab regimes and neo-colonial capitalist governments in the region.

Israel, supposedly sitting on the sidelines, has launched the largest bombing raids in years against the Palestinians in Lebanon. BBC radio commented (Feb. 5, 1991) that the Israeli raids looked to be "part of a revitalized campaign to undermine the PLO ... by linking it with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein."

At the very beginning of the Gulf war, Israel imposed a harsh 20-day curfew on the West Bank and Gaza, which has caused the shutdown of Palestinian-owned factories and farms. The Israeli military warns that Palestinians will be confined to their homes once again if they continue demonstrating support for Iraq.

And yet, in return for its pledge to not bomb Iraq directly, the Israeli government is asking Washington for \$13 billion in aid over and above the \$3 billion in economic and military assistance it already gets from the U.S. government.

Impending ground war

The U.S.-led force is readying for the biggest ground war since World War II. Initial skirmishes and artillery fights along the Saudi Arabian border have already led to the deaths of Iraqi and U.S. soldiers.

Even some liberals, who had expressed concern that the limited aim of the United Nations mandate to "liberate Kuwait" not be overstepped, are now openly talking about "getting Hussein."

On Feb. 4, ABC News "Nightline" ran a program that focused on whether the U.S. should try to assassinate Hussein. Ted Koppel asked if it wouldn't be better to kill Hussein than have thousands of soldiers die in a ground war.

At the same time, some imperialist commentators are urging caution. Zbigniew Brzezinski, ex-President Carter's national security adviser, calls on Bush to limit Washington's Persian Gulf goal to the liberation of Kuwait. The longer the conflict, he says, the higher the political costs to the United States around the world and at home.

Brzezinski says a limited war would bring the most long-term results for world imperialism. The total war policy, he says, could lead to a "bitter historical irony."

"The victor in the cold war," he says, "instead of shaping a new world order, would thus become the entangled victim of an endless regional conundrum."

But Bush and his advisers have other ideas. Bush strongly indicated in his State of the Union address that the war cannot be limited to pushing Iraq out of Kuwait. It must now be, he said, a war to destroy Iraq's ability in the future to ever fight again as a military power in the region.

Furthermore, Bush called on Congress to



U.S. Marine after the battle to retake Khafji

do what was necessary to win the war. He then offered up a \$1.4 trillion deficit budget, excluding most of the Persian Gulf costs, and demanded that Congress cut back on social programs that benefit working people the most.

The well-orchestrated daily military briefings in Saudi Arabia barely conceal the theme of a total war to defeat Hussein's army and dismantle Iraq's industrial and social infrastructure.

"The Iraqi army is for the most part sitting here, waiting to be attacked, and attacked it

will be. First we are going to cut it off. Then we are going to kill it," said the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Colin Powell.

Many civilian casualties

The bombings have included the use of shells containing a white phosphorous chemical that sticks to the skin, burning deep wounds. The Pentagon is also preparing to use "nonlethal" gases, exposing the lie that it is Iraq that plans to use chemical weapons.

Because of Pentagon censorship, the media has rarely dared to speculate how many Iraqis have been killed. (The number of allied deaths is also a tight secret.) The Iraqi government claims that several hundred civilians have died in the bombings, but reports by refugees indicate the toll might be far higher.

U.S. Secretary of Defense said he "would expect there would be a lot of casualties." Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, head of all the U.S.-led forces, added that any civilian deaths were accidental. "You know these things happen," he told reporters.

Videotapes carried out of Iraq show the amount of destruction in Baghdad, Basra, and other cities and towns. Schools, hospitals, homes, and warehouses containing food and medicine have all been hit. The Pentagon claims Iraq is hiding military targets in these residential areas.

Worldwide antiwar protests

Meanwhile, Washington's dirty war against Iraq has had repercussions in other parts of the world.

Huge antiwar protests have taken place in Europe and in the United States. The Jan. 19 and Jan. 26 demonstrations in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., were the biggest since the Vietnam war. At the same time, more than 200,000 marched in Bonn, Germany.

Over 300,000 pro-Iraqi demonstrators rallied in Morocco on Feb. 3, causing the government to draw back from its initial decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia. Jordan's King Hussein, responding to numerous demonstrations in his country, said that he sides with Iraq in the war.

Among the Palestinians, Iraq's ability to shoot SCUD missiles into Israel has been hailed. Hatred against Washington continues to grow. The determination of the Iraqi people to stand firm despite the military odds is giving encouragement to oppressed people throughout the world.

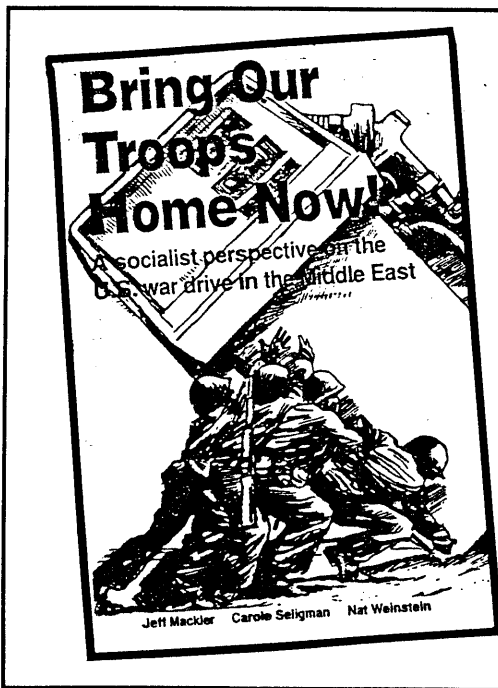
The utter arrogance of the U.S. military and the resourcefulness of the Iraqi troops was shown in the battle for the Saudi Arabian town of Khafji. Initially, the Pentagon said that their "ally" Saudi Arabia scored an easy victory without U.S. help. That disinformation was loyally reported by the American press.

But later reports indicated that it took heavy Marine artillery, helicopters, and tactical fighters to save the situation.

Another Pentagon distortion concerns the oil spill off the shores of Kuwait. The Pentagon charged that Iraq deliberately opened the spigots as a form of ecological terrorism. Iraq denied it and charged that the spill was caused by U.S. and allied bombings. Even the Saudi Arabian government was forced to admit that one source of the oil pollution was an Iraqi tanker that had been hit by U.S. planes.

The Iranian government, which fought an eight-year war against Iraq from 1980-88, has condemned Washington's build-up in the region. While opposing Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, Iraq calls for a cease-fire and has offered to "mediate" the conflict. Washington, of course, has said no. It continues to demand Saddam Hussein's total capitulation and trial as a war criminal.

The Iraqi people are determined to protect their homes and their country against the U.S. Goliath. Working people in this country should rally in solidarity with the Iraqi people and demand an immediate end to Washington's war. ■



If you want to understand the stakes in the U.S. war against Iraq read this pamphlet for a Marxist analysis. Find out why the U.S. is flexing its muscles now and how we can build an antiwar movement to Bring the Troops Home Now! \$1.50

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The Gulf War: What it means and how to stop it

[Statement by Socialist Action Political Committee]

President George Bush, and America's ruling capitalist class, have unleashed the most destructive air bombardment the world has ever seen against the 17 million people of Iraq. In the last two weeks, over 40,000 bombing sorties—10,000 more than were flown against Japan during the last 14 months of World War II—have been launched to drop record tonnages of high explosives.

In the first week alone, the destructive power of 2000 daily sorties by the U.S.-led air-raiders was reported to surpass the explosive force of one Hiroshima-type atom bomb. Moreover, the deadly accuracy of computerized, guided bombs has intensified the havoc being wreaked on this poor country.

But despite virtually 24-hour electronic news coverage, we have been given hardly an inkling of what must be the most terrible cost in life, and in the quality of life of Iraqi men, women and children. The Iraqi people and their armed forces seem to have weathered the holocaust, thus far, without any sign of an impending break in morale or mass determination to resist.

And the whole world seems to have exploded in massive and repeated protests from Germany across Europe to Spain, and from Mexico down the continent to Argentina.

In the face of the fearsome forces unleashed by the most powerful military power on earth, the initial hopes for a quick victory seem to have been dashed. From expectations of a war only days or weeks long, U.S. government estimates of the war's duration have stretched gloomily to months and possibly longer.

In this country alone, two giant antiwar protests, just one week apart, have already taken place on both coasts. On Jan. 19, over 100,000 people marched in San Francisco; nearly that amount marched in Washington, D.C. And on Jan. 26, some half million marched and rallied against the war in the same two cities.

Another coordinated national mobilization, this time planned as local actions on campuses and in towns and cities across the land, has been called by the organizers of the Jan. 26 demonstrations. The new actions are to take place on the weekend of Feb. 15-16. On Jan. 27, a national student antiwar conference also called for national student actions on Feb. 19.

Moreover, unlike during the Vietnam era, unions in many countries having suffered increasing setbacks and takeaways, have entered the struggle against capitalist war at its very outset.

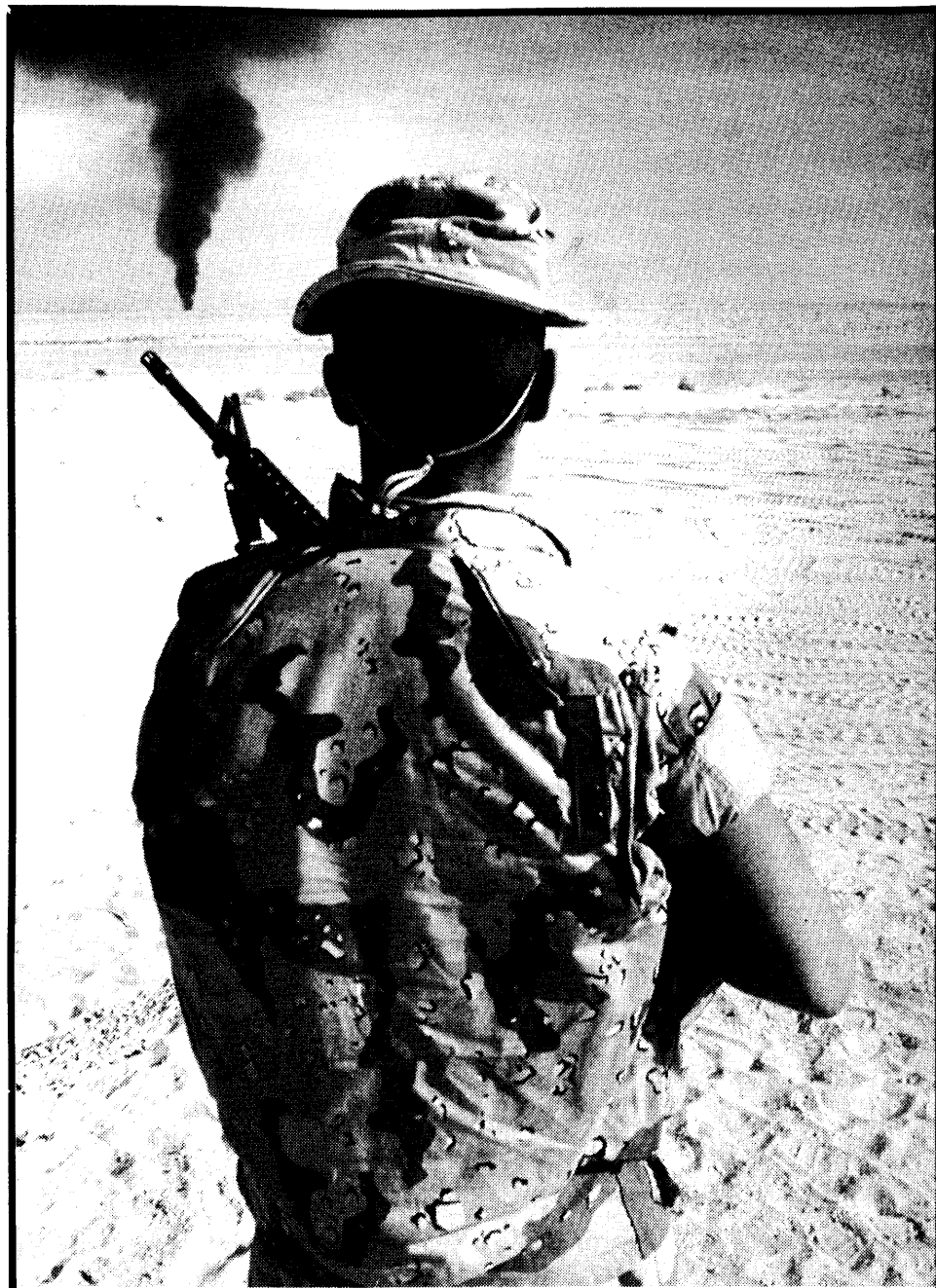
On Jan. 26, in San Francisco, thousands of trade-unionists, officially called out by Bay Area Central Labor Councils, organized union-by-union contingents. Their banners and slogans reflected both their opposition to the war and their anger at the capitalist assault on their living standards.

While many have noted the speed with which the current antiwar movement erupted even before the air attack began, most people did not expect such massive turnouts before U.S. troops were sent into Kuwait to force the Iraqis out. It was widely believed that only large-scale casualties would trigger such massive mobilizations as have already taken place.

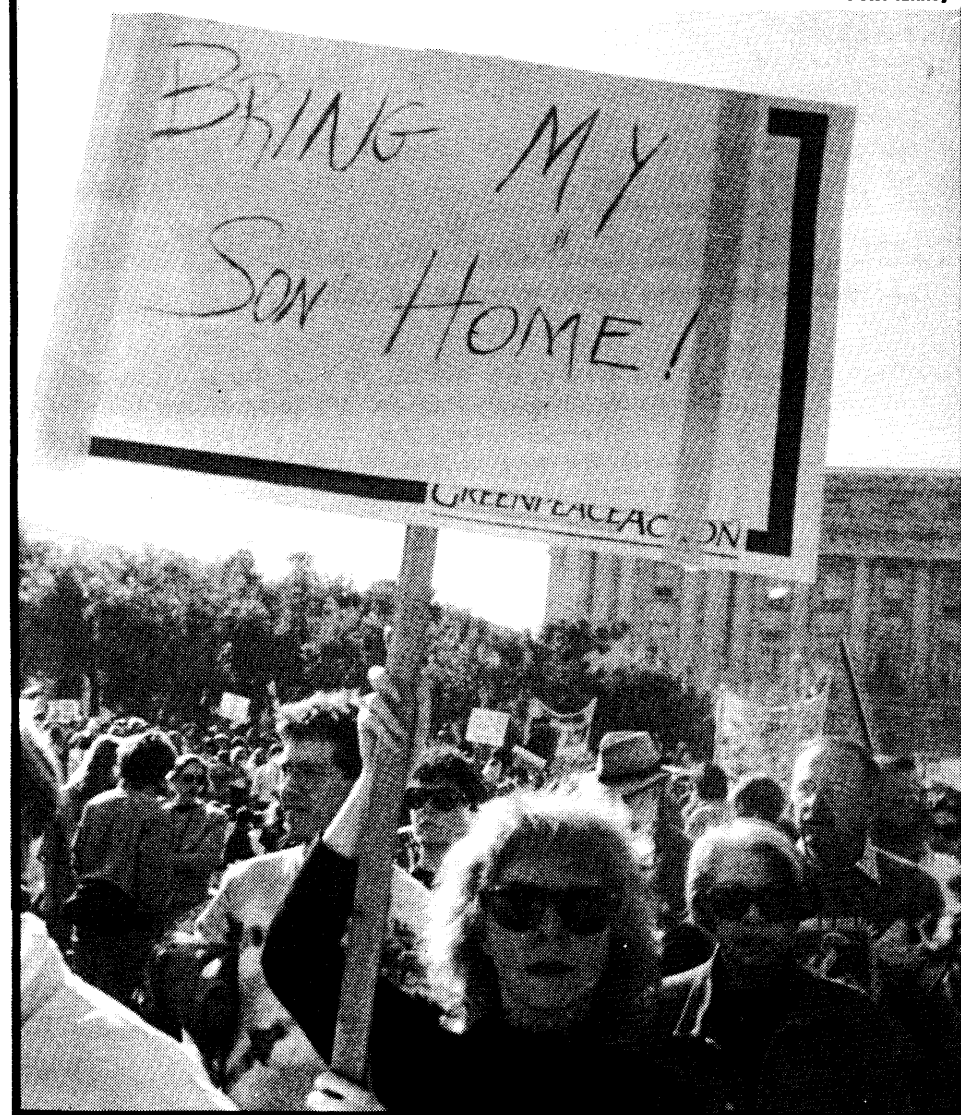
This unexpected explosion of mass opposition marks the opening of a new period of pre-revolutionary action on a scale previously undreamed of. This is despite continued, albeit shaky, economic stability.

However, this sudden shift in consciousness doesn't come from out of the blue. The only reasonable explanation is that world-wide mass awareness of the crimes of world imperialism has been accumulating beneath the surface and is now breaking through the myths which the capitalist monopoly of the media relentlessly propagates.

More and more people now see that the unending series of wars—which since the mid-1930s have accelerated in frequency and



Peter Turnley



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

destructive force—had little to do with the myth of "Communist expansionism."

And the economic and social convulsions in the Stalinist world have led Mikhail Gorbachev and his bureaucratic counterparts in Eastern Europe to plead for peace and disarmament, and for membership in the imperialist camp of "free and democratic nations." But this only accelerated world capitalism's need to send guns, planes, rockets and

bombs to its colonial puppets threatened by the revolutionary action of their hungry peoples.

Gorbachev and Co.'s application for membership in the free world as they simultaneously began a running jump toward capitalist restoration, led not to a "peace dividend," but to the invasion of Panama and the Persian Gulf! And the Eastern European Stalinist bureaucracies' approval of the U.N.

declaration of war against Iraq constitutes Gorbachev and Co.'s down-payment on dues to be paid to the U.S. lords of world imperialism.

The pretext for American imperialism's relentless stockpiling of planes, tanks, rockets—and enough atomic bombs to destroy all life on the planet many times over—has suddenly evaporated. It is now clear that this massive military force had nothing to do with "defense of freedom and democracy."

Now, adding further to the radicalization of mass consciousness is a developing economic crisis which threatens to throw the entire world into major financial collapse. This explosive mixture is rising in temperature and is showing signs of boiling over.

This grave threat to the stability of world capitalism is the real reason for "Operation Desert Storm." The aggression of the U.S. is intended to send a message to the exploited and oppressed everywhere that every challenge to the rights and privileges of the world's exploiters and oppressors will be met by unlimited force.

From Northern Africa to the Persian Gulf, the Arab nation has been parceled out as booty among the imperialist brigands. Like the hundreds of millions throughout the colonial world, the Arab and other peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America have been struggling for freedom since the beginning of this century.

In a cascading series of uprisings, the captive peoples of the world have fought for and achieved a condition of semi-independence from Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Austria—to name only the main imperialist oppressors.

In the course of the colonial revolution, most of the old-style colonies won their political "independence"—many of them only since the end of World War II.

But as the vassal states won a measure of independence, they were immediately subjugated by a new kind of capitalist imperialism which continues to reign over and super-exploit the neo-colonial world by virtue of its enormous economic power. Kings, princes, and dictators of all kinds are regularly installed and replaced by mighty international banking and industrial corporations—backed up by the military force of the most developed industrial powers in the capitalist world.

And standing above them all is the super-imperialism of the American ruling class, the richest and most powerful of the new colonialist powers.

The U.S. military colossus, before World War II, sent its marines to maintain "order" in its Latin American backyard. But since the second big re-division of the colonial world among the victors after World War II, American military power has increasingly functioned as a central force for maintaining imperialist world domination.

Now, in addition to the advanced consciousness prevailing in the colonial world for most of the past century, we are seeing the first signs of the rise of pre-revolutionary consciousness in the West, including in the very heartland of world imperialism—the United States.

And now, the world's exploitative and parasitic regimes have become aware of the new stage being reached by the developing world revolution.

But they, like all social and political entities in critically threatening circumstances, are being driven toward choosing between two antagonistic "solutions." On the one side, they are pressured toward uniting in defense of profits and privilege wherever it is challenged. But, on the other, they are also being driven toward the choice of saving one's self at the expense of one's allies.

This is because, among other things, they are increasingly being divided by the sharpening conflict between them over ever-declining sources of profit. Consequently, they find it increasingly difficult to hold together at the very moment they have chosen to unite in defense of common interests.

American imperialism's role in the New World Order is to police its partners in the ruling alliance, as well as its rebellious victims. Like a general compelled to take the most drastic measures in battle, American imperialism is prepared to shoot its own stragglers and deserters.

The Iraqi regime, wracked by a crisis partly resulting from their eight-year war

(continued on page 13)

Strategy and tactics key element for mobilizing majority against war

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

In the first few weeks of the Gulf war, this country has been rocked by an unprecedented antiwar opposition.

Even at the height of the movement against the Vietnam War, never were two national demonstrations—as large as the Jan. 19 and Jan. 26 marches in San Francisco and Washington, D.C.—organized just one week apart.

Before the shooting war began on Jan. 16, two national coalitions had formed and were calling for national actions with the same demand (Bring the Troops Home Now!) in the same two cities—but on different dates. Many considered this a wasteful division of the antiwar movement.

Then the war started, and with it, the outpouring of spontaneous demonstrations, vigils, rallies, and student walk-outs. The liability of having planned mobilizations on separate dates turned into an enormous asset.

Both coalitions immediately endorsed each other's actions. And the Jan. 19 action was used to help build Jan. 26 into an event nearly double the size of the 19th.

And this is only the beginning. On Feb. 15 and 16, local antiwar actions will take place in cities and towns across the country. This announcement was made by the Campaign for Peace in the Middle East and the Mobilization to Bring the Troops Home Now (the organizations which sponsored the Jan. 26 actions in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco respectively).

In addition, national conferences are scheduled to take place this month by the initiators of both the Jan. 19 and the Jan. 26 actions. What will emerge from these and other conferences will hopefully enable the movement as a whole, in all its diversity, to unite in actions even bigger than Jan. 26.

The activists who participate in these meetings will also benefit from an open discussion of which program and tactics best serve the goal of ending the war.

The central issue is *how* to end the war. The sure way to end the war *immediately* is for the U.S. government to pull out by withdrawing all its military forces and material.

This was the only solution for ending the Vietnam War. Despite the calls for negotiations, and negotiations themselves, the war couldn't end until U.S. troops were withdrawn.

For those who question the validity of the demand: Bring the Troops Home Now!, remember that nearly 50 percent of the 58,000 American troops who died in the Vietnam War were killed during the 1968-1973 Paris Peace talks.

This also holds true for the Korean War, where 50 percent of the 38,000 Americans who died were killed during the 1951-53 Pamanjon Peace talks. So calls for negotiations and a ceasefire are not calls for real and lasting solutions to the war.

The only demand capable of mobilizing the broadest layers of the population and ending the war immediately is: "Bring the Troops Home Now!"

Connections to the soldiers

"Bring the Troops Home Now!" is also an idea which establishes an effective link between the antiwar movement, and the GIs and their families. This slogan succinctly makes the statement that the only force working to help the GIs, to keep them out of harm's way, is the antiwar movement, *not* the government.

The hundreds of homemade signs saying, "Support our troops, bring them home now" carried on the Jan. 19 and 26 demonstrations show the great desire on the part of the protesters to answer the phony slogan the government is propagating of "Support Our Troops".

This understanding exists because the Vietnam antiwar movement struggled for many years to understand the importance of winning over the GIs to the antiwar cause.

Any effort to blunt or weaken the call to

bring the troops home now will weaken the movement's ability to present to the American people and the U.S. government the clearest and sharpest demand, as well as the one most capable of mobilizing the great numbers that are necessary to end this war.

Support a "peace conference?"

The movement needs to keep this sharp focus and avoid the adoption of a range of other demands.

One such additional demand that has already been adopted by the National Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East (sponsor of Jan. 19), and the Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, is for an international peace conference, as called for by the UN, as a means of resolving conflict in the Middle East—including the creation of a Palestinian state.

This proposal actually contradicts the call for U.S. withdrawal from the Middle East. What right does the U.S. government, now engaged in a genocidal war against the people of Iraq, have to take part in negotiations called to set up new states and borders?

Why should the antiwar movement endorse a political stance which assures the continued secure borders of the racist Zionist state of Israel by granting to the oppressed Palestinian masses a small piece of what was once their homeland in exchange?

The fair and just solution for the Palestinian people would be to live in their homeland organized not as a Jewish state but as a democratic and secular country.

Obviously, this is not a point of view with great support in the United States, where there are still great illusions about Israel's pretenses of democracy. But masses of Palestinians support this plan—as opposed to many of the leaders who are now prepared to settle for small Bantustan-type states in the West Bank and Gaza.

The best way to keep the movement growing is to make it appeal to people who

have never before participated in an antiwar demonstration.

Demonstrations must be seen as safe ways for working people to make their views known. Legal, peaceful mobilizations like Jan. 19 and 26 were the best answers to the media's violence-baiting of the movement.

Local media in Los Angeles and the Northwest, for example, went out of their way to report all the "violence" of the spontaneous protests in San Francisco when the war began. The media failed to inform people that these demonstrations involved tens of thousands of participants and were overwhelmingly peaceful. This was done purposely to steer people away from the Jan. 19 and 26 marches and rallies.

Escalate our tactics?

Some forces in the antiwar movement are calling for "escalating the tactics." An editorial in a special tabloid published by the National Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East says the movement should organize "more militant actions including sit-ins, civil-disobedience actions, etc."

Are these tactics in and of themselves more militant? Is closing down bridges and highways a more militant way to oppose the war than getting permits and organizing a well-monitored, peaceful, mass march?

This becomes an important question once we understand the central importance of winning over a majority of the American people to the antiwar position. The choice is between organizing actions that can mobilize hundreds of thousands—even millions—against the war, or whether to organize much smaller numbers.

The object is to bring people into motion around actions which will bring others, from all walks of life, into motion.

Never before in U.S. history has there been such a huge opposition to a war at such an early stage. The movement is bound to grow, especially when the numbers of American casualties begin to mount.

Everything the antiwar movement does should be calculated to win over greater and greater numbers, including the soldiers themselves. The lessons of the Vietnam antiwar movement, where this *did* happen, can help guide our new movement. That movement was successful, and we will be too! ■

By JONI JACOBS

Should antiwar activists organize blood drives?

SAN FRANCISCO: At an organizing meeting last month for the Jan. 26 demonstration, an interesting idea was debated among the activists. A proposal was made to organize a blood drive for the U.S. troops stationed in Saudi Arabia.

The activists behind this proposal want to show that the antiwar movement is just that—antiwar and not anti-troops. They are fed up with the capitalist media's conscious depiction of the antiwar movement as isolated, "unpatriotic" and violent.

To dispel this distortion, some antiwar activists think the movement should organize blood drives in conjunction with national demonstrations. In this way, they argue, people will see clearly that the antiwar movement is about saving lives, not about trashing U.S. troops.

The sentiment of these activists is admirable, but their proposal is not. Organizing blood drives for troops will only diffuse the message of the antiwar movement and cause it to lose its effectiveness and mass appeal.

Focus on slogans

The best—and only legitimate—way to support the troops is to get them out of the Middle East and home to their families *immediately*. And the best way to do this is by organizing the broadest possible layer of people to demand an end to the war.

But in order to be most effective, the antiwar movement must focus on those slogans which bring people together, not slogans which could potentially divide the movement.

Activists disagree on whether the blood drives symbolize support for the troops or support for the U.S. government's war drive.

Organizing blood drives is a common preparation for war, like stockpiling weapons and rationing scarce goods. By organizing blood drives, the antiwar movement will essentially be doing the government's job.

The blood drives point out the social costs

of this war. While there isn't enough blood for people who need it in this country—even though low-income people often sell their blood to buy food—the U.S. government is spilling untold amounts of blood in the Middle East.

No one disagrees that the troops are in the Middle East to protect the ability of U.S. oil corporations to reap super profits at the expense of the Arab people and the environment. That's why one of the more popular slogans at antiwar demonstrations is "no blood for oil." But these blood drives do exactly that—give blood for oil.

Moreover, the war won't end one day sooner due to lack of blood. The generals won't say, "Oops, we're low on blood. I guess we can't send out the soldiers to get shot today."

If necessary, troops will be required—as is the practice of the military—to donate blood as often as medically possible to maintain blood supplies at the battle fronts. It's very unlikely that American troops will suffer a blood shortage.

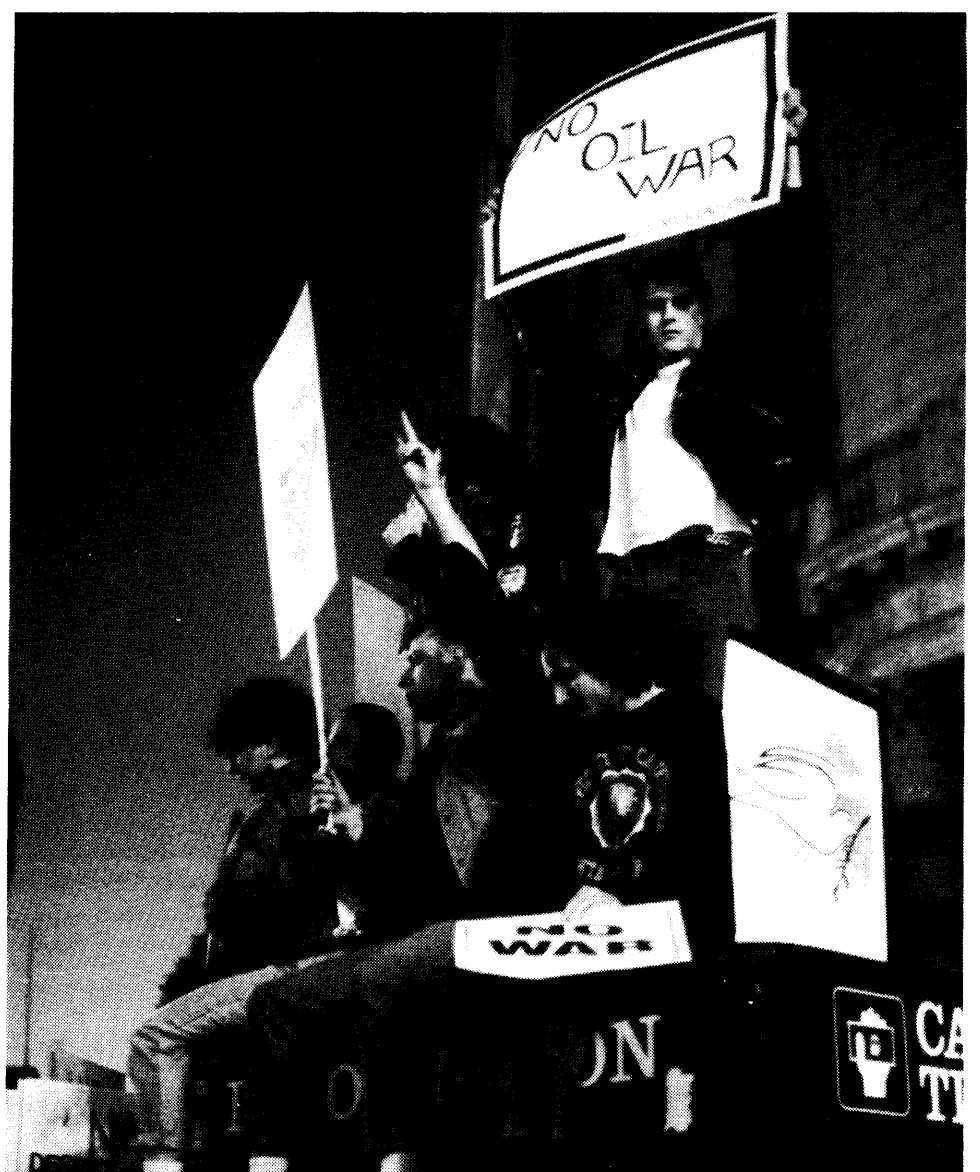
That makes the "blood for troops drive" seem chauvinistic. The real victims of the U.S. war in the Gulf—the Iraqi people—will not receive this blood. Aren't their lives as important as American lives?

Public relations ploy?

The only value of these blood drives is their public relations potential. But there is no guarantee that this message will be correctly interpreted or reported by the media.

The media could instead highlight the hypocrisy of antiwar activists giving blood to support the war effort. Or they could discredit the movement by focusing on antiwar activists who choose not to give blood. Every antiwar protester could be asked, "Did you give blood for the troops yet? Why not? Don't you really support them?"

The movement must not be sidetracked by symbols which appear humanitarian, but are,



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

in reality, reactionary in nature. We must stay focused on our strongest demand—bring the troops home now! This is the only de-

mand that will truly save lives—of all nationalities—by ending the war as quickly as possible. ■

Muslim minister condemns U.S. war in Mideast, calls for Black/white unity to build antiwar mov't



Minister Don Muhammed

David Roy Schervish

On Monday, Jan. 14th, 1991, over 250 people attended a Community Speakout Against the U.S. War in the Gulf at the deadline hour for the U.S. attack and in honor of the birthday of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Speakers included Louis Elisa, President of the Boston NAACP, Minister Don Muhammed of the Nation of Islam Mosque #11, and other community leaders and Vietnam War veterans. The event was held at the African-American Institute of Northeastern University and was sponsored by the Committee Against a Vietnam War in the Middle East (CAVME) and the Northeastern Black Students Association. Reprinted below is the speech of Minister Don Muhammed of the Nation of Islam Mosque #11.

Peace be with you. And we really need some peace tonight.

I, as an individual, am not happy to be here tonight discussing this war. I do not believe that there can be any joy in America, when the youth of this country are about to lay down their lives on foreign soil for something that is not worth it. This country is not under attack. Not one square foot of American soil is at stake. So what are we doing in the Middle East? What is the fight all about? Is the sanctity, the safety, the integrity, or the security of America at stake in the Middle East? What are we really there for?

Our president has said that it's about oil—maybe it's about aggression—maybe. As a matter of fact, he referred to it as "naked aggression" at one time. So why don't you just give Saddam a blanket to cover himself up, and that'll solve that problem.

I met with the ambassador from Iraq last Monday, and I have not had a smile on my face ever since. We've had two world wars, and every one of those world wars has been with this country fighting Europeans, Western people.

But every other fight that America has been in until now has been with Koreans, Chinese, Vietnamese, Blacks in Grenada, Blacks in Panama, and now people of color in the Middle East. What is going on in this country—that they don't mind shedding the blood of other people, but they're conservative where whites are concerned.

I'd say that this audience represents more of what the world is about and what those boys in the area of the world we call the "Middle East" is about. You're the *real* rainbow coalition. Because the majority of the people that are going to die disproportionately are Blacks and Hispanics and from other areas of the world of our people of color.

And they don't give a damn about our boys and girls. And I say that we've got to join forces with Chuck [Turner, head of the Greater Roxbury Workers Association and another speaker at the meeting] and everybody else.

They say that our youth represents 30 percent of the population, but they represent

100 percent of the future. And those that don't come back in body bags, they're going to come back with their minds distorted, they're going to come back not whole—like they were when they left.

What are we going to have 10 years from now if we don't put a stop to this. We're on the eve of destruction. January the 14th—we're on the eve of destruction. And that song says, "War—what is it good for? Absolutely nothing!"

It's not worth anything, so that this country has the might to prove a point. And what does it mean? We have proven that Vietnam never meant anything! And 58,000 names are on that wall in Washington. But more than 58,000 are running around the streets of Boston and other cities with their minds blown because they could not rationalize what they saw in Vietnam, with young babies being burnt to death, with napalm and Agent Orange! Don't we understand what is happening?

Truth about Kuwait

We have a *moral* obligation. Iraq says that Kuwait belongs to them. I was *shocked* when the ambassador told me that. He said, "We are not *invading* anything. Kuwait is the 19th province of Iraq, called Basra. It has never been a country. It was never given independence. That was a farce by Britain. We went into our own house and we took back what they did to us."

I said, "Mr. Ambassador, what are you saying? Of course, I'm shocked to hear this."

Kuwait is a word that simply means "small settlement" or "small village." And they insist that the people of Kuwait really want to be a part of their motherland, Iraq.

He said that they deliberately stole oil from their side of the border, flooding the market with an overabundance of oil, and drove the price down from \$21 to \$11 a barrel.

So, he said if we oppose invasion, why did you not oppose the invasion of Iraq on Iran. I thought that was an invasion, but they told me that Iran really started the war, that we have a dual set of rules here. And I as a Muslim am appalled for any Muslim to invade another, but I didn't hear any outcry

when Iran and Iraq were fighting. "Maybe," [they said], "you hated Ayatollah Khomeini more than you did Saddam."

And they said to me, When have you had the United Nations sanction a country and not allow the country to come in and defend itself? They were never invited to the U.N. to give their side of the story.

And the vote was in the Security Council. They said, why didn't they bring the vote to the *full* council? What about the African nations, and the other nations of the world? What is their point of view? They have gotten an agreement and a commitment from everybody in the world that they had a just grievance. And nobody would listen.

Now, our president, who cannot seem to find money for Black people in the urban areas of America, yet he invites us all to be what we can *never* be in this society. Join the service, and get fitted—for a body bag.

When I cannot get an education in America, I can go in the service. When I cannot get decent health care, I can go into the service. When I cannot get what I need as a citizen here, I cannot go from the back of the line—I can go to the front of the line in Saudi Arabia. We want to use the same line we use in America; we want to be in the *back* of the line in Saudi Arabia.

Nothing to fight for!

Farrakhan is right: Mr. Bush, send *your* son! *He's* got something to fight for. They stole \$500 billion—not \$500 million—\$500 billion from the savings and loans. That's something *worth* fighting for. We can't write a \$10 check without it bouncing—what do we have to fight for!

We're not speaking against this country. We're speaking for this country. If you really care about something, you will chastise it when it's wrong, reprimand it when it is wrong. The war that is about to take place in the Middle East is not going to stay there.

Please listen. I believe in what Elijah Muhammed taught. He said that there would come a time when there would be a war there, whether it's now or later. He said it's written in the Bible—the war of Armageddon. A battle between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers, where all nations will be brought into this battle. It's not going to stay there, Mr. Bush. It's going to engulf every human being on earth if it is that war. It's going throughout Europe and Africa—yes, even here in America.

They were talking on the radio about terrorism... I mean, are we or are we not *crazy*! We don't need to go any further than 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue and draw the line there!

...And we ought to let our voice be heard. Not in this auditorium; let your voices be heard in the streets of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, and in the United States of America. And we don't have much time, because the people in that area of the world, they would rather die as men and as women than continue to live with injustice.

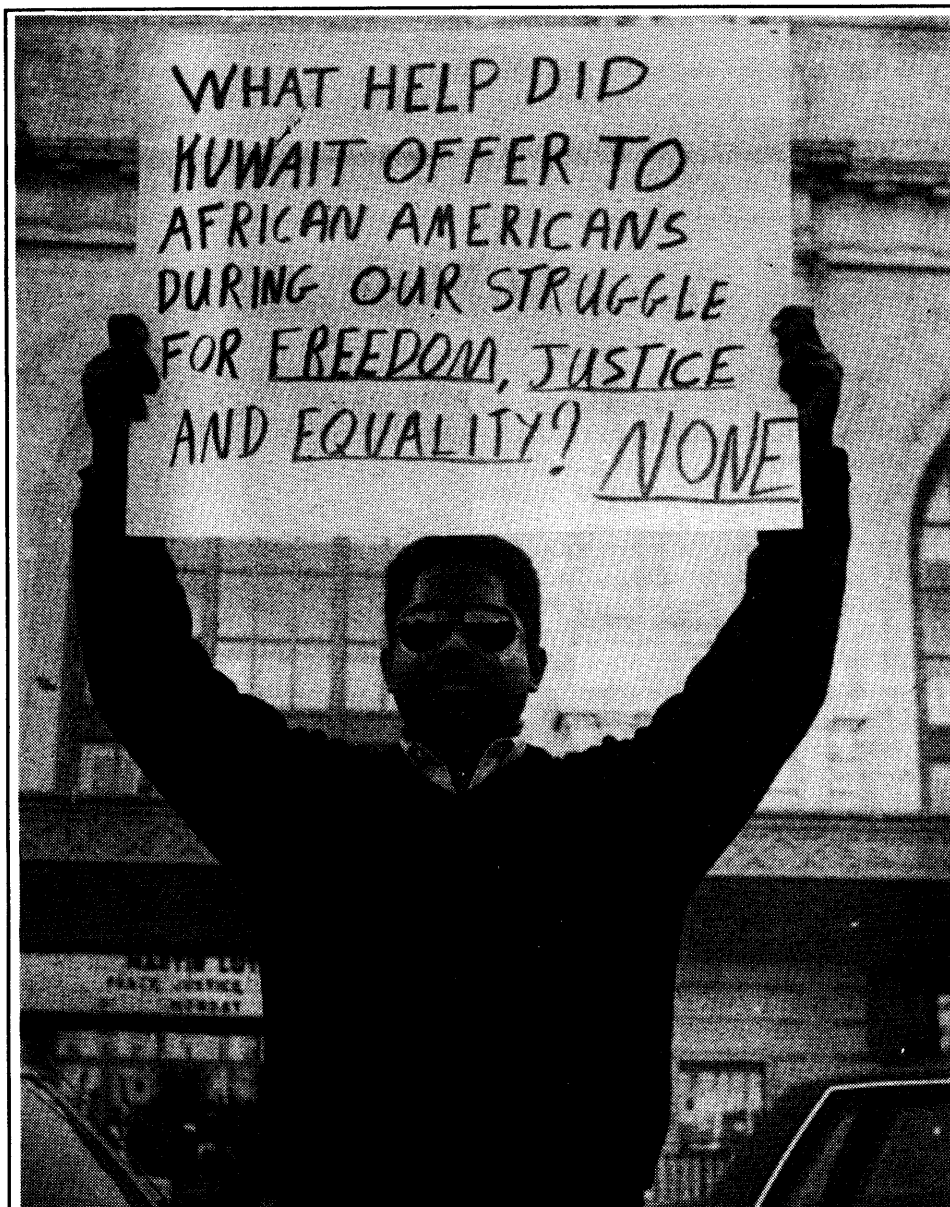
I think it's fitting that they have done this on Martin Luther King's birthday, for I support his widow [Coretta Scott King] when she said that we should use tomorrow—the birthday of her husband—to kick off a massive monstrosity of loud noises of mouths and feet to announce that we—on Martin's birthday—are announcing a *new movement against the war*...

Might is not always right, but you can assure yourself that justice will always be what is needed for the people of the world. We need unity—*Black and white and everything in-between*—because when you put a Black body in the ground, it stays there just as long as does a white one.

And we need to tell this racist government that it does not reflect the thinking of us here at Northeastern. We ought to link our arms together and say that war—yes, it's a heartbreaking thing—and its only friend is the undertaker, as the song says. War, it's not worth *anything*!

And we should let the government know that we are a voice from the battle, and that if our bodies are not there you cannot fuel this machine.

'Cause the rich are not going. And those who are effective, they ain't going. And I say to the president, I'll go if you're in front of me. I can't trust him; I've got to make sure he's in front. I'll go if you make the draft age 50, I'll go if your net worth is a hundred thousand or more. I will go. But as long as Black folks' net worth is \$4,320.00, I can do better than that begging on Columbus Avenue—I will *not* go! There is nothing to fight for!



Martin Luther King Day (Jan. 15) in San Francisco.

Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

'Mr. Bush, send your son! He's got something to fight for. They stole \$500 billion from the savings and loans. That's something worth fighting for. [Meanwhile], we can't write a \$10 check without it bouncing—what do we have to fight for!'

500,000 say U.S. Out Now!



Eva Akesson

In Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, and cities and towns all across the country, one of the largest antiwar mobilizations in U.S. history demanded an end to the war against Iraq.

200,000 march in S.F.; demand withdrawal of U.S. troops now!

By JOSEPH RYAN

Nation's capital scene of largest protests since Vietnam War

By SCOTT ADAMS-COOPER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Led by a contingent of 3000 veterans of Vietnam, Korea, World War II, and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of the Spanish Civil War, an antiwar crowd estimated at 250,000 marched on Jan. 26 from near the Capitol, past the White House, and to the Ellipse.

The Washington demonstration, happening on the same day as a huge San Francisco march, resulted from a call by the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, issued at a broadly attended Dec. 1 conference in New York City. That conference, attended by representatives from 350 organizations, endorsed three demands for the march:

Bring the Troops Home Now! No War for Oil! Money for Human Needs, Not War!

Participants in the D.C. demonstration came from all parts of the United States, from Canada, and from several European and Latin American countries. "Operation Safe Return" of Asheville, North Carolina, brought 130 people. An organization called "Peace and Justice" filled two buses from Manhattan, Kansas and Kansas City, Missouri, a trip of over 24 hours.

Banners flew from Chicago Area High Schools for Peace, Tennesseans for Peace, Bay Ridge (New York City) Coalition for Peace, the University of Wisconsin, the Smedley Butler Brigade of Veterans for Peace (Boston), groups in Detroit, Kentucky, Georgia, and hundreds of other local groups.

Several trade unions were represented. Dozens of church groups marched. It was obvious that the organized movement against the U.S. war in the Gulf is deeper and wider than the false picture given by the capitalist news media.

One woman carried a banner that read "Alaskans for Peace." She told *Socialist Action* that while she was only a contingent

of one, six other people from her group had made the "shorter" trip to San Francisco (2000 miles as opposed to 4000) to carry a similar sign.

The demonstration began with a rally and ended with a rally. Near the Capitol, the group, Sweet Honey in the Rock, performed and a variety of speakers addressed the crowd. One speaker made it clear that "this war is about U.S. imperialism."

Much of the crowd was just leaving the initial rally site when the front of the march arrived at the Ellipse. Once the front reached the Ellipse, the main rally began, although marchers were still streaming in for at least another hour.

Speaker after speaker blasted U.S. policy in the Gulf while representing a variety of views, including those for letting sanctions and negotiations work. But the clearest voices from the stage were for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Dave Klein, head of the Veterans for Peace in New Jersey, told the crowd, "We are not fighting in the Middle East for international law. If that were so, the first thing we'd do

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 200,000 antiwar demonstrators marched and rallied here on Saturday, Jan. 26 against the U.S. war in the Persian Gulf.

Only a week earlier, on Jan. 19, nearly 100,000 others voiced their protest against the war.

Combined, both marches and rallies represented a mobilization of over 300,000 people in the Bay Area against U.S. policies in the Middle East—an outpouring of dissent not seen here since April 24, 1971, when 250,000 demonstrated against the Vietnam War.

The demonstrations in both San Francisco and Washington, D.C., and other cities across the country on both Jan. 19 and Jan. 26, brought out over one million people to protest the war in the Persian Gulf—an astounding figure after only two weeks of hostilities.

The Jan. 26 demonstration in San Francisco was organized by the Jan. 26 Mobilization to Bring the Troops Home Now, a united front coalition endorsed by hundreds of Bay Area organizations and individuals including, significantly, four Bay

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SPECIAL ANTIWAR SUPPLEMENT



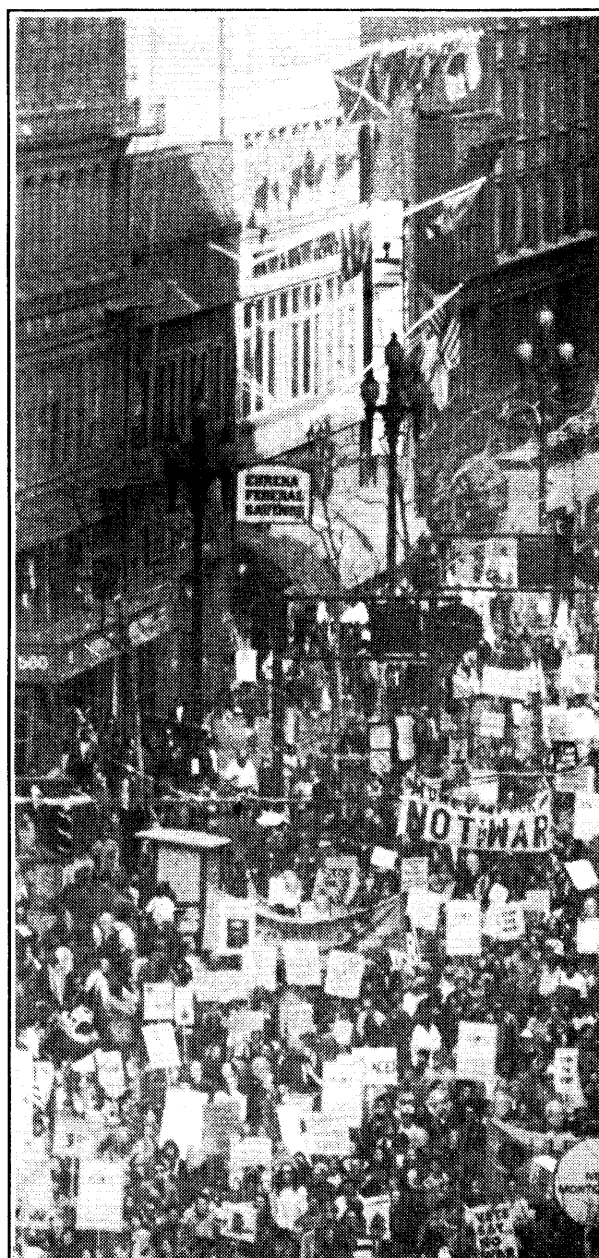
Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



**'Our job
around o**

—Walter Johnson, sec
Council, speaking at



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



Rod Holt/Socialist Action

'Our job is to be united around one word: peace.'

—Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of S.F. Central Labor Council, speaking at giant Jan. 26 rally in San Francisco



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action





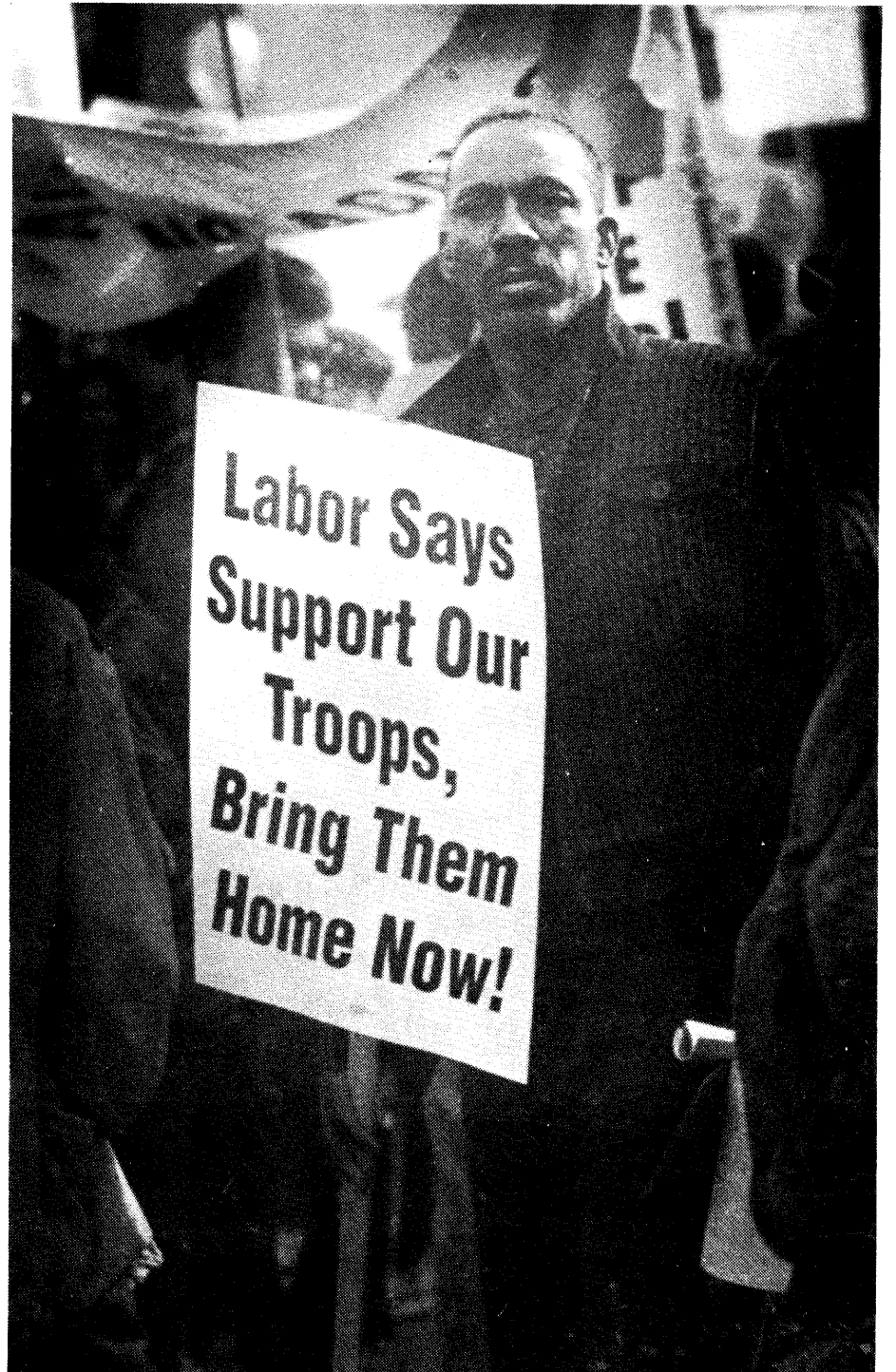
Rod Holt/Socialist Action

**is to be united
one word: peace.'**

**ecretary-treasurer of S.F. Central Labor
t giant Jan. 26 rally in San Francisco**



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



10,000 antiwar protesters rally at the University of Minnesota on Jan. 13

Antiwar actions nationwide reinforced Jan. 26 mobilization

By KATHLEEN O'NAN

LOS ANGELES—Between 18,000 and 20,000 people turned out on Jan. 26 for the largest antiwar demonstration in this area since the Vietnam War. "Bring the Troops Home Now!" was the prevailing slogan as the marchers made their way through downtown to a rally at Los Angeles City Hall.

Contingents of veterans for peace, solidarity organizations, church groups, and high school and college students from throughout Southern California were prominent in the march.

A sizable labor contingent displayed banners from the Machinists, IBEW, SEIU, and Justice for Janitors.

For over two months, Los Angeles antiwar activists have organized weekly demonstrations outside the Federal Building in Westwood.

Before Jan. 16—the day the bombing started—the media was fairly accurate in its

coverage of antiwar events. Now, however, the newspapers and radio stations regularly black out or downplay antiwar activities—while boosting much smaller pro-war events.

The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, accepted the "police count" of only 2500 people at the Jan. 26 march. And yet, the same article acknowledged that the protesters had marched seven abreast for nine blocks!

Despite the media's distortions, the weekly demonstrations will continue. To get involved, call the L.A. Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East at (213) 655-3728.

BALTIMORE—Four hundred people rallied here on Jan. 17 at the Fifth Regimental Armory. Following that, approximately 100 people, mainly high school students, held an impromptu march to the Inner Harbor.

The Baltimore Student Coalition Against the War has been holding weekly meetings

involving students from over 15 high schools and colleges.

Nine busloads went to Washington, D.C. for the Jan. 26 march, with at least that many more people driving to D.C. At least half of those on the buses were high school students. An almost equal number of buses went to D.C. for the Jan. 19 demonstration.

A rally was held at Johns Hopkins University on Jan. 23, and there has been an ongoing teach-in at the Maryland Institute of Art. The local antiwar coalition is planning coordinated activities for Feb. 21.

BOSTON—On Jan. 14, approximately 2500 people attended a teach-in against the war organized by a student group, the MIT Initiative for Peace in the Middle East. Jesse Jackson was among the speakers. The MIT group used the event to kick off a week-long series of events and a 24-hour "Peace Center."

Beginning Monday, Jan. 14, there were

daily and nightly demonstrations and vigils numbering from several hundred to several thousand, culminating in a demonstration of over 3000 on Saturday, Jan. 19.

On Jan. 24, the local Committee Against A Vietnam War in the Middle East (CAVME) and the Committee to Organize a Cambridge/Somerville Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), sponsored a Women's Speakout Against the War at MIT. Eighty-five people, mostly women, listened to an all-women panel of speakers, including representatives from the sponsoring groups, the Vietnam Veterans for Peace (Smedley Butler Brigade), the Arab-American University Graduates, and others.

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

CLEVELAND—Ohio has been witnessing event after event against the war since early January. On Jan. 5, 250 people marched in the freezing rain to the Federal Building in a rally sponsored by the Akron Committee Against the War.

On Jan. 9, over 2000 students marked the opening of Ohio State University's winter quarter with the largest political demonstration that the Columbus campus has seen in years.

On Jan. 15, over 1000 people gathered for a rush-hour picket line outside the U.S. headquarters of British Petroleum in Cleveland. That evening, a similar number crowded into Mt. Sinai Baptist Church for a Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)-sponsored commemoration of the life of Dr. Martin Luther King.

The leaflet announcing this meeting stated, "We need a war against economic injustice, racism and discrimination, not a war in the Middle East." Over 25,000 copies of this leaflet were distributed. The reverse side included information on the Jan. 26 march in Washington.

On Jan. 17, protesters again gathered at the British Petroleum headquarters in Cleveland. High school students in the small working class town of Lorain walked out of classes to protest the war. Demonstrations and meetings were held at most nearby campuses.

The Cleveland Campaign for Peace in the Middle East filled 13 buses for the Jan. 26 march in Washington. The Central America Network, Grassroots Political Action Committee, Greens, SANE/Freeze, Unitarians and Women Speakout for Peace and Justice/Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) had buses in this caravan. Students from Hiram College, John Carroll, Cleveland State, Baldwin Wallace, and Cuyahoga Community College packed three of the buses. Separate buses left from Oberlin College, Akron and Youngstown. The Arab Community Center organized vans.

...250,000 in D.C.

(continued from page 7)

is end the occupation of Panama. And then we'd invade the biggest criminal country in the world—South Africa." There was sustained applause.

Klein urged an immediate end to the war. "The problems we face today are not in Kuwait, the Middle East, or Central America. They're right here in America." He said the United States needs to "stop the war abroad. Fight the war at home and get new priorities that put human needs first."

The mother of a 25-year-old soldier deployed in Saudi Arabia spoke and put the lie to those who call antiwar protesters "unpatriotic." Lashing out at the U.S. war-makers, she said, "It is those who send our young men and women to die for oil that are unpatriotic, that have no respect for this country."

Actor Tim Robbins, who served as an "emcee" for part of the rally, blasted the U.S. media for their lack of coverage of the antiwar movement. Telling the crowd that "the whole world is watching and they're pissed," Robbins related the news of massive antiwar demonstrations that had taken place in Madrid, Stockholm, Berlin, in cities throughout France, and elsewhere, and asked, "Where are the reports of these demonstrations in the American media?"

Perhaps the most stirring remarks came from a woman whose husband was killed in the Vietnam War. She told the crowd how she had been trained as an Army wife not to

think about what was going on in Vietnam. "There's no boot camp for widows, orphans, the dead and the wounded," she declared. Holding aloft the flag that draped her husband's coffin, she said, "There is no glory in a folded flag or a Purple Heart. This folded flag didn't raise my children. This folded flag didn't love me and bring me joy." Veterans from the Smedley Butler Brigade, with whom I was standing, openly wept.

Leslie Cagan of the National Campaign declared that "today's massive outpouring indicates the breadth and strength of this movement." Other speakers included Jesse Jackson; Molly Yard, president of the National Organization for Women; Daniel Ellsberg; actors Susan Sarandon, Griffin Dunne, and Margot Kidder; and activists from anticracist and Central America solidarity organizations.

Locally coordinated actions were announced for the weekend of Feb. 15-17. ■

...200,000 in S.F.

(continued from page 7)

Area labor councils.

The coalition, initiated by four local peace groups—the Committee Against A Vietnam War in the Middle East (CAVME); Middle East Peace Action; the Peninsula Peace Center; and SANE/Freeze—was the West Coast organizer for national actions that were called by the New York-based National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East.

The San Francisco mobilization was pegged around three central demands: "Bring

the Troops Home Now!," "No War in the Middle East!," and "Money for Human Needs, Not War!"

Virtually every sector of the local community was visible at the Jan. 26 march.

Contingents representing the labor movement, Black, Latino, Asian, and Pacific Island communities, students from virtually all local campuses, and tens of thousands of unaffiliated individuals—mostly young people—marched along 14 blocks of Market St. to a rally at the city's Civic Center. Some protesters came from as far away as Montana, Utah, Alaska, Washington and Hawaii.

Leading off the march was a 1000-strong contingent of veterans organized by the United Bay Area Veterans Against a War in the Middle East.

By far, the most predominant demand on picket signs carried by the demonstrators was "Support the Troops, Bring Them Home Now!"

Thousands of other picket signs read: "No War for Oil!," "U.S. Out of the Middle East!," "Vets Say No War!," "Money for Healthcare, Not Warfare!," etc. Many people made their own signs—but with an individualistic twist: "I'd Rather be a Wimp Than an Oil Pimp," "Smart Bombs, Dumb Politicians," and "Send Neil Bush!," to name a few.

The undercurrent at the rally which followed the march was one of commitment to continue demonstrating until the Gulf War is ended.

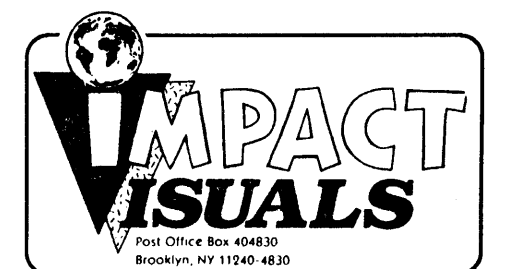
Jeff Mackler, a central organizer for the Jan. 26 Mobilization and coordinator of the

Committee Against A Vietnam War in the Middle East (CAVME), received an enthusiastic ovation when he said, "We will stay in the streets for as long as it takes to bring our boys home alive." Many in the crowd clamored for a similar demonstration the following week.

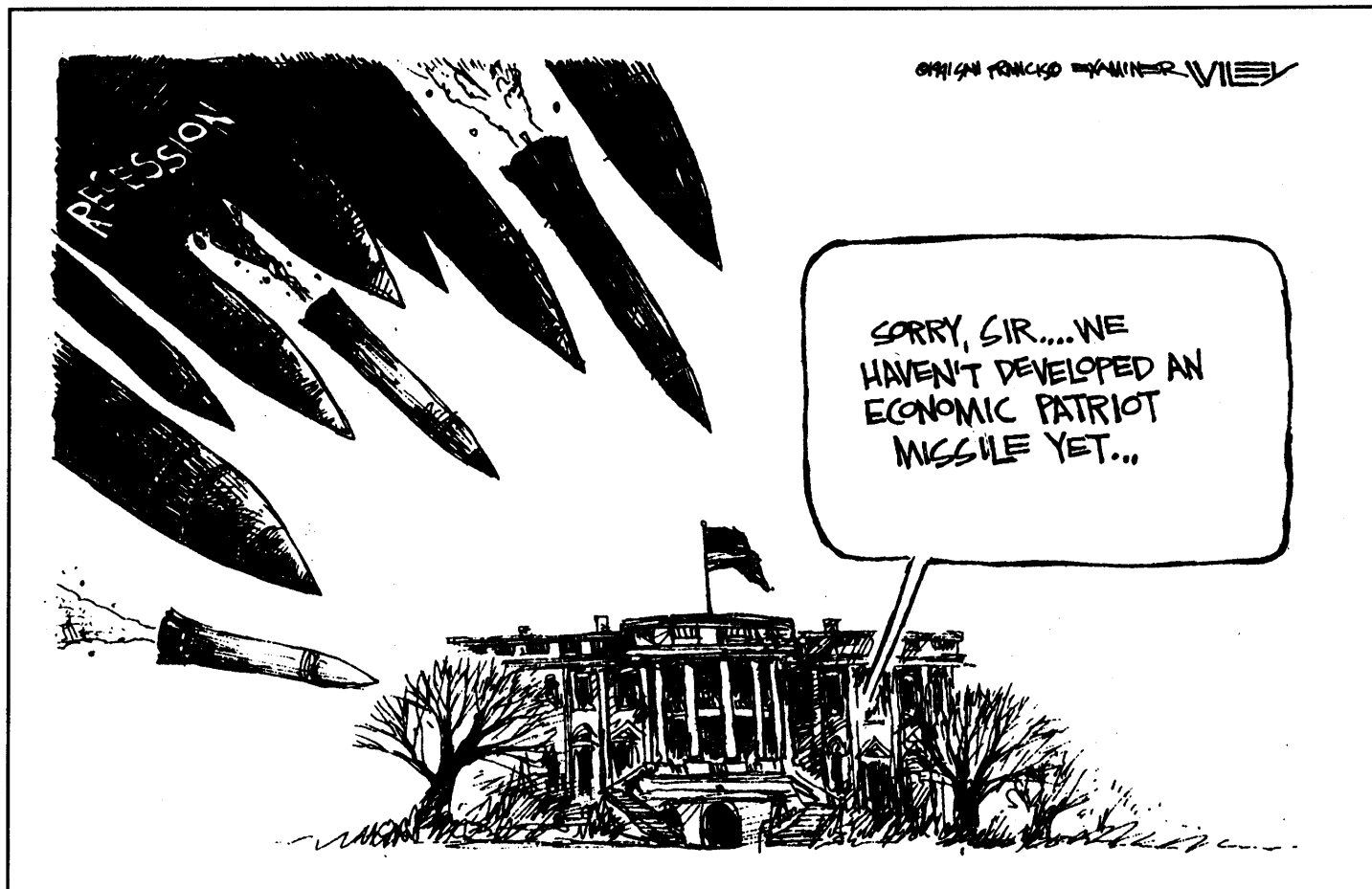
Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farmworkers of America (UFW), exposed the hypocrisy of George Bush by saying, "Bush says he's worried about Saddam Hussein using poison chemicals when, in fact, thousands of young children are dying each day from poison pesticides in the farm fields of America."

Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council, expressed the underlying sentiment that mobilized all the people in front of him. "Our job," he said, "is to be united around one word: peace."

Jan. 26 organizers announced from the stage that the next mobilization will be centered around local marches and rallies on Saturday, Feb. 16. The San Francisco event will be at 12 noon at Sharon Meadows in Golden Gate Park. For more information contact: Mobilization to Bring the Troops Home Now!, 255 Ninth St., San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 626-8053. ■



Teetering domestic economy could spell doom for U.S. war against Iraq



By DICK ROBERTS

LOS ANGELES—Stock prices climbed upwards and the price of crude oil fell sharply in the first few days of the U.S. military attack on Iraq. The upwards climb of the stock market reflected hopes on the part of international investors that the war will be over shortly and that peace in the Middle East will restore consumer spending in the United States.

This hope hinges on the belief that people have stopped purchasing expensive items—like cars and houses—out of uncertainty over the war.

There is also the hope that the lower price of world oil will soften downward pressures on the U.S. economy.

In fact, Saudi Arabian oil production is already more than making up for the loss of the oil from Iraq and Kuwait. Moreover, the Bush Administration is releasing oil from U.S. strategic reserves. An oil glut has developed in world markets and oil prices will continue to drop, barring a lethal attack on Saudi oil facilities.

The problems in the U.S. economy, however, are deeper than simply the high price of oil that has prevailed since August. The eight-year-long expansion of the economy that began in 1982 has ended. Consumer spending has dropped because people are deeply in debt, prices are much too high, and many fear job losses as unemployment spreads across the nation.

Total industrial production of U.S. companies has been falling since September 1990.

Economic horizon looks bleak

The U.S. banking system is in deep trouble. The collapse of the Bank of New England on Jan. 6—the third largest bank collapse in U.S. history—showed how fragile many financial institutions are today.

New England's weak economy had already seen the shutdown of 45 privately-insured credit unions and small banks in Rhode Island on New Year's Day.

As companies are cutting back on production, layoffs are increasing. Private industry slashed 206,000 jobs in October and 270,000 jobs in November.

"The declines were of the same magnitude as recorded in the early months of the severe 1981-82 recession," *Business Week* stated on Dec. 24. "They explode the notion that this downturn would be quick and painless."

The same magazine declared one month later, in the Jan. 21 issue, "What seems to be brewing is an economic slump much graver than the 3 percent decline in output of the harsh 1982 recession."

The economy of the United States is tied to the production cycles of the housing and automobile industry. Production in both industries is dropping sharply. Auto output

'The U.S. banking system is in deep trouble. The collapse of the Bank of New England on Jan. 6—the third largest bank collapse in U.S. history—showed how fragile many financial institutions are today.'

Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



Jan. 26 demonstration in San Francisco

fell to an annual rate of 5.3 million cars in November 1990—22.1 percent lower than the 6.8 million annual rate of October 1990. In November 1990 alone, the auto industry eliminated 54,000 jobs.

But auto production has been generally declining since 1986, when U.S. annual production reached 16.3 million vehicles.

A similar phenomenon is visible in commercial and residential building. Homebuilding has dropped 4 percent since December 1990. There were 62,000 construction jobs lost in November. In 1990, housing construction fell a disastrous 16 percent. Since 1986, the sales of new single-family homes have dropped from over 750,000 a year to 520,000.

Vacancy in office buildings, currently at 20 percent, is almost twice what it was in 1982, at the bottom of the previous recession.

The long-term crisis in construction is a large part of the problem of U.S. banking.

Crisis of over-production

The economic upsurge of the 1980s saw unprecedented investment in private and commercial real estate, as office buildings, shopping malls, and expensive housing projects spread across the country, and real estate prices climbed at dizzying rates.

It was here where many of the fortunes of the 1980s were made. Banks lent unprecedented billions of dollars to finance and profit from this real estate boom. Savings and loan companies were in on the bonanza.

But the massive overproduction of real estate inevitably led to a bust. It seems that many forgot that there are only so many people and companies that can afford to buy new houses and offices. Developers were caught overextended and unable to pay on their debts. This devastated bank loan portfolios and insurance company investments.

Consumers who bought houses in the last phase of the upturn are also in trouble. They face high mortgage payments while the value of their real estate is failing.

The U.S. banking system has already been hit much harder in this recession than in 1981-82. In 1989-90, some 350 banks either closed or needed financial bailouts. This compares to about 50 in the earlier period.

The chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation—the governmental arm charged with bailing out banks—testified to Congress that "more big banks could go bust in 1991 unless the current recession is 'short and shallow,'" *Time* magazine said Jan. 21.

L. William Seidman testified that the FDIC fund of \$9.1 billion could be bankrupted. The FDIC shelled out over \$2 billion to the Bank of New England. Seidman estimated there would be 180 further bank failures in 1991.

It was commercial real estate loans that brought down the Bank of New England, but real estate is only part of the problem for U.S. banks. Banks have extended massive credit to individuals and industry.

Indeed, the entire economic expansion of the past eight years has been lubricated by the expansion of credit. In 1990, total private debt was over 40 percent greater than the gross national product. This compares to

a debt only a few percentage points higher than GNP in 1982.

As the recession deepens, the problems of the banks will get worse. "Last year," *Business Week* said on Jan. 21, "banks charged off a record \$30 billion in bad loans, compared to some \$6 billion in the 1982 recession. And that figures to be just the beginning."

People and businesses will be unable to pay and they will want credit to tide them over the slump. Defaults will mount, and as the banks themselves lose cash they will be all the more wary about lending money out to any but the most secure borrowers.

The credit shortage impacts equally on corporations. They will be all the more reluctant to produce goods, as the availability of credit for purchasing shrinks and as their low fallback reserves dry up.

This kind of "credit crunch" occurred in the Great Depression of the 1930s. Even though interest rates fell to 1.5 percent, few companies were looking for loans. Banks were unwilling to lend except to the most strong. Industrial production fell by 29 percent between 1929 and 1933.

Only the building of massive armaments for World War II ultimately pulled the United States out of the Depression.

Effect of the Gulf War

The question naturally follows: What about the current war in the Middle East? What effect will it have on the economic downturn?

It is too early to be able to give any satisfactory answer to this question.

We should recall that the Vietnam War spurred the economy in the United States for a few years, from 1966-68. But the inflationary impact of massive war spending increasingly outweighed the "positive" effect on the economy that military purchases produced. The economy capsized, pummeled by high U.S. prices and cheap foreign imports.

By 1974, U.S. industry had slumped to its worst position in the post-Second World War era. It was this period that saw the opening of the bosses' massive attack on workers and their unions, the slashing of production and the rationalization of industry that has continued to the present day.

Today, however, the banks are in a more vulnerable position. A massive increase in government spending for war materials would produce new strains on the financial institutions and undoubtedly lead to higher interest rates when the economy is already slumping. This would exacerbate the credit crisis we have already discussed and all the more dampen investment as production slides.

Such financial uncertainties cloud the already bleak horizon of the U.S. economy. While many in Washington are crowing over the technological expertise of the military equipment that is devastating Iraq, the economic situation is sliding towards disaster for the hundreds of thousands who are losing their jobs and their sources of income.

The banking system is teetering on the verge of its worst crisis since the 1930s, a crisis which the conservative *Business Week* magazine (as we have already seen) thinks will lead to a deeper recession than 1981-82, when national unemployment rates climbed above 10 percent.

Such an impending domestic crisis is sending shivers down the backs of the war-makers in Washington.

Bailouts for the rich only

As banks increasingly turn to the federal government for rescue in time of financial crisis, the government itself is forced to bail them out to keep their depositors from going under. Right? Not necessarily. According to the law, the FDIC only insures deposits up to \$100,000.

In the case of the \$22 billion Bank of New England, the FDIC waived this law and supplied funds to the bank's larger depositors.

Not so with the much smaller, Black-owned Freedom National Bank (assets \$121 million), which failed last November in New York City's Harlem. In that case, "The FDIC saw no risk of a widespread panic and let holders of large deposits suffer heavy losses," *Time* reported on Jan. 21. "Stunned charities, churches and other customers lost \$11 million in accounts that exceeded the \$100,000 limit."

Haitian masses faced with challenge of responding to pre-revolutionary situation

By HAYDEN PERRY

For the first time in 186 years, the people of Haiti have held an honest, democratic election and voted for a candidate who inspires the poorest and most oppressed in that poverty-stricken nation. The Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, 44, a priest who has preached unceasingly against the Duvaliers, the military, and the American government that has supported them, is now the president.

Many observers are surprised that any election was held at all. Even a rigged plebiscite seemed unlikely after the bloody slaughter that aborted the last election Nov. 29, 1987. On that occasion, *Tonton Macoute* thugs hacked to death 34 voters and poll workers while soldiers stood by and watched.

The euphoria and revolutionary optimism that stirred millions of Haitians when Jean-Claude Duvalier fled, evaporated as they waited in vain for the social progress that the revolution promised. There was to be a "dechoukaj," an uprooting of all traces of Duvalierism and the dreaded *Tontons Macoutes*.

Instead, a military junta, headed by Gen. Henri Namphy, applied heavy brakes on the masses' drive for revolutionary change. In less than two years, Namphy reasserted the power and privilege of the Haitian elite. The *Tontons Macoutes*, the dreaded death squads numbering 50,000, were formally outlawed. But few *Tontons* were brought to trial. Many of the most notorious leaders were allowed to escape, while others were recruited by the army.

Corruption continued—as rampant as in the days of the Duvaliers—while absolutely nothing was done about unemployment, health care, education, or the desperate poverty of 70 percent of the people. For the masses the new regime represented *Duvalierism without the Duvaliers*.

Masses pin hopes on a populist

The oppressed poor fought back with strikes, demonstrations, and by beating up and killing recognized *Macoutes*. They also listened to the fiery sermons of Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who denounced the military, the wealthy, and the puppeteers in Washington, D.C.

Aristide is the most vocal of the younger Haitian Catholic priests who practice the doctrine of liberation theology—serving Christianity by espousing the cause of the poor and oppressed.

The church hierarchy viewed with alarm this movement that threatens the social order. In December 1988, they expelled Aristide from the Salesian order because his sermons "exalted violence and class struggle." However, they could not remove him from his church in the slums of Port-au-Rico. Mass pressure from followers was too great.

The military and the *Macoutes* tackled the problem their own way. In September 1988, they stormed Aristide's church, killed 13 parishioners, and burned down the building. Aristide, surrounded by his supporters, was able to escape.

This atrocity backfired as a group of non-commissioned officers ousted Namphy and replaced him with Gen. Prosper Avril. The sergeants hoped to institute reforms, end corruption, and smash the *Macoutes*. But the sergeants were isolated within the Army, and the generals ruled as before. Avril was finally ousted in March 1990 when he massacred demonstrators and strikers in a particularly bloody confrontation.

Then, Gen. Herard Abraham stepped forward. By this time the U.S. government, which had supported the Duvaliers for over 30 years, became disenchanted with this parade of generals. Throughout Latin America, generals of one stripe or another had been great at repressing dissent, but utter failures at running bankrupt economies.

In Haiti, the U.S. rulers decided, there must be at least the appearance of a civilian government. Ertha Pascal-Trouillot, a woman and a Supreme Court Justice, was installed as President. A civilian Council of State was appointed to advise her. Their first task was to organize an election.

This "democratic" facade proved to be an

illusion. Pascal-Trouillot became a puppet of the military, ignoring the Council of State. Repression and corruption continued as before. Elections were scheduled, but no one had faith that any of the numerous candidates would change anything. Worse yet, the hated *Tontons Macoutes* were, themselves, emboldened enough to run for office.

Roger Lafontane, once the most feared leader of the *Macoutes*, returned from exile although there was a warrant for his arrest. He walked the streets freely, accompanied by army officers. No attempt was made to arrest him. Brazenly, he demanded a place on the ballot, although former Duvalierists were barred.

Under these circumstances it was difficult to arouse enthusiasm for the election set for Dec. 16. Then Fr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide declared he would run for President and the situation changed dramatically.

The poor utilize elections

Slum dwellers registered to vote by the thousands. Three million of the population were put on the voters' rolls. Aristide and his

supporters were determined to elect their candidate, sometimes waiting eight hours in the hot sun to get into the voting booth.

Over 70 percent of the voters cast a ballot. Over 65 percent of them voted for Aristide—a landslide unprecedented in Haitian history. Washington's choice was a very poor second.

Despite this, the Duvalierists were not ready to throw in the towel. On January 7 Roger Lafontane and a band of *Macoutes* stormed the presidential palace, forced Pascal-Trouillot to resign, and decreed Lafontane to be president. "Aristide," he declared, "was a nobody."

However, Lafontane's timing was off. Neither the American embassy nor the Haitian elite were prepared to back him. They feared the poor Haitians massed outside the palace, who were prepared to storm the gates. Quickly elements of the army moved in, arrested Lafontane, and restored Pascal-Trouillot to office. So Aristide is now the President.

Washington is not happy with the prospect of Aristide as President, but they fear even more an uncontrolled mobilization

The masses are supporting Aristide but they have little faith in politicians or government officials. This was proved when only 25 percent of the voters returned to the polls to elect deputies to the National Assembly.

Bitter experience justifies this attitude. The class struggle has always been fought in the streets and in the villages. The politicians now seeking office are mostly middle-class Haitians who have recently returned from long periods of exile. They have settled in Port-au-Prince and make only brief forays into the countryside, where 70 percent of the Haitians live in utter destitution.

For their part, the peasants do not look to the central government for help, but try to settle scores with their oppressors themselves. Since the election, landless peasants have seized the estates of scores of landlords who rob them.

The landlords have recruited *Macoute* thugs to kill the peasants and burn their houses. In turn, the peasants and urban poor have formed vigilante committees of defense and Popular Assemblies to control their own communities.

Aristide is not taking office with any prospect of easy reform through progressive legislation. The new president-elect will be threatened from all sides. The World Bank will demand that Haiti honor its horrendous debt, American business will demand new concessions, all the corrupt bureaucrats will

Jerry Berndt



'The level of poverty in Haiti...is inconceivable. Unemployment runs at 70 percent. The majority of Haitians have only one meal a day. The once abundant forests have all been cut down. Even wood for stoves is almost unobtainable.'

party, the National Front for Democratic Alliance, campaigned openly despite intimidation from the Duvalierists. Five days before the election, a grenade exploded at an Aristide rally, killing 7 and wounding 54.

This was actually an act of desperation by the Duvalierists. Washington was determined to carry out this election with at least an appearance of honesty.

The army was instructed to expedite the election—no *Macoute* atrocities. Hundreds of foreign observers, including former President Jimmy Carter, descended on Haiti to observe the balloting.

Aristide was not Washington's favorite candidate. They supported Marc Bazin, a former economist for the World Bank. Attempts were made to cut down Aristide's vote. Supplies did not arrive at some polling places in poor neighborhoods. But Aristide's

of the poor in Haiti's towns and countryside. Now they can only hope that Aristide will modify the radical program he preached from the pulpit. If not, they hope he will find himself a captive of the army and right wing bureaucracy. This has been the fate of many liberal politicians in Haiti's past.

Void in revolutionary leadership

Aristide has already compromised his program of sweeping reform by making reassuring promises to the business interests of Port-au-Prince, the country's capital. The very weak capitalist class of Haiti resent the corruption of the Duvaliers who took over most of the profitable enterprises. But they fear the desperately poor masses who surround them even more! To placate them, Aristide must promise to control the masses who are clamoring for change.

sabotage his reforms, the Army and *Macoutes* will threaten his overthrow, if not his assassination.

The problems facing Aristide are so horrendous no simple program of reform will make any impression. The level of poverty in Haiti is almost inconceivable. Unemployment runs at 70 percent. The majority of Haitians have only one meal a day. The once abundant forests have all been cut down. The hillsides are barren and eroded. Even wood for stoves is almost unobtainable. Overcultivation is destroying the remaining arable land.

The people of Haiti are being physically destroyed much as the land they live on. There is no health service. Voodoo priests substitute for medical science.

To get the domestic and foreign bloodsuckers off the necks of the Haitian people, Aristide will have to go far beyond the confines of the National Palace. He cannot limit his program to the few timid reforms the bourgeois politicians in the National Assembly may support.

Aristide will have to reach into the slums and villages, find organizing bases in the Committees of Defense and Popular Assemblies, and follow the masses as they uproot the old order and complete the unfinished revolution. ■

Gorbachev uses crackdown in Lithuania to head off resistance to market reforms

By NAT WEINSTEIN

In last month's edition of *Socialist Action* newspaper, we took up the meaning of Soviet Foreign Secretary Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation and his cry of gloom and doom.

We showed that the attempts by the bureaucratic castes ruling over the bureaucratized workers' states in Eastern Europe to restore capitalism have been failing miserably.

We explained that without investment from abroad, the capital is not available to finance the modernization of existing plants and equipment and to construct new productive facilities with up-to-date technology. Also, without such new capital, the increased productivity which would permit higher living standards for all is impossible—irrespective of the social system.

Privatization, by itself, can lead nowhere without new sources of capital. Certainly, bureaucrats have shown an eagerness to transform themselves from parasitic "exploiters" into full-blooded capitalists. But they, and the legions of entrepreneurs who have sprung up in the soil of *glasnost-perestroika*, have shown that they are neither willing nor able to pay anything near the real value of the enterprises they have so far privatized.

We summed up the situation in these countries this way: Without new sources of capital to power economic expansion and technological development—and the resulting higher living standards—the support for capitalist market relations by workers, who have lost all confidence in Stalinist-style "socialism," will evaporate.

This support, we explained, was based on a willingness by workers to trade off the guaranteed jobs, housing, medical care, food, shelter, and clothing of a planned economy for the higher living standards they see in West Germany and other prosperous capitalist societies.

Moreover, the East European masses are not oblivious to the *kind* of capitalism being imposed on their societies. They disdainfully call it "third-world capitalism," and more and more workers are saying they want no part of it.

We concluded with the assessment that when the belief becomes generalized that the future of Eastern Europeans under capitalism will be closer to the living standards of Brazilians than of West Germans, the temporarily sidetracked political revolution, and the struggle for real socialism, is certain to resume with renewed vigor and greater determination.

Bourgeois democracy

Gorbachev's wrangling of Bonapartist executive powers from an ineffectual and compliant parliament is clearly to anticipate and prepare to stifle or contain the coming work-

ing class uprisings. In so doing, he continues to faithfully perform the Bonapartist function of the ruling Stalinist bureaucratic caste.

The upsurge of struggle and bureaucratic military repression in Lithuania—which confirms the fears of bosses and bureaucrats, alike—has also served to disillusion the Soviet masses and undermine their toleration of hardships connected with the restoration of market relations.

Parliamentary democracy only works when governments can rule with the consent of the governed. It is an axiom of history that bourgeois democracy flowers in prosperity, but withers and gives way to dictatorship in periods of crisis. In fact, the option for ruling by pure force has been built into all forms of parliamentary democracy developed during hundreds of years of capitalist rule.

In contrast to bourgeois parliamentary

The lesson of how these two workers' republics came into existence is extremely worrying to both bosses and bureaucrats. These forms of workers' democracy were spontaneously created by masses of workers in the course of their struggles to defend their class interests. And now the individual cells of the system of proletarian democracy are constructed in every strike committee and factory committee gestating throughout Eastern Europe.

Such institutions, are *inherently* democratic. Because the working class and its natural allies constitute the great majority in modern society, workers' democracy is more extensive and complete than is possible under capitalism or any previous form of class rule.

Capitalists cannot willingly tolerate any degree of democratic rule in the workshops, factories, mines and mills anywhere in the



democracy, Karl Marx explained that the new form of democracy discovered by French workers during the Paris Commune in 1871 was unique and revealed for the first time how the working class could exercise their dictatorship. The workers' democracy of the Commune, and later of the soviets, is a form through which no other class can rule.

Thus, both the bureaucratic caste and the capitalist class abhor this unique form of class rule, which is also the most democratic in history.

The fact is that Stalin and the bureaucracy he personified could come to power only by smashing Soviet democracy. It took a span of 13 years, from 1925 to the great purge trials of 1936-38—with millions jailed, starved and murdered—before the Soviet workers were finally crushed.

world. Under capitalism, even the caricature of political democracy begins (and ends) in the voting booth and is *absolutely barred* from the workplace—except in exceptional periods of heightened class struggle.

Thus, the bureaucratic caste's greatest fear is an uprising that could ultimately result in the re-conquest of democratic political power by the workers. Shevardnadze and all the world's bosses and bureaucrats see that outcome as the worst kind of dictatorship that could possibly befall them.

And we can be sure that such "democrats" will welcome the dictatorship of a Gorbachev when it becomes necessary to preserve their privileges and/or property rights. However, standing in their way is the huge obstacle of the reawakening Soviet workers.

The mass nationalist uprisings in the

Baltic Republics must also be seen in the context of the class struggle. There is no issue raised by oppressed nationalities that is not, in the last analysis, intimately connected with working-class interests as a whole. National oppression is the super-exploitation of such peoples.

Moreover, the abuses heaped on oppressed nationalities increase the rate of exploitation by lowering wages and living standards and divide the working class by playing one segment against another. Because of this, the bureaucrats inspire, foster and use the oppression of nationalities to generalize an increase in the rate of exploitation of *all* workers, as well as to intensify the exploitation of the oppressed peoples.

The nationalism of the oppressed

It is no accident that Gorbachev sent troops to repress Lithuanians. This was a response to the eruption of mass opposition to a large increase in food prices (on Jan. 8 of this year) by *both* Lithuanian and Russian workers.

They surrounded the parliament in the tens of thousands to protest a decision by Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene and her cabinet to drastically raise food prices. The price raise was an attempt to move this republic further along the road to a market economy.

Gorbachev sent in troops only after the Lithuanian parliament and president, Vytautas Landsbergis—fearful of the consequences of the mass protests—suspended the price increases.

Gorbachev feared, more than anything else, Lithuanian and Russian workers uniting in their class interests—objectively against the restoration of capitalist market relations. He also aimed to bolster the bureaucracy's pro-capitalist course, which was set back by Landsbergis's and the Lithuanian parliament's buckling to the pressure of the masses.

Although Gorbachev's act has temporarily blocked the road toward collaboration between Lithuanian and Russian workers, who are artificially divided by nationality, the economic and social forces set into motion by the Soviet bureaucracy's decision to take the road to capitalist restoration are irrepressible.

The struggles for national self determination and workers' democracy are of historic necessity and are organically connected. This objective force will grow in inverse proportion to the incapacity of the bureaucrats and the germinating new class of entrepreneurs to resolve the historic crisis of the degenerated and deformed workers' states.

Only the conscious leadership of a revolutionary, proletarian political party is required to realize the possibilities inherent in this pre-revolutionary situation.

This revolutionary opportunity, it must also be said—which cannot be confined to Eastern Europe—signifies that we are on the threshold of a new historical period, one on a level even higher than the pre-revolutionary period which opened up at the beginning of the 1930s. ■

... Meaning of Gulf War

(continued from Page 4)

with Iran, and partly from hostile economic action by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait took a course of action highly inimical to the interests of the imperialist world. [See the last four issues of *Socialist Action* for details.] This led to the ultimatum issued by George Bush to Saddam Hussein and the people of Iraq; he had to halt Hussein's course before it damaged the interests of imperialism in the Mideast.

That's the real meaning of the American-led imperialist assault on Iraq. The stakes are far higher than a fight over just who shall reap the greatest share of the oil profits produced in the Persian Gulf. The very existence of the present world social order is threatened by an impending economic catastrophe that promises to severely aggravate the existing divisions between the ruling groups.

Only this economic reality can explain the present war, which has resulted in the U.S. President's decision to risk tens of thousands of American lives in the face of the most widespread and vigorous internal opposition to war in American history.

It seems highly unlikely that Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi people will capitulate to the Commander-in-Chief of the New World Order despite the awesome military power unleashed against them. The Iraqi regime is showing that it believes it has less to lose by fighting back.

The commitment they have made to take on the American-led imperialist Goliath flows from a belief that they can cut a better deal for Iraq by basing themselves on the militant determination of the one million-strong Iraqi army, backed up by the equally determined support of the overwhelming majority of the Iraqi people and of the Arab nation as a whole.

And last, but not least, the Iraqis' hopeful expectations are based on the opposition by the American people to the certainty that this war will take a heavy toll of dead and maimed American men and women workers in uniform.

The expected mass opposition to the Gulf war is now a reality. President Bush, with the backing of his fellow capitalists, was able to rush into this war at least partly because of the aid and assistance he received

from the present leader of the Stalinist bureaucracies.

But Gorbachev and Co.'s plans to solve their economic woes by betting on the restoration of capitalism has gone awry. The bureaucrats are also being compelled to use whatever force is necessary to preserve their hold on state power in Lithuania and other Soviet republics. In fact, it is not excluded that imperialist troops will be called upon to come to their rescue.

And while Bush makes token declarations of opposition to Gorbachev's crackdown on Lithuanian protesters, he is faced with a similar potentially revolutionary dynamic unfolding throughout the imperialist camp.

The criminal war on the Arab people can be brought to a halt, just as the assault on the Vietnamese people was halted—by millions marching in the streets of America. The Jan. 19th and 26th mass mobilizations point the way. The American people can stop this crime against the Arab nation and the entire human race by way of a relentless series of peaceful and legal marches, demonstrations and protest meetings around the central demand: "Bring U.S. Troops Home Now!"

Every such mobilization, showing clearly where the overwhelming majority stand, contributes to ever larger mobilizations that will ultimately prove to be irresistible.

But antiwar activists and their organizations must be on guard against letting their natural outrage, triggered by the criminal assault on the Arab people, lead them away from constitutionally guaranteed peaceful, legal mass protest. The criminal U.S. capitalist government will be sure to try to hold the movement as a whole responsible for any poorly considered reflex actions taken by even a tiny minority of the movement.

Moreover, the Vietnam War experience shows that the secret police agencies of federal, state and local governments are capable of attempting to dupe innocent and sincere protesters into taking illegal actions. In fact, the official record of that war proves that these police agencies hired provocateurs to carry out illegal acts which it then sought to blame on law-abiding peaceful protesters.

[See *Cointelpro*, the documented account from government records of these and other illegal acts by the FBI and other secret police agencies.]

The organizations of working people have a special responsibility to help build effective mass peaceful protest. The experiences of trade unionists and civil and human rights fighters are especially relevant to guide the struggle under today's conditions. And they will be serving, at the same time, to advance their own class interests, as well as the interests of the great majority of the people. ■

Balance sheet on the Eastern strike: Was the outcome inevitable? Who won?

By MALIK MIAH

At midnight on Jan. 18, Eastern Airlines permanently parked its fleet of aircraft. Eastern first began operations in 1928.

Members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), on strike since March 1989, cheered Eastern's final shutdown. The nearly 9000 IAM members who struck had lost their jobs to scabs and were glad to see them out on the street as well.

Eastern's management blamed the collapse on the Persian Gulf war, the rise of fuel prices, and a poor public image caused by concerns for safety. Frank Lorenzo, the former head of the Texas Air Corporation—the owner of Continental and Eastern Airlines—blamed the demise of Eastern on the high cost of labor and the IAM's personal campaign against him.

The IAM top leadership blamed Eastern's collapse on bad management, beginning with former Eastern Chairman Frank Borman and followed by Frank Lorenzo. Union-busting by the "two Franks," they said, is what undermined the company. The IAM tops also pointed the finger at the anti-union policies of the Bush and Reagan governments. The deregulation of the airline industry under Carter in 1978, they said, allowed the Franks to operate the way they did.

The bottom line is that 38,000 Eastern employees are out of work. Eastern Airlines will be liquidated. A number of assets have already been sold. The Justice Department has a number of legal actions pending against former top managers for safety violations.

Lessons of strike

The IAM was unable to win the strike. At the same time, the Eastern owners were unable to build a nonunion scab airline at a profit.

Yet the nearly two-year strike offers some valuable lessons for working people. The strike became a central battleground between labor and management. It was constantly in the news. Frank Lorenzo became a household name—mostly hated by working people. Even many business travelers refused to fly Eastern.

The AFL-CIO and every major trade union came out in support of the IAM. In the first months of the strike, large picketlines were held at most airports. In fact, only a few Eastern aircraft got off the ground during the first couple months of the struggle.

Most significantly, and in contrast to most strikes of the 1980s, only a handful of IAM members scabbed. Strike unity was nearly 100 percent. My coworkers at United Airlines who had worked for Eastern all point to this as one of the most positive features of their strike.

After several years of battling the two Franks and Eastern's other owners, the workers knew that the only way to defend their jobs and working conditions was to stand firm and fight.

In addition, the decision of the pilots and flight attendants to join the IAM in sympathy strikes for eight months was a significant development in the airline industry. It had been more common for the three unions to cross each other's picketlines than to stand as one.

Was outcome inevitable?

Nevertheless, despite the strong union solidarity, the strikers were unable to keep Eastern grounded or get the owners to cut their losses and settle a contract. The outcome was at best a draw.

Is it impossible to win strikes today against managements so determined to bust unions? Can workers overcome owners who are supported by city, state, and federal governments, courts, and cops?

Organized labor is at its weakest strength since the 1930s. Peter Kilborn, reporting in the Jan. 27 *New York Times*, notes that "in strikes involving 1000 or more workers since World War II, the Bureau of Labor

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Statistics recorded the most strikes ever—470—in 1952 and almost as many—424—in 1974. But the number fell precipitously in the 1980s, to 40 in 1988, to 51 in 1989, and to 4 last year."

Because the unions have been weakened (for not fighting earlier concessions), the employers had an easy time in the 1980s. The unions' weakness was best seen in 1981 when President Reagan destroyed the air traffic controllers' union by replacing them with scabs. The AFL-CIO did nothing except give verbal protest. Frank Lorenzo followed Reagan's lead at Continental two years later.

Not surprisingly, two-tier contracts became the norm in the 1980s. And Lorenzo was able to lead the way by reducing the wages of ramp workers at Continental, for example, to half of what they made at Eastern. The labor tops' response to these attacks generally has been to give up without a fight. The rank and file without leadership have done the same.

According to the labor officialdom, what are the main lessons of the Eastern strike? Most officials stress two points: First, labor must step up its pressure on Congress to adopt legislation making it illegal to hire "replacement workers" during strikes.

The employers have had the legal right to hire scabs as permanent employees since a 1938 Supreme Court ruling. But they have rarely done so until lately. Up to the mid-1970s, the bosses were able to get enough concessions from workers to reap big profits without significantly altering the wages and working conditions.

But the declining rate of profits in all industries, including airlines, has led to intense competition. The bosses can't use the old class-collaborationist methods with the top labor officials anymore. They need a fundamental restructuring of wages and working conditions.

Second, the officials also call on the ranks of labor, including those on strike, to support Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs) as the way to stop the Frank Lorenzos. Almost every strike in the late 1980s has called for some type of ESOP. It is raised today around the Greyhound and *Daily News* strikes. It is a diversion from leading a real fightback.

What made the Eastern strike so significant was that the rank-and-file workers

were able to assert themselves in the strike despite the labor bureaucracy's policies. The long conflicts between labor and management at Eastern for 10 years led the IAM ranks to say "no" to any attempt by management to divide them.

The workers had suffered a reign of terror under Lorenzo and Borman. They weren't taking it anymore. They were prepared to hold out even though it meant no jobs at the end. Not one Eastern striker I've talked to regrets their decision.

Ground the planes!

Nevertheless, the determination of the ranks was not enough to win the strike. The labor officials' no-win policy prevented the mass picketing needed to ground Eastern. Their refusal to build on the unity of the three unions (which did stop the airline from flying during the first months) weakened the

strike's effectiveness.

The strike needed to be extended to other airline and transportation workers. There was some initial discussion about doing so—especially to rail workers. But it was never organized. With proper preparation, such an extension was objectively possible. The Eastern owners could have been forced to the bargaining table.

The IAM and AFL-CIO leadership did not prepare the airline workers and the labor movement as a whole for such a major confrontation. It placed the onus of the battle on the backs of the Eastern strikers themselves. Active solidarity wasn't mobilized.

Once the tactic of mass picketing to shut-down the airline was rejected, the strikers were left to a boycott campaign against Eastern and Continental. This effort was relatively successful as boycotts go. But it was not enough to get Eastern's owners or the trustee who replaced Lorenzo last spring to negotiate.

Unfortunately, by the fall of 1989 the pilots and flight attendants decided the strike was lost and returned to work. Few were rehired, however. The scabs were permanent.

In addition, sharp competition in the industry for declining profits undermined the "new" Eastern. It continued to lose \$2 million per day. The final blow came in the summer of 1990 with the Iraqi takeover of Kuwait. Fuel prices skyrocketed. This hit Eastern and all airlines hard.

Continental and Pan Am have now joined Eastern in bankruptcy court. TWA is facing a similar fate. In fact, the industry as a whole expects to lose \$2 billion for 1990, double the previous record loss of \$915.8 million in 1982, during the last recession. Most of the losses are from the fourth quarter alone—\$1.7 billion.

Thousands of former Eastern unionists are now working at other carriers or other jobs. They bring with them their strike experiences. These can be helpful to other workers, as they prepare for our own battles with management.

The airline industry is in the midst of reorganization. Soon there may only be five or six carriers. And the strong are determined to lower their labor costs to help increase both their mass of profits and their rate of profits. Billions of dollars are being spent to buy new aircraft. American, United, and Delta, in particular, plan to buy up cheap assets from liquidated rivals.

In this context of restructuring, recession, and war, more labor battles will take place in the airlines. Already several potential battles are brewing. The pilots at American Airlines, the largest carrier, may go on strike as early as March. A central demand of the pilots is to eliminate the two-tier wage structure. A majority of American pilots are now on the second tier. The three unions at United, the second largest carrier, have open contracts. IAM members at U.S. Air are also in contract negotiations.

The lessons of the Eastern strike are extremely important. We need to draw a sober balance sheet to prepare ourselves for the difficult battles ahead of us. ■

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Labor and the fight against imperialist war

The day after Washington launched its murderous war against the Iraqi people on Jan. 16, the current president of the AFL-CIO, Lane Kirkland said, "The American labor movement stands in full support of our country and of the men and women in our armed forces and their courageous efforts to bring this conflict to an early and decisive conclusion."

Kirkland and many other top labor officials have jumped onto George Bush's Desert Storm war wagon without a blink of the eye. They support U.S. domination of the Persian Gulf, claiming it is in "labor's" best interests.

During the Vietnam War, nearly three decades ago, a similar falsehood was told by then-AFL-CIO President George Meany. In fact, Meany took an even more hawkish stance against the Vietnamese workers and peasants fighting for their self-determination. He openly attacked those in the unions who spoke out against that bloody war.

But 1991 is not 1965. Many working people, including those active in their trade unions, immediately joined protests against Washington's new war of domination. Tens of thousands of unionists marched Jan. 19 and 26 in massive rallies in San Francisco and Washington, D.C.

An organized trade-union contingent of over 5000 participated in the San Francisco Jan. 26 protest. According to Gretchen Mackler, an activist in the Peace and Justice Caucus of the California Teachers Association, some 32

labor unions marched behind a banner, "Labor for Peace" and "Labor says: Bring the Troops Home Now."

Unionists included communication workers, machinists, painters, electrical workers, teachers, office workers, state and city workers, hospital workers, janitors, oil workers, retail clerks, iron workers, garment workers, carpenters, and auto workers.

Significantly, the central labor councils of San Francisco, Alameda, Santa Clara, and San Mateo counties all endorsed the Jan. 26 march and rally.

Even before the terror bombing began, nine international presidents came out for a peaceful resolution of the crisis instead of war. While they wrongly called for sanctions against Iraq, their opposition to Bush's policy reflects the antiwar sentiments among working people.

"Polls" will change

Much of the "public opinion poll" support for the war is shallow. Most working people hope the war will be quick and relatively bloodless for U.S. soldiers. As the costs rise in both U.S. deaths and hatred toward Washington by Arab and other people around the world, combined with a worsening economy, the "polls" will change.

What is most significant about labor's response to the war is how fast it has developed. It took several years before any top union official criticized the Vietnam war, much less joined public protests. At the

Which Side Are You On?

By
Malik Miah



Jan. 26 rally, several labor officials spoke.

Moreover, organizing continues. The Mobilization coalition in San Francisco has an ongoing labor committee that is planning educational activities and other protests, particularly linking the high costs of war to the government cuts of social programs.

The relatively high percentage of Blacks and other minorities in many unions and the disproportionate number of Blacks in the military place special emphasis in tying together social and economic issues to the war.

There is a "Vietnam Syndrome" among working people. There is more than the knee-jerk patriotism fed to us by the Pentagon propagandists through CNN and the pro-war news media.

As the truth becomes known, it will become clear to many that this is a war of domination by an

advanced capitalist country—the United States—against the Iraqi and Arab peoples. That is, it is an imperialist war; a war to control the entire region and impose pro-U.S. regimes, as Washington did in Panama and Grenada.

Workers in uniform

There is a potential for labor to not only join but lead the new antiwar movement. U.S. soldiers are workers in uniform. They are the ones fighting and dying in the sands.

Workers at home are the ones paying for it in our tax dollars, fewer jobs, higher costs, and a lower standard of living. There are millions of workers who are homeless and some 38 million without healthcare insurance. Conditions will get worst as the country slides into a depression.

War and recession are powerful radicalizing factors. The new impe-

rialist war against the people of the Persian Gulf cannot win. The Arab, Palestinian, Kurdish, and Iranian peoples will prevail.

Moreover, their just struggles will propel U.S. working people into successful fights against union-busting, racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression and exploitation. These are the political stakes unleashed by Operation Desert Storm.

Kirkland, therefore, is correct in one sense. The American labor movement does stand 100 percent behind our men and women soldiers in the Persian Gulf. But he is wrong to say that labor stands with George Bush.

Workers want peace. As long as the Iraqi people continue to stand firm in defense of their country, the antiwar movement will grow and become an important factor in helping to defeat Washington's dirty war.

Why I joined Socialist Action

By DAVID A. JOHNSON

I am writing to outline the reasons behind my resigning from the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and ending my active supporter status in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). I would also like to explain the reasons I decided to join Socialist Action in November 1990.

I have been an active member of the SWP and YSA for nearly three years and a supporter for almost a decade.

After being recruited into the SWP in Kansas City, I learned a tremendous amount about my class, its history, and the world in a way never presented before. For that I will always have respect for the comrades who befriended me and led me to revolutionary politics.

After transferring to Chicago in September 1989, I began to notice that a defined layer of "seasoned comrades" seemed to maintain an attitude that they controlled the branch and the YSA chapter.

Branch executive committee members maneuvered everything from YSA fundraisers to forums to sales to who got to go to Cuba and who didn't. This extended into social gatherings and frequently

probed into personal affairs such as where "new" comrades should live in relation to ex-members of the Party.

It took me until this late date to realize how undemocratically the SWP is run.

The SWP deploys a preferred layer of members throughout its branch system to keep everything in check with the all-powerful National Office. In this the leadership openly confirms that it does not have confidence in its own membership to function at a daily rhythm.

Trials and expulsions replace discussion and the open exchange of ideas.

I had a difficult time maintaining a fraction job not only because I am new to industrial employment but also because I had no idea how to integrate myself into a book salesman to puzzled co-workers.

I found it bizarre selling Maurice Bishop books to my co-workers when we were fighting direct attacks from the boss threatening our union. The reformist NJM was not on their minds. Keeping their union jobs was.

Since joining Socialist Action I now recognize the blatant nationalist flag waving carried out in the

SWP. After vacillating several times on Nicaragua's FSLN, then finally completely changing its line, the role the SWP played in wrapping itself in nationalist Sandinismo alienated a lot of members.

Now, the ANC is the "SWP Flag of the Year." The nationalist ANC leadership is already speaking of a mixed economy—Mandela is negotiating with apartheid and the armed struggle has been largely abandoned.

I had hoped the SWP would have learned something from the social-democratic death of the FSLN government. Apparently not.

Leaving revisionism

At an antiwar rally on Oct. 20 in Kansas City, I bought a *Socialist Action* newspaper. The article by Malik Miah and Barry Sheppard entitled "SWP Abandons Revolutionary Traditions as it Breaks from the Fourth International" played a major role in my decision to leave the dizzying revisionism in the SWP to the clear, thought-out, and consistent line of Socialist Action.

When the SWP dropped out of the Fourth International it sent a clear message to me as a young revolutionary.

It said to me that the SWP leadership does not have the confidence to fight for its ideas or program within the Fourth International because it cannot convince its own membership of its reasons to leave it.

As Miah and Sheppard's article says, the English-only *Militant* is the only press these robotic "Communist Leagues" can distribute. This is lock-step centralism that reflects not the Leninist strategy of party building, but a monolithic, supercentralist conception of a world party.

Their reformist antiwar line, the Cuba fetish, the constant analyzing

of the Eastern strike, and the mass expulsions by the Barnes leadership have led me to Socialist Action.

Since Jack Barnes has taken the reins, the SWP has gone off on a sectarian, revisionist and nearly social democratic tangent that must be stopped by the membership.

By joining Socialist Action I will be continuing my education and training as a Trotskyist revolutionary in a much less rigid and confined party.

I regret that the SWP has for the second time banned *Socialist Action* from its bookstores.

While in the SWP and YSA, I often was curious as to why the Spartacist League and Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) were "banned" from public forums and Pathfinder Bookstores when they let in the Stalinist CP, social democrats, and supporters of the ruling parties. I believe I know now.

They cannot defend the purges of

their own membership that resulted in the formation of these organizations in front of their cadre.

The latest "fink book" campaign against Malik Miah is a pretext to close the doors on Socialist Action also.

I am excited and ready to advance Socialist Action as Trotsky's party and mine. I will also defend it against the slanderous charges hurled against it by the SWP leadership.

Unfortunately, by doing this I also will be prohibited by the SWP leaders from remaining friends with a number of comrades in the SWP as I am "banned" because of my decision to join Socialist Action.

I urge all members of the SWP and YSA to join Socialist Action today! The present crash-and-burn course of the SWP will only result in more trials, expulsions, and an even further retreat into a political dead-end.

**If you like this paper,
look us up!**

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For information about other areas, contact the national office of Socialist Action at (415) 821-0458.

Record sales for Socialist Action

The January 1991 issue of *Socialist Action* was our largest selling issue by far since we began publishing seven years ago. The press run was an unprecedented 8000 copies—including an updated mid-month edition that hit the streets two days after the United States began bombing Iraq.

The San Francisco branch of Socialist Action led the way last month, selling over 1600 copies (not counting bookstore and news stand sales). At the Jan. 19 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco,

branch members sold 650 papers. And one week later, on Jan. 26, they sold 690 papers and 48 subscriptions.

Branches in other parts of the country likewise report that the January issue of *Socialist Action* received a fantastic response at antiwar events. Twin Cities branch members, for example, sold over 400 newspapers at antiwar rallies and outside high schools in the area. Baltimore *Socialist Action*, one of our smaller branches, sold about 325. Nice going!

Malcolm X: 'The only way you end oppression—with power!'

Feb. 22 marks the 26th anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965. He was shot down at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, N.Y., while giving a speech about the political program of his organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU).

Undoubtedly, were he alive today, Malcolm X would be in uncompromising opposition to the U.S. war against Iraq. He would be in the forefront of organizing a broad-based antiwar movement. He would tell Black people that their enemy was the racist system in the United States, not their brothers and sisters in the Middle East.

Himself a Muslim, Malcolm X was a Black nationalist and a revolutionary of action. His absence from the political scene today is a void that can only be filled when a new fighting, militant leadership emerges from the oppressed Black community.

In commemoration, we are publishing excerpts from a speech Malcolm X gave at the Militant Labor Forum in New York City on Jan. 7, 1965. Entitled, "Prospects for Freedom in 1965," this speech gives a vivid picture of what Malcolm X would say today.—the editors

In 1964, oppressed people all over the world, in Africa, in Asia and Latin America, in the Caribbean, made some progress. Northern Rhodesia threw off the yoke of colonialism and became Zambia and was accepted into the United Nations, the society of independent governments. Nyasaland became Malawi and was also accepted into the UN, into the family of independent governments. Zanzibar had a revolution, threw out the colonialists and their lackeys, and then united with Tanganyika into what is now known as the Republic of Tanzania—which is progress, indeed....

Also in 1964 the oppressed people of South Vietnam, and in the entire Southeast Asia area, were successful in fighting off the legions of imperialism.... And with all the highly mechanized weapons of warfare—jets, napalm, battleships, everthing else—and they can't put those rice farmers back where they want them....

In 1964 this government, subsidizing Tshombe, the murderer of Lumumba, and Tshombe's mercenaries, hired killers from South Africa, along with the former colonial power, Belgium; dropped paratroopers on the people of the Congo; used Cubans that they had trained to drop bombs on the people of the Congo with American-made planes—to no avail. The struggle is still going on, and America's man, Tshombe, is still losing.

Anti-American?

All of this in 1964. Now, in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that I am anti-American. I am not. I'm not anti-American, or un-American. And I'm not saying that to defend myself. Because if I was that I'd have



a right to be that—after what America has done to us. This government should feel lucky that our people aren't anti-American.... And the whole world would side with us, if we became anti-American. You know, that's something to think about.

But we are not anti-American. We are anti or against what America is doing wrong in other parts of the world as well as here, and what she did in the Congo in 1964 is wrong. It's criminal, criminal.

And what she did to the American public, to get the American public to go along with it, is criminal. What she's doing in South Vietnam is criminal. She's causing American soldiers to be murdered every day, killed every day, die every day, for no reason at all. That's wrong. Now, you're not supposed to be so blind with patriotism that you can't face reality. Wrong is wrong, no matter who does it or who says it....

Also in 1964, China exploded her [atomic] bomb, which was a scientific breakthrough for the oppressed people of China who suffered for a long time. I, for one, was very happy to hear that the great people of China were able to display their scientific advancement, their advanced knowledge of science, to the point where a country which is as

backward as this country keeps saying China is, and so behind everybody, and so poor, could come up with an atomic bomb. Why, I had to marvel at that. It made me realize that poor people can do it as well as rich people.

So all these little advances were made by oppressed people in other parts of the world during 1964. These were tangible gains, and the reason that they were able to make these gains—they realized that power was the magic word—power against power. Power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny and oppression, because power, real power, comes from conviction which produces action, uncompromising action. It also produces insurrection against oppression. This is the only way you end oppression—with power.

Power never takes a back step—only in the face of more power. Power doesn't back up in the face of a smile, or in the face of a threat, or in the face of some kind of nonviolent loving action. It's not the nature of power to back up in the face of anything but some more power. And this is what the people have realized in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, in Cuba, in other parts of the world. Power recognizes only power, and all of them who realize this have made gains.

Few gains in America

Now here in America it's different. When you compare our strides in 1964 with strides that have been made forward by people elsewhere all over the world, only then can you appreciate the great doublecross experienced by Black people here in America.

....By the end of 1964 we had to agree that instead of the year of promise, instead of these promises materializing, they substituted devices to create the illusion of progress and 1964 was the Year of Illusion and Delusion. We received nothing but a promise.... In 1963 they had used the trick—one of their devices to let off steam across the nation was the March on Washington. They used that to make us think we were making progress. Imagine marching on Washington and getting nothing for it whatsoever....

In '63 it was the march on Washington. In '64, what was it? The civil rights bill. Right after they passed the civil rights bill they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it, murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the civil rights bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was devised to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the bill itself was not designed to solve our problems.

Since we see what they did in 1963, and we saw what they did in 1964, what will they do now, in 1965? If the march on Washington was supposed to lessen the explosion, and the civil rights bill was designed to lessen the explosion—that's all it was designed to do, it wasn't designed to solve the problems.

It was designed to lessen the explosion, because everyone in his right mind knows there would have been an explosion. You can't have all those ingredients, those explosive ingredients that exist in Harlem and elsewhere where our people suffer and not have an explosion. So these are devices to lessen the danger of the explosion, but not designed to remove the material that's going to explode.

Crumbs in 1965

What will they give us in 1965? I just read where they planned to make a Black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, Black boys, and put him in the cabinet so he can walk around Washington with a cigar—fire on one end and fool on the other....

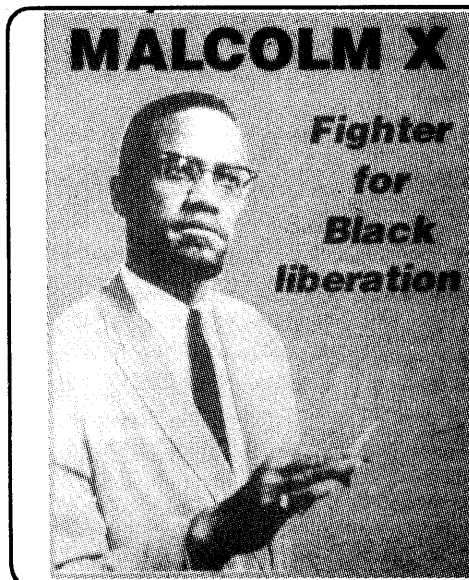
On the national scale during 1964, as I just mentioned, politically, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had its face slapped at Atlantic City, at a convention over which Lyndon B. Johnson was the boss and Hubert Humphrey was the next boss and Mayor Wagner had a lot of influence himself; still none of that influence was shown in any way whatsoever when the hopes and aspirations of the people, the Black people of Mississippi, were at stake....

In 1964, 97 percent of the Black American voters supported Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, and the Democratic Party. Ninety-seven percent! No minority group in the history of the world has ever given so much of its uncompromising support to one candidate and one party. No one people, no one group, has ever gone all the way to support a party and its candidate as did the people, the Black people, in America in 1964....

And the first act of the Democratic Party, Lyndon B. Johnson included—in 1965, when the representatives from the state of Mississippi who refused to support Johnson came to Washington, D.C., and the Black people of Mississippi sent representatives there to challenge the legality of these people being seated, what did Johnson say? Nothing! What did Humphrey say? Nothing! What did Robert "Pretty Boy" Kennedy say? Nothing! Not one thing! These are the people that Black people have supported. This is the party that they have supported....

The frustration of these Black representatives from Mississippi when they arrived in Washington, D.C., the other day, thinking, you know, that the Great Society was going to include them—only to see the door close in their face like that. That's what makes them think. That's what makes them realize what they're up against. It is this type of frustration that produced the Mau-Mau. They reached the point where they saw that it takes power to talk to power. It takes power to make power respect you. It takes madness, almost, to deal with a power structure that's so corrupt—so corrupt.

So 1965 should see a lot of action. Since the old methods haven't worked, they'll be forced to try new methods... ■



A pamphlet for struggle

by Kwame M.A. Somburu, Joe Ryan, and Nat Weinstein

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