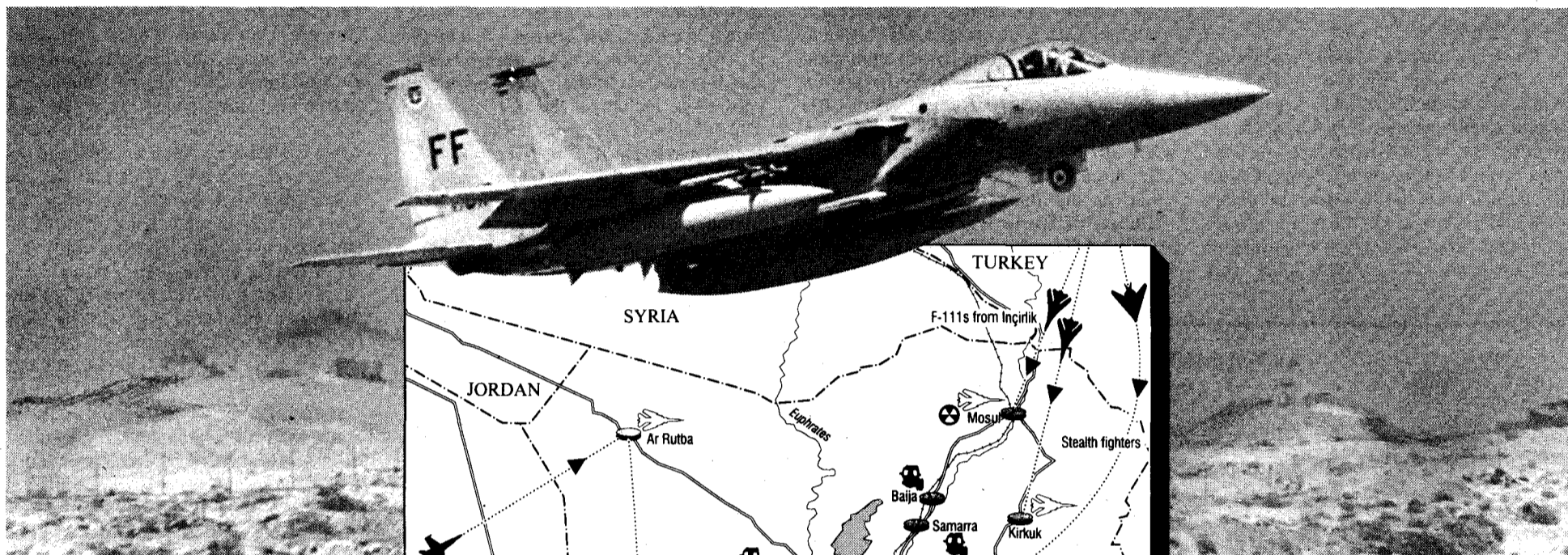


U.S. Plots Mass Murder

Persian Gulf War Plans



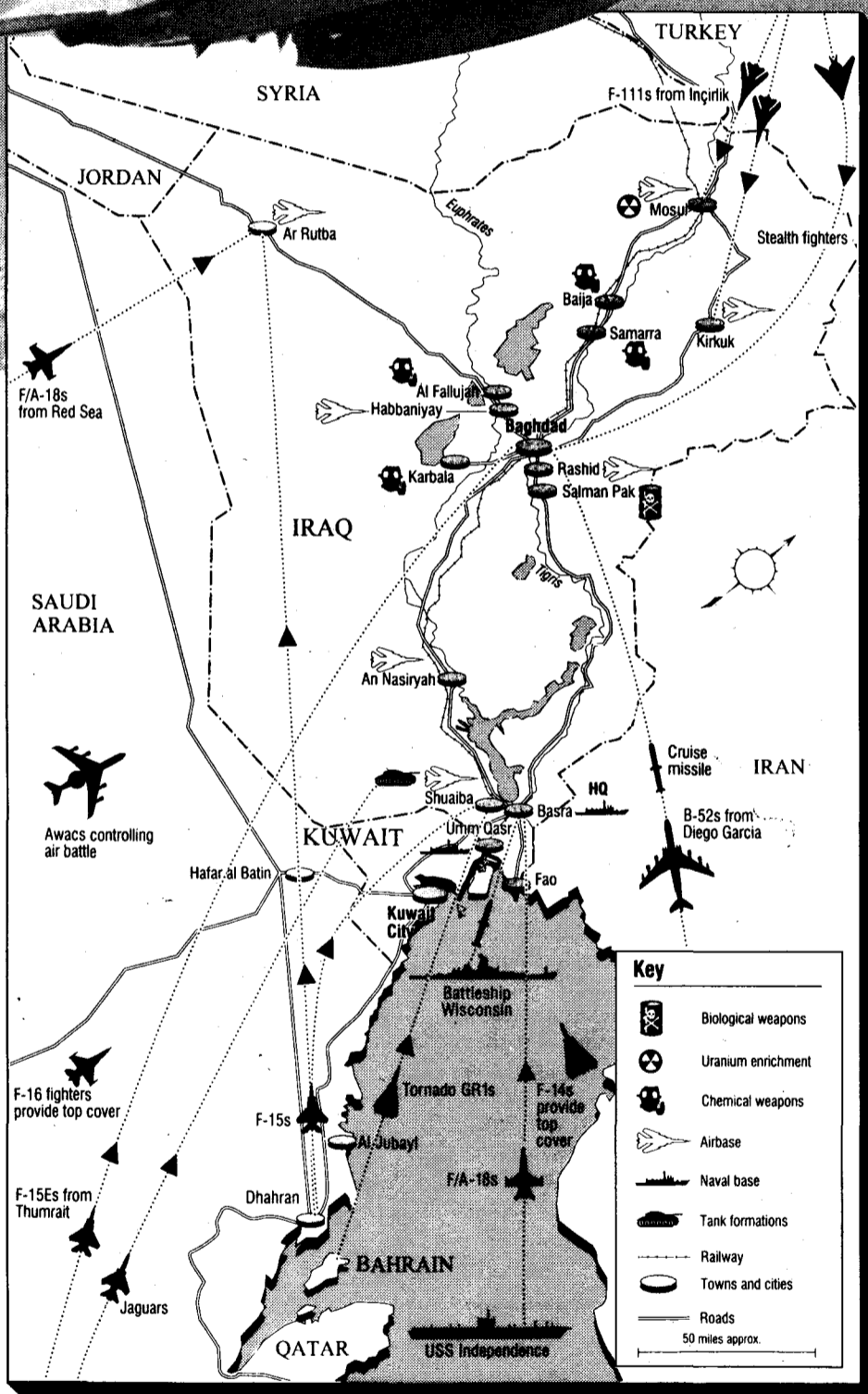
Scott Applewhite

OCTOBER 1—George Bush is hurling America headlong toward war with Iraq, and it could turn out to be the opening shots of World War III. Over 200,000 U.S. troops are reported to be in the Persian Gulf region, and now that the assembled tanks, artillery, planes and other ordnance rapidly approach critical mass, the White House is shifting emphasis away from diplomacy and the UN trade embargo to beating the drums for war.

“WAR TALK GROWING” blares the *New York Daily News*. The media is trying to whip up popular hysteria with reports of babies being murdered by Iraqi troops in Kuwait and CIA claims that Iraq will deploy biological weapons by early next year. Democrat Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, says the government is “looking more and more favorably on the war option,” and Congress is already typing up another “Tonkin Gulf”-style blank-check war resolution.

Meanwhile, a “senior officer” in Britain’s 7th Armoured Brigade, now heading for the Gulf, “claims that if UK forces are attacked with chemical gas by Iraqi troops, they will retaliate with battlefield nuclear weapons” (*London Observer*, 30 September). This is no empty threat: the British 7th is equipped with nuclear artillery shells and nuclear-tipped Lance missiles, and British Tornado strike fighters already deployed can deliver 50-kiloton nuclear bombs. Simultaneously, the *London Sunday Correspondent* (30 September) reports that, according to Britain’s MI6 intelligence agency, there will be war with Iraq within six weeks.

What’s coming is premeditated mass murder. Former U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff General Michael Dugan let the cat out of the bag, and got sacked for it, when he bragged that “downtown Baghdad” would be a prime target of the massive bombing campaign to come.



Graphic based on map by Ridley/Independent [London]

Imperialists target civilian populations in cities and towns of Iraq.

This would mean something like 100,000 people killed. Now the U.S. aircraft carrier *Independence* has entered the narrow waters of the Gulf, where defense would be difficult but attack on Iraq easier.

Dr. Paul Rogers, a military scholar at Bradford University in London who has spent ten years studying potential U.S. interventions in the Near East, noted in

a recent broadcast interview that “much larger amphibious forces have been put into the Gulf than was recognized.” In addition to the 900 war planes and 300 helicopters already in place, he reports, there are some 15,000 Marines ready to go on 48 hours notice in the Gulf, with five helicopter assault carriers and at least seven tank landing ships.

On a scale from Panama to Hiroshima,

the degree of mass destruction and death being planned will approach the latter, and if any hostages get in the way it’s just too bad as far as Bush is concerned. The U.S. is coldly preparing to launch a horrible bloodbath of the Iraqi people. But not all the blood will be on the other side. As one Saudi Arabian officer told the *Wall Street Journal* (19 September): “The Iraqis are real fighters, not like the Americans.... They fought through eight years of heat and dust and blood, and they’re tough.” The body bags will be coming back to the U.S. in very large numbers.

From the outset there has been a strong undercurrent of opposition in this country, especially among blacks and Hispanics, to Bush’s war mobilization in the Near East. When asked how he would respond to being drafted, one black student voiced the sentiment of millions when he said: “Black people have been dying in this country’s wars for 200 years, and what has it gotten us? Nothing” (*San Francisco Examiner*, 24 August). In fact, all working people have no interest in dying in a war for Big Oil and Bush’s imperial ambitions to wield a Big Stick.

The International Communist League calls for defense of Iraq against the imperialist invasion, which spells devastation and subjugation of the Arab peoples, and for the Iraqi working people to bring down the bloody nationalist strongman Saddam Hussein. In the imperialist countries, we insist that the defeat of voracious U.S. imperialism on the battlefield could only aid the class struggle against the racist, capitalist system at home.

Break the blockade of Iraq—U.S. out of the Persian Gulf! The organized working class, allied to the black and Hispanic poor, must be mobilized against the war machine: For labor political strikes against the impending war! Action by

continued on page 7

Break the Blockade of Iraq—U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!

How the Imperialists Carved Up the Near East

We have received the following letter correcting a factual error in a recent article on the Persian Gulf. In it, comrade Lionel goes into the background of the imperialist division of the spoils of the demise of the Ottoman Empire in World War I. We thank him for his contribution.

London
21 September 1990

To the WV Ed Board
Dear comrades,

There is a mistake of historical fact in the article "Break Blockade of Iraq!" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 509 (7 September) which should perhaps be put right for the record. The second paragraph on page nine contains the sentence: "And indeed, the British drew the frontiers and designated rulers throughout the region installing loyal tribal leaders as monarchs as T.E. Lawrence did with Ibn Saud" [my

emphasis]. T.E. Lawrence was attached to the forces of the Hashemi family (relatives of the present Jordanian monarch and of the late king of Iraq). Ibn Saud was their chief Arab rival for control of the Arabian peninsula.

According to S.N. Fisher's *The Middle East: A History* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960): "Under the stimulus and encouragement of such British liaison officers as Colonel T.E. Lawrence, Colonel C.C. Wilson, and Sir Reginald Wingate, and receiving British equipment and gold, the Arabs" under Faisal ibn Hussein east of the Jordan and parallel to General Allenby's army in Palestine "captured Akaba and Maan and entered Damascus in October, 1918, at the same time as did the British" (Chapter 28, "Impact of World War I," p. 373).

Sharif Hussein of Mecca was "given nearly \$1,000,000 in gold each month

and supplied with arms to captain the Arab rebellion against the Turks. Husayn proclaimed himself King of the Arab Peoples and was promised a united Arab state at the end of the war" (Chapter 38, "Oil and Arabia," pp. 524-525). Sharif Hussein took his pretensions to be "King of the Arabs" seriously and treated his sons Faisal and Abdallah whom the British eventually established in Baghdad and Amman respectively as his "vice-roys." Provoked and disillusioned by the British/French mandate system set up by the League of Nations, he obstinately refused to recognise the clauses of the 1921 Cairo Conference treaty which mentioned Britain's "special position" in Iraq and Palestine. "The payments of gold ceased and Husayn was on his own, although negotiations were attempted in 1923 and again in 1924."

Hussein was a miserable administrator. Almost the sole income of his state, the Hejaz, derived from the pilgrim trade to the "Holy Places" of Mecca and Medina. He quarrelled with the Egyptians over ceremonials and permitted the pilgrims to be "fleeced" by sharp practices. When the Turkish Republic abolished the caliphate in 1924 he assumed that title which many pious Muslims believed him to be totally unqualified to hold.

Hussein was only one of some half-dozen potentates who contended for dominance in the Arabian peninsula. Most prominent among them was Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn Saud al-Faisal, whose family headed the puritanical Wahabi sect which had played an important role in the 18th century. During World War I, Ibn Saud was visited by British officers and finally accepted \$25,000 a month in return for not fighting for the Turks and not making foreign commitments without informing the British. Captain Shakespear, his liaison officer, was killed in a tribal skirmish before Ibn Saud could be persuaded to come in actively on the British side.

The growing extension of Ibn Saud's

realm in the interior of the peninsula led to problems in his rather simple finances. In 1922 the annual income of the kingdom was about \$750,000 to which was added \$300,000 subsidy from the British. In Arabia it was difficult to augment this income to meet growing commitments. Early concessions to companies exploring for oil did not come to much.

In the autumn of 1923 Britain, faced with its own financial problems, held a conference in Kuwait of all the emirs, sheiks and sultans receiving their subsidy. They were informed that all payments would stop at the end of March 1924; a lump-sum full payment was handed them forthwith. Henceforth they were free agents. At the same time Ibn Saud was informed he must surrender territories he had recently taken from Hussein. He refused to accept this decision. At about this time Hussein proclaimed himself caliph. Ibn Saud set out to free the "Holy Places" from this "sinful" person and obtain the pilgrim income for himself! Hussein collapsed and his son Ali, deprived of British aid, had to surrender and abandon the Hejaz. Ibn Saud was proclaimed "King of the Hejaz and Sultan of Nejd." He now controlled all of Arabia except Aden, Yemen, Asir (partitioned with Yemen in 1934) and the British-protected states in the Gulf. In 1932 the official name of the state was changed to the "Kingdom of Saudi Arabia."

In 1927 the British recognised Ibn Saud as a sovereign and independent ruler in the treaty of Jidda. No mention was made of Britain's "special interest" in Palestine and Iraq which had caused such trouble with Hussein. Ibn Saud on his side pledged to "maintain friendly and peaceful relations" (*ibid.*, p. 531) with Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the Oman coast. In a few years Ibn Saud was recognised in similar treaties with Italy, France, Russia, Turkey, Iran and other states which had Muslim subjects.

In the early '30s the pilgrim traffic was badly hit by the world capitalist depression. Ibn Saud's adviser, the English traveller and Muslim H. St. John B. Philby, arranged for the exploration for oil and other mineral resources. Ibn Saud gave a concession to the Standard Oil Company of California in return for an advance payment of 30,000 gold

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The Bolsheviks Abolish Secret Diplomacy



TROTSKY

The present-day boundaries in the Near East are the result of the imperialists' intrigues during and following World War I and the robbers' peace which they imposed. These "lines in the sand" were first traced out in the Sykes-Picot Agreement negotiated by British and French diplomats behind the backs of the Arab peoples. In revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war, the Russian Bolsheviks repeatedly denounced the secret diplomacy of



LENIN

the imperialist belligerents. Upon taking power on 7 November 1917, one of the first acts of the new Soviet power was to publish these perfidious pacts which had been hidden by the tsar and then by the "democrat" Kerensky. Revealing the secret treaties caused a worldwide sensation. We excerpt below the statement by Leon Trotsky, then People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, which accompanied their publication.

In publishing the secret diplomatic documents from the foreign policy archives of Tsarism and of the bourgeois coalition Governments of the first seven months of the revolution, we are carrying out the undertaking which we made when our party was in opposition. Secret diplomacy is a necessary tool for a propertied minority which is compelled to deceive the majority in order to subject it to its interests. Imperialism, with its dark plans of conquest and its robber alliances and deals, developed the system of secret diplomacy to the highest level. The struggle against the imperialism which is exhausting and destroying the peoples of Europe is at the same time a struggle against capitalist diplomacy, which has cause enough to fear the light of day. The Russian people, and the peoples of Europe and the whole world, should learn the documentary truth about the plans forged in secret by the financiers and industrialists together with their parliamentary and diplomatic agents. The peoples of Europe have paid for the right to this truth with countless sacrifices and universal economic desolation....

The workers' and peasants' Government abolishes secret diplomacy and its intrigues, codes, and lies. We have nothing to hide. Our programme expresses the ardent wishes of millions of workers, soldiers, and peasants. We want peace as soon as possible on the basis of decent coexistence and collaboration of the peoples. We want the rule of capital to be overthrown as soon as possible. In exposing to the entire world the work of the ruling classes, as expressed in the secret diplomatic documents, we address the workers with the call which forms the unchangeable foundation of our foreign policy: "Proletarians of all countries, unite."

—Leon Trotsky, "Statement on the Publication of the Secret Treaties"
(22 November 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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5 October 1990

Prince Faisal (center) with T.E. Lawrence of Arabia (right) at Versailles in 1919, when imperialists divided the spoils of war.



Massacre of Communists and Workers

Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road to Power

Today Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein is threatened by the massive U.S. invasion of the Persian Gulf, as Washington arrogates to itself the role of cops of the world. But Hussein was not always at loggerheads with American imperialism. Far from it. U.S. support for Iraq in the wanton butchery of its decade-long war with Iran is well documented. Less known is the fact that, from its first attempt to seize power, Hussein's Ba'ath party has made anti-Communist terror its specialty. And in leaving their trail of blood, Hussein and the Ba'ath could count on the "assistance" of none other than the CIA.

As revolutionary internationalists we defend Iraq against the imperialist onslaught, which threatens not only the Arab masses but also the Soviet Union and, indeed, the world. But from the outset we have pointed out:

"While spouting 'radical' Arab nationalist rhetoric, Saddam Hussein has killed thousands of leftists, worker militants and members of the Kurdish minority. A special target of Ba'athist police-state terror has been the once-strong Iraqi Communist Party with its base among Kurdish oil workers."

—"U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!" WV No. 508, 10 August

Put bluntly, Saddam Hussein is a ghoul who likes to hang Communist oil workers before breakfast to improve his appetite. But this is not just a personal characteristic. The murderous Ba'ath repression was aimed at heading off socialist revolution by one of the most militant proletariats of the Near East.

In 1959, Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher wrote of "Iraq, where conditions are still highly unstable and where the communists could well upset the whole precarious balance of the Middle East." The fall of the Iraqi monarchy in 1958 had opened up a revolutionary upsurge. The working class—armed, highly organized, and led by the powerful Iraqi Communist Party (ICP)—literally had power within its grasp. Yet the opportunity was squandered by the ICP, under direct orders from Moscow. Derailed by the Stalinist policies of the CP leadership, the Iraqi revolution was drowned in a wave of bloody repression.

The jailing, torture and public hangings of Communists and working-class militants in Iraq reflect the inexorable logic of Arab nationalism. Petty-bourgeois nationalists aspiring to become capitalist rulers are threatened by a combative

working class, although they may have to appeal to it for support against the traditional sheiks and kings. And they are deeply hostile to working-class internationalism. An early Ba'ath pamphlet accuses communists of creating "false distinctions between the Imperialist government and their people" (quoted in

attached to the former Ottoman provinces of Baghdad and Basra so that the newly created country would encompass the concession of the British-dominated Turkish Petroleum Company. Kuwait was formed by chopping a piece off the southern province to limit Iraq's outlet to the sea.



Camera Press

Brigadier Abd al-Karim Qassim led officers' coup of July 1958 against British-imposed monarchy, touching off revolutionary upsurge. Iraqi masses demonstrate in Baghdad.

Praeger Inc.

Samir al-Khalil, *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq* [1989]).

The Origins of Iraqi Communism

Carved out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, Iraq was set up by British imperialism as a client state to oversee its oil interests. The borders were drawn to serve this purpose. Thus the oil-rich northern province of Mosul, originally reserved for France under the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, was

The country which was thus fabricated by the imperialists was a myriad of rival ethnic, religious and national groupings governed by feudal and tribal rulers and customs. The British pursued their imperial policy of "divide and rule," arming countless local sheikdoms and playing off their mutual conflicts. Barely a year after the British granted formal independence in 1932, the Iraqi army carried out a massacre of Assyrians, burning 20 villages to the ground.

Founded in 1934, the Communist Party agitated for the removal of British military bases, for land to the peasants, democratic freedoms, the eight-hour working day and the Kurdish right to independence. Yet the ICP was forged in the period when, following the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR, the Kremlin-dominated Communist parties were adopting the class-collaborationist line of popular-front alliance with the so-called "progressive" bourgeoisie. When a coup in 1936, led by the butcher of the Assyrians, brought to power a coalition government including bourgeois liberals, the ICP supported the new regime. But the military responded with repression, dealing severe blows to the Communists.

The Communist Party was to be the dominant force in the nationwide upsurge of 1948 against the presence of British military bases. It was able to mobilize

mass demonstrations throughout the country. The impressive strength of the movement reflected the ICP's real roots in the working class. Workers defense guards protected demonstrations and meetings. Strike action, such as the Communist-led strike of oil workers near Haditha in April, was at the core of the movement. The upsurge was finally brought to an end by a government crackdown. Hundreds of Communists were arrested, and ICP leader Fahd and two other members of the Political Bureau were publicly hanged.

The ICP became the most proletarian Communist Party in the Near East. Furthermore, unlike many other CPs in the region, it has always had a large component from oppressed national, religious and ethnic groups. A majority of the early leaders were Christians and Shi'ites, and over the next decade a significant number of Jews were recruited. In the early 1940s Communists began to carry out systematic work in Kurdistan, with its petroleum and industrial centers like Kirkuk and Mosul, setting up local party cells and putting out a Kurdish press. By the early '50s, fully one-third of the party's Central Committee was Kurdish. The ICP's 1953 program demanded "the right of self-determination, including that of secession, for the Kurdish people."

On the Brink of Revolution

By 1953 with Nasser's Arab nationalist regime in power in Egypt, Iraq became the linchpin in the U.S.-sponsored attempt to bring the countries bordering the USSR into a regional military pact with imperialism: the Baghdad Pact (CENTO). But the Baghdad Pact was so unpopular among all layers of Iraqi society that tanks and army units had to be mobilized to protect the Parliament building during the ratification vote. When Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt in 1956 in response to Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal, the subservient pro-imperialist Iraqi regime had to declare martial law. The voice of Nasser's Arab nationalism beaming by radio from Cairo shook the discredited regime that years of CP-inspired struggle had gravely undermined.

The crisis opened on the night of 13-14 July 1958, when the Free Officers movement overthrew the British-installed monarchy. Upon hearing the news, hundreds of thousands of Baghdad's dispossessed poured into the streets screaming their joy and their hatred of the royal family. By late summer a peasant insurrection was sweeping across the agricultural plains as peasants burned landlords' estates, destroyed the account ledgers and seized the land.

From the outset the Communist Party threw its support behind the government headed by Brigadier Abd al-Karim Qassim, whom the Stalinists hailed as "Sole Leader." Qassim was a bonapartist par excellence. He sought to play off the well-organized CP against the mélange of pan-Arab nationalists who were clamoring for Iraq to merge into the newly formed United Arab Republic, which united Syria with Nasser's Egypt. Qassim had no desire to play second fiddle to Nasser, while the Iraqi Communists heard in Nasser's talk of a single pan-Arab party the threat of repression. The ICP's fears were soon shown to be well founded as Egypt's anti-Communist laws were extended to Syria.

Qassim gave the Stalinists plenty of opportunity to organize and mobilize. Early on the ICP took over the civilian militia set up after the coup. One after another, prominent CPers or sympathizers were appointed to administrative and military positions. After showing its muscle in crushing an anti-Qassim coup attempt by rival officers in March of 1959—250,000 CP-led pro-Qassim demonstrators poured into Mosul to break it up—the ICP took the political offensive, demanding representation in the government. Mammoth rallies, some drawing

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Princeton University Press

Leaders of Iraqi CP head 1959 May Day parade. Four years later, one-third of ICP Central Committee was brutally murdered by Ba'ath.

NDP Upset Win in Ontario Elections

In an upset electoral victory that stunned even the winners, the social democrats of Canada's New Democratic Party were swept to power in Ontario on September 6. For more than four decades the province was the bastion of Orange Order Conservatives. Since 1985, it has been ruled by yuppie Liberal premier David Peterson. In the recent elections the NDP catapulted from 19 to 74 seats in the provincial legislature, leaving the Liberals with 36 seats and the Tories with 20. "Socialists at the gate," opined the *Globe and Mail* (8 September) as the NDP prepares to take office in the pivotal province which comprises 37 percent of the Canadian population and accounts for over 40 percent of the country's gross national product.

"The once-smug citizens of this once-smug country are mad as hell and aren't going to take it anymore," commented bourgeois political pundit Peter Newman, describing the NDP victory as symbolic of a wave of populist reaction against both the ruling Tories in Ottawa and the Liberal opposition. The Conservative government of federal prime minister Brian Mulroney is despised, scoring a miserable 14 percent approval rating in the latest polls—the lowest in Canadian history. Jean Chrétien, the new federal Liberal leader, doesn't even have a seat in Parliament. Moreover, Chrétien is Québécois which isn't going to win him much popularity in English Canada, now engulfed in a wave of anti-French chauvinism. And in Quebec he is reviled by nationalists as a federalist.

As Canada teeters on the edge of a recession, the country is fracturing along national lines. The Mulroney government's failed Meech Lake accord—which tried to win Quebec's endorsement of the Canadian constitution by recognizing it as a "distinct society"—was buried

Workers' Strikes, Nationalist Antagonisms



Stratichuk/Canadian Press

Striking steel workers at Algoma Steel in Sault Ste. Marie surround scab. Mohawk Indians battle Canadian troops at Kahnawake.



AP

Mulroney sent 4,000 Canadian army troops, backed by armored vehicles and helicopters, to break the Mohawks' blockade.

Although the Mohawks have recently surrendered, their courageous battle has inspired rail and road blockades by Native Indians across the country in pursuit of land claims and improved conditions on the destitute reserves. At the same time, the Mohawks' defiant stand against the armed might of the Canadian state evoked widespread sympathy among English Canadian labor. More than half of the 20,000 marchers in this year's Labour Day demonstration in Toronto wore red armbands—the symbol of solidarity with the Mohawks. Now the

buy a shack let alone a house; gas at the pumps is twice the price as in the U.S.

Meanwhile, more than 150,000 manufacturing jobs have disappeared as a number of firms use the U.S.-Canada "free trade" agreement to move their operations to cheap labor areas in the U.S. and Mexico. "Specter of 'downward mobility' haunts workers as job losses rise," headlined the *Globe and Mail* (11 August). The bosses are haunted by the spectre of a labor upsurge as unionists across the country hit the bricks in defense of their unions, their jobs, their wages and living conditions.

Strikes from B.C. to the Maritimes

After nearly a decade of "labor peace," in August 16,000 members of the United Steelworkers in Ontario, Quebec and Alberta struck against Stelco and the Algoma Steel Corporation. The same month, over 2,000 coal miners in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia shut down the government-owned Devco operation. When miners joined picket lines of striking bank workers in nearby Glace Bay, the Royal Bank of Canada closed down its branch. A regional bank manager complained, "Unfortunately our strike and the ladies in our strike are caught up in an environment that's a little volatile" (*Globe and Mail*, 3 September).

On September 3, close to 1,700 workers went out against the provincial railroad in British Columbia. On September 14, members of the Canadian Paperworkers Union in the Maritimes walked off the job, raising the number of pulp and paper workers on strike in Ontario, Quebec and the East Coast to 7,200. On September 15, some 13,000 auto workers struck against Ford Motor Company of Canada. A week later postal workers nationwide, who have been working without a contract for over a year, voted 82 percent in favor of strike action. Big business interests are beginning to worry.

The Ontario NDP's "Agenda for the People" election platform made a lot of promises—a 40 percent increase in the minimum wage, stronger rent control, more stringent restrictions on plant closings, greater welfare benefits, increased taxation on corporations as opposed to the federal government's GST. "Business nightmare becomes reality" declared the *Globe and Mail* (7 September). Another article added that Toronto's Bay Street bankers and corporate financiers had "turned to prayer and precedent for reas-

urance.... The prayer was that the limits of governing in hard economic times would take the edge off the more socialistic proposals in the party's platform. The precedents were the fiscal conservatism of previous NDP governments in the Prairie provinces...."

In the 1970s, Manitoba's NDP government was the first to institute wage controls. In 1975, the NDP government in British Columbia imposed the most massive strikebreaking law in the province's history, ordering 60,000 pulp and paper, rail, transport and supermarket workers back to work. At his first press conference following the election, Ontario NDP leader Bob Rae went out of his way to stress that his government would be "fiscally responsible." Pointing to other "socialist" governments around the world, like François Mitterrand's Cold War austerity government in France, Rae argued: "The social democratic movement has been a reality in the world... we are people who believe in effective economies where freedom is respected and where property rights are respected" (*Globe and Mail*, 8 September).

While the social democrats pledge to play their role as the loyal administrators of capitalist rule, Canadian Auto Workers leader Bob White—who called off the Ford strike after a week, in exchange for a contract in which the company agreed to increase SUB benefits for those laid off—has been assiduously debunking any notion that the NDP government would be beholden to the union movement. The Ontario Federation of Labour has reportedly canceled a conference on plant closings for fear of embarrassing the newly elected NDP government.

Chauvinist Reaction

Meanwhile, on the eve of the Ontario elections, Conrad Black, multimillionaire head of Canada's "Power Corporation," hosted a party for 50 of Canada's top moneymen at the exclusive Toronto Club. The featured guest of honor was Preston Manning, leader of the ultraright Reform Party which has garnered mass support in the Prairies through anti-French bigotry, racism and a populist campaign against the GST.

This is reminiscent of the rise of the Social Credit Party, which got its start in the Prairies during the 1930s Depression as the "funny money" party, appealing to rural backwardness and anti-Semitism in campaigns against "Eastern bankers."

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Spartacist Canada

Toronto, August 26—Trotskyist League of Canada in protest against imperialist Persian Gulf war moves.

in an avalanche of Anglo reaction. A whole cabal of far-right outfits—from anti-abortionists to outright fascists—tried to capitalize on the storm of "English only" chauvinism that has swept the country.

In the village of Oka, Quebec Mohawk Indians who set up barricades to defend their historic burial grounds from the expansion of a private golf course got caught in the deadly crossfire of resurgent nationalist antagonisms. Howling white mobs of up to 5,000 people—organized by an ex-provincial cop—burned Native Indians in effigy while chanting "Vive le Québec libre!" and "Québec aux Québécois." In August, at the behest of the Quebec government,

vindictive Canadian state has arrested nearly 100 Mohawk men and women, charging them with offenses including rioting, obstruction of justice and "uttering a death threat." Drop all the charges—free the Mohawk prisoners!

Now, as Parliament reconvenes in Ottawa, the Tory government is trying to slam through its proposed Goods and Services Tax (GST) which will add 7 percent to the cost of all products with the exception of the most basic foodstuffs. This has provoked an outcry across the country—government "sin" taxes have already boosted the price of a pack of smokes to \$5 in Ontario and beer in bars to \$4 a bottle; interest rates make it impossible for working people to

Germany: Trotskyist Class-Struggle Election Campaign

For Workers Resistance East and West!

The following article is translated from Spartakist No. 76 (25 September), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

On October 3, the German bourgeoisie will formally proclaim its *Anschluss* (annexation) of the former German Democratic Republic (DDR). After the Deutsche Bank, with some powerful help from the Social Democrats, took over the collectivized economy, now the Bundestag (West German parliament) and Volkskammer (DDR parliament) will declare national unity under the rule of capital. The Archbishop of Munich has called for church bells to be rung "für Volk und Vaterland" (for people and fatherland), as they were at the beginning of World War II. West German chancellor Helmut Kohl will proclaim a great day for Germany, to choruses of the *Deutschlandlied*. But for German working people, East and West, for women, for the foreign-born workers, for those of us who fight for a socialist world, capitalist reunification represents a serious defeat. That is the bitter truth, and we Spartakists are the ones who tell it to you straight.

We also say to you that the capitalist rulers fear a backlash, a hot autumn of the workers, who are embittered by the tremendous swindle that has been foisted on them. On March 18, they voted for the "quick D-mark." Two months later, as the state treaty was signed in Bonn, Kohl's stooge Lothar de Maizière (DDR prime minister) declared that "no one will be worse off than before." But look around you today in the ex-DDR and what do you see? Mass unemployment, two million on short workweek or fired, with the number expected to double by year's end. Mounting fascist attacks against foreign workers and Soviet soldiers. Women driven out of social labor back to home and hearth. A Greater Germany that proclaims (in the 2 + 4 treaty) that henceforth only peace will come from German soil while it prepares to remove constitutional limits on military action abroad.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Ger-



Glaser/Süddeutsche Zeitung

East German uranium miners on strike last month over threatened shutdown.

many (SpAD) is presenting a slate of candidates in the December 2 Bundestag elections to call for workers resistance against the devastating consequences of the *Anschluss* that is leading to a Fourth Reich of German imperialism. Many of you know the SpAD as the one party that fought, on the streets and in the March DDR elections, against capitalist reunification. Others who call themselves "lefts" bowed before the D-mark onslaught, at most seeking to improve the terms of the sellout. Leon Trotsky warned decades ago that the Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country" was a dangerous myth that threatened the conquests of the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917. Today we see the proof of this before our eyes. And today we Trotskyists call on you to join us in a class-struggle election campaign: not black-red-gold social democracy or green eco-capitalism, but genuine communism with its red banner of revolutionary internationalism.

The Spartakist candidates are Renate Dahlhaus, who at the January 3 anti-fascist mobilization at the Soviet war memorial in Treptow was the spokesman for the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands (the TLD together with the Spartakist-Gruppen formed the SpAD); Toralf Endrurweit, the lead candidate of the SpAD in the March DDR elections and

speaker for the Spartakist-Gruppen at the Treptow demonstration; and Jana Strauchfuss, a worker at Stern Radio who is known for her struggle to defend the rights of the foreign workers at her workplace.

Workers in the DDR have begun to show their power in strikes and demonstrations. At the same time the capitalists are attacking the rights of the West German workers which have been won through struggle, and seek to use the "low-wage country DDR" to put pressure on their wages. Only through class unity of the workers in East and West can we beat back the attacks of the capitalists. This means the workers must take up the struggle for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families. The SpAD will use its election campaign as a platform for struggle, to give voice to those who fight for equal wages for equal work, for a sliding scale of wages and hours, to share the work among all, at full pay, for men, women, youth, immigrants. As former bureaucrats turn themselves into bosses, and the *Treuhandanstalt* (Trusteeship Agency) hands over some factories to the capitalists while closing down many more, we call for elected strike committees, for plant occupations and workers control against shutdowns and mass layoffs.

As Spartakist candidate Renate Dahl-

haus said: "The workers movement must be mobilized in struggle against mass layoffs, anti-Semitism, racist attacks and women being sent back to home and hearth, and also against the attacks on Soviet soldiers and their families, and the anti-Communist witchhunt." The Spartakist candidates sharply denounced the party expropriation law, which initially aimed at criminalizing the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former Stalinist ruling party SED) and is now directed against the trade unions. The SpAD has refused to turn its finances over to the agents of the Deutsche Bank, especially since we refuse on principle to accept state subsidies while the other parties are financed by Bonn. The SpAD says no to this campaign of expropriation and political repression, calling on all working-class and left organizations to likewise reject this expropriation law through united action.

The PDS of Gysi and Modrow prepared the way for the capitalist reunification of Germany and has strangled all resistance. Gysi crawls after Social Democratic leader Lafontaine and the SPD witchhunters, while various "radical leftists" crawl after Gysi. Against the popular-front policy of sellout which they learned on Stalin's lap, we Trotskyists fight for the class independence of the workers organizations. We fight for workers united-front actions against fascist terror bands. The Spartakists initiated such a united front (taken up by the SED-PDS) which on January 3 brought out 250,000 in Treptow in the largest anti-fascist demonstration ever held in Germany.

As the German bourgeoisie has reached the Oder-Neisse border with its *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East), the Polish working class has begun to fight against the starvation and poverty that the capitalist measures of their *Solidarność* rulers have brought. Now that counterrevolution stands before the door of the USSR, the SpAD calls for defense of the homeland of the October Revolution through the revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Russian workers. ■

Down with Ban on Jewish Immigration!

The following article is abridged from Spartakist No. 76 (25 September).

SEPTEMBER 19—"Down with the Fourth Reich's Ban on Jews" demanded about a hundred people at a demonstration in front of the Memorial for the Victims of Fascism in [East] Berlin. The protest, organized by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), was directed against Bonn's scandalous halting of immigration by Soviet Jews, now to be applied in the former DDR (East Germany) as well. SpAD speaker Renate Dahlhaus said: "The fight against anti-Semitism is the concern of the international workers movement. The international workers movement had to fight to defend Dreyfus against the French bourgeoisie. Today as well we say: No, Germany can never again be permitted to become 'judenrein' [the Nazi expression 'cleansed of Jews']! Down with the Fourth Reich's ban on Jewish immigration!"

With the unparalleled arrogance of resurgent Greater Germany, the bourgeoisie of the successor state to Ausch-

German Spartakists Protest

witz has proclaimed that Jews are not welcome here—only immigrants "of German descent" are to be admitted. Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), persecuted and murdered by the Nazis, are today victims of a full-blown pogrom campaign, with SPD (Social Democratic) candidate for chancellor Lafontaine in the forefront. Nationalism and racism, anti-Semitism and persecution of Soviet soldiers characterize the Fourth Reich.

The Sachsen-Anhalt League of Anti-Fascists had also joined in calling for the protest demonstration, and their greeting was read at its outset. With chants and in speeches the participants expressed opposition to the anti-Semitic, Great Russian fascist Pamyat and the terror unleashed against the Sinti and Roma.

Following years of a hypocritical hate campaign against the Soviet Union, today

the imperialists are closing their borders to Jews. They want Soviet Jews to go to Israel to be used by the Zionist state in the Occupied Territories as cannon fodder against the Palestinians, who have been deprived of their rights. Signs at the demonstration demanded: "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!"

Today, Jews are fleeing Gorbachev's Soviet Union, the country where the Bolshevik Revolution had put an end to anti-Semitic pogroms. The Spartakist speaker stated: "The Soviet working class has the power to smash these fascists—in particular the Leningrad workers, who resisted the Nazi siege, must be mobilized."

Notably absent was the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) along with its "left" hangers-on like the KPD, Communist Platform, etc., even though the demo call had been printed in the PDS

paper. The leaders of the PDS today consider the powerful January 3 anti-fascist demonstration in Treptow against desecration of the Soviet memorial honoring the Red Army to have been an "error." Instead they've joined the forced march to German reunification, which is providing powerful reinforcement to the anti-Semites.

Some months ago soldiers of the honor guard at the Memorial for the Victims of Fascism stopped work in protest when the fascist Republikaner obscenely laid a wreath there. When the remnants of the NVA (National People's Army) are taken over by the (West German) Bundeswehr, there won't be an honor guard for the victims of fascism anymore. While the Technological University in West Berlin is not permitted to bear the honorary name of Herbert Baum, there's a memorial stone to him in [East Berlin's] Lustgarten. And hence a delegation of the demonstrators placed flowers there at the end and sang the *Internationale*, honoring this heroic Jewish Communist resistance fighter. ■

Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road...

(continued from page 3)

over a million participants, were staged in Baghdad to support the Communist Party's demand. Army units loyal to the ICP broke open arsenals and distributed weapons. CIA director Allen Dulles called the situation in Iraq "the most dangerous in the world today" (*New York Times*, 29 April 1959).

Workers revolution was on the order of the day. The Stalinists led the General Federation of Trade Unions, which claimed to represent a quarter million workers and artisans. Tens of thousands participated in the ICP's youth, women's and peasant organizations. In addition the CP counted hundreds of military officers as members or close sympathizers. But when Qassim turned thumbs down in late April 1959, the Stalinist leaders, balking at the prospect of leading an insurrection, withdrew their demand for participation in the government. This came in response to explicit orders from the Kremlin. George Tallu, a Politburo member of the Iraqi CP who had been undergoing medical treatment in Moscow, was sent back to Baghdad to convey Khrushchev's "request" that the party stop "provoking Qasim" (Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq* [1978]).

Isaac Deutscher underlined at the time how Khrushchev sold out the Iraqi CP to make his Camp David meeting with Ike more congenial:

"Most Western observers on the spot agreed that Kassem could hardly hold his ground against an all-out communist offensive. His own following was small, and he refused to try and rally the anti-communist forces which were intimidated and disorganized and for whose support Nasser made a bid when he attacked Kassem as a 'communist stooge.'

"Then, in the summer, the communist offensive was suddenly called off—on urgent demands from Moscow. In Moscow reports about the rising revolutionary temperature of Iraq had caused alarm. Khrushchev refused to countenance a communist upheaval in Baghdad, afraid that this would provoke renewed Western intervention in the Eastern Mediterranean, set the Middle East aflame, and wreck his policy of peaceful coexistence. He was already reckoning with the prospect of his visit to Washington and was anxious to produce evidence of Soviet 'goodwill' in the Middle East.

"A bill of indictment against the Iraqi communist leaders was drawn up in Moscow and the Iraqi Party was ordered not merely to make its peace with Kassem, but to surrender to him unconditionally with only a minimum of face-saving."

—reprinted in Deutscher, *Russia, China, and the West* (1970)

Bloodbath

Qassim and anti-Communist nationalists took the offensive. In July, bloody encounters took place between Ba'athist gangs and Communists in Baghdad neighborhoods. ICP members were sacked from government posts and the military. Strikes by CP-led unions were smashed by the army. At the same time the ICP manifested its political prostration before Qassim by abandoning the demand for



Ozturk/Sipa

Saddam Hussein massacred Kurds in poison gas attack at Iraqi town of Halabja, March 1988.

Kurdish national rights in favor of "Iraqi unity." And in Kirkuk, the largely Kurdish CP organization turned an incipient revolt into a communalist massacre of Turkomans, prominent in the city's commercial elite. The Kirkuk massacre was then used by Qassim as a pretext for suppressing the CP (see "Kurdish Workers in the Iraqi Revolution of 1958-59," *WV* No. 370, 11 January 1985).

In February 1963 the Ba'ath was able to broker a military coup that brought down Qassim and unleashed the counter-revolutionary furies. As news of the coup became known, tens of thousands of people streamed out of the poor quarters of Baghdad and converged on the Ministry of Defense where Qassim, turning down CP demands to arm the people, had barricaded himself. The next day when Qassim surrendered and was summarily shot, the Ba'ath proudly displayed his bullet-ridden corpse on television propped up on a chair as a soldier spit in his face. Now came the bloodletting. The Ba'ath party militia, the National Guard, launched a house-to-house search, rounding up and shooting suspected CPers. An estimated 5,000 were killed in the Ba'ath's bloody terror and thousands more jailed.

There is now concurring evidence from a variety of sources—individuals in the State Department and the Iraqi Ba'ath, as well as King Hussein of Jordan—that lists of Communists were supplied to the Ba'ath by the CIA. Thus Edith and E.F. Penrose write: "Well-informed Iraqi officials, including Baathists, have stated to us that the United States Central Intelligence Agency collaborated in the overthrow of Qassim.... In many cases the CIA supplied the Baath with the names of individual communists, some of whom were then taken from their homes and murdered" (*Iraq: International Relations and National Development* [1978]). One study explained:

"...Saddam Husain and other Ba'athists had made contact with the American authorities in the late 1950s and early 1960s; at this stage, the Ba'ath were thought to be the 'political force of the future,' and deserving of American support against 'Qasim and the Communists'."

—Marion Farouk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship* (1987)

The Ba'ath captured ICP first secretary

Hussein al-Radhi, who was tortured to death over several days. When a group of ICP soldiers failed in their attack on the military prison at the al-Rachid army base, they were executed and their tortured bodies were displayed in working-class districts as a lesson to the population. As prisons overflowed, sports grounds, military camps and schools were turned into concentration camps and interrogation centers. Following the fall of this first Ba'ath regime after nine months in power, the bloodstained cellars of the National Guard center in Baghdad, the Palace of the End, were opened to reveal "all sorts of loathsome instruments of torture, including electric wires with pincers, pointed iron stakes on which prisoners were made to sit, and a machine which still bore traces of chopped-off fingers," Batatu reports.

Only the overthrow of the Ba'ath in November 1963 by their erstwhile mili-

tary allies put a halt to the horror. When they returned to power in 1969, the Ba'athists took up where they left off with trials of Jews, Communists and sundry oppositionists, while laying waste to the Kurdish regions. Despite its defeat, the working class was not decisively broken. But the Iraqi CP leaders never questioned their fundamental class-collaborationist perspective. Ten years after the bloodbath, before the ink was dry on a 1972 Iraqi-Soviet friendship treaty, the Iraqi CP joined a Ba'ath government, only to be thrown out and murderously suppressed in the following years.

The roots of communism run deep in the Iraqi proletariat. Yet betrayed by their Stalinist leaders, repressed by their Ba'athist tormentors, the Iraqi workers still lack an internationalist Bolshevik party capable of fulfilling the promise of their revolutionary struggles. ■



Wessell Press

Wahabi camel troops in raid against Ottoman Turkish rule in Arabia, 1911. Ibn Saud of Islamic fundamentalist Wahabi sect later became founder of Saudi Arabia.

Letter...

(continued from page 2)


sovereigns and a royalty of four gold shillings per ton produced. It was a long and discouraging process. Not until 1938 with the deepening of well No. 7 at Dhahran was oil found in quantity. During the 1930s, Ibn Saud was receiving several hundred thousand dollars a year from the gold mines discovered at Mahab Dhahab between Mecca and Medina.

Oil production was not expanded in Saudi Arabia during World War II due to lack of technicians and equipment. Moreover, the Americans preferred to rely on safer resources. The war therefore brought renewed financial crisis on a higher scale for Ibn Saud. By the spring of 1944 he was over \$50,000,000 in debt to London and "the end was not in sight" (*ibid.*, p. 533). After a great deal of study and debate American lend-

lease to the amount of \$34,000,000 was made available, several million dollars of which were in the form of newly minted silver coins. In 1944 the American army requested the building of a refinery at Ras Tanura. Compliance strained the finances of the company, which had changed its name to Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco). In 1945 an underwater pipeline was built to Bahrain enabling the flow of Saudi oil to be increased. Royalties from Aramco now began to "obviate" subsidies from the West. The need for a pipeline from Dhahran to the Mediterranean coast in view of the demand for oil products for postwar reconstruction led to the further consolidation of the cartel (Fisher, Chapter 38, "Oil and Arabia").

I apologise for writing more on Saudi Arabia than I intended.

Comradely,
Lionel

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NEW YORK CITY



Der Spiegel

Battle-hardened Iraqi troops (left) won't be easily defeated. Bush sends working-class youth to be cannon fodder for Big Oil.



Gentile/Newsweek

Persian Gulf...

(continued from page 1)

longshoremen, Teamsters, shipyard and transport workers to stop the supply of munitions would be a powerful blow against a vicious imperialist war in the Near East.

Soviet Workers: Smash the Sellout Gorbachev Regime!

America's West European and Japanese allies have been conspicuously lukewarm in supporting Washington's military adventure in the Persian Gulf. Now the wretched Gorbachev regime in the Kremlin has come forward as Bush's hard cop against Iraq. Last week, Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze announced that "war may break out in the Gulf region any day, any moment," and he threatened Iraq with "the power" of the UN unless it withdrew from Kuwait. So after vacillating over Bush's demand at their Helsinki "snap summit" meeting for military action in the Gulf, the Kremlin has come out four-square for war. There are apparently no limits to Gorbachev's capitulation to Western imperialism.

But some elements of the Soviet leadership, especially in the military high command, are clearly worried about American war plans in the Near East, recognizing that this is a threat to the defense of the USSR. The chief of the Soviet general staff, General Mikhail Moiseyev, warned: "In case of some military actions, Iran will join the Iraqi side. This would not be simply some kind of conflict; this would be a world war" (*Washington Post*, 28 September). Moiseyev reminded people that "The First World War in 1914 also started because of some minor thing." Yet Moiseyev has now criminally handed the U.S. Army detailed technical summaries of Iraq's Soviet military equipment as he prepared for a tour of the U.S. and the Pentagon!

As we wrote in our last issue, the Bush/Gorbachev summit gave "the green light for a bloody imperialist onslaught" in the Persian Gulf. The accelerating disintegration of the Soviet degenerated workers state has only *emboldened* U.S. imperialism in reasserting its role as cops of the world. Bush's Washington wants

to regain by force the world dominance it held—briefly—at the end of World War II. Having fallen behind Germany and Japan in the economic race, the U.S. is trying to bully them back into line with its huge military apparatus by seizing the world's oil region and blackmailing its former enemies for billions in donations.

Washington gleefully expects Gorbachev's *perestroika* to bring about capitalist restoration and the dismemberment of the USSR. At the same time, U.S. imperialism is exploiting the capitulation and collapse of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy to tighten its military encirclement of the Soviet Union, from eastern Germany to the Persian Gulf. The Soviet working class must link the defense and regeneration of the collectivized econ-

Congress passed the Tonkin Gulf resolution, which gave President Johnson a virtual blank check to conduct war against Vietnam, on the allegation that the supposedly innocent destroyers USS *Maddox* and *C. Turner Joy* were "attacked" by North Vietnamese patrol boats. As former Pentagon analyst Daniel Ellsberg admitted later, it is "unequivocally clear" that there was no such attack: the destroyers were shooting at nothing in the darkness. In fact, the CIA and its South Vietnamese allies were engaged in covert raids on North Vietnamese coastal facilities, and the destroyers were gathering electronic intelligence in coordination with the raids.

After the 1968 Tet Offensive, the American bourgeoisie split over the Vietnam War under the hammer blows dealt

being used. Today Bush & Co. would like to disappear the very existence of sizable groups like Vietnam Veterans Against the War. What really sent the ruling class up a tree was when the GIs "spat on" the war, and more than a few gung ho officers were "fragged" (from fragmentation grenades).

Today the fake "left," sensing another impending imperialist war, is already seeking to revive the "dove" Democrats, yet there are nothing but Democratic hawks, all lined up behind the Republican Bush. (And that includes Jesse Jackson—so much for the "Rainbow Coalition"!)

The only bourgeois opposition comes from the far-right wing of the Republican Party such as Pat Buchanan who have tactical misgivings about the massive commitment—hardly the types to go for an alliance with the pseudo-left. Nevertheless, the reformists continue to seek imperialist doves and have already revived the Vietnam era semi-annual "peace crawl"—now set for October 20—designed to pressure Congress and the White House into some kind of negotiated settlement. Following this logic, they pointedly refuse to defend Iraq against American imperialist aggression.



Jerusalem Post

The Israeli government is providing gas masks free to Israeli citizens—and Zionists. But for Palestinians of the Occupied Territories, the price is \$100! Zionists see in war against Iraq an opportunity for a "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem."

omy, through the restoration of workers democracy within the USSR, to the struggle against imperialist militarism on a worldwide scale.

A "Tonkin Gulf" in the Persian Gulf?

"If we have a pretext, a *casus belli*, we go," one "senior White House aide" confided to R.W. Apple of the *New York Times* (27 September). Judging by recent experience, Bush & Co. will easily fabricate such a "pretext belli."

In April 1986, after massing 30 warships and hundreds of planes in the Gulf of Sidra region off Libya, the alleged appearance of Libyan patrol boats off their own coastlines was enough to trigger a U.S. "retaliation" which blew up the boats. A few days later the U.S. launched its dead-of-night bombing raid on Tripoli in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Libyan leader Qaddafi in which they killed his adopted daughter. (This time they hope to "decapitate" Hussein, his family and his mistress in a bombing raid, according to the now-fired Dugan's revelations.)

Last December's bloody bombing and invasion of Panama was triggered after Noriega's troops stopped and allegedly fired at four American officers caught riding around at night near his headquarters.

And let no one forget the most notorious pretext: in August 1964 the U.S.

them on the battlefield by the revolutionary Vietnamese fighters. The draftees who made up the U.S. Army were going rapidly from demoralized disaffection to insubordination and collapse. Thus emerged a bourgeois "peace" movement led by Democratic Party "doves" like Senator George McGovern, who only wanted out of a *losing* imperialist war.

Much of the American self-styled left—notably the Moscow-line Stalinist Communist Party and once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party—sought to channel the antiwar movement behind the Democratic doves. They thus *opposed* building a revolutionary party of the working class at a time when the American ruling class was exceptionally vulnerable to the massive revulsion against the losing, dirty colonial war in Vietnam.

The antiwar movement—for all its decisive shortcomings—was not so stupid as to "spit on" returning soldiers. But that vicious Big Lie is now being retailed with the encouragement of the highest authorities. In one such piece of war propaganda, the *New York Times* (30 September) published a piece by its former yuppie contra groupie James LeMoyné, who quotes a U.S. soldier in Saudi Arabia saying, "if I go back home like the Vietnam vets did and somebody spits on me, I swear to God I'll kill them." Actually, the New Left set up coffeehouses to meet returning GIs and explain the imperialist war and how they were

War Plans

Bush and the Pentagon war planners quickly hauled out their war plans, replacing "Soviet Union" temporarily with "Iraq," and feeding the American public fantasies about easy victory through the miracles of high tech. Thus "Plan 90-1002," originally designed to counter a theorized Soviet "takeover" of the Persian Gulf oil fields, has been revised and is the basis for the current U.S. buildup in Saudi Arabia. A front-page article in the *London Independent* (20 September) on "How the desert sword would strike," complete with map of likely targets, writes that "If, for the moment, the ground forces are still a 'desert shield,' the desert sword will strike predominantly from the air."

The plans for massive deep strikes in the enemy's rear echelons and staging areas, the *Independent* notes, are taken from the official NATO doctrine of "AirLand Battle." As we pointed out some years ago, the goal of this "forward strategy" was a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Now the Pentagon wants to make use of the "emerging technologies" to clobber the enemy with "smart" weapons in a push-button war. The M1 Abrams tank, the Bradley fighting vehicle, the Multiple Launch Rocket System, the cruise missile, are all part of this high-tech religion in which the Pentagon envisions obliterating the enemy without filling a lot of American body bags. And, of course, in the words of two officers who helped rewrite the Army's FM 100-5 field manual to incorporate the new doctrine, it "calls for Army units to conduct their operations so that nuclear fire support can be added or deleted as necessary."

In his interview aired September 25 by the WBAI "Undercurrents" program,

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Persian Gulf...

(continued from page 7)

Dr. Paul Rogers outlined the impending attack:

"It would start off with sustained air and cruise missile attacks by United States forces, coming essentially at Iraq from five different directions: from Turkey, from a carrier in the Eastern Mediterranean, from a carrier in the Red Sea, from land air bases in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, and from carriers based in or just outside of the Gulf itself. The latter would of course be accompanied by ships launching cruise missile attacks from the Gulf.

"What one would see in the first few hours of this initiation of war, would be attempts to decapitate the Iraqi command control system, bunkers, communication links and all the rest. And also to destroy in the maximum way possible Iraqi air and missile assets, air bases, missile sites throughout Iraq."

At the same time, Rogers noted, there would be "a major amphibious assault into Kuwait, using the Marines supported by the battleship *Wisconsin* with its 16-inch long-range guns. The main aim there would be to erect a perimeter around Kuwait City, particularly the port area, and to try and rescue as many as possible of the U.S. nationals and probably foreign nationals as well." He went on:

"Indeed, the operation as a whole would be presented to the general public primarily as the liberation of Kuwait, although the air attacks on Iraq would have a much wider function.... The hidden agenda, of course, would be the replacement of the Saddam Hussein regime by a regime which was much more sympathetic to Western interests."

But Rogers noted that "because of the support which the Saddam Hussein regime has in Iraq," the country could not be forced to surrender unless "economic assets" were also attacked. This would mean *wide-scale bombing throughout the country*:

"If you are trying to cripple an economy of a country such as Iraq, you're essentially targeting three kinds of targets. The energy resources of the country; the transport interchanges and central resources of the country; and certain major industries.... The attacks on industry would be centered primarily on the Baghdad area but not entirely. Also the industrial base down on the Gulf coast 'round and near Basra, and certain important plants in western and northern Iraq, principally truck, bus, tractor assembly plants, fertilizer plants, chemical plants, steel works and the rest."

The U.S. would expect to bring Iraq to heel in "10, 15, maybe even 20 days or



WV Photos
Protest against U.S.' Persian Gulf invasion, Chicago, September 22. Labor Black Struggle League and Spartacist contingent demand: "Break the Blockade of Iraq!"

more," he says. But the plan could easily go awry, because Iraq is not Panama or Grenada:

"In such a plan of operation, one has to recognize that Iraq is not a country with limited military resources. It itself has many means by which it could counter and blunt this kind of United States attack. Iraq does have Soviet and French air defenses which are really quite sophisticated.... It has large quantities of modern artillery which could interdict a Marine landing in Kuwait. It has medium range ballistic missiles, aircraft equipped with cluster bombs, stand-off missiles such as the French Exocet, and the Soviet AS-14 laser-guided missiles. It has of course chemical weapons. It has above all a war-hardened army."

The Persian Gulf will be the bloody end of the Reagan/Bush "strategy" of "splendid little wars."

As Saddam Hussein said in his TV reply to the White House, "If Bush decided to start a war, it would not be up to him to end the war." Hussein, a vicious murderer who hung leaders of the Communist opposition years ago (see page 3) and dropped poison gas on Kurdish villages, evidently will not shrink from holocaust. As the knowledgeable Near East reporter Robert Fisk noted in the London *Independent* (26 September), there is "A Gulf trap set to close on America." American commanders, he writes, are privately "worried about the vast number of mines that the Iraqis have lain along the seafloor."

To add to the imperialists' worries, Hussein threatened that "all oil installations will be incapacitated" if Iraq is "strangled" economically. It has already been verified that Kuwaiti oil wells have been wired with explosives. The verbal threat to disrupt world oil supplies sent oil prices soaring this week to \$40 a barrel, shaking the world economy, especially the debt-bloated U.S. What would \$80 a barrel do?

Down With the Sheiks, Colonels, Dictators!

Bush has unwittingly unlocked the Near East Pandora's box, and even if he manages to defeat Iraq he will be faced with a sea of hostile Arabs and other peoples. First there are hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, looking to get even with Zionist Israel for driving them out of their homeland and resentful at Washington's double standard regarding "aggression." In Jordan, Palestinians form a majority and are itching to fight for Iraq as well as overthrow the mealy-mouthed King of Jordan who butchered them in 1970. Meanwhile in the Israeli-occupied West Bank the Palestinians have taken as good coin Saddam Hussein's statements of support. Last week there was a pro-Iraq general strike on the West Bank.

This is one of many facts not considered "fit to print" by the *New York Times*, which only mentioned in passing (in a picture caption) that *millions* demonstrat-

ed in the streets of Iran against the massive U.S. presence. In Algeria Ahmed Ben Bella, the historic leader of that country's liberation movement from France, is trying to make a comeback by riding the crest of Islamic fundamentalism which is anti-U.S. and pro-Iraq. In short, if Washington tries to hold on to their new imperialist bridgehead in the Near East, it will set off a conflagration throughout the region.

There could be no more irrefutable proof of Lenin's famous statement that imperialism breeds war than Bush's current military adventure. And while the imperialists crow about the "death of Communism" in Eastern Europe, they will soon be haunted by another well-known spectre, namely the revolutions which are born of war. The outbreak of war will ignite tremendous social explosions around the world, not least in the belly of the beast, the USA. The American working class, ground down by the Reagan/Bush era of union-busting, austerity, and racist terror, already has no enthusiasm for this war. And across the Near East—in Jerusalem as well as Cairo, Damascus, Amman and Baghdad—the petty tyrants can and must be swept away by the enraged masses. An international revolutionary party must unite the workers of the world in struggle to sweep away the imperialist system—for workers power from the U.S. to the Near East. ■

Canada...

(continued from page 4)

Today, the Sacred government of fanatical fundamentalist William Vander Zalm in British Columbia is worried about its electoral chances after more than a decade of smashing strikes, starving the poor and waging war against any abortion rights.

It is estimated that the Reform Party could take 40 seats in the next federal elections. In the Ontario elections the Confederation of Regions Party's campaign against French language rights brought it 15 percent of the vote in Sudbury, traditionally a center of proletarian militancy, and 21 percent of the vote in Sault Ste. Marie, where steel workers are out on strike.

In English Canada the labor bureaucrats have fanned the flames of Anglo-chauvinist reaction through their arrogant refusal to defend Quebec's national rights. In Quebec, the labor fakers line up the combative French-speaking proletariat behind the bourgeois nationalist labor-haters of the Parti Québécois and Bloc Québécois. As the country fractures along national fault lines, minorities everywhere—Native Indians, non-French speakers in Quebec, Francophones in English Canada, immigrants—are being targeted by reaction.



Wilson/NY Times
Bush and junior partner, Canadian prime minister Mulroney.

Black anger in Toronto and Montreal has been mounting as the cops have been waging war on black people. The shooting of 16-year-old Marlon Neal by a traffic cop in suburban Scarborough last May sent waves of fear through Toronto's black communities. On June 30, Montreal police rioted against tens of thousands of black people at the annual Caribfête cultural festival. Skinheads and other neo-Nazis feed off the racist cli-

mate: there have been desecrations of Jewish cemeteries in Montreal, Quebec City and Ottawa. Meanwhile, the flag-waving Maple Leaf nationalism and protectionist calls of the labor tops, social democrats and most of the "left" in Canada—in opposition to the "free trade" agreement—inflame racist xenophobia and national hostility.

The union bureaucrats and their fake-left hangers-on have sought to channel labor militancy into votes for the NDP. Now the NDP is the government of Ontario. Even with such a wimpy social-democratic outfit, working people have expectations of the NDP government. Even before taking power, the social democrats are quickly trying to dash these illusions to prove their responsibility to the capitalist ruling class. Meanwhile, the sinister likes of the Reform Party and their provincial confederates are waiting in the wings hoping to capitalize on populist hatred for the powers that be.

There is plenty of anger and will to fight among the union ranks, who are fed up with taking it on the chin. On September 28, when news reached a mass steel workers union meeting in Hamilton that Stelco was shipping out warehoused steel, over a thousand unionists surrounded the warehouse and made short work of this strikebreaking effort. In Cape Breton, where the local United

Mine Workers leadership made a sell-out deal with the company to end the strike, outraged miners burned their union hats and demanded a leadership "with guts—someone to stand up for the men" (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 13 September).

A leadership with "guts" means one that will stand up for immigrant workers and their families, for the rights of Native Indians, for Quebec's right to self-determination and the language rights of French-speakers in the rest of the country, for the rights of all working people against the capitalist exploiters. As our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada argued in their newspaper *Spartacist Canada* (Fall 1990):

"The rulers, abetted by the labor tops and the NDP, preserve *their* power by setting whites against blacks, Asians, Native Indians and other minorities, English against Québécois workers, Canadian against American workers, *ad nauseam*. What is desperately needed is an internationalist, class-struggle leadership of the labor movement, one that can unite all of the working people, the exploited and oppressed in common battle against their common enemies. It is the urgent task of class-conscious workers to construct the revolutionary workers party that can wrest the productive wealth of North America out of the hands of the greedy, rapacious capitalists and place in the hands of the working people the power to build a planned, socialist economy that will ensure equality and abundance for all." ■

Young Spartacus

Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves, Part 2

BT: Pimple on the Popular Front

"Imperialists Out of the Middle East! Defend Iraq Against Imperialist Aggression! Break the Blockade!" headlined a 12 September leaflet by the so-called "Bolshevik Tendency." Sound familiar? It certainly will to readers of *Workers Vanguard* because it is essentially a carbon copy of our headlines opposing U.S. imperialism's war mobilization in the Persian Gulf. But this rat pack of Cold War dropouts from the Spartacist League is more than willing to drop such "copy-cat Spartacism" in order to hop on the bandwagon of a new pro-Democratic Party "antiwar movement."

Shortly after the BT first emerged as the self-proclaimed "External Tendency" in 1983, we noted: "These characters logically would fit right in with the Weinsteinites, late of the Socialist Workers Party, behind whom stands the lure of America's 'mainstream' social-democrats, the Democratic Socialists." And sure enough, with Nat Weinstein's Socialist Action trying to be Bay Area brokers for a new popular front with Democratic "doves," along the lines of the SWP's Vietnam-era National Peace Action Coalition, the BT wants to find a niche as house "leftists."

And that requires a little trimming of the hard edges of the SL's Trotskyist politics. More precisely, it means dropping the class line in order to fit into the "classless" framework of the pop front.

So at a September 22 Spartacist forum in Berkeley, a longtime BT spokesman got up to say: "I don't believe the BT has any particular political disagreements with the general thrust of the speaker's remarks. But..." He then criticized an SL representative for objecting that Socialist Action's coalition "had not adopted the call to end the blockade of Iraq as the main axis of political unity. The BT disagrees that this slogan must necessarily be a point of political unity for any united-front antiwar movement."

Actually, the BT argues that this must necessarily *not* be a "point of unity." A 13 September leaflet by the "Revolutionary Trotskyist Tendency" (formerly of the Morenoite IWP, briefly with the BT and currently aligned with the British Workers Power group) reports that at a

meeting of the "Emergency Committee to Stop the U.S. War in the Middle East," the BT "abstained from the vote when the RTT asked the Committee to adopt the slogan of 'End the Blockade.'" The BT reportedly called for a single slogan, "No War for Big Oil/Bring the Troops Home."

Of course, the "principled" centrists of the RTT pledge their "critical" allegiance to the popular front nonetheless, repudi-

definitely not going to countenance siding with "the enemy." What's involved here is a big difference: our call for revolutionary defense of Iraq and for defeat of the imperialist aggression through revolutionary action, versus their social-patriotic appeal for a more "peace-loving" imperialist policy.

That's why the popular front of reformists, rad-libs and Democratic politicians can agree with Richard Nixon on the

lar. As comrade Nelson described it:

"The Democratic Party said we will walk out if there isn't a ban on such slogans. The SWP enforced that ban and we left. For the remaining period, our intervention was to present and argue with, inside the antiwar movement, in the demonstrations, any way we could, for a class analysis of the war, and to turn the antiwar movement into an anti-capitalist movement."

Nelson also noted that there was a sizable left wing that hated the SWP, the Communist Party and others who sought a bloc with the Democrats, and it was from that left wing that the SL recruited heavily.

THE MILITANT Beginning This Week: 'Malcolm X Speaks'

Thousands Protest U.S. War in Vietnam

30,000 March In New York

New York SWP Wins Fight for Better Placards

In 1965 Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, SWP imposed "official" slogan to get support of pro-negotiations Democrats. Spartacist proudly marched with slogans for unconditional U.S. withdrawal and "Victory for the Vietnamese Revolution." SWP's *Militant* published above lead photo, cropping off "Spartacist" from our placards.

ating any "preconditions for our participation in a mass anti-war movement."

Let's be clear here. We do not appeal to Bush and Thatcher to "end" the blockade, but rather call on those who oppose the imperialist invasion to "break the blockade." And this is anathema to the reformists precisely because their desperately sought-for Democratic "doves" are

slogan "No More Vietnams," while the Spartacist League uniquely proclaims: "Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for imperialism!"

At the September 22 forum, the BT spokesman accused the SL of issuing "ultimatums" instead of the "much harder" task of waging "the political struggle necessary to influence the periphery of the reformist left," and appealed to "the SL's previous history with the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade in 1965 and their interventionist orientation to change politically the course of that movement."

Al Nelson responded for the SL to this stupid rewriting of history, noting that he had led the Spartacist forces out of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee in 1965. The SWP sought to enforce a ban on all signs except "Stop the War in Vietnam Now." We refused to accept their political censorship. We intervened all right, marching in the mass antiwar demos *against* the popular front, carrying slogans for immediate U.S. withdrawal and "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution." And these slogans were very popu-

But let us see what the BT means by "political struggle" to "influence the periphery of the reformist left." For historical falsification is not enough to pay the price of admission to the popular front. To play the game of pinning the pop-front tail on the Democratic donkey, those who make a pretense of leftism must not only be blindfolded and spin around to become disoriented, they must positively grovel.

At a September 29 "community forum" on the "Crisis in the Gulf," featured speakers included Daniel Ellsberg, of Pentagon Papers fame, and former Berkeley mayor Gus Newport, both well-known Democrats. For this audience, instead of its "left" leaflet the BT had another "softer" leaflet, with remarks like "all of us have much to be concerned about," and no mention of "break the blockade."

This was a reissue of a leaflet the BT had earlier distributed at a September 8 Oakland rally where Ellsberg also spoke. But there was one change: this

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NEW YORK PARADE. Scene along mile-long parade route down Fifth Avenue in New York. When first contingent reached end of route thousands were still waiting to begin march. Official slogan of the parade, which was carried by most marchers, was "Stop the War in Vietnam Now."

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Stalinism Is Dying—Communism Lives!

Anti-Semitic Attacks in Madison

Madison, Wisconsin, once a hotbed of student radicalism and long regarded as an oasis of liberal tolerance in the Midwest, has become a very mean and dangerous town for blacks, Jews, gays and other minorities. Last week a Madison Area Technical College student was shot dead by a homophobic killer who told police that he "had an intense hatred for gay males." And over recent months Jewish institutions and Jewish people have been the targets of an ominous wave of anti-Semitic terror: over twenty attacks have been reported locally since mid-July.

- A Nazi terrorist group called the New Order blitzed University of Wisconsin dormitories with anti-Semitic tracts.

- Someone tried to kill a whole busload of Jewish children by cutting the brake lines on a school bus belonging to a Jewish day camp.

- Two synagogues, the Hillel cultural center, Jewish fraternities and sororities have been trashed, their windows smashed and walls scrawled with graffiti like "Jew Baby Out" and "Rich Jews Die."

- Jewish students have received hate mail and telephone death threats. The editor of a local newspaper and his Jewish companion were attacked in the street by a man screaming anti-Semitic slurs.

These Hitlerite scum had better be stopped now! Students, faculty and workers should drive the New Order fascist terrorists into Lake Mendota!

Gone is the talk of a "kinder, gentler America": this is the real face of Bush's "new order." A decade of bombings and attacks on abortion clinics, union-busting, racist rollbacks of democratic rights and anti-Soviet sabre-rattling have given a green light to bona fide fascists and white racist college punks to lash out at anyone who doesn't fit their sick concept of white supremacy. Now with U.S. rulers trumpeting the "death of Communism" and gearing up for war in the Persian Gulf, homegrown fascists and muscle-brained campus jocks are hot for war "on the home front." No matter that the Zionist state of Israel acts as U.S. imperialism's bloody gendarme in the region, whenever the Middle East heats up,

Semitic people—Jews and Arabs—come under attack in this country.

In response to racist attacks at UW over the past few years, liberals have called on the cops and the university administration to "enforce tolerance" and put the race-haters through "racial sensitivity" courses. The police and the campus administrators' job is to enforce the racist status quo. Liberal appeals to them have only *emboldened* the thugs. Frat rats who attacked black students two years ago celebrated their graduation from "sensitivity" courses by attacking a Jewish fraternity! We recommend a more appropriate lesson in "sensitivity": let them sense the pavement against their heads! The cops who are now guarding the Temple Beth El are the same cops who harass blacks on and off campus and beat anti-ROTC protesters while the campus administration whitewashes their crimes.

In the midst of these anti-Semitic attacks, the UW Minority Coalition issued a press release expressing their concern but rejected a proposal that Jews be admitted to their organization, saying that it was only for "people of

color." The fake-socialists of the ISO tacitly seconded this in a letter to the *Daily Cardinal*, whining that the administration hasn't done anything about racism on campus, but not even mentioning the anti-Semitic attacks. This idiotic sectarianism only plays into the hands of the fascists who would send us *all* to the gas chambers. Jews, Catholics, gays and leftists don't fit the description of "white people" in the fascists' sick concept of a "master race." The revival of the Ku Klux Klan in this century began with the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jew.

The Spartacus Youth Club fights to unite all the oppressed behind the power of the organized working class to crush the would-be Hitlers in the egg. In November 1988, over 40 UW students helped put this program into action when they organized and traveled some 19 hours by bus to Philadelphia to participate in a united-front labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK and Nazi skinheads from parading for genocide at the Liberty Bell. Students: ally with labor to smash racist, anti-gay and anti-Semitic attacks!

BT...

(continued from page 9)

time the BT removed the paragraph that said "Daniel Ellsberg...came out in favor of the deployment of U.S. troops in the Middle East. We do not think this is someone with whom to unite." Now it turns out the BT can "unite" with Ellsberg.

At the September 29 forum, in response to an intervention by a Spartacist supporter, Ellsberg again explicitly defended the dispatch of "UN" troops to the Gulf. When he claimed the SL supported Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, our spokesmen objected that the international proletariat has no side in that squalid dispute, that to the oppressed foreign workers in Kuwait it mattered not a damn whether they were oppressed by a bloody dictator from Iraq or an oil millionaire Kuwaiti sheik, but what does matter is to take a side in defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism's aggression.

So eager are these cynical opportunists to find a home in the popular-front swamp, they not only falsify our history, they excise their own. We haven't noticed the BT lately raising the slogan it pushed when 241 Marines were blown

away in Beirut in 1982, after Reagan made them sitting ducks in the middle of the multi-sided Lebanese blood feud. Then they screamed: "U.S. Marines: Live Like Pigs, Die Like Pigs!" (To our knowledge, the only other organization with that line was the Israeli Mossad, whose former agent Victor Ostrovsky recalls in his exposé *By Way of Deception* that the Israeli spy agency's attitude was: "Hey, they wanted to stick their nose into this Lebanon thing, let them pay the price.")

We observed at the time that their "vicarious bloodthirstiness tends to be directly proportional to the distance from their own appetites." Opportunists' appetites change, and they always count on short memories. But we recall that only a few months ago (in 1917, Winter 1990) the BT denounced the Spartacists as "Henny-Penny" socialists, who proclaim the sky is falling, for asserting that "Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism, far from easing or ending the Cold War, has increased the danger of World War III." The U.S. invasion of the Persian Gulf has dramatically proved our assertion correct.

While they may copy some of our headlines, you will notice that the BT always balks at one thing: our uncondi-

tional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and counterrevolution. Thus they did *not* crib our demand that the USSR rescind its arms embargo of Iraq. And when we offered, in March 1989, "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* in Afghanistan, at the moment when Gorbachev treacherously withdrew Soviet troops, the BT ridiculed this offer as "bizarre" and a "publicity stunt," deriding the "utter unreality of the proposal." Yet further developments have amply shown that this was the moment to fight, for subsequently there has been a continuous unraveling that today threatens the very existence of the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution.

Lenin wrote that the revolutionary party must serve as the memory of the working class, drawing the lessons from past struggles to prepare for victory in those to come. The BT is hardly a significant force, but by their decade-long fixation on retailing slanders against the Spartacist tendency, while trying to present a "blurred carbon copy" of our politics (as we wrote of an earlier generation of anti-Spartacists), they inadvertently pay tribute to the power of our Marxist program. And what's at issue here is a fundamental question going back to World War I.

How to respond to imperialist war is the dividing line between Bolshevism and Menshevism, between revolutionary communism and all manner of centrist and reformist social democrats. As Joseph Seymour, the speaker at our West Coast forum, replied to the BT:

"There is no antiwar movement independently of an anti-capitalist movement. The notion that there is some general movement against the war that can embrace liberal, and in this particular case even reactionary politicians...is, well, not merely opportunist, it's also ludicrous."

As a matter of fact, the largest protest to date in the West against the U.S.-led intervention in the Persian Gulf was a rally of 15,000 led by the French fascist leader Le Pen! Comrade Seymour continued:

"If one looks at Lenin, the Zimmerwald Manifesto was not simply everybody who was against the war, which included certain bourgeois pacifists, the Zimmerwald Manifesto was clearly for working-class struggle against the war. It was a class movement."

When the BT talks of a "united-front antiwar movement," they are talking of a movement based on the program of

a (presently nonexistent) antiwar wing of the bourgeoisie. They hope that the popular front will find useful the rav- ing anti-Spartacist antics of this Bullshit Tendency.

The writer Gore Vidal has remarked that there is only one party in American politics, the property party. Today the party of property is the war party. To those who want to fight imperialist war, we point to the only victorious "antiwar movement" in history, Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Revolution. ■

UDC...

(continued from page 12)

and a full living stipend for students! Working student parents need 24-hour day care and library hours!

An impetus to the protest was a decision by the trustees to install a \$1.6 million art work at a library miles away from the main campus while cutting back on other services. Although the art work, "The Dinner Party," by feminist artist Judy Chicago, is opposed by some for its sexual imagery, most students insist they're no allies of Jesse Helms and oppose the installation simply because of its cost.

Much of the city council, Mayor Marion Barry, Jesse Jackson and several black Congressmen say they support the strike—but they are the ones threatening to send in cops to bash heads! These are the same Democrats who have overseen massive job, education, housing and health care cuts against the black and poor on the Reagan/Bush plantation. Unfortunately the narrow outlook of the student leaders of the UDC protest is to confine the struggle to pressuring these Democratic Party hacks and enemies of black liberation.

The allies that students need in their struggle are the workers who keep UDC and the whole city running. UDC's staff is threatened with devastating cuts by the Barry administration. As tens of thousands of federal workers are threatened with furloughs and layoffs, the KKK threatens to try to march again in the nation's capital while the Imperial White House plans a slaughter of Baghdad's civilians—using black and working-class troops. Students must make common cause with the labor movement which has the social power to make the changes at UDC and take on this whole racist capitalist system. ■

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Manhattan Cable TV Anti-Sex Witchhunt

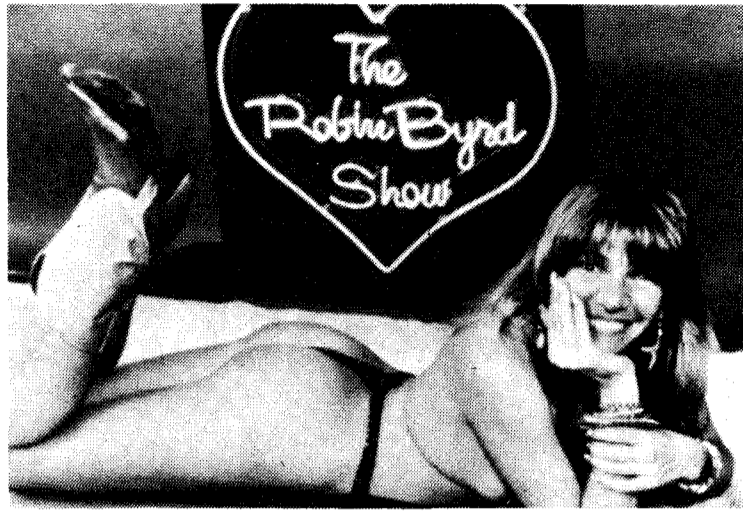
New York City's gay cable TV shows and sexually explicit cable programs are under attack by the supposedly "progressive" Democratic Dinkins administration. The city's recent double-whammy deal with Manhattan Cable TV bans supposedly "indecent" advertising, and on October 1 will entirely eliminate "leased public access" on Channel J/23. This jeopardizes the existence of at least three weekly shows produced by the Gay Cable Network as well as old standbys, aired for over a decade, like Al Goldstein's *Midnight Blue* and *The Robin Byrd Show*.

Is the creeping undead hand of Ed Koch behind this? *Newsday* (4 September) reported that one of the wacko racist pig mayor's parting gifts to the city he helped rip apart was a demand to D.A. Morgenthau to investigate cable sex shows for criminal obscenity and soliciting for prostitution. No investigation transpired; it seems the "kinder, gentler" Dinkins/Holtzman crowd has found its own way to censor the freewheeling shows.

The city's new deal with Manhattan Cable, a subsidiary of the giant Time Warner conglomerate, will entirely eliminate the "leased public access" category, which since 1976 let anybody who could pay on the air with no censorship. Chan-

nel J/23 will be turned over to C-SPAN 24 hours a day, so the shows now have to scramble for space elsewhere, subject to the moral dictates of the corporate biggies at Time Warner.

Other potential victims are shows



Courtesy Robin Byrd

"If you don't like it, change the channel."

aimed at Hispanic viewers, including a politically diverse range of broadcasts to New York City residents from the Dominican Republic. "Channel 23 is the most important media outlet Dominicans have in the city," said one producer. "By giving us limited time, only on weekends, and also by dumping us from a

channel we have built up over the years, they have silenced us."

Besides shutting down Channel J/23, the city has said that starting August 27 it will enforce its new regulation that would "exclude...any indecent advertise-

ment...unsuitable for viewing for minors" (except between midnight and 4:30 a.m.). Since most of the shows must pay for their time with advertising, including "phone sex" lines which have mushroomed in this tragic age of AIDS, the ban is an obvious attempt to force them off the air. Most galling to many gay

activists is the fact that one of those pushing hardest for this new sex cop policy is Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman, who was viewed as sympathetic to gay/lesbian civil rights and even marched in this year's Gay Pride Day parade (as did Dinkins).

This is a truly dirty deal. But the producers aren't taking it lying down. Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund and the New York Civil Liberties Union are preparing legal challenges. An ACLU spokesman noted the "indecent standard" was "unconstitutionally vague." In August a federal judge ruled against a Jesse Helms-sponsored law seeking to ban "phone sex" on that very basis, one small victory in a tide of reactionary attacks these days. On September 27 there was a spirited protest, led by Robin Byrd, at the Time Warner offices.

This latest attempt at censorship in the name of "decency" is an attack on gay and lesbian rights, as well as on freedom of expression in general. The distinction the Supreme Court tries to enforce between evil porn and whatever it is they happen to like is a crock. Anyhow, nobody's making you watch it—as Robin Byrd commented in an interview with *WV*, "If you don't like it, change the channel...that should be the American way." ■

New Orleans Teachers...

(continued from page 12)

wanna." A total student boycott is being organized.

Students have plenty of reason to back the strike. New Orleans schools are in sad shape. One striker told of buying soap, hand towels and even toilet paper with her own money (*New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 20 September). At the same school, classroom temperatures reach 103 degrees, with no air conditioning.

UTNO can win a decisive victory. Pro-union sentiment is strong. Unlike the 1960s, when racial division set back the union's struggle for recognition, today UTNO is solidly integrated, as seen on the picket lines and at 3,000-strong rallies. The strike is polarizing the city along class lines, and a militant, united working-class fight can back down the union-busting school board. Teachers should beware of Democratic Party politicians like Mayor Barthelemy, who today preach "neutrality" in order to force the union to cave in later "for the good of the community." Look what the black Democratic mayors have done to the heavily black city unionists, who work for poverty wages and haven't seen a raise in almost ten years.

The strategy of the Nat LaCour leadership of UTNO threatens to squander the

union's powerful position. Despite a Greater New Orleans AFL-CIO resolution, on paper, to honor picket lines, Teamster and AFSCME truck drivers, food service workers and custodians are still working, crossing UTNO's lines! The schools must be shut down tight! If this isn't done, the current widespread support for the teachers will evaporate. New Orleans workers—Teamsters, longshoremen, oil and chemical workers and transit workers from the large ATU Local 1600—must join their brothers and sisters in UTNO on massive picket lines!

As economic recession hits Louisiana, a victory for the teachers would be a stinging rebuke to the rulers who want the workers and students to suffer for the crisis of the capitalist system. The union should leaflet every working dock, factory and neighborhood in the city, calling for a mass demonstration that will rock City Hall and the statehouse! All out for a UTNO victory!

A mobilization of labor/black power to win this strike would go a long way toward teaching workers to wield the power to take on the KKK and Nazi thugs. Klansman Duke is using his Louisiana Senate campaign to spread racist terror, whip up support for the death penalty and force women to return to the days of the back-alley abortion butchers. On September 12, Dorothy Mae Gourrier, a black mother of six children, was brutally murdered by racist skinhead Nazis. A local Duke henchman running for Congress is calling for a "National Day of

Death" to execute hundreds of death row prisoners across the country.

The Nazi/Klan killers must be driven back in their holes, and the integrated labor movement of New Orleans has the power to do it! The union tops and reformist fake-leftists tell workers and blacks to place their faith in appeals to the capitalist state to "ban the Klan" or vote for the Democrats and defeat Duke at the

polls. But Duke's opponent, Senator J. Bennett Johnston, is a Dixiecrat segregationist who led the fight against integration of public buildings in Shreveport. To win strike battles and stop the Klan/Nazi killers, workers and minorities need to build a class-struggle workers party that will fight for a workers government! Picket lines mean don't cross! Victory to the teachers! ■

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WV Photo



A.J. Sisco/Louisiana Weekly

Striking teachers and students heckle scab at Booker T. Washington High School.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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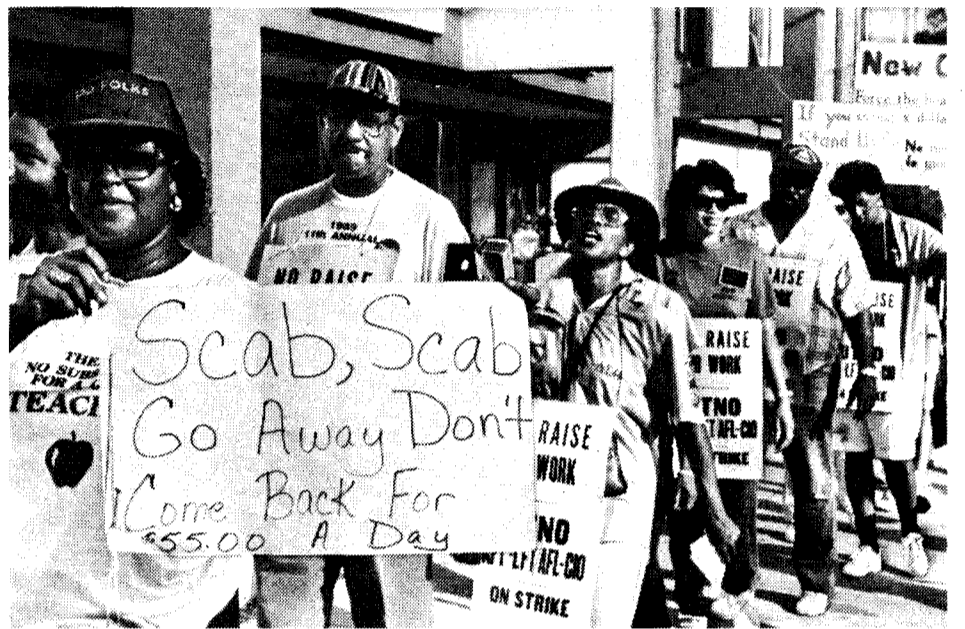
OCTOBER 1—The strike of the United Teachers of New Orleans (UTNO) against the Orleans Parish School Board is entering its third week with the union solid: out of 4,500 teachers, only 200 are scabbing. Strikers are loud and spirited on the lines, with picket signs like "Erase a scab" and "I pulled my weight in '78," referring to the bitter two-week strike then. This is a key battle for labor and blacks, confronting not only the anti-union school board of New Orleans, but reactionary forces in the state capital of Baton Rouge, where Klansman David Duke is trying to ride a campaign of race-hate and terror into the U.S. Senate.

When the teachers' contract expired in June, the union was demanding a 10 percent raise per year for three years. But when school opened the UTNO leadership dropped any wage demand for teachers, only asking for more medical benefits and an increase for aides and clericals, some of whom make less than

\$11,000 per year. Even this was too much for the school board, which is seeking to break the union's strength. New Orleans teachers are among the lowest paid in the South and they face a highly paid and arrogant administration: one boss told the union to be happy they got holidays at Mardi Gras!

The union-busting board is using scabs to keep open the sham schools—little more than holding tanks controlled by off-duty police and rent-a-cops. At one school the cops manhandled fourth-grade students. Student attendance is dropping, and the school board is seen as corrupt and widely hated by parents. An integrated organization called NOPE, New Orleans Parents for Education, is urging parents to pull their children out of school in support of the strike. At one school, 100 students called for others to join them on the picket line, chanting "Do it, do it, leave. Do what you

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Striking New Orleans teachers chant "Erase a Scab!" at picket of School Board headquarters. WV Photo

**Young
Spartacus**

Washington, D.C.

Student Strike Shuts Down UDC

OCTOBER 1—Students at the overwhelmingly black and working-class University of Columbia (UDC) are fed up with being treated like second-class citizens. After UDC's Board of Trustees refused to meet with them to discuss demands for improved education and services, on September 26 hundreds of students occupied Buildings 38 and 39 (the administration buildings) and shut the school down tight. The student takeover was well organized and named "Operation Kiamsha," a Swahili word meaning "that which wakes you up."

As we go to press, the city and school administrations are threatening to send in the cops to brutalize the students and drag them out. Many of the protesters are foreign students who face grave danger if arrested. The Spartacus Youth Club says: *Victory to the UDC students! Cops off campus!*

Students at UDC work their butts off—many juggle full-time jobs and families while trying to acquire skills and a college education to try to increase their chance of survival in this society. The D.C. and federal governments don't need or want educated black youth, and UDC is their monument to malign neglect: a cement and plastic dungeon of nameless buildings numbered like prison cell blocks; libraries with such restrictive hours that

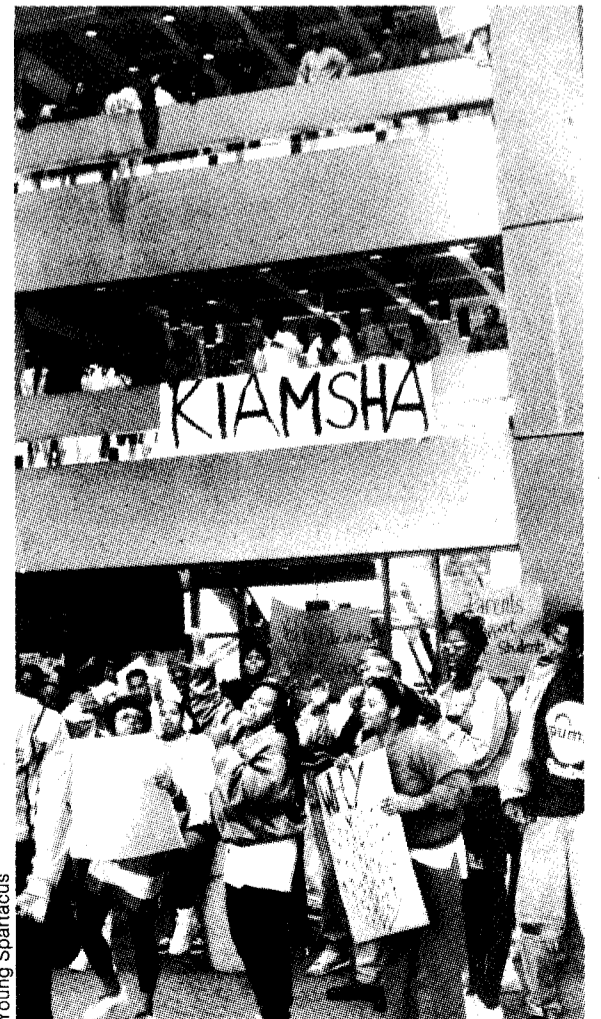


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working students can't use them; academic programs that are so poor that more departments lose accreditation every year.

One of the students' main demands is the resignation of the Board of Trustees: "If you chop off the head of a snake, it dies," said protest leader Mark Thompson. We say: *abolish the administration and the Board of Trustees!* For worker/student/teacher control of UDC! For open admissions and free tuition

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**UDC students
demanding a
decent education
take over
administration
building.**

Young Spartacus