

War Criminal Bush Bombs Baghdad—Defend Iraq!

Sink U.S. War in the Persian Gulf!

Less than 16 hours after the deadline ran out for George Bush's ultimatum, squadrons of U.S. jets and bombers screamed off runways in Saudi Arabia and aircraft carriers in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea to drop their payloads of death upon the people of Baghdad. Across the U.S. and Europe, outraged demonstrators poured into the streets by the thousands. While the media presented gushing accounts of a high-tech video war game and romantic sunset shots of U.S. fighter planes, millions in Baghdad and other Iraqi cities were experiencing the all-too-real stench of death on the streets and the screech of terror from the skies.

The White House proclaimed: "The liberation of Kuwait has begun." The Spartacist League said: "The mass murder of the Iraqi people had begun."

To relieve the first hours of TV coverage, the high-tech U.S. war machine was sweeping the field in a seemingly bloodless war that would be all but over by breakfast. Bush cheered that his dogs of war were "right on schedule." Before midnight the first "instant poll" results were in: 86 percent say "yes" to war. Evangelist preacher Billy Graham was called to the White House to stay in the guest bedroom and conduct a prayer breakfast the next morning.

Wall Street, too, thanked god for being on "our side": "After a moment of silent prayer for the troops in the Persian Gulf and a short clang of the opening bell...trading got off to a flying start," the *New York Times* (18 January) wrote.

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Bush's "New World Order" Means Imperialist Slaughter



The Revelation of "High Tech." Battleship Wisconsin launches Tomahawk cruise missile. U.S. rains death on Iraq with thousands of "smart" weapons.

Spartacist League

"We're Fighting to Sweep Away Imperialism"



Spartacist League banner at January 26 San Francisco demonstration against Persian Gulf War.

On the night that American planes began bombing Baghdad, there were immediate spontaneous angry protests in cities from New York to San Francisco. At these and subsequent demonstrations, speakers from the Spartacist League read the following statement:

As we demonstrate here, the United States government is raining death down on Baghdad. The mass murder of the Iraqi people has begun.

George Bush has been planning this holocaust against the Arab peoples of the Near East for months. The war criminals in the White House and the Pentagon are aided and abetted by the Democrats in Congress, both those who voted for this dirty war and those who have done nothing to stop it.

There must be a cry of outrage and action by the American working people to stop this mass murder. Forget about writing your Congressman to pressure this White House of war. What we need is not just demonstrations on the streets, but power.

It is the sons and daughters of black, Hispanic and working people who will die in the desert along with hundreds of thousands of Iraqis. The working people make this country run. We have the power to bring it to a grinding halt. Use that power now!

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U.S. Bombs Baby Formula Factory

White House Targets Peter Arnett

On January 20, American bombs destroyed an infant formula and powdered milk plant on the outskirts of Baghdad. Two days later CNN's Peter Arnett, the only U.S. media correspondent in Baghdad, personally toured the factory and reported this atrocity.

Arnett's January 23 broadcast report immediately touched off a firestorm of official cover-up lies. This was no baby food factory, they declared, it was a "biological weapons plant"! And to make sure everyone toed the line, no less than the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, and the White House denounced the Pulitzer Prize-



Iraq's only infant formula factory (right), before U.S. obliterated it claiming it was "biological warfare" plant.

winning journalist as Saddam's dupe! Caving in before this anathema, CNN headquarters in Atlanta began brow-

beating Arnett on the air. And in a blatant case of censorship, Arnett's reply to the Pentagon slanders was blanked out on the American side.

But the information broadcast about the plant utterly demolishes the Pentagon's claim. As Arnett was saying that the plant produced 20 tons of powdered milk a day and was "the only source of infant formula food for children one year and younger in Iraq," the screen showed shots of a milk bottling line and cans of baby food filmed by the news network just a few months ago! Arnett reported: "CNN had visited this plant last August for a story on how Iraq was trying to beat the international economic embargo by producing more essential foods at home to make up for the loss."

Immediately, the "spin controllers" at the U.S. military command in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, rushed in. In the middle of a news briefing Lt. Col. Mike Gallagher was handed a piece of paper from which he read that "this facility has military guards around it, barbed wire fence, it has a military garrison outside" and it was "associated with biological warfare production." His proof? "Numerous sources" say so.

CNN quickly got back to Arnett at the Al Rashid hotel in Baghdad. Arnett began: "There was one guard at the gate. As we arrived, they were bringing out a cart full of powdered milk from Britain that they used to..." At this point communication was cut for a full minute. When he came back on, Arnett stated that the break in transmission "was nothing to do with this end," whereupon Atlanta anchorman Bob Cain cut off Arnett's effort to continue his account.

That afternoon the White House let loose with what the *New York Times* (24 January) called a "highly unusual personal attack on an individual journalist." Bush mouthpiece Marlin Fitzwater declared Arnett was being "used" by the Iraqis. And then General Powell ended up his Pentagon briefing stating, "It is not an infant formula factory no more than the Rabta chemical plant in Libya made aspirin. It was a biological weapons facility, of that we are sure, and we have taken it out."

CNN got in trouble with the feds when it broadcast the government's illegal tapes of General Noriega talking with his lawyer. The former Panamanian leader was seized by the U.S. in the bloody invasion a year ago. The network has had millions of intent viewers around the globe during the Gulf War, but like the rest of the media it is ultimately the handmaiden of U.S. policy. So the next day, the CNN anchor badgered Arnett with "questions" about whether he is being "misled," whether he was "free," was his information "reliable," was he "being told what to say" and "instructed to report the Iraqi line." The veteran war correspondent replied that "I learned in Vietnam to believe only what my eyes had seen."

Now every report from Arnett is accompanied by a disclaimer saying his reports are "based on statements by Iraqi government officials" and his "limited personal observations." The caption at the top of the screen reads "Cleared by Iraqi Censors." It should say "I learned in Vietnam to believe only what my eyes had seen." Now every report from Arnett is accompanied by a disclaimer saying his reports are "based on statements by Iraqi government officials" and his "limited personal observations." The caption at the top of the screen reads "Cleared by Iraqi Censors." It should say "I learned in Vietnam to believe only what my eyes had seen."



TROTSKY

To Young Fighters Against Imperialist War

As American bombs devastate Iraq, mass protests in the United States have brought out a new layer of young people appalled by the horrors of imperialist war. Many younger demonstrators are moved by pacifist sentiments, while liberal and fake-socialist protest organizers seek to channel outrage into support for Democratic Party "doves." In the mid-1930s, as Mussolini's Italy prepared to invade Ethiopia, the Russian internationalist



LENIN

revolutionary Leon Trotsky addressed a message to socialist youth warning against a "popular front" for peace that would tie working people to the imperialist parties of war.

The youth are at present deeply preoccupied with the question of the war danger. And rightly so. Their heads are at stake first....

For Marxists the struggle against war coincides with the struggle against imperialism. The means for this struggle is not "general disarmament" but the arming of the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers' state. Our slogan is not the League of Nations, but the Soviet United States of Europe and of the entire world!

Today we see in France how the reformists and the so-called "Communists" (in reality only Stalinists) have allied themselves with the Radicals, ostensibly for the purpose of struggling against war and fascism. Who are the Radicals? A thoroughly imperialist party which stands for the Versailles treaty and for the French colonial empire. How can one lead a struggle against the imperialists' war together with an imperialist party?

Naturally, the Radicals readily speak for peace. Hitler also works in the sweat of his brow for peace. They are all for peace: priests, bankers, generals. But what does the pacifism of the bourgeois governments and parties mean? Vile hypocrisy. Every robber prefers, if possible, to take away his victim's purse "peacefully" without taking his life. Mussolini would naturally prefer to pocket Ethiopia "peacefully," that is, without the expenses and sacrifices of war. England and France would like to enjoy their plunder "in peace." But woe to whoever hinders them! That is the meaning of capitalist love for peace.

Petty-bourgeois pacifism is in general sincere, but so much the more blind and helpless, since in essence it is but the belief of peasants and petty merchants that it is possible to make the ruling classes better, to disarm the great capitalist robbers and induce them to live peacefully side by side. But with all its good intentions petty-bourgeois pacifism becomes a drug with the help of which the imperialists overcome the masses at the proper moment and make cannon fodder out of them. We accuse the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals of helping capitalism to prepare a new world slaughter through their nonsensical twaddle. In a new war the reformists and the Stalinists will in the majority of cases stand on the side of their governments, especially in France, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia. Whoever really wants to fight against war must speak to the people clearly, must gather the fighters under one revolutionary banner, under the banner of the Fourth International.

—Leon Trotsky, "To Young Communists and Socialists Who Wish to Think" (July 1935)

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DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Jorge Ramirez

CIRCULATION MANAGER Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Frank Hunler, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson,

Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 781-7500

Detroit

Box 441043
Detroit, MI 48244

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Madison

Box 1492
Madison, WI 53701

New York

Box 444, Canal St Sta
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Edmonton

PSSE PO Box 9605
Edmonton, AB T6E 5X3
(403) 436-5105

Vancouver

Box 2717, Main PO
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 255-0636

Moncton

P.O. Box 563
Moncton, NB E1C 8L9

Montréal

C.P. Les Atriums, B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

The Press and the Pentagon

War, Lies and Videotape

The war began promptly at 7 p.m. EST, right on target for the nightly news (like Reagan's bombing of Tripoli, which started at 7:06 p.m.). The first days of the Talk Show War were designed to knock out the American audience by saturation jawboning, as platoons of retired generals, think tankers and war criminals like Henry Kissinger hit the media beachheads. These were the warm-up acts for the Pentagon's laser-magic shows, the daily 3:30 p.m. briefings which are the new version of its Vietnam-era "Five O'Clock Follies."

"If Vietnam brought war into the drawing rooms of the world, the Gulf conflict—to date at least—seems only to have moved it to the video arcade," noted a British journalist of the first week. For all the anchor-generals playing with their own high-tech toys, the million-dollar networks of flybys, satellite dishes, transponders and on-the-spot instant images, rather than CNN we're watching "PNN—Pentagon Network News," as a Pacifica radio commentator put it. One Columbia University antiwar protester carried a sign reading, "I want to kill my TV."

By the end of Week One it seemed the American population was already suffering war fatigue. As Scuds flew through the air, presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater launched salvos at the press, complaining of "the way the media is covering this thing." Actually, the media has done more or less exactly what the Pentagon and White House had told them to. Ole Fitzwater's problem is that after insisting this would be a short war, official spokesmen are now having to pronounce the "M-word" (months).

The point of the massive U.S. censorship, of course, is not to keep information from Iraq, but from the American population. And the Pentagon has been getting away with it for some time now. The U.S. war machine tested its censorship apparatus in the Grenada and Panama invasions, with great success. The media still has a clamp on publishing how many casualties there were in the mass bombing in Panama.

On the day the bombing of Baghdad began, a Pentagon spokesman vowed that this would not be another "living room war," with the American public shocked by TV images of U.S. soldiers torching Vietnamese villages and body bags being shipped home. This time they want to rigidly control the flow of news, and the media moguls have patriotically gone along. The *New York Times* (9 January) complained about Pentagon press restrictions, but added: "the media have little or no choice except to go along grudgingly—and hope the military will enforce its rules with understanding."



McCarthy/NY Times

In war, the first casualty is truth. Imperialist media whips up war hysteria and fear, while marching in lockstep with rigid government censorship.

If the military hates the press, as one Pentagon "news" briefer frankly said, it's not because "the media lost the Vietnam War." The fact is, the U.S. lost on the battlefield, and the military is still seeking a scapegoat. The media were perfectly happy to go along with the Kennedy and Johnson administrations on Vietnam—until the U.S. forces started getting so obviously creamed militarily by the North Vietnamese forces on the ground that a significant section of the bourgeoisie decided to pull out.

As Phillip Knightley documented in his book *The First Casualty* (1975), it wasn't until after the 1968 Tet Offensive that a lot of the dirt began coming out in the press, and even then the big stories weren't usually on-the-spot reports. The My Lai massacre wasn't uncovered until over a year after it happened, by freelancer Seymour Hersh. And the military managed to keep its massive bombing of Cambodia in 1969-70 secret for over a year, despite hundreds of correspondents in the field.

For months now the Pentagon has been successfully running the media around the Persian Gulf. Any vestigial newsgathering instincts among press corps veterans were crippled early on by the technique of severe alcohol deprivation. They put the traveling caravan of reporters through dozens of pushups, in order to qualify for the highly restricted "pools" that are the only access allowed by the military, which escorts reporters everywhere and then censors their reports.



Gamma-Liaison

There have been a few exceptions to the initial gung ho media enthusiasm. Veteran CBS anchor Walter Cronkite cautioned a wild-eyed Dan Rather not to believe everything he heard the first night. Later Vietnam-era veteran reporter Bob Simon, visibly trembling with fury in Saudi Arabia, burst out on the air:

"Information so far has been minimal. This does not come as a surprise. In fact we are a little bit pleasantly surprised that our satellite transmissions were not cut off.... The only report we've had of anything that has gone wrong has been not from official channels but from our one CBS newsmen who is not operating within the Pentagon pool framework."

As we go to press, the latest word on Simon was that he and a crew, seeking some real information, had mysteriously disappeared into the desert—one can only hope they reach safety behind Iraqi lines.

And of course there has been CNN's Peter Arnett in Baghdad. The tough New Zealander won a Pulitzer Prize for his Vietnam reporting (which included staying behind after the Americans evacuated Saigon). His under-the-bombs reports from Baghdad have helped the Cable News Network to achieve air superiority (and profitability). But he is now under fire from the White House and Pentagon for reporting and filming how U.S. bombs are hitting civilian targets. And UPI's Helen Thomas continues to be a thorn in the side of the president, as she pointedly asked Bush why the U.S. was so upset about Iraq counterattacking with its Scud missiles.

These exceptions only prove the rule that in war the first casualty is truth. The press skeddaddled out of Baghdad when the U.S. State Department called up a few days before the war and told them to get out. The *Los Angeles Times* (19 January) reported: "a key factor in their decision was an unofficial warning to American networks in Baghdad, purportedly from Administration sources in Washington, that a U.S. attack was about to take place on the Al Rashid Hotel, where all but a few of the journalists were staying...several of the reporters who left said they now suspect that the U.S. warning also was a subtle, but effective, propaganda device by the U.S.-led forces to end all reporting of the war from the Iraqi side."

The press like to portray themselves as a "Fourth Estate," some kind of independent force seeking truth and objectivity. This is the message of David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest* on the Vietnam War or Woodward and Bernstein's *All the President's Men* on Watergate. But those exposés were published only because a section of the bourgeoisie became convinced that Vietnam was folly and Nixon was so mired in muck that he had to go. Today the press is shown in its true light, as the world's second oldest profession (spies), eagerly engaging in the activity of the oldest one as the whores of war for the Pentagon.

During World War II, one American censor wrote: "Newspapers...and broadcasting stations must be as actively behind the war effort as merchants or manufacturers." And as a World War II correspondent reviewed the press' performance 30 years later:

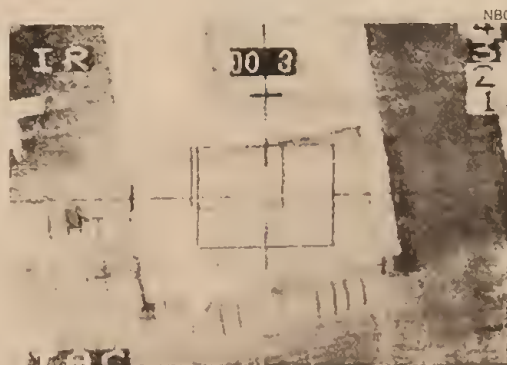
"It's humiliating to look back at what we wrote during the war. It was crap... We were a propaganda arm of our governments. At the start the censors enforced that, but by the end we were our own censors. We were cheerleaders. I suppose there wasn't an alternative at the time. It was total war. But, for God's sake, let's not glorify our role. It wasn't good journalism. It wasn't journalism at all."

—Phillip Knightley,
The First Casualty

The big papers and TV stations are big capitalist enterprises, and fundamentally loyal to their class. It is to those who stand for the interests of the world working class that you will have to look for the truth about this bloody imperialist slaughter. ■



Reuters



NBC

Joint Chiefs Chairman Colin Powell lecturing compliant media hacks with video show-and-tell of high-tech weaponry. "Trust me," said the general. Do you?

Hundreds of Thousands Protest U.S. War

Coast to Coast

On the eve of the U.S. war against Iraq, Bush's popularity was at an all-time low, his war resolution barely squeaked through the Senate and large demonstrations against "Operation Desert Shield" had already taken place in many cities. But on January 16, when the "Shield" turned to "Storm" and the bombs began to fall on Baghdad, the marching orders came down. Bourgeois "public opinion" swung sharply overnight. The next morning's *New York Times* warned it was time for this "divided country" to pull together. The message was relentlessly hammered home in the media, as Americans were bombarded with "rally 'round the flag" rhetoric from all sides. Anti-Bush "doves" in Congress suddenly metamorphosed into pro-war hawks. The polls showed four out of five approving the war, and Bush's ratings topped FDR's the week after Pearl Harbor.

Yet the nation is far from marching in lockstep: the flag-waving patriotism that turned the Super Bowl into a Nuremberg rally will dissipate as soon as the corpses start coming home. Moreover, this orchestrated war fever has been met, from the very first minutes, by an outpouring of hundreds of thousands of protesters in the largest antiwar demonstrations since the Vietnam War. In fact, the Vietnam protests did not swell until it became clear that the U.S. might actually lose the war. This time around the protests began before the shooting started, and by now have become daily events throughout the country. On January 19 there were some 35,000 in Washington, D.C. and double that on the 26th; in San Francisco there were 70,000-plus on both weekends, and thousands more in Los Angeles, Boston and numerous other cities.

Across the country, the Spartacist League mobilized with banners and signs, selling our press, leafletting and soapboxing with our call for revolutionary opposition to this heinous war.

The first hours of the war were marked by furious protracted demonstrations on both coasts. In San Francisco, thousands broke through police barricades, sacked military recruiting offices, and ran a

flaming American flag up the Federal Building flagpole. Some 20,000 marched through the Castro and the Mission District. Next day civil disobedience groups blockaded the Federal Building—forcing it to close for most of the day—and later the Pacific Stock Exchange. Three days

convictions." The article reported protests in Northampton, Hyannis, Orange, Greenfield, and Springfield, Massachusetts; Concord, Hanover, Durham, Dover, Portsmouth, Tilton, and Plymouth, New Hampshire; Montpelier, Norwich, Burlington, and Brattleboro, Vermont; Nor-



Washington, D.C. January 19 protest drew opponents of Persian Gulf War including pacifists and pro-sanctions flag wavers. Spartacist League's call to defend Iraq against U.S. attack attracted much interest as up-front communist opposition to Imperialist war.

in a row, demonstrators closed down the Bay Bridge. In New York City, thousands converged on Times Square.

There were antiwar protests on college campuses across the country, but not just there. In New England, the *Boston Globe* (20 January) reported: "Throughout the region last week there were hundreds of processions, vigils, rallies, walkouts, teach-ins and other demonstrations as New Englanders opposed to the war in the Persian Gulf expressed their fears and

walk and West Hartford, Connecticut; South Olwrick and Bangor, Maine.

Elsewhere in the country demonstrations against the war were held in such bastions of the military-industrial complex as St. Louis (McDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics), Seattle (Boeing) and Rochester (Kodak); in small towns like Fayetteville, Arkansas or St. Cloud, Minnesota; in state capitals like Des Moines, Iowa, where protesters disrupted the governor's "state of the state" ad-

dress. Martin Luther King memorial celebrations in Atlanta became antiwar protests, while Catholic parishes and Protestant congregations held candlelight vigils. For the most part this wave of rejection has been latched out by TV and press, which gave "equal time" to every group of a dozen right-wing nuts screaming "nuke Iraq."

Opposition to the war remains very broad, with even the Roman Catholic auxiliary bishop of Detroit calling for soldiers to desert in protest against a war that the Bishops Conference officially declared does not fit the criteria for a "just war." Many came to demonstrations with creative homemade signs such as, "What If Kuwait's Main Export Were Broccoli?" and a drawing of the Capitol with the slogan, "Best Little Whorehouse of Texaco." On January 22, ACT-UP activists in New York invaded Dan Rather's CBS Evening News chanting "Fight AIDS, Not Arabs!" Our favorite: a group of women in the

Bay Area with signs reading: "George Bush, Read My Labia, U.S. Out of Saudi Arabia!"

But the flag-waving media barrage has affected the antiwar protests. Burying the lie, popularized in "Rambo" movies, that '60s antiwar activists "spit on" returning soldiers, today signs and banners at demonstrations across the country proclaim "Peace Is Patriotic" and "Support Our Troops—Bring Them Home." And the liberal and pseudo-socialist demo organizers imposed on the "peace" crawls a program of supporting the "moderate" war party of American capitalism.

The demonstrations on January 19th and 26th bore a marked similarity, both calling for "Bring the Troops Home Now!" and trying to pressure the Democrats into opposing a war which they overwhelmingly support. January 19 was organized by the "Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East," dominated by the eclectic Stalinoid reformists of the Workers World Party, and tended to attract a more leftist and pacifist crowd, while January 26 was run by the liberal-led "National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East," which supported the imperialist "UN sanctions" which are no less an act of war.

Consequently, the character of the latter demonstration was markedly more patriotic, with no leftist speakers and more American flags than a VFW parade. With demonstrators and some motley crews of right-wingers both sporting American flags and "Support Our Soldiers" signs, at times it was hard to tell the pro-war people from the anti, unless you could read the fine print on their T-shirts (right-wingers' shirts said "Free Kuwait"). The *New York Times* noted approvingly of the 26th: "yesterday's antiwar demonstrators in Washington mostly shunned crude slogans like 'No blood for oil!' Most of them would

As the feds whipped up their "terrorism" scare, they naturally targeted NYC for a "fear city" blitz. The CBS News program 60 Minutes (20 January) included a segment interviewing Vince Cannistraro, described as "former CIA Head of Counterterrorism." Cannistraro was standing in Grand Central Station, which he described as "the kind of place that the Abu Nidal organization might go after," since 180,000 people pass through it every rush hour. New Yorkers howled in derision: why would any terrorist bother to blow up the subway and rail system, the MTA is quite accomplished at this itself. Capturing the popular response, satirist Marty Goldensohn wrote a column (Newsday, 22 January), excerpted below:

Reprinted from Newsday

About Terrorism In the Apple, Who'd Notice?

By Marty Goldensohn

Humiliation. This is why I think Saddam Hussein shouldn't try any terrorism in New York. It will embarrass him. New York is too big to notice anything smaller than a hydrogen bomb. We've seen everything else already. As George Burns once said, "Death. It's been done."

Let's suppose for a minute that Iraqi commandos attacked the phone company to disrupt communications. Big

deal. Happens all the time. Happened this month, in fact, to AT&T. Some poor slob in a Newark manhole did by mistake what Abu Nidal has probably been plotting since August....

Speaking of halted in its tracks, forget about torching the subways, Saddam. That's been done, too. Last month. Two passengers dead, 148 injured....

How about blowing up our bridges?

Make my day. They're collapsing anyway. Three hundred and eighty-five structural defects on the Manhattan, Williamsburg and Queensboro alone, says the Department of Transportation. If they fall down, we New Yorkers will have to pay to rebuild them. But if you knock them down, it'll be a lot easier to get the feds to pick up the tab. War damage. We'll get the sympathy vote in Congress.

Random violence? No way, Sad. We invented it. Face it every day. New Yorkers who are afraid of drive-by murderers and dart men move to Wyoming. And those who can't afford to go aren't about to be intimidated by a few extra commandos on the block.

And if New Yorkers are willing to kill and die for leather jackets and drugs, we're certainly willing to take a few hits for a war even if we're ambivalent about it. We know those Kuwaiti rulers are no great sheiks, but compared to the causes for which we usually die, it would be martyrdom.

How about decimating apartment buildings? Old hat, Sad. Con Ed did it more than a year ago. A busted water main blew asbestos all over Gramercy Park. A crater 10 feet across, five feet deep, killed three. Better than a Scud!

Protesters on the Brooklyn Bridge

First Casualties in the "War at Home"

Some of the first domestic casualties of the imperialist onslaught against Iraq were a group of antiwar demonstrators who took to the Brooklyn Bridge the night the bombs began falling on Baghdad. On the freezing cold evening of January 16 thousands of demonstrators gathered in Times Square upon hearing the news that the American war machine had launched its Persian Gulf attack.

Protesters rallied and marched from Times Square to the United Nations, where Columbia University students arrived after a campus rally. Then back to Times Square and south again to lower Manhattan. When the demonstrators decided to take the Brooklyn Bridge, cars stopped and some honked horns in solidarity. But one car, driven by Thomas Wade, didn't stop. Shortly after 2 a.m. on Thursday morning, Wade plowed into the crowd of more than 200, seriously injuring seven people. One woman, Christa Roberts, fell off the bridge to the ground 70 feet below. Several of the victims are still hospitalized.

One demonstrator told *W1* that they were inspired by the news of antiwar protesters taking the Bay Bridge from San Francisco to Oakland. The demonstrators on the bridge were a diverse group, racially integrated and including younger and older political activists, college students and homeless people. All night long the demonstrators had been shadowed (and harassed) by New York City police. But after the car driven by an apparently drunk Wade, who has been subsequently charged with felonies of "reckless endangerment" and "vehicular assault," slammed into the crowd at about 50 mph, the cops delayed medical attention for the victims and clubbed those still standing.

As Christa Roberts scrambled to get out of the way of the speeding car she fell between a gap in the main roadway and an access ramp, crashing to the ground below. She was hospitalized in critical condition at St. Vincent's Hospital, where at press time she is still in the intensive care unit with a fractured pelvis. A doctor who treated several of the victims reported there were lots of broken limbs and compound fractures and at least one of the victims suffered from breathing complications. Some of the protesters lack insurance to pay for their medical treatment.

Alexander Yarde, one of the demonstrators and an eyewitness, told *W1* how he heard the driver Wade "revving up"

and seemingly aiming his car at demonstrators. "I yelled and jumped out of the way. I heard the first two people get hit. When I turned around I saw people getting lifted into the air and people were scrambling. He kept going into the main part of the crowd, then I heard a series of thump, thump, thump—people getting hit." Another eyewitness, 19-year-old Malachi Dean, a member of the "Stop U.S. War Machine Action Network," said, "It looked like puppets being tossed 10 to 15 feet into the air."

When Yarde, who works for CISPES, saw the bodies sprawled on the ground, he tried to get swift medical attention for them. "I ran down the exit to get police, because I knew the police were there. They were totally unresponsive. I told them that we needed paramedics. One policeman in his car rolled up his window." Demonstrator Jay Everett told *W1*, "When we went to leave to obey their [police] orders to head down the off-ramp, all of a sudden about eight of them attacked from behind with nightsticks." Other demonstrators and eyewitnesses have also reported that the cops returned in force and started swinging their clubs at the remaining demonstrators.

The serious injuries and vicious police treatment of antiwar protesters the night war broke out has been virtually disappeared in the mainstream media. *Newsday* wrote one story that read like it came off the police blotter. Like news in the Persian Gulf, the official "pool coverage" has not deemed this atrocity newsworthy.



NYPD slams demonstrators at UN before march downtown to the Brooklyn Bridge.



Brian Palmer/Impact Visuals

Antiwar protesters rush to aid of victim struck by speeding car on Brooklyn Bridge, January 17.

WBAI Pacifica radio reported extensively on the case, and the *Village Voice* ran a story. Still the cover-up goes on.

Khursh Mian went with five others to the NYPD's Fifth Precinct to give statements. He and the other witnesses were forced to freeze outside the precinct house for four hours and were allowed in only one at a time (to guard against "terrorists") to give statements. A detective told Yarde, "normal people don't get up on a bridge." Mian gave police the names and phone numbers of over two

dozen eyewitnesses, yet four days later the assistant district attorney assigned to the case had never seen or heard of this list!

Christa Roberts is lucky to be alive today, as are several of the other demonstrators. Imperialist war abroad produces casualties at home, like the four college students at Kent State and the lesser known black protesters at Jackson State in Mississippi who were killed protesting the Vietnam War. The cops who clubbed protesters on the Brooklyn Bridge are the same NYPD which goes after *Daily News* strikers while "protecting" scabs and herding them through the picket lines, the same racist police who shot black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in her Bronx apartment several years ago and then gunned down Mrs. Mary Mitchell in her own home just a few months ago.

The protesters who were struck by the speeding car and beaten by the cops were expressing their outrage over the criminal mass murder the U.S. was unleashing over Baghdad as they were marching on the bridge. Dema Mantooth, one of the victims of the car assault, explained, "If we slowed down traffic, if we stopped the city, we'd make people care...about the unnecessary loss of innocent lives" (*Village Voice*, 29 January). What is necessary is to forge this just outrage into a revolutionary fight to get rid of the system that rains death on Iraqis, uses cops as scabherders and carries out "evictions by murder" on black people at home. ■

agree with Vice President Quayle about the need to support America's troops in the gulf."

For Labor Strikes Against the War!

One notable fact has been the presence of contingents of unionists at the demonstrations, and thousands of workers have individually come out to oppose the war. During the long war buildup, the polls repeatedly showed a strong degree of working-class opposition. Reading a *New York Times/CBS* poll, one commentator said, "Quite simply, it's a class thing." The *San Francisco Examiner* (25 January) noted that the "anti-war stance of a significant segment of organized labor stands in vivid contrast to labor's position at the outset of the Vietnam war—and in fact until about 1971, two years before U.S. troops departed."

The Washington demonstrations included union groups from the Post Office Mail Handlers, Laborers, ACTWU, strik-

ing Greyhound drivers and *Daily News* strikers now in the fourth month of their strike, hospital workers Local 1199, UAW District 65 and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees. In California, 1,500 unionists marched including ILWU longshoremen, AFT teachers, CWA phone workers, hotel and restaurant workers, school bus drivers, electricians and public employees. The January 26 Bay Area demo was endorsed by the labor councils of San Francisco/Santa Clara, San Benito, Alameda and San Mateo counties.

Yet the Cold Warriors of the AFL-CIO International remain foursquare behind the bipartisan imperialist murder. Lane Kirkland pronounced that in Saudi Arabia, "the sons and daughters of working Americans once again are on the firing line in the defense of vital interest of the free world!" The wing of labor officialdom which graces the platforms of the popular-front "antiwar" coalitions simply reflects the politics of

the Kennedy liberal wing of the Democratic Party. In this case that spells support for "sanctions" against Iraq. At the January 26 Bay Area rally, where Labor Council head Walter Johnson, ILWU president Jimmy Herman and the public employees local president spoke, their slogan was: "Labor Says: Support Our

Troops—Bring Them Home Now."

These unions could deal a crippling blow to the war—longshoremen. Teamsters, communications workers have more power than a thousand "peace" crawls. But these labor misleaders came out only to save imperialism from

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Spartacist  Black History Month Forum

Blacks in the Jim Crow Military from the Civil War to the Persian Gulf

Speaker Paul Collins, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, February 8, 7:30 p.m.

NEW YORK CITY

Room 304 Barnard Hall
Barnard College

For more information (212) 267-1025

"Terrorism" Scare Targets Arab Americans

As Bush's bombers rain death and devastation upon Iraq, the U.S. government has whipped up a hysterical "anti-terrorist" campaign at home. For weeks the FBI has been singling out for interrogation hundreds of Arab immigrants and citizens of Arab descent. This ominous campaign aims to smear Arab Americans as potential "terrorists"—people without democratic rights and subject to unrestrained attacks.

The Gulf War has indeed provoked terrorism in the U.S.—against Arab Americans. In the space of one week, Detroit police reported four firebomb attacks against people of Middle Eastern descent (*Detroit News*, 21 January). An Iraqi store owner on the Northeast Side narrowly escaped being murdered when two men in army fatigues fired guns at him shouting, "You're dead, Arab!" And in the rural town of Blissfield, Michigan a Dairy Queen owned by a Palestinian American was burned down as "punishment" for his opposition to the Near East war.

Arson, beatings, death threats and discrimination have targeted Arab Americans around the country. In Florida a 15-year-old was arrested when he reportedly exploded a pipe bomb in

front of the house of a family he believed to be from Iraq (they were from India). And in a token of pervasive repression to come, Pan Am just announced that holders of Iraqi passports are barred from all flights. Since passports aren't needed on domestic flights, in practice airline security personnel comb airports scrutinizing and harassing anyone who "looks like" an Arab.

Meanwhile, official attacks have been stepped up as the FBI announced a campaign to deport Iraqi citizens residing in the U.S. as their visas expire. In Europe, Germany, France and Britain have been expelling Iraqis for weeks. This is especially pernicious since among the deportees are many opponents of Saddam's regime who face repression in Iraq because of their political views. One group of 30 Iraqi students in Britain were declared "prisoners of war" and locked up.

Where the campaign of government repression is headed is shown by the example of Detroit, which has the largest concentration of Arab Americans (a quarter million) in North America. On January 19, Mayor Coleman Young declared a state of emergency and called on the Michigan governor to send

in the *National Guard*! Young feigned concern for Arab residents, while railing against "potential terrorist activity" supposedly aimed at the bridge and tunnel connecting Detroit with Windsor, Canada.

The National Guard's role hasn't changed one whit since it was sent into the Detroit ghetto in 1967 to shoot down blacks. Once mobilized to combat the spectre of "terrorism," the Guard would be used to bust strikes, break up anti-racist protests and clamp down on a population growing restive over the slaughter in the Arabian desert where fully one-third of the U.S. ground troops are black or Hispanic.

Many in Detroit's Arab population are Yemenis who were recruited during the 1970s to work in the Motor City's auto plants (now almost all closed). There is also a large, predominantly middle-class Chaldean Christian community. Even those in the suburbs are now caught in the cross hairs of the government's "anti-terrorism" scare and subjected to the disgusting anti-Arab chauvinism which comes not just from racist yahoos, like the Chrysler foreman and his son who beat Chinese American Vincent Chin to death while screaming

about Japanese auto imports, but also from the likes of liberal black Democrat Young.

The purpose of the government's "security" blitz is not to stave off "terrorism" but to regiment the population for war. For this purpose they go to absurd lengths, with everything from New York City police seminars on supposed dangers to Wall Street CEOs to the massive security mobilization for the Super Bowl—dubbed by some journalists the "Big Brother Bowl." In San Francisco police arrested an Iraqi man on a bomb possession charge for what was later described as a partially disassembled "vibrating massage pillow!"

There is a very real threat of the U.S. government launching a massive roundup of Arab Americans. During World War II more than 100,000 Japanese Americans were imprisoned in notorious "internment" camps. The concentration camps are there, and plans for new dragnets are ready to be implemented (see "Fight the Anti-Arab Witchhunt!" *WV* No. 518, 18 January). We call again for the labor movement and defenders of democratic rights to smash the racist "terrorism" witchhunt.

In Baghdad Under the Bombs

We print below excerpts from an interview conducted on January 27 in Berlin by our comrades of Spartakist, the newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, with Sa'ad Dudin, the editor for Germany of the Palestinian news agency WAFA. Dudin had just returned from a visit to Baghdad, where he was during the first nights and days of the American bombardment.

Spartakist: You know that the news about the war in Iraq is "sanitized," particularly in the United States. It's sort of a video-game report, everything is surgical strikes, there are no civilian casualties in this war, etc. So it is urgent to counter these lies, and I wonder if you could speak a little about your own experience, what you saw yourself in Iraq.

Dudin: One can say precisely the opposite of what is generally claimed here in the media. The losses among the Iraqi military are minimal, absolutely minimal compared with the devastating losses among the civilian population. On the first day, as the attacks began, the Americans went so far as to claim that they had taken out the entire Iraqi air defense system, and Fitzwater even advised Saddam Hussein to capitulate. I am no military expert, but anyone who saw the intensity of the Iraqi anti-aircraft defense, night after night, knows that it has remained unbroken. Only on the fifth day did the Americans admit their failure to neutralize the Iraqi anti-aircraft defenses. But they had already committed mass murder against the Iraqi people.

The American military explained the failure of their attacks on military targets in Baghdad with references to bad weather there. To me that was such a primitive joke, and it reminded me of the view of the Nazi generals, that the cause of their defeat in the Second World War lay in the fact that there was too much snow on the ground between Berlin and Moscow. But the more obvious this lie became, the more obvious it was that they were trying to force Iraq to its knees by mass murder, the more varied were the explanations of the media.

As far as the population in Baghdad itself is concerned, I went to one place



Day One of U.S. onslaught against Iraq. Ministry of Defense building in Baghdad burning from U.S. bombing raid.

which was destroyed. There were children of roughly the same age lying there, I would judge between nine and eleven years old. And they were apparently having a painting lesson. The paint in their coloring books wasn't even dry. And they lay there dead, all of them. I was told there were 23 children, I only saw seven myself. When I arrived in the outlying areas, the victims had already been partially evacuated. There was an older lady, maybe 70 years old, dead.

What happened was this: after they determined that they hadn't taken out the military defense, the pilots began bombing from such a height that they simply couldn't hit their targets and only hit the civilian population. They even brought the pilots to the scene of their acts, but the racists naturally believe that the Iraqis are just making propaganda, for example with the baby food factory, right? So a journalist sifts through the pieces of cardboard at this factory, acts like a criminal investigator, even though it's obvious to any idiot that it's a baby food factory.

Naturally, the Americans attacked prestige targets. They said, we have destroyed the defense ministry. I went to

the defense ministry, to a demolished building. An old man, perhaps between 50 and 55 years old, lay there dead. One of his relatives was overcome with sorrow and wept, saying, why have they destroyed this building? After all, it was evacuated on August 3 last year. There was just this watchman there, it wasn't any defense ministry. But they reported that the defense ministry had been destroyed.

The number of victims is rising from one minute to the next, the number from the civilian population. The Iraqi army is located in defense lines against which attacks can't do much. That is the reason why the Americans haven't begun their ground offensive, because they know that the losses among the Iraqi military are small. A city, Al Dour, about 280 kilometers north of Baghdad, it's proven that there was no base there, no military factory, nothing at all. That city was leveled, it was bombed, hundreds of victims among the civilian population. What I want to say is that this war is being waged first of all against the Iraqi civilian population. But they won't break the morale of the Iraqi population through terror attacks. And it can already

be determined that mass murder of the Iraqi people is being carried out.

Spartakist: Are there other things that you have personally seen, not only the war itself, but also the blockade, which was part of the war?

Dudin: What most deeply impressed me was the attitude of normal people. On the way back to the hotel, about 6 or 6:30 in the morning, I met people, more and more people. We had dozens of interviews, with women, girls, men, youths. We said, you know a war has begun here. They said, but we're going to work. Bush wants our economy to collapse. And really, they took it for granted, it just radiated from them.

We went into tea shops where the people sat around unbelievably relaxed and smoked their water pipes, and talked, of course, about what's to be done now. And this tranquility of the people, this confidence. So they said: they're coming back. We fought with the English in the First World War against Germany and Turkey for our independence, and the response was that England and France ripped apart our country. The multinationals, wherever they found an oil well, found themselves a sheik and set up an emirate.

Spartakist: We call for the defeat of the U.S. and NATO imperialists, and defend Iraq. There is the demand for a Near East peace conference, where the imperialists will sit down after having oppressed people for years, divided them, committed mass murder. What do you think of that?

Dudin: I'm absolutely against the *Anschluss* [annexation] of the Near East under Article 23 of the Basic Law [the German constitution, under which East Germany was swallowed up by the West]. Europeans make the mistake of underestimating the intelligence of other peoples. Let's go back to the Gulf War. This marvelous mixture of boundless ignorance and master-race mentality that you saw at Fitzwater's press conference eight hours after the attack began. He stands there, tries to laugh—his laughter seemed plastic—and says, well, the job is done, now Iraq must capitulate, and he is flattered by his court scribes. That was a historic moment for him, and it's crazy the amount of ignorance these people show. They sell their ignorance as the ultimate in wisdom. ■

Sink U.S. War...

(continued from page 1)

Le Monde of Paris headlined its market reports, "Wall Street: America Is Back" and "Tokyo: Banzai!" More than 70 years ago, revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg summed up the relationship between capitalism and war: "Profits rising, proletarians falling."

In Riyadh, an American general declared this was "a technology war" as he played a video of "my counterpart's headquarters in Baghdad" being zapped by a "smart bomb." But as the first Iraqi Scuds landed on Tel Aviv hours later, the "techno-euphoria" started evaporating. Daily Pentagon briefings replaced the magician's smoke and mirrors with meaningless charts and figures. Even the most insipid questions from the house-trained Pentagon press corps were baited as leading info to "the enemy."

Had the U.S. achieved "air superiority"? Why, JCS chief General Colin

Powell blathered on, he'd written the textbook defining air superiority, and whatever it is, the U.S. has it. Were there figures to back up U.S. damage claims? "Trust me," he responded. Are American planes carpet bombing Iraq and Kuwait? "I don't know what the definition of carpet bombing is," replied the theater commander, General "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf.

Washington is lying through its teeth because what they intend to do is truly horrendous. The hallmark of this war, writes R.W. Apple in the *New York Times* (17 January), will be "overwhelming force, relentlessly applied." What that will mean, increasingly, is relentless terror against the Iraqi population and overwhelming civilian casualties. "This is not a war," an Egyptian fleeing Baghdad after the first few days of bombing said bitterly. "This is the annihilation of a Muslim people."

The American-led imperialist "allies" are terror-bombing the cities and towns of Iraq. And they are out to assassinate Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein: in Bush's "State of the Union" war rally in Con-

gress, he pointedly repeated several times that Hussein was "dead wrong." Soon the gory, hone-crunching ground war will begin and the rivers of Mesopotamia will run red with blood. Amid all the talk of Saddam Hussein using chemical warfare, the U.S. is already shelling Iraqi positions with white phosphorus. And the U.S.' Persian Gulf armada has thousands of nuclear warheads.

We of the Spartacist League and International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have warned from the outset that this rapacious ruling class which presumes to be cops of the world was preparing to plunge the world's working people into a bloody holocaust. And now they've started. If imperialist carnage is not to be the continuing fate of humanity until this system of war and destruction finally incinerates all of civilization in a nuclear fireball, it must be swept away through proletarian revolution.

A stinging defeat for U.S. imperialism in its onslaught against the Iraqi people can spark revolutionary struggle throughout the Near East. We call on the work-

ing people of the U.S. and the other imperialist countries to mobilize their social power in class struggle against the exploiters and oppressors at home.

Democrats Rally 'Round the War

For months the capitalist media and Congressional Democrats regurgitated Bush's transparently lying "peace" ploys. "A resolute Bush maneuvered U.S. to the edge of war," headlined the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (16 January), claiming: "No one foresaw that in August." But a former Reagan aide says of Bush: "It's clear now that he took steps from the very start to make war inevitable." Historian James MacGregor Burns added: "Congress had the power and the time to oppose him. It didn't."

It was clear all along that Bush was moving toward war. While pleading to "give sanctions a chance," the bourgeois "opposition" marched in lockstep behind the White House. Capitol Hill cheered when Bush deployed 200,000 troops to "defend Saudi Arabia" in August. The

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U.S. Protests...

(continued from page 5)

another costly defeat like Vietnam. These "antiwar" labor fakers seek to derail working-class struggle against the war, just as they have hurried a decade of strikes—from PATCO to Hormel to Greyhound and Eastern—through reliance on Democratic Party politicians. In contrast, the Spartacist League fights for labor strikes against the war, to choke off the munitions and matériel that fuel the U.S. war machine.

Bush Lies, Black People Die—Down with the Racist Imperialist War!

Black Americans especially don't want this war. The NYC black newspapers, the *Amsterdam News*, *City Sun* and *New American*, all ran antiwar front pages, in stark contrast to the chauvinist hype of the mainstream media. As in the Vietnam War, blacks are disproportionately represented in the army, with almost one-quarter of all black families having a member in the Gulf, as opposed to only seven percent of white families. As poverty and joblessness ravaged the ghettos during the Reagan years, a de facto "poverty draft" occurred. With over one-quarter of black men either in prison or on parole, the lure of college aid or the (largely illusory) opportunity to gain job skills enticed many black and Hispanic youths into the army and reserves. Now they find themselves sitting ducks in the desert, expected to sacrifice their lives for the privilege of



As the bombs began falling: protests in Chicago (left) and NYC (above), January 17.

restoring the venal Kuwaiti monarchy. As many as 80 percent of the estimated 3,000 soldiers who have filed for "conscientious objector" status are black. One of them, E.A. Stanley, recently wrote, "As an officer in the Army Reserves, I often wonder why this country always fights for the rich man's causes while the poor man's causes are often ignored right here in the U.S." (*Scoop USA*, 21 December 1990). Another, U.S. Navy fireman Donald Alexander, held a press conference at the National Press Club, stating, "I cannot fight in a war to uphold chattel slavery.... Fighting in this war in the Persian Gulf would be for me equivalent to fighting for General Lee against Abraham Lincoln."

A *Washington Post* poll revealed that 60 percent of black D.C. residents disapprove of the war. Blacks know that their war is at home, fighting for employment, decent housing, education, health care and simple equality. "Black Veterans for Social Justice," a New York group which has participated in antiwar protests, issued a statement declaring, "The irony of the President's war frenzy is in the history of this country's treatment of those who have answered the call to arms. We were sprayed with Agent Orange in Vietnam. Among the homeless population, we veterans number 40 percent nationally. We are 20 percent of the prison population. And we are one of the highest groups of unemployed persons in this country" (*New American*, 17 January).

A number of blacks and Hispanics have participated in the demonstrations across the country, compelling black elected officials to oppose the war. In the House of Representatives, the vote for the war was 396-6 (five from the Black Congressional Caucus, and Vermont "socialist" Bernie Sanders). Jesse Jackson, after initially supporting the invasion, has been backpedaling since the bombing began, and showed up to speak in the Washington demonstrations, typically couching his opposition in guns-versus-butter terms. What motivates these politicians is not opposition to U.S. imperialism, but fear that blacks and other minorities will rebel against the twin parties of capitalism to which these misleaders have tied them for decades.

For a Revolutionary Party!

In contrast to the sea of liberal imperialist "doves" and red-white-and-blue "socialists" preaching "patriotic" opposition to the war, the revolutionary politics of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs stood out like a bright red beacon. Our banner reading "Defend

Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!" got everybody's attention. Although they couldn't seem to get the various leftists' slogans right, even the more obtuse bourgeois media recognized the SL/SYC as vintage communism: the *San Francisco Examiner* wrote, "The Spartacist League urged us to go back to the teachings of Trotsky and Lenin." The *Washington Post* reported that protesters in the capital "range from sweet little seventh-graders on officially sanctioned field trips to big city office workers on lunch break to revolutionary Spartacists...." The *Village Voice* saw Sparts everywhere.

Over 10,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and other Spartacist publications were sold at antiwar protests around the country over the past two weeks. Our pamphlet "Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military" (in the *Black History and the Class Struggle* series) attracted special attention. The bombs dropped on Baghdad can explode the Reagan/Bush reign which glorifies the ostentatious display of greed and privilege while sticking it to the working class and minorities. In the coming months we look to win those who recognize that *our enemy is at home*, and that a defeat for U.S. imperialism is a victory for the oppressed of the world.

What sets the Trotskyist SL apart from the American social-patriotic left is our forthright opposition to our "own" imperialism. Not endless peace crawls to pressure the ruling class, but revolutionary struggle to overthrow the racist capitalist system. Not writing letters to Congress, but organizing labor strikes against the war, to unleash the power of the integrated working class in defense of our class brothers and sisters being bombed in Iraq. To defeat the U.S. ruling class, the most vicious and deadly force on earth, we need a revolutionary party which is not afraid to swim against the stream. Take a side—Join us! ■

Spartacist Statement...

(continued from page 1)

We need labor strikes against this criminal war. We call on longshoremen to stop handling all munitions shipments and war matériel. Is this pie in the sky? No! French dock workers refused to ship war matériel. Striking Turkish coal miners are demanding down with the war, down with the warmongering government.

What this war is about is the American Empire wants to be cops of the world. Remember Reagan's rape of tiny black Grenada! Remember the thousands murdered in Panama only a year ago! Remember the two million murdered in Vietnam by Washington. But the Vietnamese people prevailed and made a revolution. Some people say, "No More Vietnams." That is what Richard Nixon says. We say: Vietnam was a victory!

American imperialism is the enemy of mankind. It must be defeated, through

class struggle. And it's our job to do it, all of us. We are millions around the world who hate this racist, bloodthirsty government. The enemy is capitalism. That's what produces millions of homeless. The technology exists to feed everyone on this planet, but instead this system produces mass starvation and war after war after war.

American imperialism must be defeated in its bloody grab for oil and world domination. It is our duty to stand with the Iraqi people in defending themselves against the American warmongers. We stand with the Palestinian people, who face genocide at the hands of the racist, Zionist hutchers who rule Israel.

The working people of the Near East, the Kurds and other minorities, must rise up to bring down all the sheikhs, all the despots, including Saddam Hussein, but not just the despots who are on the outs with Washington today. And we're fighting here, in the belly of the beast, for workers revolution to sweep away the biggest despots of all.

16 January 1991

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

War in Babylon



A shimmering reggae backbeat springs into hypnotic repetitive consciousness, underscoring the reedy tenor of Rastafarian singer, Max Romeo, as he launches into a catchy chorus;

"War inna Babylon! War inna Babylon!"

Over a decade has passed since I've heard the song, an arcane allusion to a mystic, coming Armageddon.

But the Jamaican vision does not dominate my mind today. Several hours ago, the startling news swept the world that the United States struck the first martial blow against the Middle East country of Iraq, by a night strike on Baghdad.

U.S. jets rained death upon the desert capital, the nation that is the modern day descendant of a once-proud empire—Babylon.

It can be said now, with the ring of truth, there is truly War in Babylon.

The U.S. Empire, "New Babylon," has unleashed the dogs of war to insure dominion over the Arabian oil fields, and, by extension, its New World Order, an "order" that appears, at first glance, much like the same old "order" of colonial, white, capitalist hegemony.

But, at bottom, this "New Order" offers none of the contrasts of the old, none of the balances of superpower, none of the past concerns of "sphere of influence"; for the counter-balance, the opposing superpower, is all but lost in a growing maelstrom of internal chaos.

Indeed, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has come dangerously close to becoming neither a "union," nor even nominally "socialist"—perestroika

(restructuring) with a vengeance!

It is said that "power abhors a vacuum," and in the empty hole left by USSR retrenchment, the U.S. has moved decisively to fill the gap.

No matter what the outcome of the Mid East War, forces of the U.S. Empire will occupy Arab lands for decades to come, modern reflections of Roman legions, mercenaries hought to protect the rich/super-



A banner in Washington, January 19.

WV Photo

rich ruling families of the region from swelling Arab rage and burgeoning humiliation, as New Order Imperialists, Americans, take the place of the old, the British.

And the bulk of troops sent to the Arabian Desert to defend the regions' ruling elites are themselves members of the working class, or, all too often, the non-working class—people who joined, not to fight, but for jobs and benefits! To what shall the Western warriors return after the flames of war have ebbed, and the region has been declared "safe" for U.S. corporate interests?

When American oil companies cackle in acquisitive, avaricious glee at unhampered supply, and new age Arab pashas re-establish their lifestyles of decadent opulence, those who faced and fought the fires of a man-made firestorm will, if they survive, return to human hells in the concrete jungles of North America.

For defending their country's elite they will inherit a lifetime of empty tomorrows in inner city slums, not unlike those of the denizens of Sabra & Shatila, urban villages isolated in deserts of despair.

Once again African-Americans will have fought, and shed precious blood for another class, another cause, and remain unfree, embittered and oppressed—unable to fight for ourselves.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Sink U.S. War...

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Democrats kept mum over the Gulf during the election campaign and then feigned surprise when, two days later, Bush ordered another 200,000 troops in.

After months of empty chatter by liberals and reformists alike about enforcing the War Powers Act, when Bush put it to the Democratic-controlled Congress, they went for war. And as soon as the warplanes started bombing Iraq, what pusillanimous opposition existed collapsed entirely, as all but a handful rallied 'round flag and Führer. Erstwhile "antiwar" Democratic Senator Boren of Oklahoma proclaimed: "Now that the war has begun...Congress must be prepared to vote to provide our troops anything they need to prevail."

The Democrats did nothing to block Bush for the simple reason that for years these partner parties of American imperialism have both had a war policy. The

U.S. war on Iraq is not about "Iraqi aggression" against the oil emirate of Kuwait, and certainly has nothing to do with freedom or democracy. This much is obvious to all. Many also recognize that the oil companies will rake in superprofits as a result, but it is more than that. Ever since the 1973 "oil shock," all wings of the U.S. bourgeoisie have agreed that "the oil is ours" and the Persian Gulf must be an American lake.

In January 1980, shortly after the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan, Democratic president Jimmy Carter proclaimed the "Carter Doctrine": "Any attempt by any outside [!] force to gain control of the Persian Gulf will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." Presidential Directive No. 51 later that year specified that this included the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

"New World Order" with Feet of Clay

American capitalism is in deep trouble: industrial regions turned into a vast "rust

belt" years ago, a recession under way, per capita foreign debt the highest of any country in the world, with U.S. finance virtually in hock to Tokyo. No longer undisputed master of the capitalist world, with Germany and Japan surging forward as economically more dynamic powers, the U.S. is seeking to regain its position of unchallenged imperialist hegemony by throwing around its military weight.

Echoing Hitler's talk of a "New Order," Bush is out to create a "New World Order" of U.S. imperialist domination. In his triumphalist "State of the Union" speech, Bush called on "every American to prepare for the next American century!" The last "American century," U.S. imperialist hegemony following World War II, was buried in the rice paddies of Vietnam. And the attempt to restore it could lead to World War III. In the mid-1930s, as the last imperialist world conflagration loomed, Leon Trotsky wrote:

"U.S. capitalism is up against the same problems that pushed Germany in 1914 on the path of war. The world is divided? It must be redivided. For Germany it was a question of 'organizing Europe.' The United States must 'organize' the world. History is bringing humanity face to face with the volcanic eruption of American imperialism."

—"War and the Fourth International" (June 1934)

While the Germans have turned Europe into a D-mark zone and the Japanese have re-established with the powerful yen the "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" they lost in World War II, there is one thing which America's imperialist rivals don't have—a massive, technologically sophisticated military arsenal. The U.S. ruling class intends to "correct the imbalance" in the world capitalist market by seizing control over the world's oil supplies and black-mailing its imperialist competitors into submission.

And now the U.S. has the chutzpah to demand that Japan and Germany pay for the oil grab which is aimed against them. Japan has agreed to cough up an additional \$9 billion, but the Germans have been less forthcoming. (Kohl needs gohs of Deutschmarks right now to pay for the

takeover of East Germany and Bonn's East European and Soviet deals.) Yet the estimated cost of a war lasting several months—some \$80 billion—is no more than the payouts this year alone for the trillion-dollar S&L scam.

At bottom, it is not a question of Bush's ego or war-mania in the White House, no more than the assassination of an archduke was the cause of World War I, or a Japanese "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor brought the U.S. into World War II. This is the way imperialism works: in the final analysis, deep-going economic contradictions can only be resolved by force of arms. And until the system of competing capitalist nation-states is swept away through workers revolution, war will continue to be the fate of humanity.

The Spartacist League warned from the outset: "Having lost its economic predominance, Washington is now trying to reassert its role as imperialist global policeman through brute military force" (WV No. 509, 7 September 1990). While liberals cheered the United Nations "sanctions" and various fake-socialists tried to duck the issue, we said straight out that the embargo itself was an act of war against Iraq and declared: "Break the Blockade of Iraq!"

Washington wants to paint its grubby oil grab in the Near East as a replay of World War II, which was popularly perceived to be a war against Nazism. And the capitalist press goes along, referring to the U.S.-led "Allies" vs. the "Saddam Hussein (read, Hitler) forces." They want to wipe out the memory of the humiliating U.S. defeat in Indochina. But the Pentagon's ban on TV cameras at Dover Air Force Base, where American war dead in the Gulf will be returning stateside, will do little to black out the image of body bags "coming home" from the minds of bereaved parents and sweet-hearts and children.

The U.S. certainly has the military firepower to "prevail" in the end over small, semicolonial Iraq. But at what cost? As Prussian military strategist Karl von Clausewitz observed in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, war is "a test of



Sygmia

Center for Defense Information has estimated that U.S. invasion of Iraq could produce over 300,000 casualties, including tens of thousands killed. Above: eight-year-long Iran-Iraq War produced one million dead. Washington aided both sides in this bloody slaughter.

moral and physical forces." Neither the American population at large nor the troops in the Gulf see any stake in this war. As President Bush was celebrating Thanksgiving in the Saudi desert, U.S. soldiers yelled out to reporters, "This is not our war!" The Iraqis, on the other hand, even those who have no love for the despot Saddam Hussein, have no doubts that they are defending their country against an imperialist invader who is raining destruction down on their heads.

Middle East Powder Keg

As the Americans should have learned from Vietnam, and even strategic bombing surveys during World War II showed, bombing population centers neither wins a war nor does it break the will of the people. On the contrary, as Patrick Cockburn observed in the *London Independent* (22 January): "there is little question that the bombing and missile attacks of the past five days have politicized the Iraqi population in a way that five months of propaganda from their own government failed to do. By Saturday, there was a sense of anger and determination completely lacking on 15 January."

It may be an exaggeration to say at this point, as Jordanian political scientist Kamel Abu Jaber does, that "Saddam has already won the political war." But in a war in which political factors are rapidly surpassing military-technical considerations in importance, Iraq is certainly well ahead of the imperialists. Throughout the Near East and North Africa, as well as South Asia, there has been an explosion of popular support for Iraq since the bombing began, including among Muslim fundamentalist forces historically indebted to the Saudi theocracy. A UPI dispatch reports the following typical sentiment in Cairo bars and coffeehouses:

"America was screwed in Vietnam. America was screwed in Korea as well. Why then could not America be screwed in the gulf? The Arabs are not inferior to the Vietnamese or the Koreans."

The Iraqi Scud missile attacks on Israel turned Saddam Hussein into the most popular Arab leader at least since Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser—and simultaneously shattered the myth of invulnerability which is one of the ideological pillars of the Zionist garrison state. Tel Aviv residents have been clogging the highways out of the city to fill up hotels in Jerusalem left vacant by the halt in tourist traffic, only to be denounced as "deserters" by the mayor of Tel Aviv. Meanwhile, the *Jerusalem Post* international edition (26 January) reports that dozens of Israeli Arab families have opened up their homes to Jews from areas hit by missiles.

Arabs are particularly infuriated by the outrage expressed by Western capitals and the press over the Scud attacks—which have produced minimal casualties—even as *thousands* of bombs rain down on Baghdad and Basra daily. One Palestinian exclaimed after the first Scuds fell on Tel Aviv: "Two missile attacks on Israel that do not kill anybody, and the whole world cries and moans." In the three years of the *Intifada* well over 700 Palestinians, many of them young children, have been gunned down by Israeli troops. Since the Gulf War began, the entire Palestinian population

in the occupied West Bank has been under house arrest, under pain of being shot on sight if they leave their homes. One 24-year-old woman who appeared on her balcony in the West Bank town of Nablus was shot dead as she was breastfeeding her baby.

The White House has been disingenuously claiming that Israel is not part of the anti-Iraq "coalition." But fearful that an Israeli retaliatory attack on Iraq would cause problems for its hought-and-paid-for Arab "allies," Washington rushed Patriot missile launchers and U.S. crews to Israel. For the moment the Israelis have refrained from retaliating, anticipating a whopping \$13 billion in additional

aid from Washington as payoff. But the Israeli rulers will strike at Iraq, and health minister Ehud Olmert vowed that Iraq will suffer "painful scars that would stay with them for a long time" (*New York Times*, 24 January).

San Francisco, January 26—Spartacist League and Labor Black League fight to mobilize workers power against imperialist war.



aid from Washington as payoff. But the Israeli rulers will strike at Iraq, and health minister Ehud Olmert vowed that Iraq will suffer "painful scars that would stay with them for a long time" (*New York Times*, 24 January).

What sort of "painful scars" are the Zionist madmen planning? As Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu courageously revealed to the world, the Zionist state has more than 200 nuclear warheads. Israel's rulers have already vowed to take out the Jordanian air force should it attempt to prevent Israeli jets from flying over Jordanian airspace in order to attack Iraq. They are intent on driving the Palestinians out of the West Bank and into Jordan. The international workers movement must raise an outcry to demand: Defend the Palestinians! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

As one of the oldest crossroads of civilization in the world, the Near East has always been a mosaic of numerous conflicting nationalities and ethnic and religious groupings attempting to carve out living space at each other's expense. Under the domination of imperialism and the imposition of artificial borders, capitalist rule in the Near East has taken a particularly bloody and horrendous form. Israeli Jews murder Palestinian Arabs, Egyptian Muslims suppress Copts, Sunnis feud with Shi'ites and Maronite Christians in Lebanon, Alawites dominate everyone else in Syria, and everybody goes after the Kurds.

The only way out of the national and sectarian fratricide which has wracked the region—short of mutual annihila-

tion—lies through the revolutionary destruction of capitalism and the creation of a socialist federation of the Near East. And particularly from among the numerous oppressed minorities can come steered internationalist cadres of Bolshevik parties capable of leading the workers to power. In Iraq, it was precisely the Kurdish minority, as well as Christians and Jews, who made up the bulk of the Communist Party which was decimated by Saddam Hussein's bloody repression (using hit lists supplied by the CIA).

A defeat for U.S. imperialism will enfold the working people in the Near East to deal with their own despots and butchers, including in Iraq. Leaving

Reforge the Fourth International!

The American empire has embarked on a major war with its population divided and its economy bankrupt. The U.S. ruling class and its NATO allies are far from unanimous in supporting Bush's single-minded focus on the Persian Gulf, and if things bog down there the imperialist war front could crack. Many Democrats agree with European politicians who want to step up pressure on the Soviet Union as Gorbachev flails about trying to hold back secessionist forces in the Baltics. Columnist Anthony Lewis gripes that Bush is too "obsessed" by the Gulf War to "be forcefully protesting the repression in Lithuania and Latvia" (*New York Times*, 28 January).

The stage for the Persian Gulf War was set by the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the escalating crisis in the Soviet Union. No longer is the United States, the leading imperialist power, restrained by fear of what the response would be from Moscow. Rather than ushering in an era of international harmony, complete with the mythical "peace dividend" ballyhooed by liberals and social democrats who talked of "shifting priorities" from military to social expenditures, instead George Bush's "New World Order" is one in which the U.S. arrogates to itself the role of world policeman to impose its imperial interests.

The death agony of Stalinism has had another effect as well: the disarray among the "socialist" and "communist" leftists in the West, who are prostrate in the face of this bloody imperialist assault. Communism is supposed to be dead, and according to State Department "theoreticians" maybe history too, but that doesn't square very well with what's going on in the Persian Gulf. With the onset of the "first post-Cold War war," there has been a wave of antiwar unrest encompassing sections of the working

class from the very moment the shooting began and even before. This opens up tremendous possibilities for building an authentic communist vanguard.

At the outset of World War I, as well, there was a widespread sense that socialism had failed. The vote of the German Social Democracy on 4 August 1914 for war credits to the Kaiser's government registered the collapse of the Second International, as most of its national components became rabid "social-patriotic" flag-wavers for the war aims of their "own" bourgeoisies, and much of the "left" social democracy was paralyzed by "social-pacifist" politics. The resolutions of the Second International

for internationalist socialist action against war were revealed as so much worthless paper.

Among socialist opponents of the war, the left wing led by the Russian Bolsheviks called for a very different policy. Instead of appealing to the imperialists to make a robbers' peace, Lenin called on the workers to "turn the imperialist war into a civil war," to bring down the warring governments by socialist revolution. And so they did, in the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917. Key to the Bolshevik victory was their determined struggle to forge a new, genuinely revolutionary International. After Stalin's betrayal of the principles and program of the Communist International, the Bolshevik struggle was continued by Trotsky's fight for the Fourth International.

Today, America's rulers have gone all out to whip up a war fever, marshaling all the forces of Madison Avenue in the service of the Pentagon. This was epitomized by George Bush's message during half time of the Super Bowl football game, as 75,000 spectators held up cards forming a giant American flag. But this mood is transitory at best. In his "War and the Fourth International," Trotsky wrote:

"For a revolutionary party, the moment of declaration of war is especially critical. The bourgeois and social-patriotic press in an alliance with the radio and movies will pour out upon the toiling masses torrents of chauvinistic poison..."

"Even if at the beginning of a new war the true revolutionists should again find themselves in a small minority, we cannot doubt for a single moment that this time the shift of the masses to the road of revolution will occur much faster, more decisively and relentlessly than during the first imperialist war. A new wave of insurrections can and must become victorious in the whole capitalist world."

"It is indisputable at any rate that in our epoch only that organization that bases itself on international principles and enters into the ranks of the world party of the proletariat can root itself in the national soil. The struggle against war means now the struggle for the Fourth International!"

Today in countries around the world, the sections of the International Communist League fight to defeat the imperialist onslaught against the Iraqi people. For labor strikes against the war! Defeat U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq! ■



Maguire/Philadelphia Inquirer

U.S. imperialist rulers want to be cops of the world.

North Africa Seething Over Attack on Iraq

Almost two weeks of bombing of Baghdad and Basra by the imperialist war machine has sparked an outpouring of solidarity with Iraq among the Arab populations of North Africa and Egypt. The unrest provoked by the war threatens to blow apart the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq and could ultimately bring down the brittle pro-imperialist regimes of North Africa.

The widespread protests involve highly disparate forces. Pro-Iraq demonstrations, many of them led by Islamic fundamentalists, have swept Algeria and Tunisia. Doctors and nurses in Tunisia have offered their services in support of Iraq and have begun collecting blood. And in Morocco labor federations have called a general strike in solidarity with Iraq.

Across North Africa volunteers are enlisting to go fight on the side of Iraq. In Tunisia 3,000 have already signed up, according to the UGTT trade-union federation (*Le Monde*, 25 January). In Algeria several hundred youth presented themselves at the Iraqi embassy after the first day of bombing to volunteer for combat.

The *New York Times* (24 January) headlined that "In Egypt, Public Sentiment Is Shifting in Baghdad's Favor." The significance of this fact is not lost on the imperialists. With over 40,000 Egyptian troops under U.S. command in the Gulf, the Cairo regime is a key imperialist "asset" in the assault on Iraq. At the same time, the numerous Egyptian working class can be an important force for socialist revolution in the Near East.

Two days later the *Times* (26 January) noted that "Pro-Iraq Sentiment Is Increasing in North Africa" as well: "A major reason most Tunisians, Algerians and Moroccans back Mr. Hussein is they see him as their brother in fighting against the rich. The masses of people have few kind words for Kuwait and were not sad that Iraq gobbled it up."

The impact of the imperialist war on Iraq is reverberating through the region, sparking mass unrest that with Trotskyist leadership could point to workers revolution. A North African comrade in Paris compiled the following report:

Egypt

In a communiqué published on January 23, the Muslim Brotherhood demanded the withdrawal of Egyptian forces from the Gulf, while the main opposition party, the (Arab nationalist) Progressive Unionist Rally (PPU), published a call on January 21 in which it merely called on the Egyptian forces to respect the objective which they had set for themselves, namely defending Saudi Arabia against

all foreign aggression. Several professional associations (associations of doctors, nurses, engineers, etc.) and dozens of intellectuals have condemned the U.S.-Western aggression and expressed their support to the Iraqi people.

The Tunisian newspaper *As Sahbah* (24 January) reports that, according to the Egyptian newspaper *Al Ahali* (organ of the PPU), "thousands of Egyptians are volunteering for the Iraqi army." It adds that "many Egyptians have refused to leave Iraq and have insisted on staying." The Egyptian information agency reports that the Ministry of National Edu-

blood collection drive for Iraq. The strike is to coincide with the call of the opposition parties for a day of fasting in all North African countries on January 28. They also called for the withdrawal of all Arab and Islamic troops in order to avoid spilling Arab and Islamic blood.

The editorial in *Al Bayane* (organ of the PPS, the Moroccan Stalinists) of 24 January is headlined "To Save the Peace." The PPS has a classical pacifist line. Thus, it supports the demand of the North African governments for a special session of the UN Security Council to re-establish peace in the Near East.



Bush's war unleashes protest across North Africa. Above, Islamic fundamentalist demonstration in Algiers.

cation has decided to extend school and university vacations until February 2, presumably out of fear of student demonstrations for Iraq.

Morocco

With the launching of the Gulf War, "Our Friend the King" (title of a recent biography of King Hassan II by Gilles Perrault) threatened that if matters seemed to be getting out of hand he would declare a state of siege. He retreated afterwards, granting legal organizations the right to demonstrate on condition that each organization demonstrate in a different city from the others.

According to a 25 January dispatch from France-Infos, the three Moroccan trade-union federations (UMT, CDT, UGTM) have called a general strike for January 28 in solidarity with the Iraqi people.

The CDT and UGTM submitted a request for an authorization to demonstrate in 13 cities to support the Iraqi people. Furthermore, they called for a

Under the headline "National Consensus to Condemn the Imperialist Attack and an Immediate End to the Aggression Against Iraq," *Al Bayane* reports that "the opposition [Stalinists, social democrats and nationalists of the Istiqlal] demands the withdrawal of Moroccan troops (1,500 men) stationed in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, to permit the Moroccan people to express its fervent pan-Arab sentiments, to mobilize the Moroccan people to support and stand with the Iraqi people...and to express its joy at the victories of the Iraqi army on the field."

The youth of the various opposition parties called for a demonstration on Saturday, January 26 in the capital of Rabat under the slogan, "Demand a Halt to the Gulf War, For a Peaceful Solution in the Region."

At the same time sentences are continuing to be handed down as a result of the riots which took place following the general strike of last December 14. That strike against the government's austerity policy and for an increase in the minimum wage touched off a spontaneous explosion by the plebeian poor in which banks, luxury hotels, jewelers and fashionable boutiques were attacked. Scores were killed and over 200 remain in jail.

On January 23, the appeals court of Fes handed down sentences ranging up to ten years in prison in the trial of 37 people, among them 26 students. In Meknes ten others received up to five years in prison.

Tunisia

Demonstrations were held throughout Tunisia in support of Iraq. Tens of thousands chant "Mitterrand, assassin!" and "Saddam, we will sacrifice ourselves for you!" The position of the government points toward an initiative to cease hostilities and resolve the conflict through negotiations. As for the formerly pro-Saudi fundamentalists, they for the first

time broke their silence by demonstrating in support of Iraq.

Obviously, the government, the ruling party (the Constitutional Democratic Rally (RCD)), the opposition parties and the UGTT trade-union federation are taking the easy road of collecting blood for the Iraqis. The Tunisian newspaper *Al Sahbah* reports on a demonstration, in the city of Kaf, of 50 children between the ages of three and five shouting pro-Iraqi and pro-Saddam Hussein slogans.

According to *Le Monde*, the RCD "has been able to channel the popular movements in favor of Iraq which have unfurled across the country without incident." The speech of Prime Minister Ahmed Karoui on January 23 sharply denounced the destruction of Iraq's capabilities by the forces of the imperialist coalition, without naming any of them. He proclaimed Tunisian solidarity with the Iraqi people as well as with the Kuwaiti people, without ever mentioning Saddam Hussein.

Algeria

Algeria has seen the largest and most massive demonstrations, organized separately by the secular parties and by the Islamic fundamentalists of the FIS. Following Friday prayers on January 18, "More than 100,000 Algerian demonstrators cheer the fiery fundamentalist preacher, Ali Ben Hadj, as he parades, dressed in army fatigues, on a jeep through Algiers," reports the *Financial Times* (23 January). Women carry signs proclaiming, "We will sacrifice our souls and blood for Islam."

No longer singing the praises of Saudi Arabia, the FIS appears entirely devoted to Saddam Hussein and doesn't miss an opportunity to insult, at each demonstration, the Saudi monarch. The FIS has called on Algerians to volunteer for military action in Iraq, and demanded of the authorities that they open training camps. The response of the ruling FLN was not long in coming. According to *Le Monde*, at a January 22 press conference, a government spokesman spoke sarcastically of those who want Algeria to send military reinforcements to Iraq while it "has not even been capable of transporting to Iraq a shipload of wheat." He was referring to the "peace ship" sent by Algerian women's organizations which was stopped by the U.S. Navy in the Gulf.

As for President Benjedid Chadli, in a speech on January 23 he accused the fundamentalists of trying to "outbid" others with "demagoguery." Benjedid avoided bringing up Algeria's official position of condemning the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq. He called on the population to solidarize with the state and not to wash their dirty linen in public. At the same time, in the event that the Algerians got out of hand, the government just bought from Mercedes-Benz anti-riot vehicles and equipment.

Today, Arab nationalists and Islamic fundamentalists are in the forefront of protests against the U.S.-led attack on Iraq. Should they come to power, such forces will inevitably turn on the masses in order to consolidate a new capitalist regime, as occurred in Khomeini's Iran. But should the war drag on, the potential for serious anti-imperialist struggles in the region will grow enormously, and with it the possibilities for intervention by proletarian-internationalist forces.

The former subjects of French colonialism also form a human bridge to the imperialist metropole, where North African workers are in key industrial locations. Moroccan workers have represented a large segment of coal miners in northern France and took the lead in auto workers strikes of the early 1980s. Today, second-generation immigrant North African youth (*beurs*) have played a leading role in the student struggles which have swept France, while confronting racist cop terror in the ghettos.

From one end of the Mediterranean to the other, the key is to forge a Trotskyist vanguard. ■

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Weak Link in Imperialist War Coalition

Workers' Struggles Rock Turkey

American F-15 fighter-bombers taking off with their payloads of death daily shake the ground around Turkey's Incirlik air base. But what is rocking this front line NATO state even more is an upsurge of working-class struggle and antiwar protest. On January 3, two million workers walked out in a one-day general strike which shut down all major cities. The next day, striking miners and their supporters began a march on the capital of Ankara from the Black Sea town of Zonguldak.

The current strike wave, which rapidly spread from the Zonguldak mines to private-sector metal workers and the textile and paper industries, is the most widespread since before the 1980 military coup. The London *Independent* (7 January) noted: "What is especially worrying for the government is the way labour protests are becoming mixed with anti-war sentiment." The explosion of popularly supported class struggle against the repressive Turgut Özal regime threatens to pierce Washington's fragile war "coalition" against Iraq and trigger a wave of social struggles throughout the region.

Özal's decision to turn the country into a staging area for Washington's war on neighboring Iraq is universally unpopular, even within the top echelons of the military. Last month the head of the army resigned in opposition to the government's war policy. A recent poll shows that *nine out of ten* people oppose Turkish involvement in the war. On the eve of the U.S. bombing of Baghdad, the liberal Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) pulled 20,000 people to a "No to War" rally in Istanbul. Transport workers in Istanbul staged a hunger strike to protest the war and support the miners.

Bombs have ripped through the headquarters of Özal's Motherland Party in Ankara and the U.S. Logistics Organization Group complex in Maslak. The guerrillaist Dev Sol took responsibility, saying this was "a warning to the annex-

bonapartist dictatorship has brought Turkey to the boiling point. The spearhead of the current upsurge of labor and antiwar protests is the militant two-month-old strike by Zonguldak coal miners demanding a 450 percent wage increase to make up for the ravages of a 70 percent inflation rate (see "Heroic Coal Miners Strike Shakes Turkey," *WV* No. 517, 4 January). Inspired by the heroic miners, large sections of the Turkish and Kurdish working class responded to the January 3 general strike call by the Türk-İş trade-union confederation. University students boycotted classes in solidarity and in many large towns shopkeepers shut down as well.

But the cringing union leadership called on workers to stay home and not show their power on the streets. Defying the Türk-İş tops, the Zonguldak miners launched their dramatic march on the capital and the presidential residence at Çankaya. When the government prevent-

police harricade several miles out of Zonguldak, the marchers refused to turn back, until finally the barricades were removed. "No to war," they chanted, "Let there be no wars, let no human being die!" (*Günaydin*, 6 January).

While the Türk-İş leadership opposed the "Miners Convoy," many unions sent solidarity delegations. Even Islamic groups and parliamentarians from the liberal SHP turned up to express support. The opposition parties are fearful that government intransigence could provoke an even wider upsurge. Quoting the SHP leader, one newspaper ran the headline, "Government Is Facing a Civil War." The government surrounded Ankara with police roadblocks; Çankaya started to look like it was under siege. Newspaper photo captions reported: "Huge demonstration in Zonguldak...tense waiting in Ankara" and "Workers on the road, state security on its feet."

On January 6, police confronted the marchers with water cannon and bulldozers. More than 200 miners were hauled off by the cops. Two days later, as the confrontation between the militant marchers and the state continued to intensify, Miners Union (Genel Maden-İş) leader Şemsî Denizer acquiesced to Türk-İş pressure and "suspended" the march. Miners' wives wept openly as the marchers were corralled onto buses to take them back to Zonguldak. Fearful of upsetting the anti-Özal bourgeois opposition, Denizer is now ordering the powerful miners to sit on their hands until "the end of this war" (*Hürriyet*, 26 January).

Bring Down Özal with Workers Revolution!

Defending workers' rights in the face of the Özal government's pro-imperialist war mobilization requires a sharp break with the popular-frontist politics which have plagued the Turkish left and unions. Those fake-leftists who label the reactionary Özal regime as "fascist" do so in order to hold the door open to a bloc with the bourgeois "democratic"—or even Islamic fundamentalist—opposition. And from the SHP's Erdal İnönü to veteran rightist warhorse Süleyman Demirel, the capitalist politicians are eagerly offering their services to head off the burgeoning workers' upsurge.

In calling off the miners' march, Denizer announced: "Our workers made their voice heard in the world. You have been registered in history." But the miners have not fought so valiantly to make their "voice heard" for the purpose of

maintaining the rule of their class enemies under a more "democratic" guise. At the head of their march, the miners carried a portrait of Kemal Atatürk, the bourgeois-nationalist modernizer who founded the Turkish republic. Yet 70 years later, Turkey is under the military thumb of the U.S., economically beholden to German imperialism and suffocating in religious obscurantism, while the Turkish ruling class savagely denies over ten million Kurds of eastern Anatolia their national rights.

Turkey provides a stark example for the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution: only through the proletariat—led by an authentically Bolshevik party—taking power at the head of all the oppressed can the democratic and national tasks facing this backward country be accomplished. Yet from the United Communist Party (a fusion of the former TKP and Workers Party) and Socialist Party to various "Marxist-Leninist" nationalist guerrillaist groups, the large Turkish left is dominated by the Stalinist program of the "popular front" with one or another sector of the bourgeoisie.

The Özal regime dreams of occupying the oil-rich areas of Mosul and Kirkuk in northern Iraq. This would pit Turkey not only against Iraq but against Syria and Iran as well. The Iranian foreign minister warned that "a possible attack by Turkey on Iraq will mean war with Iran." As part of the preparations for war, brutal terror in Turkish Kurdistan has dramatically increased in the last few months. The *Voice of Kurdistan* (January 1991) reports:

"Since July the Turkish army in Kurdistan has been in continuous operation...whole villages are being depopulated and razed to the ground.... Entire groups

continued on page 15



Turkish miners' march on Ankara was met by water cannon and bulldozers.



Women at forefront of Zonguldak strikers' march on capital carry portrait of Kemal Atatürk, founder of Turkish republic.

ationist policies of American imperialism in the Middle East and their collaborators." While cops round up people even for putting up antiwar posters, student protesters have met police onslaughts with sticks and stones. On January 25, Turkey was swept by antiwar protests which burned American and Israeli flags. In Tatvan, where demonstrators chanted "Down with Özal" and "Freedom for Kurdistan," one protester was shot dead by the police; many more were injured and well over a hundred arrested.

"The Workers Will March, Çankaya Will Shake!"

Ten years of murderous repression and savage austerity under the pro-NATO

ed buses rented by the union from entering Zonguldak, the miners shouted: "We can walk not 300 kilometers but even 500 kilometers. Nobody can stop us on our path" (*Hürriyet*, 6 January). With women in the forefront, 60,000 miners and their families set off. The town reverberated with chants of "The workers will march, Çankaya will shake!"

Workers from other areas who had been kept out of Zonguldak by the cops waited in nearby villages for the miners to pass. The march soon swelled to over 100,000—a column stretching eight kilometers down the road. When the workers passed a prison, they were applauded by prisoners chanting, "For general amnesty! Empty the dungeons!" Encountering a

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Christopher Morris

Dejong/AP

Bogged down in the Persian Gulf: U.S. air war can't win the war, so Pentagon will unleash bloody slaughter on the ground, using soldiers as cannon fodder.

Next: Ground War Bloodbath

The Pentagon-sanitized media is feeding America images of a bloodless high-tech war in which Iraq is supposedly being "taken out" at the push of a button. Videos from attacking U.S. planes, displayed at press briefings by strutting Air Force brass, show laser-guided bombs homing in with pinpoint precision on supposed weapons storage warehouses, air base runways and a high-rise tower in Baghdad. The viewing audience at home could groove on the first TV war in (almost) real time. A Tom Clancy techno-thriller on your screen: you too can be Top Gun!

- **Tomahawk cruise missiles:** some 200 were launched in the first two days alone from Navy ships in the Gulf to wipe out Iraqi "command and control" centers, antiaircraft defenses and other fixed targets. At a cool \$1.3 million a pop, the Tomahawk finds its preselected long-distance target by following a terrain map stored in its computer.

- **F-117A:** the top secret "stealth" fighter also reportedly played a key role in the initial attack, sneaking past Iraqi radar to drop laser-guided munitions.

- **Patriot anti-missile missiles:** the media proclaimed this the first "hero" of the Gulf War, shooting down Iraqi "Scud" missiles at \$700,000 per shot, and pushing up the stock price of its manufacturer, Raytheon.

In short, the vaunted "state-of-the-art leading edge" of the Reagan-Bush three-trillion-dollar arsenal designed and built in the '80s to obliterate the Soviet Union was thrown at the Third World country of Iraq. But the technocratic triumphalism which pumped up Washington in the first days of the war is just a cover for old-fashioned mass murder.

Democratic Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Armed Services Committee and now a backer of Bush's war, announced that "this is a new era of warfare." Reporters were impressed by the Pentagon's meaningless statistics about their bombing runs being "80 percent effective." Nobody asked what "effective" meant, until Scud missiles started raining down on Tel Aviv. To be sure, some of the video footage showed impressive technology which does work under certain circumstances, namely that there are no high-tech countermeasures taken by the "enemy." But some returning pilots reported Iraqi antiaircraft fire became more intense as the week wore on.

General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was forced to confess that "it is taking more of an effort on our part to go after those Scuds than we had anticipated." But so far to no avail. Evidently there's more to war than

Pentagon Boasts Over High-Tech Air War

pushing a few buttons, as Washington is now rediscovering to its horror. Lieutenant General Thomas Kelly, director of operations for the Joint Chiefs, disparaged the Scud threat early on, claiming the Iraqis had only about 50 launchers and suggesting that a large portion had been "neutralized." But over the next days, every time a Scud came down on Israel and Saudi Arabia, the Pentagon's "estimates" of the size of the Iraqi rocket arsenal went up.

The initially "decimated" Republican Guard turned out to be hardly touched; the Iraqi Air Force, which in initial briefings was declared wiped out, then 50 percent destroyed, turned out to be hardly dented (45 planes "killed" out of 700-plus). It was all eerily reminiscent of

American war machine, its high-tech air power, and get blown away in the process since Iraq can't match it. Iraq may have a one-time-use air force, but clearly Hussein is not so stupid as to throw it away without purpose. It's become obvious that Hussein has done the only sane thing a commander could do in his situation: hunker down and wait for the opportunity to hit the enemy at his weak points, namely on the ground. And in the meantime he can fire off Scuds, forcing the U.S. to devote a lot of its sorties to tracking down launchers (and to use up its limited supply of Patriot missiles).

Revisiting Vietnam

"When you go to war, you're going to war all the way," is the summary

attacks alone dropped an astounding 18,000 tons of bombs (London *Independent*, 19 January). This is far more than the 13,000 tons dropped during the entire eleven-day "Linebacker II" B-52 bombing of Hanoi-Haiphong in December 1972 which marked the peak of bombing in that war. Needless to say, bombing on such a scale cannot possibly be "surgical."

Ironically, instead of learning anything from Vietnam the U.S. imperialists have magnified their own blind faith in technology as a substitute for an army with the will to fight, a blindness which was their downfall. One is reminded of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and his Pentagon "whiz kids" confidently predicting they could crush the Vietnamese with fancy gizmos (such as electronic sensors along the Ho Chi Minh trail). The B-52 carpetbombing didn't destroy Vietnam's will to resist or its military capacity to fight, and the current attempts to obliterate the Iraqis' elite Republican Guard from the air will also come to naught.

The fat-headed military would like to think that now they have a completely "free hand," but since war is, as Clausewitz noted, the continuation of politics by other means, there are real restrictions on their options. If the U.S. had unlimited time, for instance, perhaps they could "prevail" over Iraq solely by air bombardment, since Baghdad has no sources of resupply. But the fragile "coalition" cobbled together by Bush and Baker threatens to unravel each day this war drags on, particularly as Israel is drawn in and as the Muslim holy month of Ramadan draws closer.

The approach of hot desert weather in a few months adds to the time pressure. If it took, say, several months and thousands of American lives to beat Hussein, such a "victory" would be a political defeat for Bush. So there is a time limit on the air campaign, after which Bush will have to try to end the war quickly by sending in the ground forces. Already the White House has activated the "euphoria patrol" to prepare Americans for a "long" war lasting "months," culminating in a "bloody land campaign" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 24 January).

It's the ground war the Pentagon dreads because that plays to Iraq's strength: a well-armored and battle-hardened army dug in in Kuwait. "It's

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Imperial War Museum

World War I: Battle of the Somme, July 1916. British commanders tried to smash German lines with massive artillery bombardment before assault. But Germans were dug in 30 feet deep. Result: 60,000 British casualties, 20,000 dead in one hour.

Vietnam, where cocky Air Force boasts of targets destroyed were quickly deflated when subsequent photos showed the strangely "resourceful" enemy had not given up but instead had, for instance, built a makeshift replacement bridge. The arrogant imperialists never credit the enemy with brains, let alone determination.

It seems the U.S. was expecting Saddam Hussein to send out his forces to challenge the strongest element of the

"lesson" of Vietnam as stated by General Norman Schwarzkopf (London *Guardian*, 7 January), a veteran of that war and now commander of U.S. forces in the Gulf. And so the Pentagon brass have vowed that this time around there would be no "gradualism."

The U.S. and its allies' warplanes have launched some 2,000 sorties a day against Iraq, double the rate of the heaviest nighttime 1,000-bomber raids on Germany in late 1944. The first day's

Toronto Protesters Say: Defend the Palestinians!

TORONTO—As soon as news broke of the U.S. attack on Iraq, antiwar protests have swept across Canada. Late on the evening of January 16, over 1,000 demonstrators gathered at the U.S. consulate in Toronto. The CBC national news reported that the Trotskyists were calling to "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Attack!" The second half of the Trotskyist League banner read, "Defeat U.S./Canadian Imperialism!" The Canadian junior partners of U.S. imperialism have supported the war to the hilt, sending troops, ships and CF-18 fighters to the Gulf.

In a demonstration the following day, 3,000 antiwar protesters met at the U.S. consulate and marched on Conservative Party headquarters. Demo organizers tried to drown out our comrades' "Defend Iraq" chants, but demonstrators snatched up hundreds of copies of *Spartacist Canada* and *Workers Vanguard*. Linda Torney, president of the Metro Toronto Labour Council, called on workers to mobilize in the streets against this "war to defend capitalist interests." But last month the Labour Council, after a sharp debate, moved to support the UN sanctions which are the cover for the invasion. After Torney's speech, TL supporters chanted for "labor strikes against the war," which was widely picked up.

The protests grew on January 19, when 5,000 marched again in Toronto. Among the protesters were many Palestinian, Iraqi and other Arab militants with flags and placards denouncing the imperialist war and Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. While demo organ-

izers tried to restrict chants to "Troops out" and "No blood for oil," a contingent from the Trotskyist League joined with Arab militants and others to demand "U.S./Canada, Hands off Iraq!"

As marchers rallied at the U.S. consulate, TL spokesmen addressed a section of the march numbering 1,000 with speeches calling for defense of Iraq and defeat of imperialism. Yossi Schwartz, who left the Canadian CP last fall for the TL, emphasized the need to defend the Palestinian people against the Zionist terrorists, and the crowd took up the chant, "Israel out of the Occupied Ter-

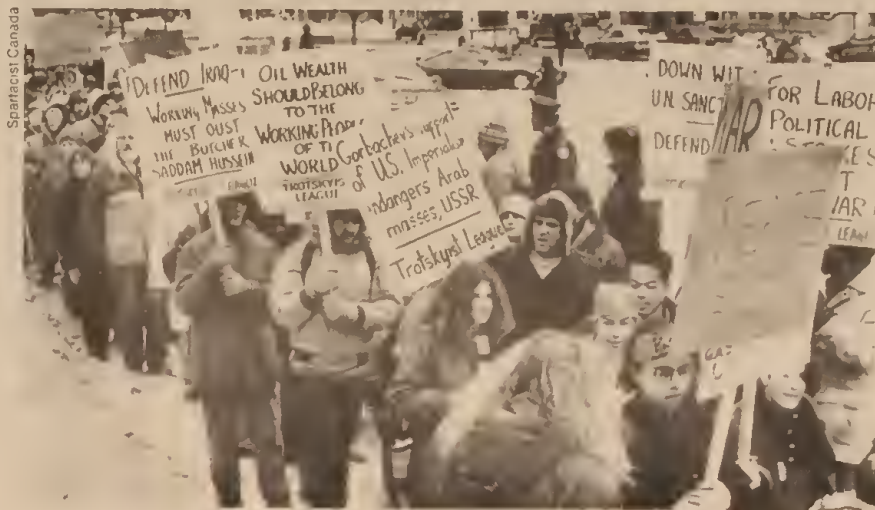
ritories—Defend the Palestinians!" A Mohawk woman took the bullhorn to speak about the Canadian state's armed assault on Native Indian people last summer.

Rallies continued across Canada on January 26, with protests from Montreal to Edmonton and Vancouver. In Montreal, in the biggest rally so far, 15,000 chanted "*Pas de guerre pour le fédéral*" (No war for the federal government). Many union banners and placards were present. In Edmonton, when New Democratic Party speaker Svend Robinson made a pitch for sanctions, the Trotskyist

League comrades chanted, "Pro-sanctions is pro-war—Break with the pro-imperialist NDP." On the coast, there was a family reunion of social democrats in Vancouver, as the reformist left hid themselves in an orgy of pleas to "get Canada back to the peacekeeper role"—like when Canadian troops helped slaughter three million in Korea!

From "support our troops" to "let sanctions do the job," the social democrats of the NDP and the labor bureaucracy stand ready to throttle working-class opposition to this war. In contrast, the Trotskyist League fights to mobilize labor's power in strike action, for the working class to do its duty to aid in the defeat of North American imperialism. At the January 19 Toronto rally, the closing Trotskyist League speaker linked the capitalists' war at home against Native Indians, workers, immigrants and all oppressed to their bloody war abroad against the Iraqi people. ■

Toronto, January 17—Trotskyist League marches outside U.S. consulate for defense of Iraq and defeat of U.S./Canadian imperialism.



Europe...

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the Gulf," but also (vainly) chanted "*Spartaco* out of the march." They showed that the kind of strike that they support is one where the reformists seek to impose on the working class the social-pacifist chains that would bind them to their "own" bourgeoisie.

Despite the trade-union bureaucracy's sabotage, small sectors of militant workers continue to fight for strikes against the war. Numerous factory councils, like

Ansaldo di Milano, have made clear that they will continue to pressure the union tops to call for a general strike. But the latter have sworn their fealty to Italian capitalism, and the real line of the Communist Party (soon to be "Democratic Party of the Left"), although it formally came out against the war, is to "give sanctions a chance." As PCI leader Occhetto said in parliament, to "reinforce the embargo and the international isolation of Iraq" (*L'Unità*, 17 January).

The Catholic church has played a leading role in opposition to the war and has been pushing a position ("war is an

adventure with no return," as the Pope said) which has been embraced by the PCI in its bid to give concrete expression to a popular-frontist social-chauvinist resolution to the Gulf War.

PSI (Socialist) leader Craxi has gone to great lengths insisting on the necessity of the attack. The Italian bourgeoisie would have preferred a "short war," limiting wider commitments. Italy's intervention is limited, in line not only with the desires of U.S. imperialism but also with the limited aims of the Italian bourgeoisie.

Confindustria (the industrialists' association) came out clearly for the intervention and went after the PCI over its call for the troops out. However, the pro-war coalition is extremely fragile and under much pressure. The Milano city council last night tried to pass a motion of support to the government on the Gulf. To everyone's surprise, the motion was voted down and the Socialists are particularly sore about this.

France: Marchers Defy Demo Ban, Chant "Mitterrand Assassin!"

PARIS, January 28—This is a very unpopular war, at least it was before it started. Hundreds of thousands of people marched in nearly all major cities on January 12. In factories around the country, working-class opposition to the war is apparent. Also on the 12th, rail workers in Chantilly, where mass pickets stopped the "bullet trains" during the '86 transport strike, stopped an American arms transport bound for the Gulf from Germany via Italy. On the 13th, the national CGT confederation circulated an order to all union locals to organize 15-minute strikes to "win the peace."

Attempting to line up the workers behind "His Majesty" Mitterrand's flurry of last-minute diplomatic activity (i.e., to get Saddam to capitulate), the CGT called for this strike time to be used to

send "peace dove" postcards to the president and to sign petitions begging deputies to vote against the war on January 17. In the end a handful of PS (Socialist) deputies voted with the Communist Party (PCF), the fascists and de Gaulle's son and grandson against French participation in the war. They were censured but not expelled, for even Mitterrand's war minister Chevènement is under fire for his lukewarm attitude toward the war.

When the bombing started, tens of thousands took to the streets Thursday and Friday nights, defying a government ban on demonstrations. In the face of a massive cop presence, machine guns at the ready, chants included "Mitterrand Assassin!" and "CRS [riot police] to Kuwait." The leadership was the "Appeal of the 75" marching behind a banner saying, "No to War," which on Friday became "Stop the War." The PCF, LCR (supporters of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International"), SOS-Racisme and Greens are prominent, as well as many *beurs* (second-generation immigrants from North Africa).

The LCR whimpered, "Mitterrand, you didn't get elected to make war." In fact, the "Socialist" president was elected, with the "critical" support of the pseudo-Trotskyist LCR, on a program of unambiguous backing for NATO. On the left, only our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France can say that they never called to vote for Algerian war criminal Mitterrand or his popular front!

On the 12th, contingents of passing Palestinians cheered as they passed the LTF's banner calling for defense of Iraq and defeat of imperialism, prominently placed on an elevated sidewalk two meters above the march. They punctuated the air with the *Intifada*'s V-for-victory sign and snapped up copies of *Le Bolchévique*. In Rouen, 30 people marched behind the LTF's banner, including CGT members and high school students.

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International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Correspondence for	Address to
Spartacist League of Australia	Spartacist League, GPO Box 3473 Sydney, NSW, 2001, Australia
Spartacist League/Britain	Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041 London NW5 3EU, England
Trotskyist League of Canada	Trotskyist League, Box 7198, Station A Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8, Canada
Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands	SpAD, Postfach 2002 O-1026 Berlin, Germany Verlag Avantgarde, Postfach 11 02 31 2000 Hamburg 11, Germany
Ligue Trotskyiste de France	Le Bolchévique, BP 135-10 75463 Paris Cedex 10, France
Spartacist Group India/Lanka	write to Spartacist, New York
Dublin Spartacist Youth Group	PO Box 2944, Dublin 1 Republic of Ireland
Lega Trotskista d'Italia	Walter Fradacaro C P 1591, 20101 Milano, Italy
Spartacist Group Japan	Spartacist Group Japan PO Box 18, Chitose-Yubinkyoku Setagaya-ku, Tokyo 156, Japan
Grupo Espartaquista da México	P Linares, Apdo Postal 453 06002, México 1, D F, Mexico
Spartakusowska Grupa Polski	A J, SKR 741 50-950 Wrocław 2, Poland
Spartacist League/U.S.	Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116, USA

Europe...

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North African workers and youth in France were initially dazed with anguish, as the bombing raids relentlessly rained down destruction on the Arab population in Baghdad, and the imperialist propaganda machine spewed out the lie that Saddam had been KOed without resistance. The next day they breathed a sigh of relief when the Iraqi Scuds exploded the premature triumphalism of the racist imperialists.

The working-class population of North African origin has been targeted as a potential "fifth column" in the government's "anti-terrorist" campaign: post office workers are requisitioned into security crews to make rounds and check the wastebaskets for bombs. TV shots show the Champs-Élysées at night looking like a glittery ghost town. The press played up a run on gun shops in the south, making it seem like the entire population was arming for imminent pogroms.

The *beur* youth, for the most part French citizens, have come to identify with the Palestinian *Intifada* and now Iraq, as their future looks increasingly hopeless here. "Radio Beur" in Paris is receiving more than 1,500 phone calls an hour against the war. The bombing of Israel sharpened the polarization in this country, especially on the campuses. Four Zionist leaders of SOS-Racisme immediately resigned from that organization when it participated in the antiwar demo Friday night.

It is a truly unholy alliance that leads the peace movement—the Communist Party/CGT and the virulently Russia-hating social democrats of Pierre Lambert's pseudo-Trotskyist PCI. Denis Langlois, the PCI-influenced head of the "Appeal of the 75," calls for a general strike against the war, while looking to the CIA-aided FO and Mitterrand-supporting CPDT labor federations to implement it. Now an assembly of the "Appeal" is scheduled to debate what position to take on Iraq: an LCR spokesman is quoted as saying, "If we discuss that, the movement will split" (*Libération*, 28 January).

Squabbles in the "peace movement" reflect dissension in the French bourgeoisie, graphically shown in the zigzag policies of its governmental executive arm. For "negotiations" before the shooting started, Mitterrand now wants to show his military mettle, by turning over command of the French forces to the Americans. (So much for France's vaunted "operational autonomy" in NATO!)



Berlin protesters say, "No Blood For Oil—Soldiers, Desert!"

But these disagreements are simply over how best to defend the Near Eastern and North African interests of this second-rate imperialist power, whose principal exports are cognac and Exocets. The PCF leadership's "antiwar" line waving the French Tricolor is chauvinist poison, which plays into the hands of Le Pen's fascists.

Now Mitterrand's police have banned three pro-Iraq Arab-language newspapers, on the grounds that in the present context they could "provoke disturbances of public order." And they are threatening to prosecute Gilles Perrault, the author of *The Red Orchestra* and a prominent opponent of French colonialism's dirty war in Algeria, for his call on French soldiers to desert over the Gulf War.

The Algerian War brought France to the brink of a civil war, and mobilizations for solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution were what sparked the movement that led to the barricades and the prerevolutionary general strike of 1968. Where the PCI marches today with signs saying, "No to War" and "No More Vietnams," the Ligue Trotskyiste says war is the mother of revolution and proclaims: "Vietnam Was a Victory!"

Germany: Bourgeoisie Looks East to Baltics, Not South to Gulf

BERLIN, January 28—The biggest demonstrations in Europe against the Near East war have been in Germany: over 200,000 in Bonn yesterday, 150,000 in Berlin and tens of thousands more in Hamburg and elsewhere. This is no accident, for the German bourgeoisie sees the Gulf War to the south as at best a diversion from its real interests to the east,

where it is aiming at the dismantling of the Soviet Union. "Unity chancellor" Kohl certainly intends to be in on the division of the spoils if Iraq is defeated. But if Washington has a hard time overcoming the "Vietnam syndrome," German imperialism has an ever bigger problem with what might be called the "Second World War syndrome."

The concerns of the German capitalist ruling class are refracted through the petty-bourgeois, German nationalist peace movement and trade-union bureaucracy. On the eve of D-Day for the U.S./UN *Diktat* to Iraq, the DGB labor federation called for pacifist demonstrations, which targeted Saddam Hussein as the "guilty party." Now scruffy, purple-haired Autonomen could unite with union bureaucrats in three-piece suits, sitting in at the entrances of arms manufacturers said to be breaking the blockade of Iraq. The DGB and the powerful IG-Metall union also called for "five minutes of silence" work stoppages. As the Spartacist Workers Party (SpAD) declaration on the war noted, "the bureaucrats will use any excuse to silence the working class."

However, the response to this tokenistic call has sometimes been more than the bureaucrats bargained for. The German working class has no interest in the imperialists' war aims in the Near East or East Europe. In the SPD stronghold of Düsseldorf, 80,000 workers followed the DGB call for a five-minute antiwar stoppage on the 16th. The day before, 150 apprentices at Daimler-Benz in Stuttgart and 400 workers at Bosch-Leinfelden south of Stuttgart staged 30-minute work stoppages. In Hamburg, work stoppages included the subway, buses, half the

harbor and a section of the airport. Social Democrat (SPD) and Green-led teachers unions have organized student "strikes" and mass student demonstrations, but they feature school principals or the state education minister as the main speaker!

At a Gulf "peace" demonstration on January 12, a group of Autonomen punks tore down the SpAD banner declaring "Defend Iraq! For the Defeat of USA/NATO Imperialism!" These anarcho-chauvinists place themselves in the service of Greater Germany no less than do the Nazi skinhead terrorists who have been rampaging in the former East Germany. But at the same time that union bureaucrats, social democrats and Green peaceniks wrap themselves in the black-red-and-gold German flag, there are many others who look to the red flag of socialism. On January 13, well over 100,000 came out to demonstrate on the anniversary of the assassination of Communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. This year like last, the SpAD commemorated the Three L's (including Lenin!), laying a wreath and soapboxing under our banners. Over 1,400 issues of *Spartakist* were sold.

Now that the U.S. is using Turkey as an aircraft carrier for bombing missions against northern Iraq, Germany may be directly drawn into the war. NATO secretary general Wörner declared that if Iraq defends itself from U.S./Turkish attacks, it would be an attack on the entire alliance, compelling all NATO members to respond. Kohl wants to use this war to eliminate the clause from the constitution that constrains the use of German armed forces outside of the NATO theater. But actually sending the Bundeswehr into Iraq is another matter—it could be bad for business in the region and elsewhere.

The *Financial Times* (22 January) reported that "Germans are paying relatively more attention to the Soviet crisis than other Europeans." Here, too, the Social Democrat-led DGB is in the forefront of German imperialist *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy). Their call for antiwar demonstrations on the 26th included: "Send our peace demand to the address of the Soviet Union, to Mikhail Gorbachev, to stop the military aggression in the Baltic." At the demonstration itself, the Social Democrats repeatedly warned against antiwar protests taking on "anti-American" tones. The Spartacist Workers Party, which uniquely opposed the West German annexation of the DDR (the East German bureaucratically deformed workers state) last year, has repeatedly warned that the SPD is a Trojan horse of counterrevolution.

Having turned the DDR over to the Frankfurt bankers in a "peaceful" counterrevolution, now Modrow, Gysi & Co. of the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor party to the former East German Stalinists) want to smooth German imperialism's *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East). On January 14, the PDS joined hands with the SPD, Greens and Christian Democrats in a "human chain" demonstration in Berlin that stretched from the American to the Soviet consulates, demanding "No force in Lithuania and the Gulf."

This extraparlimentary "Grand Coalition" obscenely equates Gorbachev's crackdown on Baltic counterrevolutionary secessionists inside the USSR with U.S. imperialism's campaign of mass murder against Iraq. (One day after the U.S. launched its bombs on Iraq, the PDS issued an unspeakably shameful leaflet stating that "24 hours are enough"! In the Bundestag PDS superstar Gysi said: "If Germany were neutral, the government could be a force for peace negotiations." No! "Neutral" or not, the Fourth Reich of German imperialism is a force for economic spoliation and war, no less than is the decaying American empire which seeks to hide its interests behind Hitlerite talk of a "new world order.")

The "human chain" demanded "Freedom for the Baltics" and "Red tanks out of Lithuania" and was followed by a

Australian Wharfies Walk Out

SYDNEY—Australia has three frigates stationed alongside the USS *Midway* in the Persian Gulf, clearly expressing the aspirations of the Hawke Labor government: to be deputy sheriff to U.S. cops of the world.

But the imperialist attack on Iraq has sparked work stoppages and protest marches in Australia. On January 18-19, some 70,000 people joined in marches around the country, including rallies of 20,000 in Melbourne and Sydney. Thousands more marched a week later. Protesters have been mostly young, with many students, pacifists, church groups, "greens" and feminists. There have been smaller contingents from unions such as the Miners and Building Workers, as well as Kurdish, Turkish and Arab groups.

When the U.S. bombing assault began, militant wharfies, members of the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF), walked off the job in Brisbane, Sydney and Port Kembla, shutting down the docks as they attended an antiwar rally and meetings. The Brisbane WWF sent

a resolution to their federal union and the Trades and Labour Council calling for a one-day national general strike. During the Vietnam War, maritime workers led the way in political strikes against the war.

After years of union-busting and Cold War reaction, working people are fed up with Hawke. But the popular-front protest coalitions, with their appeals to "Bring the Frigates Home" and "Sanctions Not War," seek to channel this anger into social-patriotic appeals and support for sanctions. Reformists like the anti-Soviet International Socialist Organization have disappeared their initial slogans for "Victory to Iraq" in order to build the "peace movement" around church leaders, politicians from the Australian Democrats (humble bourgeois liberals) and the Labor Party lefts.

More important than a few frigates in the Gulf are the U.S. bases in Australia, especially the spy satellite ground stations at Pine Gap and Nurrungur, crucial to the murderous bomb-

ing raids over Iraq. The government is trying to whip up hysteria over the supposed threat of "terrorism," while on the streets there has been a wave of racist attacks on Arab Australians. Fascist groups have also targeted Jewish schools, synagogues and even a Zionist meeting. Meanwhile, troops are readied for a "peacekeeping force" to subdue the rebellious island of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea, an Australian neocolony.

The Spartacist League/Australia has uniquely fought to defend Iraq, with contingents calling for labour political strikes against the war, and for the defeat of U.S. and Australian imperialism. Over 1,000 pieces of revolutionary literature have been sold in the past ten days. As a Spartacist speaker told the January 17 Melbourne rally: "The Labor Party is the party of capitalist war, depression and racism. The working class needs to break from Labor in order to unleash its enormous power. We need to build a revolutionary workers party."

vigil in front of the Soviet embassy that included Republikaner fascists! Indeed, when Reichs chancellor Kohl looks out over the Bundestag benches, from Right to Left, he can say like Kaiser Wilhelm at the outset of World War I: "I see no parties here, only Germans."

Ireland: Refuse to Handle U.S./NATO Warplanes at Shannon!

DUBLIN—The Dublin Spartacist Youth Group (DSYG) calls for trade-union action to "black" (boycott) refueling of military transport at Shannon International Airport, used by U.S. warplanes on their way to the Gulf. This is not an abstract demand. The Dublin Council of Trade Unions has recently appealed to trade unionists at Shannon to implement such action.

The Labour Party/Workers Party organizers of the Gulf peace committee, bogus "anti-imperialists" who support the presence of British troops in Northern Ireland, tried to silence the DSYG contingent in a Dublin antiwar demo on January 19. But sympathetic Republicans intervened in our defense. At the Dublin demo, Eamonn McCann (a supporter of Tony Cliff's British SWP) cynically devoted a substantial portion of his speech to "defeat of the West and victory for Iraq," whereas in November his group boycotted a Trinity College "Break the Blockade" action, initiated by the DSYG, because it took a side against imperialism.

Britain: Labour Lackeys of Bush's War

LONDON, January 22—The British have the largest component of imperialist forces in the Gulf after the Americans, so Neil Kinnock and the Labour Party and trade-union tops are marching in lockstep with the Tory government. As a result, since the bombing began in the Gulf antiwar demonstrations in England have been far smaller than those on the continent.

At a London demonstration of about 15,000 on January 19, called by Labour Left MP Tony Benn's "Stop the War" committee, there was little trade-union presence. However, there were substantial numbers of foreign workers, many of whom greeted with clenched fists the Spartacist League contingent marching under the banner "Defend Iraq! Defeat US/British Imperialism!" Much of our sales went to Irish, Asian, black and other minorities, whose families have experienced firsthand the savagery of British colonialism and imperialism, and some Asian workers joined our contingent. (In contrast to the SL's forthright stand, Workers Power and its bloc partners in the "Hands Off the Middle East" committee again carried no placards or banners calling for military victory to Iraq.)

On January 22, SL supporters participated in a lunchtime antiwar picket at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). The Ministry of Defense has declared SOAS a "soft target" for "terrorist attack," an excuse to intimidate and threaten students, many of whom are from the Near East. Already several dozen Iraqis and Palestinians in Britain have been jailed, many facing deportation. The SL says: "No deportations, no victimizations, no to internment!"

In Glasgow, Scotland on the 19th, SL supporters and sympathizers distributed a leaflet titled, "Spartacist Call for Defense of Iraq, Militant/CND Call the Cops." A Militant supporter who had sought to use the Glasgow police to exclude the Spartacist contingent is a NALGO (local government workers) official. As the leaflet, distributed to NALGO and other union contingents, noted: "It's not just the Spartacist League that's being set up here, at a time when the bourgeois state is gearing up an arsenal of repression, anti-red witchhunts and press censorship to regiment the population for a bloody, unpopular war." ■

Ground War...

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going to be a meat grinder," said retired Army Major General Stanley Connelly (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 January). Some computerized scenarios predict 45,000 casualties including 10,000 or more U.S. dead, and that's the conservative estimate. On the ground, U.S. military hardware is well matched by the Iraqis, and in some cases the Iraqis have the advantage, particularly with their long-range Soviet cannon and South African artillery, which have longer range than anything the U.S. Army has.

Many experts think the highly advertised M1-A1 tank may prove no match for the Iraqis' Soviet-made T-72, which "has a slightly larger main gun and can travel just as far...on half the amount of fuel" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 January). And U.S. air power may not be able to cover the ground troops because in that region the Iraqis have, according to Colonel Harry Summers, "one of the most extensive low-level air defense systems in the world" composed of thousands of anti-aircraft artillery machine guns and cannon (*Los Angeles Times*, 23 January).

So the Americans' high-tech in the air will be pushed to the background, and everything will depend on the foot soldier, as in all wars. Here the Iraqis have a tremendous advantage, as one Lebanese-born arms merchant familiar with their army remarked on *60 Minutes* (20 January): the American troops "have not seen blood yet," he noted, unlike the Iraqis who went through eight years of trench warfare during the Iran-Iraq War, losing a quarter million men. The first shock of a mass bloodying will likely magnify the dreaded "Vietnam syndrome."

The U.S. options on the ground are limited to "frontal attack, penetration and envelopment," as Colonel Summers puts it. But Iraqi defenses are formidable, including miles of minefields, ditches to trap tanks and other obstacles. Summers



F-117A "stealth" fighters. \$3-trillion "high-tech" arsenal built to obliterate Soviet Union now being battle-tested against Iraq.

suggests a penetration attack would be used, in which the attacking forces seek a weak point and "massive bombardment by air and artillery on a very narrow portion of the enemy lines opens gaps that armored units rapidly move through" (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 January). However, this would require U.S. forces to concentrate in a small area which could become a "killing zone" for Iraqi artillery.

And oil itself, the object of Bush's desire, has become a weapon of defense: the giant oil spill coming out of Kuwaiti pipelines into the Gulf will surely make an amphibious landing more difficult and threatens to cut off the U.S. troops' water supply by forcing the closure of desalination plants which supply 90 percent of fresh water to eastern Saudi Arabia. Some Kuwaiti oil wells have already been blown up, and if this is done on a large scale the smoke would no doubt obscure the battlefield for the American Air Force. In short, high-tech could be foiled by low-tech.

"After more than a week fighting a

relatively antiseptic air war," notes the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the U.S. now faces "an armored clash in the desert that many combat veterans and military analysts think will be gruesome and bloody and may drag on for months." This will collapse Bush's support in the polls and give him serious problems on the "home front." The world working class must stand in defense of Iraq: every day Baghdad holds out against the most deadly war machine on the planet brings closer the demise of a declining imperialism which threatens all humanity in its drive to declare itself the one Superpower on the planet.

Now that the war is not going according to plan, the Pentagon has added "non-lethal" gas to its "tool box" of weapons—in violation of Geneva conventions on chemical warfare. Polls are already asking Americans if they would accept the use of "tactical" nuclear weapons. A century ago Karl Marx warned that the choices facing mankind were "socialism or barbarism," and today this warning is becoming terribly concrete. ■

Turkey...

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of innocent peasants are being massacred. Half of Kurdistan is a war zone and is a Prohibited Area."

Meanwhile, Iran recently executed seven Kurdish leaders. And Saddam Hussein promised support for an independent Kurdish state...on Turkish and Iranian soil!

Now Jallal Talibani, the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, reports that thousands of Kurdish rebels who had taken refuge in Iran "to flee the repression of Saddam Hussein" had returned to Iraq since the U.S. assault began. Vowing that the "Turkish army will have to pass over our bodies to get into Iraq," Talibani added that they would not allow themselves "to be manipulated again and then end up paying the price of agreements between regional powers."

Divided among four different capitalist states in the post-World War I imperialist carve-up of the region, the Kurdish people have been alternately used as cannon fodder by one or another imperialist or regional power against their enemies, and murderously repressed by their respective state powers, including Saddam Hussein's Iraq. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) declares that the national rights of the Kurdish people can only be won through socialist revolution by the workers of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. For a socialist republic of united Kurdistan!

With several million Turkish and Kurdish workers strategically situated in key industrial centers of West Europe, revolutionary proletarian struggle in Turkey will reverberate throughout the continent. On the day of the January 3 general strike, sympathy actions among



Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) contingent joins Hamburg demonstration in solidarity with Turkish general strike. SpAD signs say: "Overthrow Özal with Workers Revolution!" and "Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S./NATO Imperialists!"

Turkish and Kurdish communities took place in both Germany and Britain. In Britain, police attacked pickets in the London borough of Hackney, where strikes had closed several local factories and sweatshops. Some 65 people were arrested, many beaten and forced to sign a statement agreeing to leave the country if they lose their case in court. The Spartacist League/Britain has called on the workers movement to take up the demand: Drop the charges, no deportations!

In Germany, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) distributed a Turkish-language leaflet on the coal miners strike. In Berlin, some Kurdish leftists excluded our comrades from a demonstration in solidarity with the Zonguldak miners because of the SpAD's forthright call for defense of Iraq against imperialism. The ICL has for years denounced the bloody Saddam Hussein regime, and

we warn today as well against illusions that this Ba'athist despot and former U.S./NATO ally can be a savior of the Palestinian or Kurdish peoples. But today it is the elementary duty of all opponents of imperialism to come to the defense of Iraq against the bloody U.S.-led onslaught.

In fighting against the exploiters and warmongers—and in sharp opposition to all the parties of the bourgeoisie—the Turkish workers movement must fight for the right to self-determination of the Kurdish people. As American jets thunder over Iraq and an imperialist armada has seized the Persian Gulf, international-class struggle by the Turkish and Kurdish workers can spike the designs of rapacious U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to build a "new world order" over the corpses of the world's working people. ■

Antiwar Work Stoppages, Protests Across Europe

Over the past two weeks, millions have demonstrated in various European cities calling for peace in the Near East. Already on the day after the U.S. began bombing Baghdad, there were antiwar work stoppages in France, Germany, Italy and Spain, ranging from a token five minutes to de facto citywide general strikes. The outpouring of protests indicates revulsion at the mass murder being unleashed by the NATO governments in the Near East, and deep fears that the Gulf War will spill over to a continent that has been engulfed in conflagration twice already in this century.

This has put tremendous pressure on the leaders of the trade unions and mass reformist workers parties who seek to bind the masses to the interests of their "own" national bourgeoisies. And it has opened tremendous opportunities for Marxist revolutionaries who fight for an internationalist opposition to imperialist war. As various pseudo-Trotskyists simply tail after pacifist sentiment and the reformist misleaders, the sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have been unique in calling forthrightly for the defeat of imperialism and defense of Iraq.

When "Communist," "Socialist" or "Labour" misleaders talk vaguely of "peace" in the Near East, they offer "UN sanctions" as the alternative to war—in other words, starving the Iraqi masses into submission instead of killing them outright. They thus legitimize the vast imperialist military buildup in the Gulf, supposedly there to enforce the U.S.-ordered "UN" embargo that was the prelude to the present barbaric war on Iraq. In so doing, they call for a more "rational" policy for their capitalist masters, often in league with "enlightened" bourgeois leaders who worry about an explosion of Arab anger provoked by the war.

Behind the calls for negotiations from the Common Market 12, right up to the eve of Bush's January 15 ultimatum to



Paris, January 16—Thousands demonstrate outside National Assembly against French participation in war on Iraq. *L'Humanité*

Saddam Hussein, there was also a fear of what the U.S. will do to its imperialist "allies" (rivals) if it succeeds in regaining control of world oil supplies. This concern is particularly strong in Germany, which together with Japan is the indirect target of Washington's Persian Gulf invasion. Particularly following its annexation of East Germany, Bonn is looking East for its expansion room (and oil supplies), and has refused to send its military forces against Iraq. It's not surprising, therefore, that the German "peace" demonstrations have been the largest on the continent.

Since the German Social Democrats' vote for war credits on 4 August 1914, and the French "Communist" Party's support (on Stalin's orders) for the French government's war budget two decades later, the social-democratic and

Stalinist traitors have played out their role as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," sabotaging revolutions and infecting the working classes with chauvinist poison. The Gulf War has exposed the "far left" as incapable of formulating a revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist opposition to the imperialist war. Instead, as usual, they tail after the reformists, this time with social-pacifist appeals to "bring the troops home."

As in 1914 when the Second International exploded with the onset of World War I, today the implosion of Stalinism in East Europe has produced massive disorientation on the left. But already in these early days of the war, there are many in the ranks of the demonstrators who recognize in the ICL's stand in defense of Iraq against imperialist attack the program of authentic socialism and communism. We fight for proletarian opposition to the war in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky, emphasizing that *the struggle against this predatory and barbaric war means the struggle to overthrow the imperialist system through class struggle at home. The crucial factor is an authentic revolutionary leadership: reforge the Fourth International as a world party of socialist revolution.*

The following reports from our comrades around Europe indicate the revolutionary opportunities posed by this "first post-Cold War war."

De Facto General Strike in Northern Italy

MILANO, January 22—This morning, tram engineers carried out a half-hour strike against the war in which they effectively disrupted most rail services throughout the country. In Milano, a couple of high school collectives went to the train station in Lambrate to give their support to this action. This kind of antiwar activity in the working class has been going on for the last week.

On the day Bush's ultimatum expired, the trade-union bureaucracy called for a token five-minute strike. But in the Mi-

lano area there was a three-hour strike explicitly against the war, pretty much spontaneous, involving some ten factories. There was also a mass student rally in conjunction with the workers' action, at which spokesmen for the Lega Trotskista d'Italia intervened.

The first day of the bombardment of Iraq, January 17, workers in Milano literally walked out of the plants with their factory councils and made their way to Milano city square where 100,000 gathered at the demonstration meeting point. This included factories like Breda, Falck, Maserati and Ansaldo, important metal factories in Milano. There were also government workers, transport workers, financial center employees and other sectors of the working class.

In most of the major Italian cities in the north, there was a de facto general strike. There was an immediate call for a national general strike, as the workers were furious and wanting to put a halt to the atrocities that were taking place. The trade-union bureaucracy resisted all calls for a general strike with the excuse that this would damage the economy and that it would be construed as a strike against the government!

The January 19 demonstration in Milano was primarily high school students. Some 25,000 turned up and part of the march route passed in front of the Italian air force headquarters (Italy had just lost its first Tornado bomber). The LTd'I gave out several thousand copies of its declaration on the war. With placards and leaflets which read "Defend Iraq" and "Defeat the Imperialists," accompanied by soapboxing with a megaphone, they politically engaged the high school student pacifists.

The Lega Trotskista comrades also came up against Falcemartello, the Italian group linked to the British Militant group which is deeply embedded in the NATO social democracy of the Labour Party. Falcemartello chanted "General strike against the imperialist war in

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Rome, January 13: Massive demonstration against impending Persian Gulf War. *La Repubblica*