



Thousands begin to mobilize against U.S. war moves in Gulf

Build Oct. 20 antiwar demonstrations!

By ALEX CHIS

"We, the young people of this country, didn't start this war. However, we will be the ones who will be forced to fight it. We want to stop the war—a war that would trade the lives of many people in exchange for the security of cheap oil. So please, let's Bring the Troops Home Now!"

— Eric Meyer, leader of Students for Peace in the Persian Gulf, speaking at Sept. 14 U.C. Berkeley "Teach-In Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East"

Even before a shooting war has begun, thousands nationally are already mobilizing against U.S. intervention in the Middle East. The U.S. government and the major media would like us to believe that the American people overwhelmingly support the government in its war moves. But this is clearly untrue.

Teach-ins of 2000 people in New York City and U.C. Berkeley in mid-October—drawing together broad sectors of the population—have sent a powerful signal to the warmakers in Washington that the American people want nothing to do with war. [See coverage of teach-ins, pp. 9-14.]

Young people such as Eric Meyer of the Berkeley Students for Peace in the Persian Gulf are leading the way. They are the sons and daughters of the Vietnam generation, and they have grown up knowing the devastation that such a war can cause.

Many have also been empowered by the women's movement, having marched in pro-choice demonstrations and helped to keep the women's health clinics open. Likewise, campus struggles for African-American and Ethnic Studies Departments, in support of South African freedom struggles and against U.S. intervention in Central America have been important experiences for today's new generation of activists.

There is also a growing awareness that it will be the young men and women from African-American, Chicano, and other oppressed nationalities who will be dying if fighting breaks out.

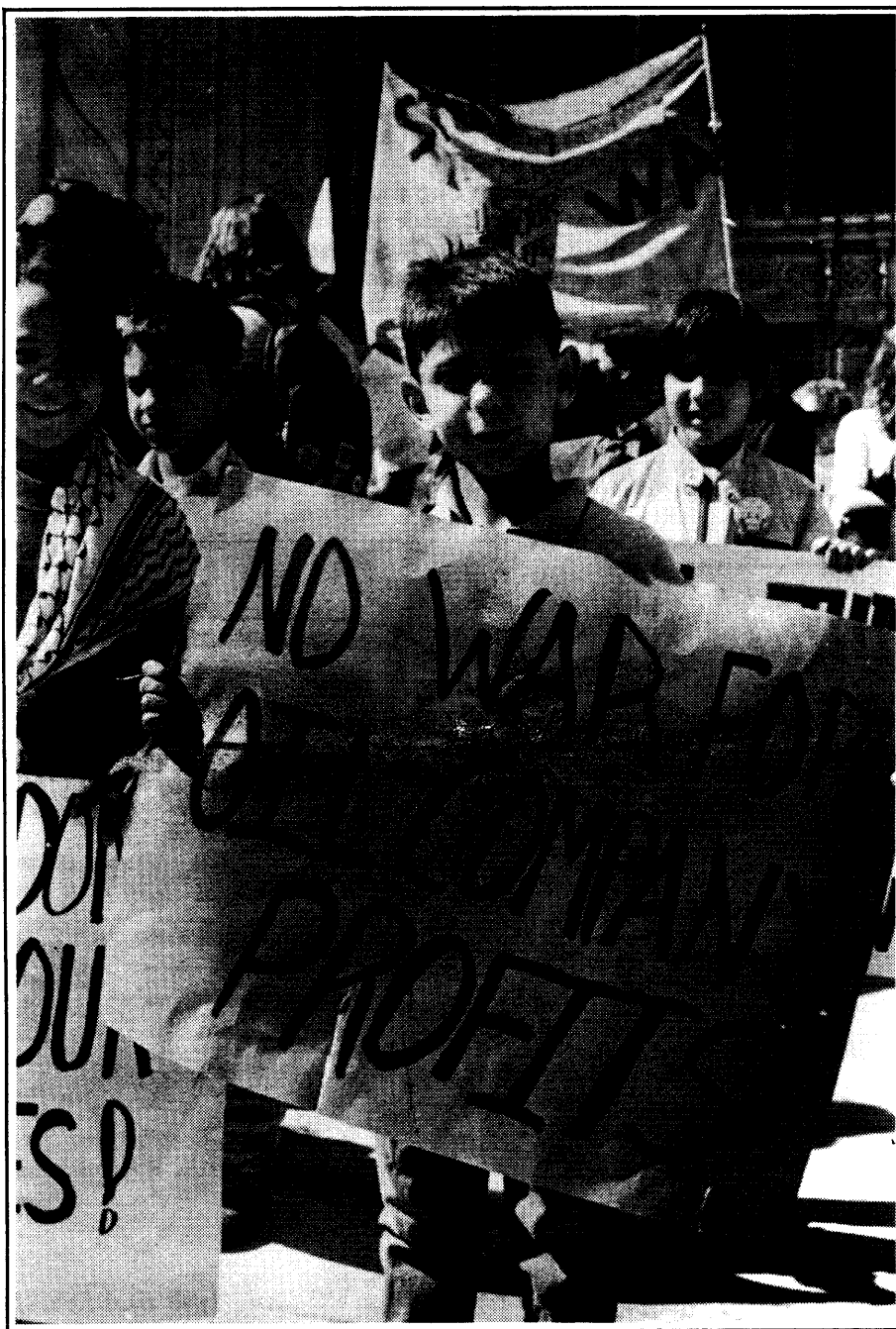
Campus groups against U.S. intervention in the Middle East are forming rapidly throughout the country. Students from over 30 campuses in the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, attended the Sept. 14 Berkeley teach-in.

Immediate opposition to this war has also been expressed by youth in the Armed Forces. Jeff Paterson, an active duty marine, and Eric Larsen, a marine reservist, have refused to go to Saudi Arabia to fight for oil company profits. While they are the best known, others are taking similar stands.

When soldiers start coming home wounded or in body bags, we can expect that opposition will sharply increase.

A nationally coordinated series of demonstrations on Oct. 20 have been called in New York, San Francisco, Boston, Los Angeles,

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Tina Beacock/Socialist Action

Sept. 22 demonstration in Chicago, Ill., against U.S. intervention in Middle East.

Gorbachev uses emergency decree to ram through pro-capitalist laws

By CARL FINAMORE

Barely one year after the much-heralded Supreme Soviet was convened, President Mikhail Gorbachev is ruling through emergency governmental decree.

With unprecedented food shortages gripping the capital city of Moscow and national rebellions in most of the 15 Soviet republics, Gorbachev appealed to the Supreme Soviet to grant him emergency powers to push through his far-reaching perestroika pro-capitalist "reforms" at an accelerated pace. The Supreme Soviet, he explained, had the chance "once and for all to end the total state monopoly ownership that is ruining us" and to adopt a system based on private property.

Leonid Abalkin, Soviet vice premier in charge of economic reform, was even more

blunt about why emergency rule was required. "The country's economic situation is so perilous," he told the Soviet newspaper *Sovietskaya Rossiya*, "[that] we are at the edge of an abyss. Any careless move can push us over."

Gorbachev's top economic adviser, Stanislav Shatalin, is proposing the adoption of the "500-Day Plan," which has already been approved by the Russian Republic under the leadership of its president, Boris Yeltsin.

Gorbachev has accepted in principle the avowedly pro-capitalist "500-Day Plan" as the solution to the mounting Soviet crisis—but he wants to make a few adjustments in order to preserve "maximum accord in society and not confrontation." Realizing that his perestroika economic program will victimize millions of workers and peasants—as

similar pro-capitalist policies in East Germany have already visibly done, the seasoned Soviet president wants to avoid a civil war.

Gorbachev's five-year plan

For the past five years, since he first admitted the Soviet economy was in shambles, Gorbachev has proposed a series of capitalist market reforms aimed at resolving the crisis of bureaucratic mismanagement that has ravaged the Soviet economy.

But rather than return to the example of genuine soviet rule and democratic planning of the early years of the Russian Revolution—prior to its degeneration under Joseph Stalin—Gorbachev looked to the capitalist West for a solution to the crisis.

Gorbachev's perestroika program had nothing

(continued on page 17)

By MALIK MIAH

The warmongers in Washington are riding high. They have created a broad imperialist alliance with Britain, France, Germany, and Japan against the people of Iraq.

They have ordered their "royal allies" in Saudi Arabia and the emirs of artificially created states to pay for troops from countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Egypt to act as buffers in the Saudi desert between the U.S. Marines and Iraq.

But most important, President George Bush is forging an historic alliance with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Washington's aggression against Iraq and the Arab people.

Accord fuels U.S. war drive

In a final communiqué signed by Bush and Gorbachev at the conclusion of their Sept. 9 Helsinki, Finland, summit, the two enemies of the Arab people said: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors."

The statement continued: "[We are] united against Iraq's aggression as long as the crisis exists. However, we are determined to see this aggression end, and if the current steps fail to end it, we are prepared to consider additional ones consistent with the UN Charter. We must demonstrate beyond any doubt that aggression cannot and will not pay."

To show its loyalty to Washington's war drive in the Arab East, on Sept. 25, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze led the charge at the United Nations Security Council meeting that voted to impose an air-traffic embargo against Iraq. The UN had earlier imposed an economic blockade against the Iraqi people.

In a speech to the General Assembly, Shevardnadze warned Iraq that "war may break out in the Gulf region any day, any moment."

"We should remind those who regard ag-

And still the struggle goes on



Fightback

By
Sylvia Weinstein

Antonina (Toni) Porter died Aug. 27 after suffering from cancer for several years. She was 47 years old, the mother of three children, Jeffrey, 25; Benji, 21; and Kate, 18. Toni died in Portland, Ore., where she had been a school teacher.

Toni was the daughter of Larry and Gusti Trainor, revolutionary leaders of the Trotskyist movement in Boston. Toni and my two daughters were just a couple of years apart, and they became friends when both families attended Mountain Spring Camp, a wonderful place for socialists to come with their families and relax.

At the camp, all of the children

could avoid the endless political activism of their parents. While the adults enjoyed socialist lectures and discussions, the kids would wander around together, swimming and just plain loafing.

In the Trainor home

It was not easy being the child of well-known socialists during the 1940s and early '50s. The capitalist witch hunt was in full swing, and little children at school, reflecting this hysteria, made it felt on kids like Toni. Meanwhile, Larry was witch-hunted out of his job. Gusti became the support of the family.

And what a family it was! Their

house was always open to anyone who wanted to learn the real history of the working class and of workers all over the world—their victories as well as their defeats. Larry was a great teacher.

So in the Trainor home, there was always good conversation, debate—and especially good food. Toni became accustomed to this. She was raised on revolution and excellent Italian food.

Civil rights struggle

Then thousands of young people were moved into activity by the heroic struggle of African Americans in the South. Toni was no exception. The truth of oppression and exploitation that she had learned from her parents became real on the streets of the towns of the South.

There young Black children were laying their lives on the line for their human rights and dignity, while students on college campuses across the country were fighting for social justice as well as their own free-speech rights.

Toni and my own daughters also began to march and demonstrate for Black civil rights. They joined the socialist movement and contributed their idealism and dedication.

Today, other young women are

beginning to fight against the injustice of this economic system. They are marching for "choice" against another witch hunt by the "moral" anti-choice mobs inspired and encouraged by the U.S. government.

Young people are also getting involved against the imperialist attack on Iraq and the possibility of another Vietnam, which could kill tens of thousands of people, both Iraqi and American, just to keep oil money flowing into the pockets of the rich.

Although Toni left the movement and moved to Oregon, where she lived with two of her children, she had made an indelible contribution to the betterment of human society. She gave a good part of her life to make a better world, for which we are all grateful. She will be missed by all who knew her and by her three children, Jeffrey, Benji and Kate.

But the struggle goes on.

The Canadian government has sent troops to Saudi Arabia to fight for "self-determination" for His Highness, Kuwaiti Emir, Sheik Jaber as-Ahmed al Sabah. At the

same moment, Canada has crushed a valiant struggle of its own citizens, the Mohawk Indians, who were trying to defend their own, very real, right to self-determination.

For 78 days the Mohawks—men, women, and children—were fighting to keep their land from real estate interests who wanted to build an exclusive golf course there.

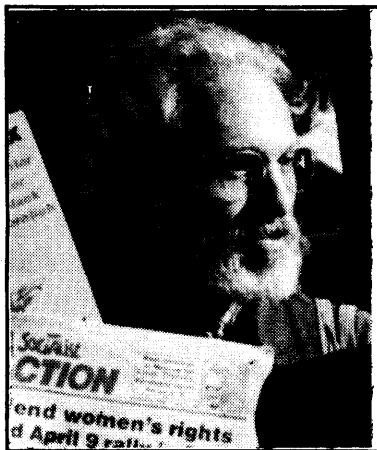
Canadian troops blockaded Native Americans at home—just as they help their imperialist henchmen to starve innocent Iraqis into submission in the Middle East. And in Canada, as in the Middle East, imperialism is ready to spill the blood of innocents if starvation doesn't bring these oppressed nations to heel.

What hypocrisy! World imperialism fights for "self-determination" for its Sheik and Emir stooges over there, while they crush a fight for genuine self-determination by Native Americans here.

This is a lesson for all to learn. The rich of the world, wherever they are, consider that all the world's resources are theirs, and in their rapacious greed, they stop at nothing.

Indeed, the struggle goes on. ■

S.F. State students rebel over cuts



Behind the Lines

By
Michael Schreiber

San Francisco State University is ready to explode. Students and teachers alike are speaking out against a harsh program of budget cuts pushed through by the school administration.

The cutbacks have been directed with special vigor against the School of Ethnic Studies, the Labor Studies Department, the Women's Studies Department, and classes in the humanities. In the words of one professor, "They cut the classes that would change your life."

Large rallies have been held in protest. Classes are being turned into teach-ins. But so far, the administration and the state Board of Regents refuse to listen.

For them (and for a few compliant faculty members), San Francisco State has long been the "problem child" of the California University system—a haven for militants and free-thinkers that can only provide a dangerous example for other universities in the state system.

For one thing, this is the only university in the state to have an autonomous School of Ethnic Studies, which the students won in 1968 after police violence failed to defeat a year-long strike. In addition, S.F. State continues to employ some faculty members who actually encourage students to think for themselves! This must stop, say the neanderthals who determine California's educational policy.

The fact that S.F. State is one of the highest-rated liberal arts schools on the West Coast is hardly a source of pride to the Board of

Regents. They are painfully conscious that this university is in large part a school for the working-class youth of San Francisco. They obviously believe it's better to instruct young workers to be cogs in the world of Big Business than to encourage them to inquire into the world of ideas.

In all, 240 classes have been cancelled and 50 instructors have been laid off. As much as \$7.8 million in instruction, minority-funding programs, and other student services have been eliminated from the budget. Significantly, the Business Department will not be touched.

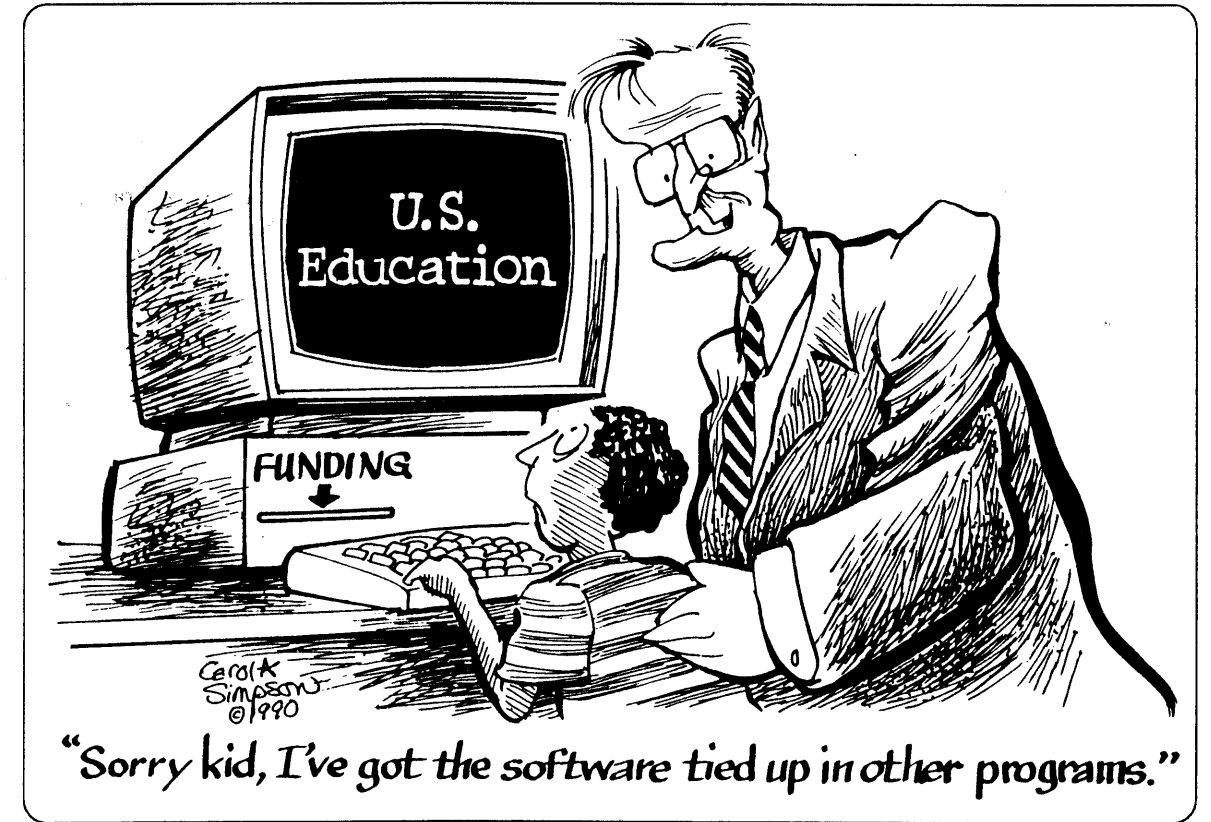
Whites "intimidated?"

The School of Ethnic Studies had its budget cuts delivered with an ugly dose of racism when one class, in Black politics, was transferred into the more traditional Political Science Department.

The ground was prepared for this shift in an article in the May 8 issue of the campus newspaper, the *Golden Gater*. Political Science Department chairman Wayne Bradley declared in the paper that white students were intimidated by "a sea of Black faces" in the classes of the Ethnic Studies School.

But other faculty members, who have come forward in support of the student struggle, dispute Bradley's account. Psychology instructor Laura Head says instead that transferring the class was part of "an attempt to destroy the School of Ethnic Studies."

Protest actions have been orga-



nized by the Progressive Coalition, a united front of political and ethnic student organizations.

Elite dine in splendor

The protests came to a head on Sept. 14, when State University President Robert Corrigan held a lavish "convocation" to entertain a group of wealthy businesspeople. One hundred-fifty students managed to enter the hall and take over the microphone. The students were able to unmask Corrigan as a hypocrite—spending at least \$25,000 on catering costs for this elite affair while cutting back on educational services.

Although the administration allowed the students to speak, it took the precaution of having police in riot gear concealed behind the stage. Meanwhile, undercover cops took notes on who was present in the crowd.

Since then, the administration has threatened to take legal action against the protestors. But many other students and instructors, angered by Corrigan's provocative use of the police, have been stirred to

action.

The stakes are high in this fight. As one member of the campus La Raza group said: "If we don't take

whatever means are necessary right now, our children will come here as janitors sweeping hallways—not as students." ■

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Editor: ALAN BENJAMIN
Asst. Editors: MICHAEL SCHREIBER
JOSEPH RYAN

Staff: Alex Chis, Paul Colvin, May May Gong, Malik Miah, Hayden Perry, Barbara Putnam, Kwame M.A. Somburu, Sylvia Weinstein.

Business Manager: DAVID KIRSCHNER

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Interview with Mark Curtis:

An update on socialist activist's fight for freedom and justice

Mark Curtis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, is serving a 25-year sentence for rape and burglary. His 1988 frame-up conviction was based mainly on the false testimony of the arresting police officer—who had previously been reprimanded by his own superiors for lying.

Recently, the family of the alleged rape victim launched a legal attack against the Mark Curtis Defense Committee that is designed to cripple the committee's efforts to expose the frameup conviction.

A phone interview with Mark Curtis was conducted by Socialist Action National Committee member Carl Finamore in September 1990.

Socialist Action: Mark, how long have you now been in prison?

Mark Curtis: I was in the county jail after I was convicted in September of 1988, and I was sentenced in November around the 18th. On the same day, I was sent down to the "medical classification center" and from there, after about three weeks, I was sent to the Men's Reformatory in Anamosa [Iowa]. So basically, since November of 1988.

SA: So you're now approaching two years in prison. What have been your experiences over these last two years?

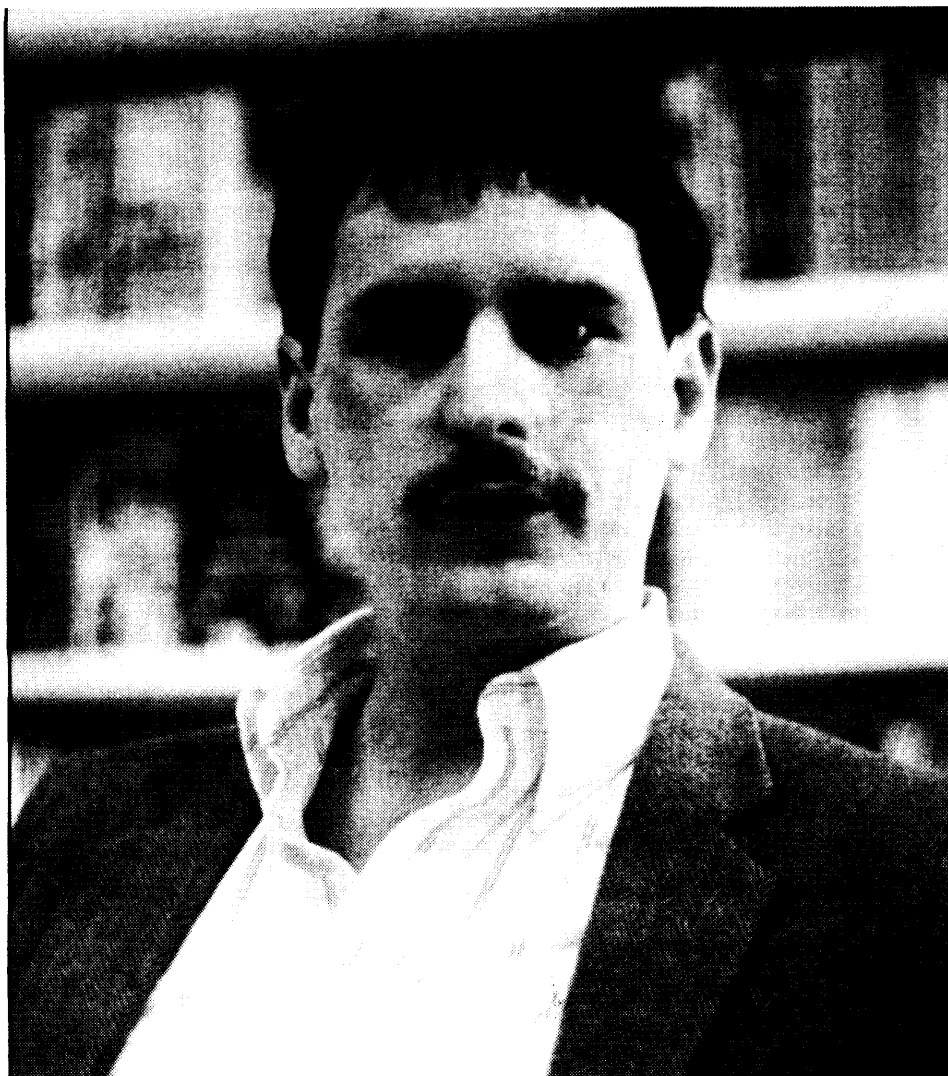
Curtis: Well, there have been several things. One was almost immediately—a fight with the prison system over attempting to deny me foreign-language materials, starting with the magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* and some books in Spanish.

So I went through a fight to force the administration to back down and to allow foreign-language materials in, not just for me personally, but to change the policy they had of denying these materials just on the basis that they were in a foreign language. So they still had to be reviewed, but now it was possible to get foreign-language materials in.

SA: How did the other prisoners respond? Did you have any opportunity to talk with them?

Curtis: Very favorably. In fact, I was surprised to learn that more people were trying to get material than I had believed before. Just the fact that it was being denied for no good reason, and especially the Spanish-speaking prisoners were really glad that someone was trying to get Spanish-language materials in. Some of them had been denied correspondence with their families.

SA: Do you think that any of your political activity in prison, such as being elected an officer of the Martin Luther King Committee, had anything to do with your



Mark Curtis in 1988

transfer from Anamosa?

Curtis: I think it was an attempt to get out of the hole they had dug for themselves in Anamosa because every time they tried to limit the prisoners, basically they were unsuccessful.

SA: Is the political atmosphere different in the prison you've been transferred to?

Curtis: There aren't as many political organizations here, but there still are many inmates who are interested in the same political questions that were raised in Anamosa.

SA: Have you found that your political ideas, as a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a long time political activist, have been used to isolate you?

Curtis: Oh, it's exactly like it would be at any job that I've worked at. There are right-wingers, there are people who are open to your ideas, and so on.

SA: What is the status of your appeal right now?

Curtis: We have filed notice with the Federal Court of Appeals. That's the next step after the Supreme Court of Iowa hears my appeal. So we will very shortly file an actual appeal in that court system.

SA: Can you comment on the lawsuit against your own defense committee and describe the nature of this attack?

Curtis: It's a lawsuit aimed directly at myself and my wife, Kate Kaku, who is also my most active supporter on the defense committee, and aims to break me financially with a heavy decision which I wouldn't be able to pay.

Through that suit, the lawyers for the plaintiffs are seeking to depose the defense committee itself under the guise that the committee has supplied me regularly with

Howard Wallace's message to Mark Curtis

Howard Wallace is a long-time trade union and gay rights activist in the San Francisco Bay area. He first drew national attention several years ago when he served as Northern California AFL-CIO director of the Coors' Boycott. Coors sued Wallace for "conspiracy to put Coors out of business" and for being in "violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act."

Boycott activities, it was alleged by Coors, were limiting competition in the beer industry. After a protracted legal battle, the suit was finally thrown out of court.

Concerned about the implications of the lawsuit directed against the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Wallace recently sent Curtis the following message.

I'm glad you have a wife and active supporters who are organizing to clear your name of the phony charges brought against you. It's clear that the recent lawsuit against your defense committee is designed to divert its energies, exhaust its treasury, and scare off support.

The suit is a threat to every defendant in the United States who appeals a conviction. There could have been no Sacco-Vanzetti or Rosenberg defense committees if such a grotesque law had prevailed in the past.

The plaintiffs have shown their utter contempt for the First Amendment.

money, which is not true, and that the defense committee could be liable for the damages [of my alleged assault]. So it's a direct attack on any organization that's fighting for the rights of working people.

Many times, a lawsuit that's aimed against any effective committee has to try and bankrupt them, to try to pry open their finances, their records, mailing lists, and so on. Regardless of whether anyone agrees or disagrees about the fight to overturn my frameup, I think many people will rally against this attack because it violates the privacy and necessary functioning of a committee like the Mark Curtis Committee.

SA: What message would you like to send to your supporters? What can they do to help in the immediate future?

Curtis: First of all, thank you for everything that has been done. And immediately, helping to stop this lawsuit by any means that we can, but particularly by sending messages of support to the defense committee such as the one sent by Howard Wallace. It's very much appreciated.

Readers can write the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311.

By ROD HOLT

The FBI is at it again. On April 25, 1990, not seeing any drug pushers on their doorstep that day in San Francisco, these watchdogs of our moral purity launched a full-scale assault on artistic and intellectual freedom.

Joe Semien is a fine-arts photographer and also a superior photo-technician whose skills are widely used throughout the art community. Joe dropped off some negatives at a local lab for routine processing. It was there that a technician called the FBI, obediently following an FBI "directive" to report any "suspicious" material.

Soon "suspicious" became "pornographic," and the FBI informed the lab technician that they—and they alone—were the judges of what was pornographic and what was not. The negatives were seized.

Augmented by the city police, an FBI raiding party forcibly entered Semien's residence, handcuffed him, and did what they could to terrorize him for nearly three hours. He watched them remove all his equipment, negatives, and personal workbooks.

The FBI threatened Joe Semien with charges of producing "kiddy porn," waving in his face the negatives they had taken from the processing lab. At last, not believing that there was even a hint of bad taste in these casual photographs of naked women and children, Joe gave his tormentors the name and address of the photographer, Jock Sturgis.

FBI on witch hunt campaign against renowned photographer

Joe Semien went to jail, of course. And Jock Sturgis had to watch helplessly as the fruit of 20 years' work was carelessly tossed into boxes and sacks, scratched and scrunched—over a million negatives, a thousand 8x10 plates, his museum-grade prints, his camera and enlarger. Not stopping there, these champions of our morals also took his personal computer, all diskettes, diaries, and address and telephone books. They left the light bulbs and hand soap.

Sturgis was able to obtain counsel within hours, which probably saved him from jail. Semien was booked on one felony and 54 misdemeanors and had to pay a lawyer an enormous fee to obtain a suspension of the charges.

A campaign of slander

Five months after the FBI raid, no charges have been brought against Sturgis. The federal prosecutor simply states that Sturgis is under continuing investigation for "child pornography."

In addition, the FBI is pursuing a nationwide campaign of slander by innuendo. Typically, a couple of agents visit a gallery selling the works of Sturgis and inform the management that Jock Sturgis is under investigation for child pornography. Then they

ask the gallery managers whether they've seen anything like *this*, displaying some really sick photos. The photographs are not by Sturgis, of course, but the agents neglect to tell the gallery people that. Most galleries, however, have resisted this pressure after a phone call to Sturgis.

Why has the FBI gone after such a well-known art photographer as Jock Sturgis, whose works are on view in over 200 art galleries and museums worldwide? No one seems to know except those inside the Justice Department. A lot of photographers have been frightened by this case and by the events around the Mapplethorpe exhibit.

The new bogeyman?

Is "kiddie porn" to become the bogeyman of the 1990s that "comsymp" was in the 1950s? It's possible. A rash of laws covering child pornography have been passed on both the state and federal levels. These laws are Draconian and extend police powers to unprecedented levels.

In 1978, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that child pornography is not entitled to First Amendment protection. More recently, a federal appeals court ruled that the intent of the photographer is not to be considered by a jury. It has also been held that obscenity

laws concerning children can be much broader than those relating to adults and that prosecutors can determine what is "lewd" until a judge or jury finds otherwise.

The new (1986) federal law on the sexual exploitation of children covers almost any depiction of a naked child under the age of 18. Finally, it is not the child (or the pose) that is to be judged lascivious, nor the photograph, but the exhibition or intended exhibition of the photograph (Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, March 18, 1987).

The artistic process may be interrupted. Negatives, internegatives, and proofs may be seized and used as evidence without any consideration of the artistic merit of what may become the finished artwork—and without allowing that the artist may discard the work. Almost every person in this country who uses a camera, sketches, or paints children could be searched and charged under this sweeping law.

To stop this threat, Jock Sturgis and photographer Rajiv Seth, with aid from "Photography 501(c)(3)," are organizing a defense fund to launch a counterattack. They will file a motion challenging the legality of the search and seizure. This will force the federal prosecutor to return all the materials. Then a civil suit for damages will be filed.

Winning this case will be a great victory for the First Amendment. People are asked to write The Semien/Sturgis Defense Fund, 2660 3rd St., #205C, San Francisco, CA 94107. Telephone (415) 550-0719.

Victims of 'gay-bashing' speak at Boston forum

By CARRIE ALLISON

BOSTON—Following a recent rash of attacks against gay men in the city's South End, the Boston branch of Socialist Action held a forum on the violence. David Scondras, an openly gay city councilor, was a featured speaker.

The event drew a small but diverse audience, including activists in the lesbian, gay, and bisexual communities and members of the new, direct-action-oriented group called Queer Nation (QN).

Queer Nation got its start this summer in New York City among outraged lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals who have witnessed a precipitous rise in homophobic violence in their city. The group has held packed meetings in both New York and Boston and has made the papers in both places with its flamboyant, media-grabbing tactics—or "zaps," as they are referred to by insiders.

Violence on the increase

The rise in homophobic violence here in Boston appears to be part of a nationwide trend. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force has compiled disturbing figures that show a dramatic increase in physical attacks

and verbal harassment against bisexuals, lesbians, and gay men across the country. In 1986, 4946 cases were reported, while in 1989 there were 7031 reported incidents.

The Socialist Action forum proved to be a good opening round in what hopefully will be more discussions on the issue outside of the gay, lesbian, and bisexual community.

Susan Farley, from the Boston branch, chaired the forum, which in addition to Scondras, included two speakers who survived homophobic attacks. Farley commented briefly on the importance of coalition building and the need to "stand together in the streets."

In a short introductory speech, Carrie Allison, also from the Boston branch of Socialist Action, cited the worsening economy as a contributing cause to the violent scapegoating of people of color and women, as well as bisexuals, gay men, and lesbians.

Speaking next was Sam, a gay man who was beaten and raped by five men. After that incident, he encountered difficulty obtaining badly needed medical treatment—including a test for the HIV virus—from healthcare workers who assumed that, as a

gay man, he would probably test positive as a result of previous sexual contact.

"I want my voice to be heard tonight because what happened to me must never again happen," he said. "Violence is not a gay, white, or Black issue. It is a human issue. I feel we must pull together as a community to be known as men and women of peace, nobility, and intellect."

Regina, also a survivor of a homophobic attack (as well as one of the organizers of the Women's Caucus of Queer Nation) said, "I think anyone at any time can be subject to someone else's warped perception of what's normal, whether it's their behavior or their appearance or their lifestyle."

She pointed out that "coalition-building with women's groups that are already engaged in combatting rape and sexual assault, harassment and battering, is one of the best ways we can really galvanize."

"Also coalition-building with existing organizations that are working against drugs and poverty. I really feel that in my case, violence has everything to do with poverty."

Speaking after her was David Scondras. He began by saying that he was "glad to

see a socialist group moving on the gay and lesbian and bisexual agenda" because left-wing organizations have too often ignored the issue of gay and lesbian rights.

"No cause is more serious"

"Ironically," he pointed out, "gay and lesbian people have very often been the leaders on the left, espousing every cause but their own, raising every banner but their own banner, pushing for freedom and justice for every single group in the world but themselves."

"Homophobes don't dislike gay men because they're gay," Scondras said. "They're upset about the limp wrist. They don't like the sissy. They don't like women. There is a direct and deep connection between hatred of gay men and the devaluation of women."

"The violence is everywhere. It permeates. It's in the TV set by not having people like me on the tube. It's in the newspapers by not having people admit what's happening to people like us."

"The Legionnaire's Disease in 14 days," he pointed out, "got more money than the first four years of the AIDS epidemic. And don't kid yourself. It's because AIDS was perceived to be an epidemic affecting gay people that a lot of people would just as soon see all die out."

"No more blood has been shed than our blood," he concluded. "No cause is more serious than our cause. No people have worked harder than we have worked. No nation, no society, no class does not have us in it. And therefore, in a very fundamental way, our freedom is an absolute prerequisite for the freedom of the rest of the human race." ■



Clinic defenders in Cincinnati, Ohio, fend off Operation Rescue

Support builds for Oct. 13 Canadian pro-choice actions

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics (OCAC) spokesperson Cherie MacDonald reports that support continues to grow for the Oct. 13 binational Day of Action. Pro-choice activities are planned for more than 30 cities throughout English Canada and Quebec.

Access to abortion continues to decline as doctors succumb to fear of prosecution under the restrictive new law passed by the House and pressure from anti-abortion bigots. At the same time, the Tory Minister of Justice has enraged pro-choice supporters by stating that "maybe the law gives the anti's a tiny, tiny, tiny stick with which to harass—but it's not all that significant."

The Canadian Medical Association has condemned this new law, saying that Canadian women will face a crisis situation if it passes the Senate.

MacDonald pointed out that the newly elected New Democratic Party (NDP) government in Ontario has a strong pro-choice position. Abortion rights supporters are calling upon Prime Minister-elect Bob Rae to put this pro-choice platform into effect as soon as Ontario's new government is sworn in on Oct. 1.

OCAC and the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League are demanding that the new NDP government immediately declare the abortion law unenforceable in the province of Ontario. This would place additional pressure on the Tories and the Senate to back down from their anti-women course. Such a step has an historic precedent, since the previous restrictive abortion law was declared unenforceable by Quebec in 1975.

OCAC is also demanding that the new NDP government take steps to make abortion more readily accessible throughout the province by fully funding existing Toronto clinics under the provincial health-insurance plan and by establishing community clinics in other Ontario cities and towns.

MacDonald pointed out that an earlier NDP government in Manitoba enforced federal anti-abortion laws. She explained that Ontario pro-choice activists plan to mobilize support within the unions and community organizations to make sure this doesn't happen again. They plan to pressure the new Ontario government to live up to its stated pro-choice positions.

Newly elected Ontario Prime Minister Bob Rae has been invited to speak at the Oct. 13 rally in Toronto. ■

They call this sex education?

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

CLEVELAND—For two years, sixth, seventh, and eighth graders in Zanesville, Ohio, have been subjected to a propaganda barrage titled, "Responsible Sexual Values Program."

Lace Lynch, vice president of Zanesville NOW, told *Socialist Action* that the program is sponsored by the Zanesville YWCA and funded by United Way contributions. It was written by April Thoms from the Pregnancy Crisis Center, a bogus abortion clinic in Columbus, Ohio. Attendance is required unless students bring a note from their parents requesting that they not attend.

Three 45-minute classes are taught by registered nurses from a Zanesville hospital. Lynch pointed out that these "teachers" are all members of Right to Life. The hospital pays their salaries.

Lynch described the content of these classes, which purport to encourage students to abstain from sex and to promote "self-esteem" among teens. Students are told virginity is a gift and if they have sex as teenagers, the ghost of their sexual past

will be with them their entire lives.

A film is shown that refers to the fetus as a baby and points to its ability to perform "gymnastics." A plastic embryo is passed around the classroom to show students the "baby."

A nurse brought her own baby to one class, saying the child was living proof that birth control doesn't work. She and her husband were using birth control when the baby was conceived, she told the students.

Lynch said that the school superintendent approved this curriculum after viewing selected parts and being assured that it is sponsored by the Ohio Department of Health. A spokesperson for the Health Department, however, responded to a NOW inquiry by explaining that they had been approached for sponsorship but declined to do so after viewing the program.

The Zanesville YWCA defends the program because it allows them to show they are using United Way money to reach out to a large number of school children. Efforts by NOW members to explain the inappropriateness of the program have been dismissed as "just a couple of NOW mem-

Successful benefit organized for Boston clinic defender

BOSTON—Over 200 people attended a July 26 "Rock for Choice" benefit concert organized by the Ad Hoc Mary A. Defense Fund. The event was held at a popular Boston restaurant. The management there told the committee that the pro-choice event was the most successful show they had ever had.

The proceeds will cover legal fees for Mary A., a Boston woman who was arrested on Jan. 13, 1990, while defending a local abortion clinic against an Operation Rescue attack. [See interview in the June issue of *Socialist Action*.]

Close to \$1400 was taken in at the door

and through the sale of raffle tickets, as the crowd—which included a wide cross-section of pro-choice activists and rock fans—enjoyed performances by five all-women rock bands.

Helene Weitzenkorn, state president of Massachusetts NOW, spoke. Other speakers were Linda Harrison, business agent for IBEW Local 2222, and Mary A. herself. Harrison drew cheers when she told the crowd it was outrageous that a woman should be arrested for defending another woman's right to choice. Mary A. got the biggest response when she announced that it was time to take the pro-choice fight out into the streets.—CARRIE ALLISON

bers who want us to talk about abortion."

Lynch told *Socialist Action* that the program has already been expanded to two addi-

tional Ohio counties. Sponsors hope to introduce it on a statewide level. There are also plans to expand to other states. ■

By ANN GLICK

Feminists launch campaign against parental consent laws

Eleanor Smeal, president of the Feminist Majority Foundation, has announced a national campaign to enlist 1 million young women on college and high-school campuses to fight laws that curb abortion for teens.

In June of this year, the Supreme Court upheld the Ohio and Minnesota laws that required a young unmarried woman under 18 to notify her parents before obtaining an abortion. Overwhelming evidence has shown that these laws are devastating and even kill the young women they were designed to "protect."

Parental consent, of either one or both parents, is now the law in 34 states—though it is not enforced in all of them.

Several states have provided for a judicial-bypass procedure, allowing a judge to grant abortion in certain cases. But a court bypass is not always easy to come by. In Massachusetts, many judges refuse to hear abortion cases. In Minnesota, court hearings on abortions are available in only two locations.

In Ohio, the bypass process could take 22 days—preventing many young women from having abortions in the first trimester, when the procedure is simpler, safer, and less costly. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court still upheld the law.

In most states, moreover, teenagers do not need parental consent nor notification to receive treatment for drug or alcohol abuse, venereal disease, or to carry a pregnancy to term.

As part of the Foundation's campaign, "Becky Bell and Rosie Jimenez Brigades" will be formed. Becky Bell was a 17-year-old Indiana woman who died because of the restrictive parental-consent law that forced her to seek a back-alley abortion. Rosie Jimenez was the first known victim of the Hyde Amendment, which blocked federal



Thousands of young women demonstrated for reproductive rights on April 9, 1989. The task today is to mobilize the same sentiment to continue defense of abortion rights.

Medicaid abortion funding for poor women.

One feature of the campaign is a new video, "Abortion Denied—Shattering Young Women's Lives." The film shows very graphically why the true intent of parental-consent laws is to punish young

women and girls.

More than 1 million teenage women become pregnant in the United States each year. That's one out of every 10 teens under the age of 20. Half of all premarital teen pregnancies occur within six months of the

teenagers' first sexual experiences.

A goal of the campaign is to have this video shown on every high-school and college campus. Smeal said that "if the campaign is denied access to high schools, the Feminist Majority is prepared to take legal action."

The campaign was kicked off in Massachusetts in late August, the week Becky Bell would have turned 19. Massachusetts was the first state with parental-consent laws for abortion, establishing the standards for these laws with the Supreme Court test on parental consent, *Bellotti v. Baird*.

The campaign will also move to Indiana, Becky Bell's home state. Despite the Supreme Court's standards, it is nearly impossible to secure a judicial waiver under Indiana's parental-consent law. The campaign will challenge the Indiana judges who hear the waiver requests and are known to rule based on their anti-abortion views.

The Foundation is working in conjunction with the National Organization for Women and will continue the campaign in Minnesota, Ohio, California, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island.

Ever since the *Roe v. Wade* ruling in 1973, politicians and the courts have been chipping away at abortion rights. The campaign is designed to put a halt to this process. Young women and girls are being injured and are dying. These restrictive laws must be stopped.

Women in small towns across the United States have been successful in setting up chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW). One newly formed chapter is in Lancaster, a town of 30,000 people in Eastern Ohio.

Socialist Action interviewed two members of the NOW chapter in Lancaster. Vivian Dean is chapter president. Her daughter, Melissa Dean, is vice president and "founding mother" of the chapter. Excerpts from the interview—conducted on Aug. 24, 1990, by Shirley Pasholk and Daniel Webern—follow below.

Socialist Action: What type of community is this?

Melissa Dean: It's a conservative area. The chapter leader of the local John Birch Society is city council president. During the election campaign, the paper did profiles of each candidate. He was quite proud to say he'd been involved in John Birch and Operation Rescue.

Vivian Dean: The Fairfield Family Association is a coalition of Christian fundamentalists that influences politics around here a great deal.

SA: What led you to start a NOW chapter in Lancaster?

Melissa: I became interested in NOW during the pro-choice mega-march toward the end of 1989. I realized that a lot of talk had gone on that there should be a NOW chapter here, but nobody had done anything about it. So I decided to inquire with State NOW on what needed to be done.

SA: What kind of help did you get from National NOW to start the chapter?

Melissa: They gave us financial support. We got \$100 in seed money. They gave us moral support. Several state officers came to our first meeting.

Vivian: The Columbus Chapter has given us the finest example of how to help another chapter. Columbus NOW adopted us as sisters. They've offered their support in any actions we decide to take.

SA: Did you run into any problems during these early meetings?

Melissa: When I posted notices about the first meeting around the Lancaster Branch Campus of Ohio University, a lot of them were taken down. An anti-abortion person went to the student services office and demanded to know how such a group could meet at the University.

At the February meeting, we had a period of time when we went around and introduced ourselves and told why we were interested in starting a NOW chapter. A young

Growth in number of rural NOW chapters

man said he was there to represent all the babies that were murdered by abortion. He harassed the meeting and wanted to talk about abortion when we had organizational tasks to do. Unfortunately, a couple of people got so discouraged that they left.

Vivian: At the second meeting, the chair of Right to Life came. At the sign-in time she didn't give her right name. She didn't know that we knew who she was.

Melissa: She happens to be the wife of our councilman, so I knew exactly who she was. She never caused trouble like the young man at the first meeting. She was more undercover.

SA: Have you had occasion to participate in clinic defense?

Melissa: We don't have any clinics in this area. The local Planned Parenthood is basically just a dispenser of information. They do gynecological exams and they dispense birth control, but that's about it.

Vivian: Melissa went to help during the worst time OR was working in the Columbus area. We're active, but we don't have any direct confrontation in Lancaster.

Melissa: We were alerted to the fact that we have a couple of fake clinics in our area operated by the anti-abortion people.

Vivian: These fake clinics bring in young teenagers who don't know they're going there to be harassed, and they get a lot of anti-abortion information rather than information about all the options. So, it's the unsophisticated and naive that are the worst victims. That's frightening.

SA: How do you see the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the Ohio parental notification affecting young women in this area?

Melissa: Ohio's current law is that you have to notify one parent or go through bypass—which is such an intimidating procedure. I see it affecting the girls in our area so they will be forced to carry on the pregnancy or they will resort to illegal methods.

Vivian: It's another harassment. It says that women can't make their own decisions, whatever age they are. It says we have to have gray suits make our decisions for us.

SA: What steps can we take to defend reproductive freedom—to win back the

rights that have been taken away, defend the ones we still have, and advance further?

Melissa: Lobby like hell.

Vivian: There has to be a lot of education.

Melissa: I have a personal goal for our chapter to have some sort of rally next year on women's equality day. We have to project more education, make ourselves more visible, and help promote the idea that reproductive choice isn't a minority fringe. It's the other way around.

SA: What are some of the issues which particularly concern you?

Vivian: One of the issues concerning reproductive rights is forced sterilization. Having a Native American heritage a couple of generations back, I've become more aware of that.

I've discovered that the government has been enforcing sterilization for any Native American women going into the hospital for surgery. About 80 percent of Northern Cheyenne women of child-bearing age are sterile.

It's not just Native Americans that are being sterilized. It's women of other minorities too. It's an effective way to do away with minority people who are considered a problem.

SA: What other issues has your chapter been involved with?

Melissa: We continue to work with Light House, the battered women's shelter.

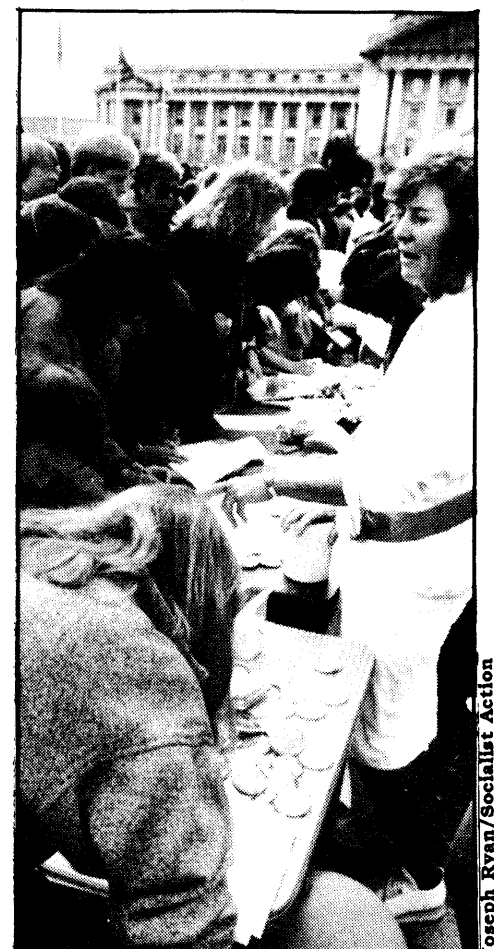
Vivian: We're trying to make donations of food and items for the shelter itself and have volunteers.

Melissa: We're trying to address issues as they come up. For example, we're involved in defending a victim of sexual harassment on the job.

Vivian: We lobbied our councilmen not to pass a resolution calling for a "Respect for Life Week." It's been passed every year and it's come to be an accepted thing in the community—and this year was one of the first years it wasn't passed.

SA: What is your goal for the future?

Vivian: I guess we have to continue to grow first, but not remain inactive waiting for growth. I think activity promotes growth. So, we want to let people know we're here. We want to do some positive



Women signing-up for clinic defense in San Francisco, Calif.

things in contribution to the community and be very visible in our individual lives. That's our long-term thing, but I think the big thing for us right now is reproductive rights. It's just so damn basic.

Melissa: It's urgent right now.

SA: There was quite a lot of press coverage after last year's national NOW conference in Cincinnati about the idea of forming a third party that would be more responsive to women's needs. What's your thinking about that?

Melissa: I personally don't have any problem with exploring the idea. I think both mainstream political parties have been rather unresponsive. One of them just flat right out shows no respect for women's democratic rights and the other sometimes gives lip service to it, but doesn't always follow through.

Vivian: But what's important is that if one's formed we make it an effective one and not one that takes away from power. That's really important, that it be effective.

Jake Cooper: A fighter for the working class and socialism

By CINDY BURKE

Jake Cooper, a founder of the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Action, died on Sept. 8 of a stroke he suffered on Labor Day while pursuing his favorite recreational activity: fishing. He had just turned 74 two days before his death.

Jake was born in St. Paul, Minn., in 1916, the son of Joe and Rose Cooper, Ukrainian Jews of poor peasant stock who left Czarist Russia in 1905 for the United States and first settled in St. Paul.

Jake was less than a year old when the Coopers gathered their five children and all their meager possessions into a horse-drawn wagon and headed for Chaska, Minn., 25 miles from the Twin Cities, where they opened a store in one room of their house.

Three more Cooper children were born in Chaska as the family struggled against anti-Semitic persecution while building a small business. Young Jake grew up fighting the scourge of anti-Semitism with the best weapons he had at the time—his fists.

Such youthful experiences with persecution spawned a hatred of injustice, and inspired a moral and physical courage and a sense of family pride and loyalty that Jake exhibited throughout his life.

Joins socialist movement

Jake and his younger brother, Dave (a leader of Socialist Action and Jake's closest political collaborator), grew up during the period of fascism's rise to power in Europe. The boys' efforts to make sense of a world apparently gone mad were given form and content through the influence of their sister, Goldy, and her husband, Max Goldman.

Goldy Cooper had left Chaska in 1929 and ended up in New York in 1931. Here, convinced of the need for socialism and opposed to the betrayals of Stalinism, she joined the Communist League of America (CLA), the predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

In New York Goldy met and married Max Goldman, a young leader of the CLA who was later imprisoned with Jake following the notorious Smith "Gag Act" federal prosecution of socialists and union militants in 1941.

At the age of 17, Jake and Dave (who was 15) were driving into the Twin Cities to attend meetings of the Young People's Socialist League. Jake graduated from Chaska High School and attended one year of college. In 1936 he moved in with Max and Goldy Goldman in Minneapolis and found work as a truck driver. That same year, he joined General Drivers Union Local 544, later known as Local 574.

Meanwhile Dave was active at the University of Minnesota building the Socialist Club. Soon the Socialist Club outstripped the Stalinist-led Marxist Club; mostly due to its close identification with the Twin Cities labor movement at the time.

And what a labor movement it was! In the depths of the Depression, the outstanding victories of the 1934 strikes of the Teamsters in Minneapolis, along with those of the Toledo Auto-Lite and San Francisco Longshore strikes marked a milestone in the U.S. labor movement.

Led by members of the Communist League of America (CLA), the Minneapolis Teamsters took on the employers, the cops, the National Guard, the courts, the Citizen's Alliance, the entire capitalist political apparatus and the craven Teamster bureaucracy. These militants transformed Minneapolis, almost overnight, from a "scab's paradise" into a mighty citadel of union power and working-class solidarity.

Organizes unemployed youth

From 1934 to 1940, the battle-hardened Teamster unionists, led by conscious revolutionaries, went on to establish outposts of militant unionism throughout Minnesota and the Northwest.

When Jake joined the local in 1936, his recruiting and organizing skills put him at the center of one of the most effective and



Mark Harris

'In the political sphere, Jake's life ended as it had begun—right at the center of building a socialist movement in the United States and around the world. He traveled a path from which he never diverged for 54 years.'

ingenious campaigns of the Minneapolis Teamsters: the organization of unemployed workers into the Federal Workers Section (FWS) of Local 544.

In addition, the Teamster and FWS leadership saw the need for an initiative directed at unemployed youth who were especially victimized by the desperate state of the economy.

The FWS established a Youth Committee in mid-1938. It was given the responsibility of forming a subdivision of young workers and students. Jake was one of six young workers who played leading roles in the Youth Committee of the FWS. The Youth Committee, open to men and women between the ages of 16 and 25, demanded that the Roosevelt administration provide more jobs and higher wages for Minneapolis' nearly 30,000 unemployed young people.

Jake's early training in these struggles served him and the movement well in his later years. He developed his political thinking and learned to clearly and straightforwardly express ideas.

Jake was also a member of the Teamster Local's Union Defense Guard (UDG). The UDG was organized in 1938 to oppose the formation of a Minneapolis chapter of the pro-fascist Silver Shirts. The Silver Shirts' aim was to recruit bands of vigilantes from towns in the farming areas to attack Jews, left-wing organizations, and unions.

The Teamsters found out about the fascist organizing drive and discovered that the fascists, with the support of local employers, were planning a vigilante attack on the union's headquarters.

Knowing the local authorities would do nothing but assist the efforts of the fascists to destroy their union, the Local's leadership organized its own defense apparatus, which became the UDG.

Jake's keen political understanding and remarkable physical prowess made him an ideal member of the defense guard. From his

earliest years in Chaska and going on into the 1940s, Jake demonstrated many times an awesome fighting ability against scabs, cops, union goons, and vigilantes. Jake's single-minded devotion to duty in this field earned him the nickname of "One Track" among the other UDG guards.

But Jake and his fellow guards were not some ignorant toughs who just liked to slug people. People who knew Jake—but did not know of his fighting abilities—are always amazed to learn that this gentle and thoughtful man struck physical fear into opponents just by showing up at a picketline.

At the memorial meeting for him in Chaska, his oldest son stated how he could not remember his father ever laying a hand on him. Jake was first and always a man of ideas who resorted to physical acts only

Telegram to Jake Cooper's family and comrades

Coyoacán, Mexico
Sept. 11, 1990

It is with great sadness that we just learned of the death of Jake Cooper, a revolutionary-Marxist, loyal, and courageous disciple of Leon Trotsky. To paraphrase the words of Lev Davidovitch [Trotsky], Jake did not live his life in vain. He died with the immense satisfaction of knowing he had dedicated his life to the noblest task possible: building a better world, free of evil, oppression, and violence. We send his companion, Lil, his family, and his comrades our fullest support and admiration for this exemplary revolutionist.

— Palmira and Esteban Volkov
(Esteban "Seva" Volkov is the grandson of Leon Trotsky)

when absolutely required to defend the rights of workers and the oppressed.

The life-and-death-responsibilities of the UDG could only be entrusted to militants who understood the political strategy their activities served. The same is true of the next and even greater challenge life had in store for Jake Cooper—as a guard for Leon Trotsky in Mexico.

Guard for Leon Trotsky

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the Russian Revolution of 1917, was exiled by Joseph Stalin from the Soviet Union in 1929. Eventually he found refuge in Mexico in 1937.

While in exile, however, his writings and influence posed a threat to the Stalinist bureaucracy, which they could not afford to ignore.

It soon became clear to Trotsky and his co-thinkers around the world, particularly in the United States, that a defense guard needed to be established to protect Trotsky and his wife, Natalia, in their home in Coyoacán, just outside Mexico City.

The SWP asked Jake to take a leave from his assignment as an organizer for Local 544 and take on the important task of guarding Trotsky. Jake was selected for this critical assignment on the basis of his political reliability, strength, and absolute honesty.

In April 1940, the 24-year-old Jake and a carload of other Trotskyists set out for Mexico. For security reasons, family and friends had to be kept in the dark about his mission.

Years later Jake talked about wondering on the long drive to Mexico how he should address Trotsky and what kind of a man he would be. He reported a deep sense of relief when, at their first introduction, Trotsky hugged him warmly "like a grandfather."

Jake was popular at the Coyoacán "fortress," especially with Trotsky's young grandson, Seva, who called him "Hercule," which is French for Hercules. [See accompanying telegram from Esteban "Seva" Volkov.]

Jake had been there about a month when the expected assault arrived. In the early morning hours of May 24, over 20 men dressed up as Mexican police and armed with machine guns overpowered the guards and stormed the premises, firing some 200 shots into the family living quarters.

Miraculously, Trotsky and Natalia survived by lying under the bed in their darkened room. Young Seva was wounded in the toe but was otherwise unhurt. Tragically, Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's American guards, was kidnapped and murdered by the Stalinist attackers.

But this would not be the last attempt on Trotsky's life.

Three months later, on Aug. 20, 1940, Jake left the compound for an assignment in Mexico City. When he returned he found the household in an uproar—Trotsky had been attacked with an Alpine ice axe by a Stalinist agent who had posed as a follower and had wormed his way into a meeting with Trotsky alone in his study. Trotsky died one day later.

Victim of Tobin's attacks

A month later Jake returned to Minneapolis and resumed work in the trucking industry. By this time, however, Daniel J. Tobin, the international head of the Teamsters Union had started an all-out attack on the Minneapolis Teamsters' local.

Tobin was acting on behalf of President Roosevelt, the FBI, and the police. The leadership of Local 544 had been campaigning as early as 1937 against the U.S. war drive and had set an example of militancy which was a direct threat to the capitalists' plans for taming the unions and getting into World War II.

In 1940, Tobin sent AFL goon squads to Minneapolis to attack Local 544 militants and leaders. Jake became a victim of one of these attacks.

In June 1941, 60 of Tobin's hoodlums grabbed Jake from the loading platform of

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the Werner Transportation Co., where he was working, and proceeded to beat him up. X-rays taken at the hospital soon after revealed a broken nose, a fracture of the right cheekbone, and fractures at the base of the skull and the lower forehead.

While recovering from this savage beating, Jake was sent many get-well letters and cards, including from Natalia Trotsky, still in Mexico, who said, "And you, Jake, did you return a good blow to our enemy? I think you did for your nose speaks of this."

But the ruling class and their allies in the labor bureaucracy, notably Tobin, were not satisfied with just physical beatings, especially since this tactic did not produce the desired result of silencing the antiwar and militant labor message of the Minneapolis Teamsters.

Indicted by FBI

On June 27, 1941, FBI agents and U.S. marshalls raided the Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn., headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

On July 15, 1941, a federal grand jury indicted 29 socialists and leaders of the Teamsters local, charging them with conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government by armed revolution and conspiracy to foment insubordination among the armed forces. Jake Cooper was one of those indicted.

The largest block of those charged were officers, organizers, or job stewards of Local 544 or those on the editorial staff of *The Northwest Organizer*. Six were officers of the Federal Workers Section of the local, including Max Geldman, Jake's brother-in-law. Four were national leaders of the SWP, including its national chairman, James P. Cannon, and Farrell Dobbs, who was labor secretary of the SWP.

The second count of the indictment involved the *Smith Act*, which was adopted in 1940 and was nothing less than a thought-control "Gag Act"—as it was commonly known in labor, left and civil liberties circles.

The prosecution of the Minneapolis 29 (later whittled down to 18 who were convicted) was the first prosecution under this vile act. Jake Cooper was among those convicted.

The charges carried a possible prison sentence of 10 years, but the longest sentence imposed was 16 months, which was doled out to 12 of the defendants, including Jake.

During the appeal process, Jake's parents, Joe and Rose Cooper, put up their store as security for the bail bond. Had even one of the defendants skipped, Joe and Rose would have lost everything. Although they were not themselves socialists, they had enough confidence in the defendants to risk everything they had worked for to allow a brief stay of imprisonment for the frameup victims.

Serves prison sentence

In January 1944, Jake and 14 of the 18 convicted began serving their sentences at Sandstone prison in Minnesota. The imprisoned socialists adopted a policy of operating as model prisoners to defend themselves against victimization behind the walls and to gain authority among the other prisoners.

For much of their time in Sandstone the socialists were housed with conscientious objectors: Jehovah's Witnesses and pacifists who had resisted conscription into the armed forces. Some of these were recruited to the SWP during this period.

In his letters from prison to relatives, Jake speaks of the normal preoccupations of all the socialists: looking forward to a good steak upon release, wondering how the family and the party were making out, and describing prison duties and routine.

Jake's letters, though, are filled with what was clearly his main preoccupation during his 13 months in jail—the love that he had for the woman who was to become his wife, Lillian.

Knowing Lillian today, it is easy to see the attraction she held for Jake. Spending time with her is like visiting an oasis of sanity, warmth, and order.

While in prison, Jake did a lot of reading. Among the great authors he sampled were Guy de Maupassant, Darwin, Emile Zola, Howard Fast's book "Citizen Tom Paine," and Scholem Asch.

Packinghouse worker, organizer

In 1945, Jake was released from prison and married Lillian in April of the same year. But life, at first, was hard. He and the other

defendants were blacklisted from most jobs, but Jake finally found work at the Armour meatpacking plant in South St. Paul, Minn.

He was elected a steward of his department and an officer of the Armour local, United Packinghouse Workers of America Local 4. Both Armour and the union tried to buy off Jake. When that didn't work they tried threatening his life. When that failed they fired him and he went to work at Swift.

In 1948 a national packinghouse strike broke out. Jake was an active participant, along with Joe Ollman, a founder of the Austin, Minn., Hormel workers' union. Once again Jake's abilities on the picketline were needed as the unionists, going up against the National Guard, organized mass picketing to successfully shut down key plants in South St. Paul.

After this Jake was again fired, and he worked briefly as a beef lugger at a small packing plant, hauling sides of beef weighing hundreds of pounds.

By this time—the year was 1949—the Cold War and the McCarthy era were in full swing. Jake and Lil moved to Chaska and took responsibility for the family store for Jake's elderly parents.

In time, Jake and Lillian, and later their oldest son, Gary, built the store into a booming business. Jake and Lillian raised six children and brought around them a devoted community through their honesty in business and their many contributions to economic and social improvements in the growing city of Chaska.

Twice, though, in the years that followed, local right wingers attempted to drive the Coopers out of business. Once was in the '50s and the second took the form of a boycott in 1970.

The 1970 boycott was in retaliation for Jake's appearance on stage at the 1969 convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, a youth organization in political solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Initially, the boycott cut into business at the store. There were threatening phone calls and letters to the Cooper family, but there were also many more expressions of support and outrage from Chaska residents and even from people who lived far from Chaska. There were articles for and against the boycott in the local press. Eventually the storm passed and life went back to normal.

During these years, Jake's responsibilities at the store and his lively family life prevented him from taking an active role in politics. He did attend anti-Vietnam War demonstrations both in Washington, D.C., and locally and continued to read and study politics.

Stands up in defense of Marxism

Around 1980, the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) began to chart a course away from the main theoretical and organizational concepts that had led the party for 50 years.

The SWP's newspaper, *The Militant*, applauded the Sandinista leadership's notion of a mixed economy as the road forward for Nicaragua. The disastrous consequences of this policy were realized in the Nicaraguan elections last February.

The party leadership also formulated an entirely new and erroneous trade union policy for SWP members in industry which was based on the idea that a radicalization of American workers was just around the corner. SWP trade unionists were discouraged from taking an active part in the day-to-day struggles of their unions in favor of a sectarian "talk socialism" policy which produced nothing but isolation.

Basically, the SWP's new line represented the leadership's loss of confidence in the revolutionary program. Moreover, they had no confidence that their new line could survive an open and democratic debate within the party so they cancelled party conventions and imposed organizational norms aimed at suppressing dissent among the membership.

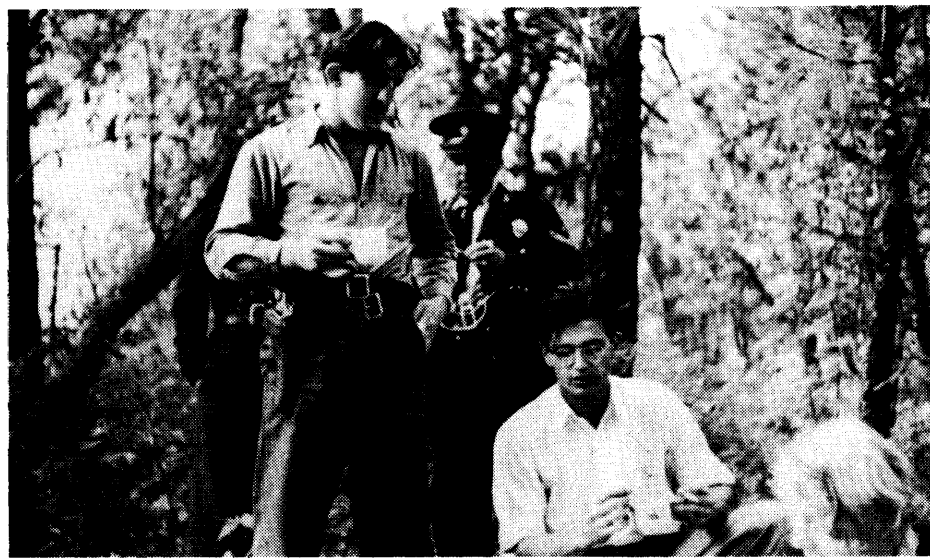
Nevertheless, a significant opposition appeared and Jake was part of this grouping. Following the SWP's 1981 national convention, Jake and other members were expelled for declaring a faction to fight for a return to the party's historic program.

By 1984 all the declared oppositionists to the SWP's new line were expelled or driven out of the party in violation of every norm of party democracy.

Socialist Action founder, leader

In October 1983, the expelled members met in Chicago to form a new organization, Socialist Action. Jake Cooper was in the front row. He threw himself into building

Return to Coyoacan 50 years after Trotsky's assassination



Jake Cooper in Coyoacan in 1940.

By JAKE COOPER

Shortly before his death, Jake Cooper submitted this article for publication in Socialist Action. It has been abridged for space. The complete version will appear in a forthcoming book on Jake's life to be published by Walnut Publishing Co. The speech referred to by Jake will be reprinted in the November issue of Socialist Action.

A celebration commemorating the 50th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination was held at the Trotsky Museum in Coyoacan, Mexico, on Aug. 20-24. The celebration, held to capacity crowds, was hosted by the government of Mexico City. Guests came from the Soviet Union, France, South America, England, Mexico, the U.S., and many other countries.

In view of the fact that I had been a guard in the home of Trotsky from May 1940 till the time of his assassination in August of that year, I was selected by the committee hosting the celebration to be a guest and a speaker.

On my first day there I was taken to the Trotsky Museum, where the celebration had started. Then I proceeded through Trotsky's home and patio.

It brought back much nostalgia and memories. With a few exceptions, the place was much as I had left it in 1940. It still looked like a fortress instead of a home. Doors of steel. Windows taken out and replaced by steel plates. Guard towers perched atop the buildings with apertures to shoot out of. Bullet marks on the buildings from the May 24, 1940, assault led by Stalinist painter David Alfaro Siqueiros.

The only change was in the neighborhood outside the museum. Coyoacan had changed from a village outside Mexico City to a bustling part of the metropolitan area.

Socialist Action like a man who had been preparing for this challenge all of his life, which indeed, he had.

Jake, and his brother Dave (also expelled), were once again building the kind of party to which they had dedicated themselves in their teenage years.

At the founding convention Jake was elected to the National Committee and was re-elected at every subsequent convention. He was a full participant in every area of the party's work and never missed a convention or National Committee meeting. He traveled around the country speaking on the lessons of his experiences in the 1930s and 1940s and brought them up to date.

Although Jake had been unable to actively participate in socialist politics for several decades, his recruitment skills and political abilities were as finely honed as ever. He took an avid interest in the world political situation; especially the events in Eastern Europe, Central America, and the Middle East. He took *Socialist Action* newspaper with him everywhere and was the top newspaper and subscription seller of the Twin Cities branch.

His branch assignments included organizer, sales director, trade-union work director, forum committee, and many more.

In the center of the patio stood a stone about 5 feet high with Trotsky's name on it, plus the hammer and sickle with flowers all around it.

On the second day of my visit, I was taken to see some of the ancient Indian ruins and was given a tour through the working-class area of Mexico City.

Conditions for the poor seemed abominable, with the streets in such poor condition that a car could barely travel through them. I watched women digging through rubble to find things they might use. Wages of many workers are around \$4 a day.

Mexico City is the world's largest city with around 18 million people. It seems to be a bustling city with vendors everywhere trying to eke out a living. In front of every bank I noticed guards with machine guns and many armed men on the streets. The democracy of the rich has to be protected by a gun.

On Friday, Aug. 24, I was the first guest speaker at the Museum hall. I had to have a translator. I started my speech with the usual greetings and then said I would give the same speech I gave in Minneapolis 50 years ago, right after the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

I started by saying I came from the belly of the monster: U.S. imperialism, which is responsible for the horrible crimes against the peoples of Mexico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada—and is now attempting to subjugate the Arab world.

I read the talk I gave 50 years ago and concluded by saying that Trotsky's entire life was devoted to raising the whole world to a higher level, free of wars, hunger, and pestilence—forward to a socialist world.

I also spoke of my personal experience with Jacson aka Mercader [Trotsky's assassin] and Trotsky himself. I received a great hand from the audience with a bouquet of flowers, hugs, and kisses.

One of Jake's proudest achievements was his role in supporting the Chaska teachers' strike in 1984. Jake showed the teachers how to organize picketlines and negotiate a contract. Eventually the teachers won the strike. As a sign of gratitude, the Chaska teachers organized a "Jake Cooper Scholarship Fund," which to date has collected over \$4000 from the citizens of Chaska.

Working-class fighter till the end

In August 1985, Jake played a major role in one of the most important strikes of the 1980s—the strike by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) against Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minn.

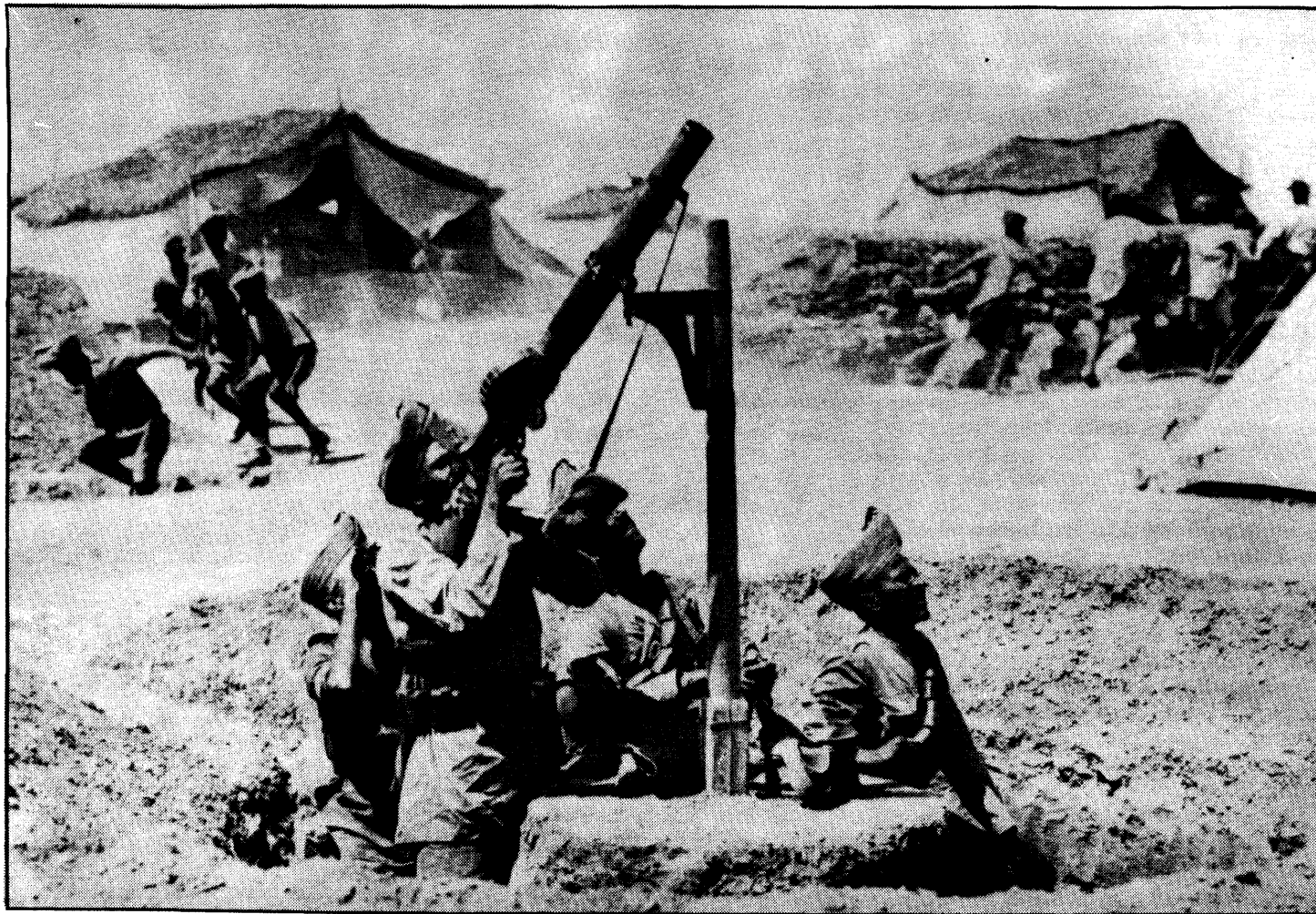
This strike became a national beacon of hope for workers across the country and a deadly threat to the concession drive of the capitalists and their willing servants in the labor bureaucracy.

Jake was elected to head the Food Committee of the Metro Area P-9 Support Committee, a Minneapolis-based organization set up by trade unionists to assist the P-9 strike.

Throughout the 18-month-long strike, the Food Committee, under Jake's leadership,

(continued on page 9)

Iraq and Kuwait dispute: A history suppressed



British colonial troops in Iraq during World War I

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

(First of a two-part series)

Although the official version of events presents Iraq's occupation of Kuwait as an arbitrary and unwarranted aggression, the relationship between Iraq and its former southern district has been the centerpiece of Arab national resistance to British colonial rule in the Gulf.

Little is known of the popular struggle both within Iraq and Kuwait itself to re-unite Kuwait with Iraq, and to prevent, thereby, the deliberate fragmentation of Iraqi territory, first by Britain and later by the United States.

Ironically, the regimes installed by British colonialism itself under direct British military control could not be coerced successfully into accepting the amputation of Kuwait. This was due partly to the importance of Kuwait's resources but also because local Arab nationalists among indigenous students, workers and, frequently, even the traditional rulers themselves resented the naked exploitation of the foreign oil companies.

The population of the Kuwaiti district, no less than the inhabitants of the rest of Iraq, viewed the detachment of the coastal region of Iraq as a naked attempt by Imperial states to weaken and dominate the Iraqi people as a whole.

The entire period during which Kuwait has been separated from Iraq has been marked by resistance by every successive Iraqi government and, notably by national and student movements within Kuwait itself. It is a history well known to the inhabitants of the Gulf, but scarcely mentioned in the West, even in scholarly work. What follows is a glimpse into a little-known chapter of the popular resistance to imperialism which has characterized the Gulf continuously since the 1890s.

The early history

Mesopotamia, was for millennia a political center, the site for a plethora of states. That part of it now called Iraq has, throughout its long history, been a maritime nation and renowned as a center of commerce.

The small village which evolved over two centuries on the Persian (Arab) Gulf was named Kuwait by Iraqi rulers of the day, a designation meaning "small human settlement." Throughout the 19th century and up to World War I, Kuwait was a "Qadha," a district within the "Liwa" or province of Basra, an integral part of Iraq under the administra-

tive law of the Ottoman State which ruled the Arab nation.

In 1897, the Wali (Governor) of Basra, Mushin Pasha, advised the local village sheikh, Mubarak as-Sabah, of a decision by the Sultan to appoint him "Qa'immaqam" (Prefect) of the Kuwait district of Basra Province. The reasons for giving this administrative role to a relatively obscure local sheikh are instructive.

In the process of consolidating its hold over India, British imperialism sought to weaken all important countries of the region and was determined to extend its colonial control over the Gulf, whose strategic importance lay in the British plan to dismember the Ottoman Empire.

Its strategy entailed securing control of the coast and detaching trade routes and access to the sea from Arab lands under Ottoman rule. This design was fueled by the awareness of huge oil reserves in the region, the importance of which as a commodity was an increasing factor in the thinking of the British Colonial Office.

Muhammad and Jarrah as-Sabah, the two elder brothers of Sheikh Mubarak, were approached by the British to act as direct British agents and to detach the coastal area from Ottoman control. They were to turn the Kuwaiti district into a dependent and distinct colony, for which service they were to be rewarded. Both men refused, but when they went further and sought to organize resistance to these designs, Britain arranged their murder by their younger brother, the Sheikh.

To counter the British scheme, the Ottoman Sultan made the Sheikh a better offer—i.e., the position of Prefect—thereby obviating the need to confront Britain militarily.

The British persisted. In 1898, Sheikh Mubarak as-Sabah, was induced under threat to sign a secret accord placing himself under British "protection." He had no authority to sign agreements, and when the Ottoman Sultan confronted him in 1901, he renounced the coerced accord with the British.

For the next 15 years, Britain conspired to break up the Ottoman Empire, consolidating its control over the Kuwait district. This colonial pursuit was consummated in the Sykes-Picot Treaty of May 9-16, 1916.

Division of Arab nation

On Nov. 9, 1918, a joint Franco-British Declaration called for "the complete and final liberation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of national Governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free

choice of the native populations."

France and Great Britain undertook "to encourage and assist the establishment of native governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia ... and have agreed to recognize such governments as soon as they are effectively established."

On April 24, 1920, the Conference of Allied Powers at San Remo entrusted Great Britain with the Mandate for Palestine. The San Remo Agreements also created an international oil consortium to "prospect for oil in the territory of the former Ottoman Empire." Ninety-five percent of the shares were divided among three countries: Britain 47.5%, France 23.75%, and the United States 23.75%. The Consortium of San Remo became the Iraq Petroleum Company.

France and Britain divided up the Arab nation between them. To weaken Arab nationalists, Britain now set out to land-lock Iraq. It severed Iraqi access to the Gulf by establishing for the first time a territorial entity labelled "Kuwait," with artificial boundaries rooted neither in history nor geography.

In 1921, Britain installed the Hashemites in Baghdad and Amman, sons of the Sherif of Mecca who, with British connivance, were driven from Arabia by the Wahhabi clan of Saud. Although King Faisal I of the Iraqi state was under British military control, neither he nor his dependent administration ever accepted the amputation of the Kuwait district and the removal of Iraqi access to the Gulf.

Faisal sought to build a railway to Kuwait and to build Iraqi port facilities to the city of Kuwait. Britain vetoed both projects, a practice maintained by Britain through 1961, when the Kuwait district was declared "independent."

The attempts by Britain to force Iraqi acceptance made the "Kuwait" question the symbolic focus of the Arab national movement in Iraq and a touchstone both of Iraqi humiliation at the hands of Britain and of anti-colonial struggle.

In 1932, the British Agent in Baghdad forced the Iraqi prime minister, virtually at gun point, to enter into "correspondence" on the delimitation of boundaries for British "Kuwait." The Iraqi Chamber of Deputies, although largely handpicked, nonetheless repudiated the "correspondence."

British designs resisted

Resistance to British designs on the Gulf became an Iraqi *cause celebre* throughout the 1930s. The Iraqi press campaigned for the return to Iraqi sovereign control of the district of Kuwait and the restoration of Iraqi access

to the Gulf.

The British Political Agent in Kuwait, Lieutenant Colonel H. R. P. Dickson (who would become the chief representative of the Kuwait Oil Company in 1936), wrote in his letters to the British Political Resident in the Gulf in 1933 that such was the fever of sentiment both in Iraq and the Kuwaiti district itself for reversion to Iraq that, "residents of Kuwait had to be kept isolated, by force if need be," from contact with other Iraqis.

Faisal I was succeeded by King Ghazi, who alarmed the British by his open call for the recovery of Kuwait. In 1932, Sheikh Ahmad as-Sabah visited Baghdad and met Ghazi. The two men agreed that popular sentiment was running so high that ways had to be found to restore Iraqi sovereignty. Britain prevented Ghazi from traveling to Kuwait, and the two men were not allowed to meet again.

Resistance to Britain spread throughout the country. In April 1938, Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs Tawfiq as-Suweidi informed British Ambassador Peterson in Baghdad:

"The Ottoman-British Agreement of 1913 recognizes Kuwait as a District under the jurisdiction of the Province of Basra. Since sovereignty over Basra has been transferred from the Ottoman State to the Iraqi State, that sovereignty has to include Kuwait under the terms of the 1913 Agreement. Iraq has not recognized any change in the status of Kuwait."

The remarkable boldness of Iraqi functionaries who were, after all, under British military control, was made possible by the emergence of a mass movement among Kuwaiti youth, defying British rule. The "Free Kuwaiti Movement" or "Group of Free Kuwaitis" submitted a mass petition appealing to the Iraqi government to support their demand for immediate reversion of Kuwait to Iraq.

The National Bloc was formed in Kuwait by the Free Kuwaiti Movement and it called upon Sheikh Ahmad as-Sabah to establish a Legislative Council representing the "Free Kuwaitis." Fearing an open uprising, the Sheikh was forced to agree. The first meeting of the Legislative Council in 1938 passed a unanimous resolution demanding that Kuwait revert to Iraq.

Britain, alarmed, but uncertain about the direct use of force, forced the Sheikh to dissolve the Legislative Council and to hunt down, detain, and execute its members.

On March 7, 1939, Free Kuwaitis sent a series of telegrams to King Ghazi, appealing for Iraq's intervention against the Sheikh and the British. Baghdad Radio broadcast the appeal: "Our history supports the return of Kuwait to Iraq. We shall live and die under our own national sovereignty, under the Iraqi flag. Ghazi, help your brethren of Kuwait!"

King Ghazi assassinated

On March 10, 1939, an uprising began against the ruling authority in Kuwait. The Sheikh, with British arms and "advisers," crushed the uprising, killing and imprisoning most of the participants. King Ghazi made a public demand for the release of all detainees and warned the Sheikh to cease all repressive measures against the Free Kuwaiti Movement.

British Ambassador Peterson now summoned King Ghazi and warned him to cease public support for the Free Kuwaiti Movement and to abandon any claims to Kuwait. Ghazi refused. On April 5, 1939, he was found dead, universally believed to have been assassinated by British agents.

Faisal II, the heir to the throne, was an infant so that control was in the hands of British agent Nuri es-Said.

Only in 1940 was the Kuwaiti Sheikh able to replace Iraqi administration of the Postal Service by a British administration, and not until 1945 were Iraqi curricula removed from Kuwaiti schools.

With the end of World War II, British rule was displaced by U.S. imperial domination of the region acting primarily through the settler-colonial state of Israel established in Palestine. Arab national resistance reached a qualitative new scale and Kuwait's relation to Iraq would be central to it.

Part two of this series will document the secret agreements by John Foster Dulles of the United States and British rulers to return Kuwait to Iraqi sovereignty, the breaching of these agreements, the expansion of Kuwait deeper into Iraqi territory (encompassing Iraqi oil fields), the theft by Kuwaiti rulers of Iraqi oil reserves, the ensnaring of Saddam Hussein by the Kuwaiti and Saudi monarchies under U.S. direction to attack Iran, and the economic warfare waged against Iraq by the Sheikhs of Kuwait, the Emirates, and the Saudi monarchy. ■

...U.S. war moves in Middle East

(continued from page 1)

gression as an acceptable form of behavior that the United Nations has the power to suppress acts of aggression," he added. "There is ample evidence that this right can be exercised. It will be, if the illegal occupation of Kuwait continues."

Only Cuba's representative on the 15 member Security Council voted against the air embargo and the new threats against Iraq.

Secretary of State James Baker praised Shevardnadze's speech and said he was "extraordinarily pleased" by the role of the United Nations to date.

This reactionary alliance between the U.S. and Soviet governments is a knife in the back of the Arab people. It is a green light to im-

Saddam Hussein's Iraq should be attacked. They all agree with Bush that the "historic period of collaboration" with the Soviet Union's rulers opens a new post-Cold War era where Washington can impose its will around the world—"a new world order."

Not so simple

But it's not so simple. While the mass media present a picture of near total domestic and world support for the U.S. war alliance against Iraq, reality is a little more complicated.

The Aug. 2 Iraqi intervention into Kuwait and its later annexation of Kuwait to Iraq's southern province is Washington's hypocriti-

cal case that Kuwait is an "independent" country only because of British and U.S. imperialism. The so-called land dispute between Sheik Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah and Iraq did not originate in August or since Saddam Hussein became ruler of Iraq 20 years ago. For centuries, Kuwait was an integral part of Iraq. [See article on page 8.]

The loyal pro-imperialist kingdoms now allowing a U.S. military presence on Arab territory—Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, along with Saudi Arabia—were all created and supported by imperialism to blunt pan-Arab nationalism.

These brutal reactionary regimes are hated by their own people. It is not only the Palestinians in Jordan and other countries

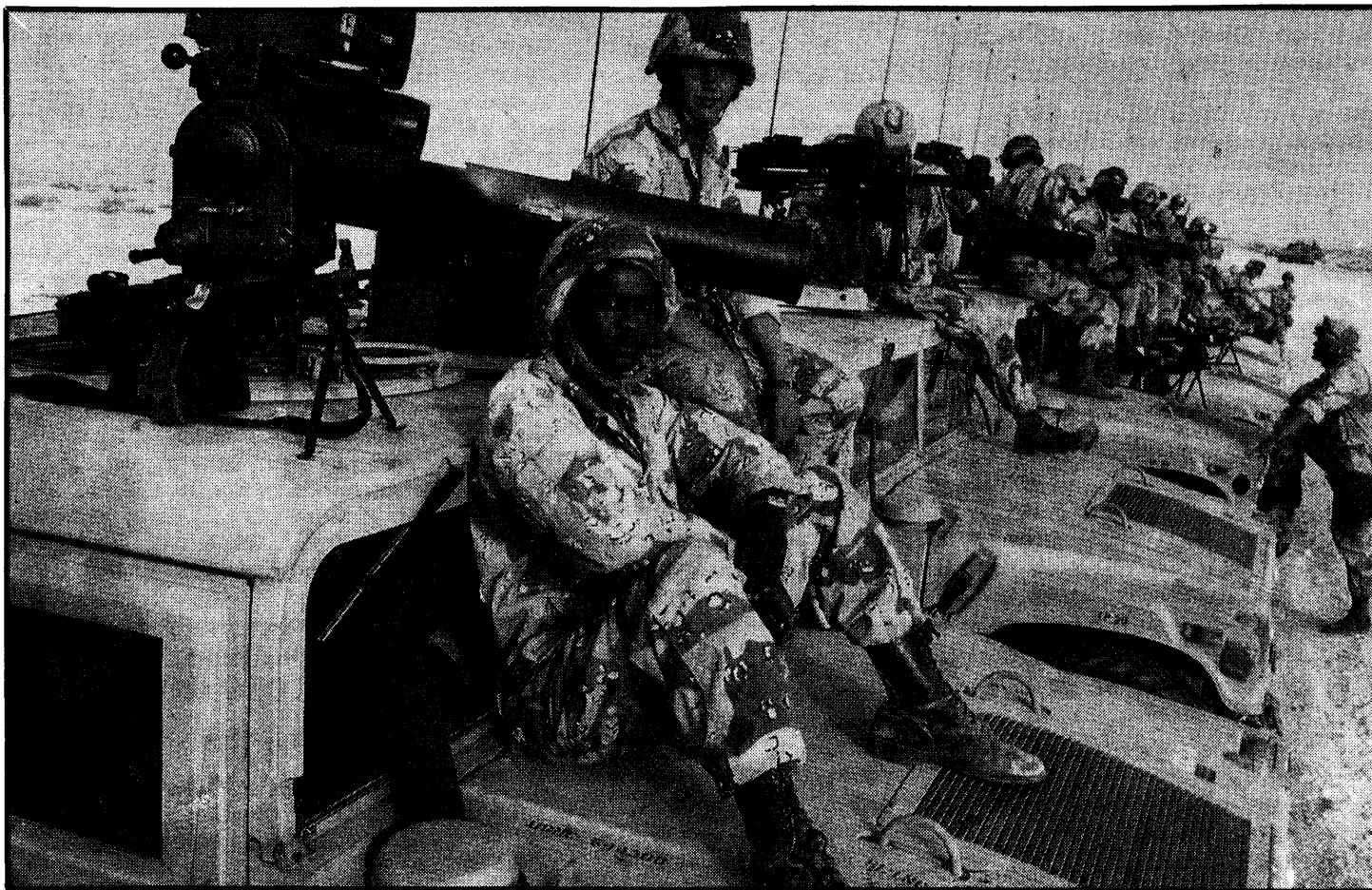
Danger of Tonkin Gulf incident in Middle East

The current military buildup in the Persian Gulf is the fastest and most costly since the Vietnam War (approximately \$1 billion per month), involving as many as 200,000 U.S. troops by the end of the year.

While government officials are careful to point out that they are pursuing a "diplomatic" solution to the "crisis," top U.S. commanders are warning that by the end of September, the U.S. military apparatus might be ready to "go on the offensive," according to Marine Lt. Gen. Walt Boomer. "The United States and its Arab partners are at least two weeks short of being ready to strike to overthrow Iraqi President Saddam Hussein," states *Pittsburgh-Post Gazette* staffwriter Joseph Cox (Sept. 3, 1990).

Cox, quoting "well-informed sources" in Saudi Arabia and in the U.S. military, notes that the U.S. could provoke a shooting incident over the Iraqi border which would give the United States the pretext to recapture Kuwait and possibly move to depose Hussein in Iraq.

The Saudi Arabian source told Cox: "We create them [provocations] every day. We create them 20 times a day when we lock our radars onto their planes. If we wanted, we could shoot one of his [Saddam Hussein's] planes and say it was on our side of the border. How would anyone know where it was?"



perialism to step up its aggression. It is an endorsement for the Israeli rulers to step up their violence against the Palestinian people.

With Moscow's backing, Washington continues its massive build-up in the Gulf at breakneck speed. Operation Desert Shield is Washington's biggest military deployment since the Vietnam War. While exact figures are not available, it is estimated that by the end of the year more than 200,000 troops and support personnel will be in the region.

The military presence extends beyond Saudi Arabia and the ships in the Gulf. Reactionary regimes in Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates have all opened their territory to the U.S. military.

The aggression against the Arab people has wide bipartisan support in Congress. Differences among Democrats and Republicans are not over the alleged "right" of U.S. intervention but over if, when, and how

cal pretext for its war drive. The United Nations and the Saudi royal family provide Washington its cover.

For decades the U.S. government has sought military bases on Arab territory. This became even more urgent after the downfall of the U.S. puppet regime of the Shah in Iran in 1979. This left Israel as Washington's only reliable "policeman" in the region.

Washington's strategic concern has always been the huge oil reserves, not the rights of the Arab people. The sheik of Kuwait is a reliable U.S. ally; Saddam Hussein is not. What's at stake is the United State's long-term economic and political interests not only in the Arab East but everywhere. The oppressed peoples of the world must not get the idea that they can take over their own economic resources and destinies.

There is ample evidence to support Iraq's

who are hailing Saddam against Bush. Poor Arab (and non-Arab) workers and peasants in Saudi Arabia and Egypt are also anti-American. Big pro-Iraqi demonstrations have taken place in Syria, Algeria, Tunisia, and Iran.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security adviser to President Carter, noted this sentiment in a recent column: "Recently I was talking to an Arab ambassador from a country that is participating in our efforts to isolate Iraq and who is very supportive of what we are doing. He told me the masses in his country are seething with hostility toward the United States.

"Anti-Americanism is very high throughout the Arab world. It is high in Egypt; [President] Mubarak could become vulnerable over time. It is quite high in Saudi Arabia, below the surface. It is even high in countries as far away as Morocco."

\$40 a barrel

Meanwhile, the price of oil continues to skyrocket. By the end of September, a barrel of crude oil was selling for \$40—despite the fact that Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing countries have increased production to make up for the embargoed Iraqi oil.

This price gouging is leading to super profits for the big oil companies while working people suffer. If war does break out soon, oil speculators expect the price of oil to go as high as \$60 to \$80 a barrel!

The U.S. economy is for all practical purposes in a recession. Numerous companies have begun lay offs and others have cutback on capital investments. Wall Street stocks continue to decline. Between July 16 and Sept. 28, the stock market fell 19.1 percent.

Operation Desert Shield is costing the Pentagon more than \$1 billion a month. The estimated cost for 1991 is \$17.5 billion. Only some of that is being paid by the imperialist allies and the traitor Arab regimes.

While the impact of the oil shock and the general decline of the economy will increasingly hurt working people in the United States, it is devastating for people in semi-colonial countries.

Washington, thus far, has not had to pay a high political price with the U.S. public for its intervention in the Middle East and the

growing economic problems. But this will end when body bags begin to come home and the gasoline prices double or triple.

"Vietnam Syndrome" is not dead

The "Vietnam Syndrome" is not dead. Numerous protest teach-ins, rallies, and demonstrations have already been organized around the country. [See stories on pp. 10-17.]

The broad alliance the United States has forged against Iraq gives the illusion that a "quick" and "short" war with modest costs is possible.

But this "unity" is not durable. It cannot stop the Arab people and other oppressed people in the region, the Kurds in particular, from fighting for justice—against Washington, London, Paris, and their Arab friends.

A war against Iraq will ignite rebellions throughout the Arab East and lead to a protracted war on many fronts. The anti-Iraqi alliance will crumble rapidly.

The criminal economic blockade by land, air, and sea is therefore crucial to the imperialists' attempt to bring down Saddam Hussein's regime.

At the same time, however, the longer there is no war, the price imperialism and its allies will pay for their anti-Arab policies will increase. The truth about Kuwait's history and that of the reactionary regimes will begin to filter out to working people around the world. It will become clear that the real issue is not Iraq's annexation of Kuwait but Washington's aggression against the Arab masses.

The United Nations can provide no solution to the crisis in the Middle East. Its role is reactionary. It can't and won't protect the rights of the Arab people. It is a tool of oppression.

Self-determination for the Arab people will only be possible when the United States and other imperialist forces are immediately withdrawn from the Arab East. "U.S. Out of the Middle East! — Hands Off Iraq!" must be the slogans of supporters of human rights and democracy around the world.

...Jake Cooper

(continued from page 7)

raised funds from union locals to purchase hundreds of tons of food for the courageous Hormel strikers.

But this wasn't Jake's only contribution to the strike. He drew on his direct experience in the union battles of the 1930s and 1940s to alert the P-9 leadership and membership to the pitfalls of the Corporate Campaign strategy they had adopted for the strike.

This strategy was based on the idea that the class-struggle methods of mass, militant picketlines were a relic of the past. Instead, the Corporate Campaign advocated a public-relations campaign designed to bring pressure on the financial institutions that had financial relationships with Hormel. Such a strategy was actually counterposed to the mobilization of the workers to close down the plant.

Jake wrote a pamphlet called "Lessons of the P-9 Strike" which drew a balance sheet of the strike and its lessons for the entire labor movement. Hundreds of copies were eagerly read by P-9 members, their support-

ers, and other trade unionists in the area.

A few weeks before his death, Jake was an honored guest speaker at a picnic to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Austin strike.

Last month, Jake was invited to Mexico to participate in a commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination. [See Jake's article in this section.]

As we try to adjust to the loss of Jake, it's no small comfort to remember that he died a happy and fulfilled man, both personally and politically. He had a loving family, financial security, and good health well into his older years.

In the political sphere, Jake's life ended as it had begun, right at the center of building a socialist movement in the United States and around the world. He traveled a path from which he never diverged for 54 years.

The revolutionary program that Jake helped formulate also spawned the Jake Cooper whose contributions are only briefly described here. We should celebrate Jake Cooper's splendid life by doing what Jake did—talk to the many young people on the campuses, in the oppressed nationalities, in the factories, and everywhere else who can be won to the only way out of misery and alienation—the socialist future.

Essential reading on the Middle East

"The Hidden History of Zionism"

a Socialist Action pamphlet by Ralph Schoenman, 104 pp.

Send \$4 to 3435 Army St. #308 San Francisco, CA 94110.

Make checks payable to Walnut Publishing Co.

Boston teach-in condemns U.S. war threats in Gulf

By SCOTT ADAMS-COOPER

BOSTON—More than 200 people filled the Arlington Street Church here on Sept. 7 to participate in the first local teach-in on the situation in the Middle East. The teach-in was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee Against a Vietnam War in the Middle East.

Roger Sheppard, a trade unionist who chaired the meeting and spoke for the committee, told the crowd, "We would like to show this country that the Vietnam Syndrome is alive and well."

Introducing the first speaker, Vietnam veteran Paul Atwood, Sheppard said, "When I started protesting that war back in 1962, we had no vets to explain what war was like, or what they had to go through. Today there are many organizations of veterans throughout this country who are organizing to teach the truth that this war for oil, this war for profit, this obscene war that can cost hundreds of thousands of lives, should be opposed."

Largest build-up since D-Day

Atwood began his talk pointing out that in its first month in the Persian Gulf, the United States had deployed "more men and materiel to new bases in the Middle East than it did in the first six months of the Korean War.... The United States has not deployed troops on such a scale since D-Day in World War II."

Atwood made clear that the impending war is not in the interests of the masses of U.S.



Jean-Claude Martineau

citizens. "When George Bush said that troops were in Saudi Arabia to defend 'our way of life,' he really meant the way of life of the owning class of America ... the 'security' of Exxon, Amoco, Hughes Aircraft, and Northrop."

Atwood read a statement to the teach-in from Howard Zinn, noted historian and author of "A People's History of the United States." Zinn's statement read, in part: "I join you in protesting U.S. policy in the Middle East.... It is simply greed for oil profits, for power."

Sheppard then introduced representatives of

Minister Don Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, who had planned to speak but was unexpectedly called out of town. They had come to show support for the teach-in from Mosque 11 in Boston.

Kuwait carved out of Iraq

Ralph Schoenman, who organized the Vietnam War Crimes Tribunals in Europe during the 1960s while working for Bertrand Russell, was the next speaker.

Noting the long history of imperialist intervention in the Middle East, Schoenman explained how Kuwait was carved out of Iraq by the British War Office in 1922, depriving Iraq of access to the sea.

Schoenman also pointed out how demagogic posturing by the United States against Arab leaders is nothing new. "When Nasser [of Egypt] nationalized the Suez Canal, electrifying the Arab nation, the British, French, Israeli, and American press were full of alarm about the man they called 'the Hitler of the Nile.'"

Schoenman told the meeting that "U.S. preparations for the military occupation of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait itself have been on the drawing boards since 1973." He cited a 1974 *Business Week* article outlining how U.S. military and political strategists were planning a parachute assault to seize the major Arab oil fields in the aftermath of the Arab oil embargo.

The final speaker was Jean-Claude Martineau, an outspoken champion of Haitian

rights and a noted playwright.

Martineau blasted the complicity of the U.S. capitalist press in whipping up war hysteria: "Have you noticed that each night they [the media] choose exactly the same news items to present to the American people, and most of the time in the same order and the same language? It is about time that we denounce the American press as being a propaganda press."

Martineau pointed out that the U.S. government is willing to defend the sovereignty of Kuwait, but not that of Panama or Grenada. "And what about the sovereignty of my country?" he continued. "We have struggled a long time to kick out the bloodiest dictatorship in our history—and whenever we kick one out, another one springs up with the help of the United States."

Martineau also blasted the U.S. government's hypocrisy in defending Kuwait. "It's a big deal when Saddam Hussein arrives in Kuwait and seizes their gold and hard currency reserves. But it so happens that in 1915 a [U.S.] Marine detachment landed in the capital of my country, walked straight to the National Bank, and seized our gold reserves.... This highway robbery came one year before our country was invaded and occupied by the Marines—for 19 years."

Martineau concluded by warning of a U.S. military presence in the Gulf region for years to come. "In 1898, they invaded Puerto Rico in order to 'help' them gain independence from Spain. They're still there. Now, when are they going to leave Saudi Arabia?"

The teach-in was covered by many campus newspapers and other media. Close to 100 participants signed up to help build a Boston demonstration on Oct. 20 and another city-wide teach-in on Oct. 21. Other teach-ins are scheduled for U. Mass., Boston University, Brandeis, and Cambridge Rindge & Latin High School.

2000 people rally in NYC:

By CHRIS BIELER

Two-thousand people packed Cooper Union's Great Hall for a rally calling for "No Vietnam War in the Middle East!" on

Sept. 13. It was the first major expression of opposition in New York City to the U.S. government's war moves in the Persian Gulf. The rally was organized by the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle

East.

"No war for Big Oil!" — "Bring Our Troops Home Now!" said Marine resister Eric Larsen, in one of the best-received speeches of the evening. Earlier the crowd had been read a statement against U.S. policy in the Middle East by Ron Kovic, whose life story was told in the movie, "Born on the Fourth of July."

"This expedition is a classical form of colonialism," said former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, one of the most prominent figures in the new coalition. "There is only one reason why we're there and we know it—oil. We intend to have our way with that oil."

"This is a war for oil, but not just for oil," said Coalition coordinator Gavriella Gemma. "The real issue is who will wind up controlling the oil profits." Gemma pointed to the \$100 billion in oil profits Kuwait has deposited in U.S. banks.

"If you're an absolute monarch and you butcher workers but keep profits flowing, you're OK," Gemma said, referring to the Kuwaiti monarch whom the United States now hails as a "freedom fighter."

Esmeralda Brown, from the Commission on the U.S. Invasion of Panama, placed the U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf in the context of the U.S. invasion and continuing occupation of Panama. That invasion by the United States, she said, left 3000 dead and 10,000 homeless.

Ella Horne, a New York City caseworker whose daughter is in the Army reserves, linked the fight against U.S. intervention in the Middle East to the fight for social justice here at home. We in the United States, she said, should "renew a drive for civil rights ... affordable housing, and good teachers in schools ... [rather than] fighting a war against other poor people."

Organizations that have endorsed the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East include Vietnam Veterans Against the War, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Women Strike for Peace, National Lawyers Guild, Nicaraguan Network of Greater New York, and the General Union of Palestinian Students.

Money for Jobs, Not War!

The Coalition has been formed on the basis of a four-part program: withdrawal of all military forces, no establishment of U.S. bases; legislation prohibiting the president from usurping the war powers relegated to Congress; support for peaceful diplomatic efforts to end the crisis; and money for human needs, not war.

Printers endorse

By PAUL COLVIN

SAN FRANCISCO—At its meeting on Sept. 23, the Bay Area Typographical Union #21 heard a brief presentation by Gerry Condon, a member of the United Bay Area Veterans Against War in the Middle East.

Condon explained why working people in the United States have nothing to gain from the pending war in the Persian Gulf. He ended his remarks by announcing a demonstration in San Francisco on Oct. 20 in opposition to U.S. intervention in the Middle East.

A motion to endorse the demonstration was passed by almost total consent of the members present. Only three dissenting votes were noted.

700 mobilize in Seattle

By RICH SMITH

SEATTLE—Chanting "Hell, no, we won't go, we won't fight for Texaco," 700 people marched here on Sept. 8 to protest U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf.

The march and rally was organized by the Northwest Coalition Against U.S. Military Intervention in the Middle East. Rally speakers included anti-apartheid activists, Vietnam War veterans, environmentalists, and Palestinian refugees.

An article in the following day's *Seattle Times* captured the crowd's deep suspicions about U.S. domestic and foreign policy. March participant Sue Hodes told the *Times* that the military build-up in Saudi Arabia was a red herring designed to draw attention away from the savings and loan scandal. "Where did that go?" she asked. "It's never on the front pages anymore."

Sarah Luthwack, a student at the University of Washington, said: "Probably the first shot will be fired when Neil Bush starts to testify."

If the rally is any indication, however, the two central and also most deeply felt demands of the still-unfolding antiwar movement in the New York City area are: "No Vietnam War in the Middle East!" and "Bring The Troops Home Now!"

Already activists are seeking to use the momentum from the rally to build a mass demonstration in New York City on Oct. 20 with precisely those two demands.



Tina Beacock/Socialist Action

300 march in Chicago: 'U.S. Troops Out Now!'

By TINA BEACOCK

CHICAGO—Over 300 people marched and rallied here on Sept. 22 to protest U.S. troops in the Middle East. The demonstration was sponsored by a local coalition, the Emergency Coalition for Peace in the Middle East.

Alex Molnar, the writer of a protest letter to President Bush published in *The New York Times*, sent a message thanking people for their support. Molnar is receiving 200 letters a day in support of his antiwar message to Bush.

The rally also heard Frank Rosen, district director of the United Electrical Workers Union, and many other speakers.

While some speakers, including Rosen, called for support to the U.N. sanctions, the overwhelming bulk of signs and chants called for "U.S. Troops Out," the slogan the demonstration had been built on.

Student participation from several area campuses indicated the potential this movement has of drawing in many new activists to demand, "Bring the Troops Home Now!"

Berkeley teach-in demands: U.S. Out of the Middle East!

On Sept. 14, close to 2000 people participated in a "Teach-In Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East" at U.C. Berkeley's Zellerbach Auditorium.

The event, organized by the Ad Hoc Committee Against A Vietnam War in the Middle East, sent a powerful signal to the warmakers in Washington that a broad and sizeable opposition already exists—and is beginning to mobilize—against U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf.

Given the national significance of this event, we are devoting four pages of our newspaper to print excerpts from most of the speeches presented to the teach-in.

Other speakers, whose presentations are not included here for reasons of space, are Eric Myer, head of Students for Peace in the Persian Gulf at U.C. Berkeley; Brian Willson, Vietnam antiwar veteran; Nomonde Ngubo, founder of the South African Miners Union; and Jim Ryder, president of the International Longshore and Warehouse Workers Union, Local 6.

Dick Roberts, author of several books on oil and the Middle East, spoke at the Berkeley teach-in. He also gave an expanded version of his talk at a Socialist Action forum in San Francisco on Sept. 15. We are printing major excerpts from his Sept. 15 presentation on the last page of this four-page section.



• Jeff Mackler, Teach-in coordinator:

The message of the Ad Hoc Committee Against a Vietnam War in the Middle East which organized tonight's teach-in is simple and direct. It is before you now as a slogan which we seek to make a reality: No U.S. intervention in the Middle East! Bring the Troops Home Now!

I have spent the larger portion of my life opposing U.S. interventions into the affairs and lives of other nations—particularly the U.S. war in Vietnam, where 55,000 American men and women—and almost 2 million Vietnamese—were killed when the United States tried to punish a poor people for "invading" the land they were born in.

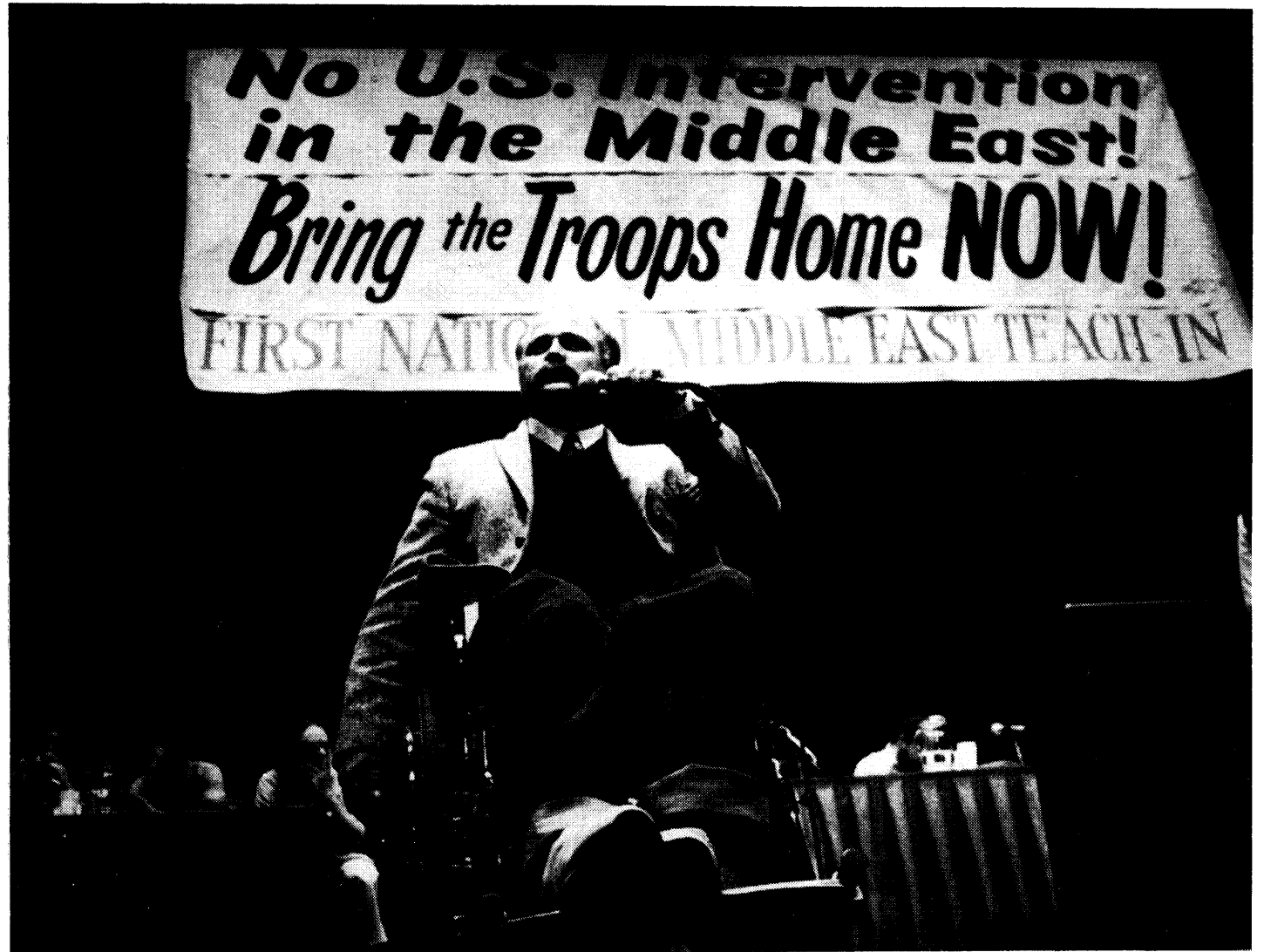
We have not lost the lessons of Vietnam. We are still afflicted with the disease which worries the State Department no end—the Vietnam Syndrome. This wonderful malady has taught us that we have no right to impose our will on other nations, that we must not take for good coin the war propaganda of the American media.

It reminds us that in Vietnam we—that is, our government—used poison gas and chemicals in a war against a peasant people, that we dropped more bombs on Vietnam than in all the wars combined since the beginning of time—and we lost.

We lost the Vietnam War because we have no right—no moral, legal, or political right—to impose what was then also called the "American Way of Life" on the people of Vietnam.

Never mind the pretexts. They will always be invented, like the fabricated Tonkin Bay incident which opened the Vietnam War. We were told that Vietnamese sampan fired on a U.S. destroyer, and the blood began to flow.

Neither do we seek a "Korean War" solu-



Ron Kovic speaks out at Sept. 14, 1990, Berkeley teach-in

All Photos Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

tion, where United Nations stickers are affixed to U.S. helmets, with the same result: death and destruction of the poor.

No one has the right to intervene. Neither the United States nor its French and British allies have the right to speak of borders in the Middle East. It was their armies which drew the borders against the wishes of the Arab people. They drew and redrew the borders with each World War, and the process continues.

It was their weapons which installed the monarchs, kings, oligarchs, and dictators. And the weapons were always pointed against the people of the region, who struggled for the simple idea that they had the right to control their own destinies. The borders of the Middle East are not for the U.S. to draw.

Our government's record in the Middle East has been one of plunder. Its aim has been to secure the single resource of the region—oil—for the profit of U.S. corporations at the cheapest price.

Our record in the Middle East has not been to protect the right of nations. To the contrary, we have sought to destroy nations, like the people of Palestine, whose scattered people will never cease their struggle for their homeland.

"How can we just leave Vietnam?" the Congress and generals used to ask. And we answered: "By boat, or plane, or just walk!"

I offer the same formula for the Middle East. We are not there to establish peace and justice. Was it not the United States which supplied the poison gas which Saddam Hussein used on the oppressed Kurdish minority?

Didn't the United States aid and abet the seven-year Iraqi war against Iran, which took the lives of almost 1 million Iranians and Iraqis?

"What will happen to the poor people of the region if we just leave?" the warmakers ask.

I respond, with hope and perhaps with some knowledge, that left on their own—without our advisers, arms, tanks, and the rape of their resources—the people of the Middle East might just remove their own tyrants and build a society based on the kind of love for humanity which we here struggle for in the United States today. Bring the Troops Home Now!



• Margarita Melville, chair of the Chicano Studies Department at U.C. Berkeley:

We are told we are a democratic nation, but less than 50 percent of our eligible voters actually participate. Does not the Middle East crisis point out the fact that the two-party system is dead, if it ever was alive?

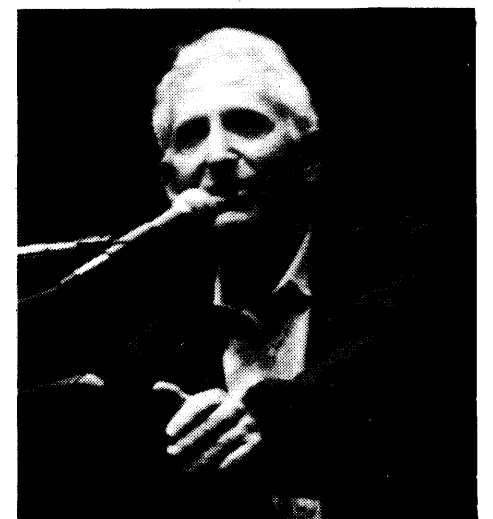
How is it that our government can get away with overthrowing popularly elected governments such as Guatemala (1954), Brazil (1964), Chile (1973) while proclaiming that those fascist governments, like the one presently in El Salvador and Guatemala, are democracies?

National security is defined as the recognition of artificial borders. But most, if not all, so-called national borders are the constructs of conquests of colonialism, including, of course, our own.

Kuwait is an invention of the British colonial office, which like Saudi Arabia was constructed for imperial interests. The Kuwaiti economy was built on the backs of poor Filipinos, Indians, Africans, Palestinians, Egyptians, and so on, overseen by British, French, and American engineers and technicians, inventing a miniscule Arab elite—all this in the service of the industrialized nations, the wealthiest 15 percent of the world's population.

If we want to play a role in making it a better world, we have to create a new political order in this country, a new political culture. It may take 10 years; it may take 50.

But if we want to be part of the solution we must begin to form a viable political alternative to the inoperable, defunct Democratic and Republican parties.



• Daniel Ellsberg, author of the "Pentagon Papers":

Before I was put on trial [for publishing the "Pentagon Papers"], I was in Vietnam. I had been in the Defense Department. I had been in the Rand Corporation—so that's to say that I've been wrong before.

Let me speak very briefly here to and for the people in the American public who are still capable, after all this time, of being fooled by American presidents.

I listened to an American president a couple of weeks ago describe a policy of responding to an aggression—not on this occasion an American aggression, like in Panama, or Libya, or Grenada—but responding to aggression in the company of the United Nations and backed by a U.N.-sponsored economic embargo, boycott, and blockade.

Many Americans who listened to the president's speech said, "This is the first American foreign policy and U.S. intervention I can support in a very, very long time." I was one of those people who said this. Well, fooled again!

I believe that the majority of the American

(continued on next page)

... Berkeley teach-in draws 2000

people support and applaud this administration's policy. But this majority is deeply misled as to the nature of that policy. They are applauding a policy which is not the policy of the United States right now.

Deterring aggression is not the purpose of the last 100,000 or so American troops that have been deployed, or the next 100,000 that are on their way and will arrive in the next several weeks, thereby building up a posture which is now openly described as an offensive posture.

Saddam Hussein and Kuwait can only be "redeemed" by aims that can only be achieved by war. The ousting of Saddam Hussein and the overthrow of his regime are aims that can only be achieved by the combat use of the forces that are being sent over there.

That war would be catastrophic, tragic in every sense—political and diplomatic. It would preclude both Arab and non-Arab support and would preclude any of the positive aims that some people had hoped for.

Saddam Hussein is a monster, but he is not a fool. There is almost no prospect whatever of expecting him to force the U.S. hand. If there is war it is overwhelmingly likely that it will be a war that the United States has initiated, perhaps by some incident like the one that I experienced in the Pentagon: the Gulf of Tonkin incident, which I exposed in the "Pentagon Papers." That is, a calculated, provoked, or hoaxed up incident that appears to justify going to war.

We have to be clear. Hostage taking by anybody in any circumstance, or the threat of harming hostages, is terrorism no matter who does it, under what circumstances. The current U.S. policy of threatening bombing and preparing to carry it out makes hostages of all the children in Iraq, all the people in Israel, all the people in Saudi Arabia and in the rest of the Arab world.

If there is a war, if there is a U.S.-initiated war, we will finish it. You and I, and others like us in this country, will have to do that as we finished the Vietnam War.

It would be tragic and catastrophic if it came to that. We must prevent that war. The lesson we must draw from Vietnam is that war must be averted. There must be no Tonkin Gulf, that is, no Persian Gulf incident; no Tonkin Gulf resolution, no Persian Gulf resolution, no blank check from Congress to do that again. There must be no Persian Gulf memorial in Washington, D.C.!



• Daniel Sheehan, chief legal counsel of the Christic Institute:

As someone who has spent over 20 years protecting our Constitution against encroachments by the executive branch, I'd like to state bluntly that what we are being told [about the crisis in the Persian Gulf] does not comport to objective reality.

A more objective perspective would lead one to immediately reflect upon the fact that in 1988 Mikhail Gorbachev unilaterally dismantled the Warsaw Pact, and that in 1989 the United States military-industrial complex was basically suffering from apoplexy and trying to figure out how they could justify a continuing \$350-billion-a-year military budget.

A major internal study has been done by Professor Mike Clair from Hampshire College in Massachusetts. He's been analyzing the internal communications between the White House and the Pentagon and has discovered that after the spring of 1990 a major debate broke out within the administration between two basic camps.

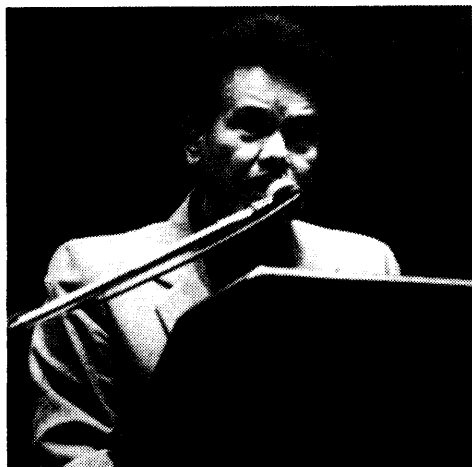
The first camp advocated that we go the way of Germany and Japan—that is, that we make dramatic cuts in the military budget, use the federal taxes to invest in the capital infrastructure of the United States, retool our industry, and modernize.

The opponent camp advocated a massive maintenance of military spending to develop a highly mobile tactical Delta force, an improved capacity of "low-intensity" warfare, and a covert operational mobility to neutralize threats.

What Professor Clair has concluded is that by May of 1990—that is, months before the August action by Saddam Hussein—this latter group had achieved ascendancy within the executive branch. They had written White Papers that were going inside the administration advocating a new rationale for a massive U.S. military.

And this rationale, according to one of the White Papers, is to "provide a military shield to protect the Western industrial world's access to strategic raw materials against Third World threats by use of 'low-intensity' warfare tactics."

And in this White Paper of May 1990, the name of Iraq and Saddam Hussein were set forth as "the optimum contender to replace the Warsaw Pact" as a justification for major military expenditure, and it proposed that Iraq be dealt with by "low-intensity" conflict attacks.



• Carlos Muñoz, Professor of Chicano studies at U.C. Berkeley, and author of "Youth Identity and Power: The Chicano Movement":

I heard President Bush speak to the Congress on Wednesday [Sept. 12]. His message was loud and clear. It was a chilling message of intolerance for the rights of sovereign nations to settle their own disputes, and a frightening message of war.

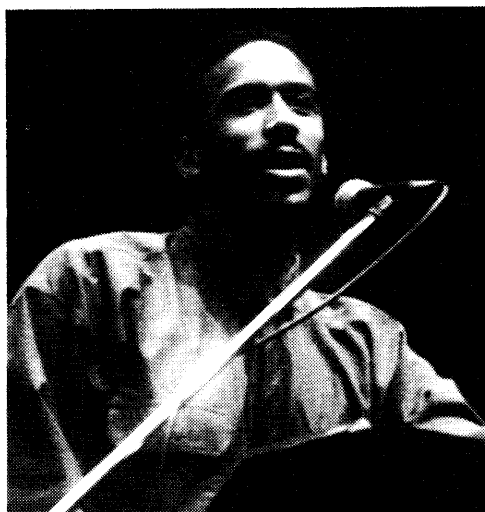
I awaited with anticipation the response of the Democratic Party loyal opposition. And instead I heard the response of a loyal ally to the Republican Party and to the Bush administration. His name was Richard Gephardt [Democratic Congressman from Missouri], and he said the following, "The President has asked for our support. He has it. We are clear about what's involved. And it's right."

He went on to congratulate the U.S. troops for "frontline defense against a fanatical regime." Then he went on to say, in conclusion, that if Saddam Hussein starts a war, "Know that we will finish it."

I read with dismay, as I'm sure many of you have, that even liberals in the print media have fallen victim to Bush's message. *New York Times* journalist Anthony Lewis said the following just the other day in *The New York Times*: "President Bush has handled the Iraqi crisis with wisdom, professionalism, and care for long-term interests rare in recent decades of American leadership." My goodness!

Lewis went on to write that he was skeptical of Bush before, but that he has now become an admirer, and he concluded his column with the following words: "Americans can believe in the government's policy and be proud of it!"

Well, I'm not proud of it—not at all! Say no to U.S. intervention in Kuwait! No U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf! No U.S. intervention in Central America! No U.S. intervention in the barrios, in the ghettos of this country!



• Pedro Noguera, former President of the Student Body, U.C. Berkeley:

- It's clear from recent history that for the United States to claim moral leadership on the basis that it upholds international law and respects the sovereignty of the poor nations is nothing short of hypocrisy.

What's at stake in the Middle East is not the sovereignty of the kingdom of Kuwait—but oil. Just like in Panama the real issue was not whether or not Noriega, who had been a trusted ally of the United States, was involved in drug dealing. The issue was: Who controls the Panama Canal?

This build-up that's taking place in the Persian Gulf, and the potential war that's about to occur, represents the "peace divi-



• Ron Kovic, disabled Vietnam War veteran, author, "Born on the Fourth of July":

I come here tonight to tell you that this fight is just beginning and that if President Bush goes to war in the Middle East, then we are going to be back on the streets of this country, until we finish.

Because we are not going to allow what happened in Vietnam to ever happen again! We will not allow another war in Washington to happen in the names of 50,000 or 100,000 or 150,000 young American boys for a war that is being fought for corporations, profits, and oil!

Do not underestimate, Mr. Bush, the power of the American people. Do not underestimate the fact that we now understand that your government does not represent the people, but represents greed and selfishness, and profit, and we will not stand for it any longer.

I went to Vietnam for the first time in December of 1965. I grew up in a small town of Long Island called Massapequa. And I remember, as many of you do in this gathering tonight, watching John F. Kennedy on Jan. 20, 1961, in his inaugural address. I felt that I was serving my country and I volunteered with the U.S. Marine Corps. I had grown up with John Wayne movies, much like the Rambo movies that have sent tens of thousands of young American men and women to the Saudi Arabian desert.

I came back from Vietnam after I was wounded on Jan. 20, 1968, in the demilitarized zone. I was shot with a rifle bullet through my right shoulder. The bullet passed through my right lung and paralyzed me from my mid-chest down. That was after my second tour of duty.

I had volunteered to go back to Vietnam a second time because I still believed they

were telling me the truth. I was a very stubborn boy, and it would take getting paralyzed from my mid-chest down, being sent to a rat-infested Veterans Administration hospital in the Bronx.

It would take undercover agents posing as Vietnam veterans against the war, and throwing me out of my wheelchair, kicking me in my stomach, calling me a communist and a traitor for me to begin to wake up, for me to begin to realize that they had been lying to me and to a generation of American boys, that these people who I once respected, these people who I thought to be my leaders were in fact the real traitors.

And then I began to realize that they had taken our country from us, this country that we were born in, this country that we have been trying to love. They have caused suffering and misery, degradation and disease and death throughout the world in the name of the American people. They have shamed us.

Tonight we will begin a movement for all the people, and not only every American man, woman, and child, but for every human being in every country. We must begin to build a new movement.

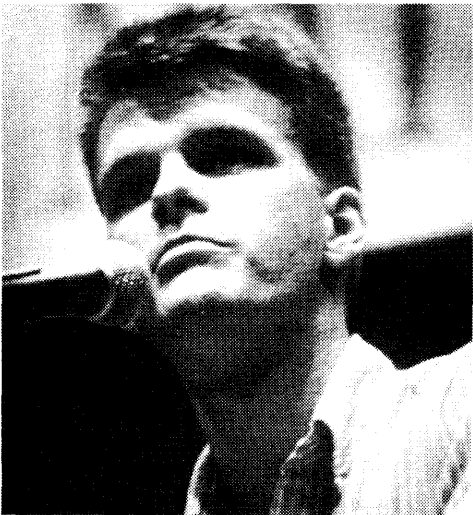
Eric Larsen—will you stand up, Eric—is a marine who will not go to war. Eric, I feel confident that I will not let them do—that we will not let them do—to Eric what they did to me and a generation of Americans.

We promise you tonight, Eric, that because you've had the courage and the decency to stand up for your beliefs, you will not come home in a wheelchair and your name will not be on a wall in Washington.

Because, Eric, we are all part of the same community, and that community is going to grow. Two thousand people were in Cooper Union in New York last night. Almost 2000 people are here tonight—and Mr. President, we are just beginning!

dend" that some of us hoped would begin a process of rebuilding devastated communities in our country that have been allowed to languish over the last 10 years.

In the midst of the patriotism that has been generated to justify a war that will kill many people in the Middle East, once again issues related to poverty, hunger, homelessness, no support to public education and public health will be back-burner issues. We need a movement that begins to redefine America's priorities.



• Eric Glen Larsen, Lance Corporal, United States Marine Corps (Reserve):

My name is Eric Larsen. I'm a Lance Corporal in the United States Marine Corps. I'm based with the Fourth High Command Aircraft Missile Battalion, Fourth Marine Air Wing, in Hayward, Calif. On April 21, 1986, I joined the Marine Corps to defend the American dream, which attracted my parents to this country in 1958.

I emerged from boot camp three months later, a fully indoctrinated fighting machine, willing to go anywhere in the world to defend the ideals and freedoms stated in the Constitution of the United States of America.

I first became aware of the reality of U.S. foreign policies through student activists in the Bay Area. They introduced me to alternative speakers and books, and exposed me to the writings and teachings of Oscar Romero of El Salvador.

I avidly studied American history and learned about U.S. support and sponsorship of exploitative policies motivated by corporate and personal greed. You can say I had a conversion experience.

How can you not be converted when 70,000 Salvadorans get killed over the last 10 years as a result of U.S. policies? How can you not be converted when the people of the Philippines are fed U.S.-manufactured bullets and starve of malnourishment. How can you not be converted when fragmentation grenades maim innocent people in Angola? There is no justification for war.

I can no longer abide by the orders of my Commander-in-Chief. My actions are accountable ultimately to a higher authority. My ethical and moral convictions have led me to declare my opposition to the escalation of tensions and seemingly inevitable war in the Middle East. It sickens me to hear that 40,000 of my fellow reservists and 80,000 of my active-duty brothers and sisters are going to wage war in the Middle East to protect our American life style.

Oil imports could be cut in half if a sound energy policy focusing on renewable resources and conservation was in effect. Now what is it that our "environmental" president proposes? He proposes that we keep our tires inflated and drive the speed limit. Well bull shit!

We are wasting over \$30 million a day in Saudi Arabia while our inner-city school systems are in shambles, while homeless people still walk the streets, while S&L criminals are still on the loose.

In the words of U.S. General Smedley Butler, a two-time recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor: "War is a racket. It brings in profits for the oil companies and Wall Street flagwavers while its cost of operation is always transferred to the people who do not profit."

Let's take the dollar signs out of the flag and send the troops home. I say we should send the troops home!

I was listening to a lot of experts on pub-

lic radio and TV and they share my same concern: The use of chemical and tactical nuclear weapons is a possibility in the event that war does occur. Nuclear and chemical materials have been loaded onto ships at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. The suggestion that nuclear weapons can be used in addition to chemical weapons is scaring the hell out of me.

The use of chemical and biological agents and nuclear arms is completely unjustifiable. Eight years ago, the Reagan-Bush administration encouraged the sale of chemical weapons to Saddam Hussein. Bush said nothing at the time about human rights when Hussein used weapons on his own people. Now Bush wants us to forget that he turned his eyes while innocent men, women, and children were being gassed.

He wants us, the American public, to turn our eyes and forget about humanity as he prepares to use me and others in the service as fodder for his cannon. Now I've spent three long months in boot camp to learn to view human beings as targets, as rag-heads, as gooks. It has taken me almost three long years to begin to see people as human beings once again, and I'll be damned if I can be part of this racist, militaristic frenzy. I will campaign to send the troops home!

I refuse orders to activate me into the regular Marines. I will refuse orders to ship me to Saudi Arabia to defend our polluting lifestyle. I will refuse to face another human being with a gas mask covering my face, an M-16 drawn. I am no longer a Marine. I am a Conscientious Objector to war.

No War for Big Oil! Send the Troops Home!

Now it's time to educate, to organize, and mobilize. I call on you to get into the streets and protest on Oct. 20, when we will have a National Day of Protest in San Francisco, Seattle, Atlanta, Miami, and New York. Be there out in the streets with us!



• Dianne Wang, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 1-326 in Rodeo, Calif., and a leader of the S.F. Bay Area movement against U.S. intervention in the Middle East:

We are being sent into a war of plunder, and this is a war that working people will pay for dearly.

In the early stage of this war, the United States sent over some of the troops on Eastern Airlines despite the fact that the International Association of Machinists has been carrying out a hard-fought 18-month strike against Eastern Airlines.

This was a crude slap in the face of organized labor that should wake them up. Our unions need to take a stand against the war and be a part of the opposition to stop the war.

Working people are going to pay for this war in at least five ways that I can think of. First of all, it's going to cost \$2.5 billion just to conduct the war until the end of this month [September 1990]. And this isn't going to be some short invasion, like Grenada and Panama. This is going to take years and cost billions of dollars. That money is going to come from our economy, and it's going to be money that would be better spent on health, on housing, on childcare.

As the economic crisis that will be unleashed by this war effort gets under way, it is the underdeveloped countries that are going to pay the *deepest*. And that means that more banks are going to go under because it's not just a few greedy crooks like Neil Bush who are responsible for the banking crisis and the S&L bailouts; it's the entire international banking system that makes its money off the backs of working people and

peasants and sucks their blood around the world.

And when the banking crisis hits and the banks go under, we're going to have to pick up that tab, too.

Third, and speaking as someone who refines oil for an oil company, I can assure you that the oil companies are going to take advantage of this situation to jack up oil prices, seize the shores for drilling, gut the environmental laws, and attack workers' safety on the job.

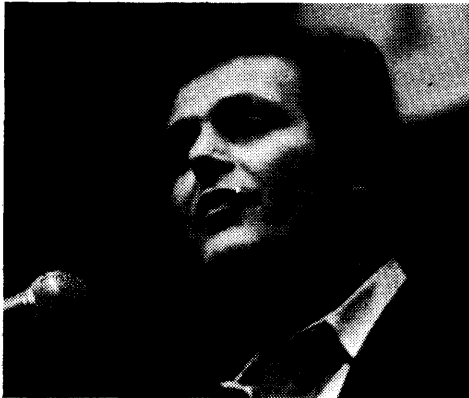
The small hike in gas prices the day after the war began was small change to them. This is an industry in which there is one refinery fire after another: Philips, Texaco, Chevron. It's an industry that my union, the O.C.A.W., says is out of control and is going to get worse. We're going to pay that way.

Fourth, divisions among working people are going to increase. If you listen to the radio stations, the rock stations at least, you hear the anti-Arab jokes already. There is going to be more racism, more anti-immigrant sentiment. They can't wage this war without it.

And all our efforts for women's equality—such as education, and non-traditional jobs for women (like I have)—are going to be buried under all this talk of the need for war.

And fifth, most serious for many of us, is that we are going to pay with our children and with the next generation, who will be sent off to die. That's why we must oppose this war now!

And it's not just self-interest, a question of adding up what it will cost us. It is wrong for us to participate in the plunder of the oil-fields and the plunder of the rest of the world.



• Khalil Barhoum, Professor at Stanford University and a leader of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination League:

In the public opinion polls taken on the Gulf crisis, 25 percent of the American population is demanding a peaceful resolution to the conflict and calling for an end to American military intervention there.

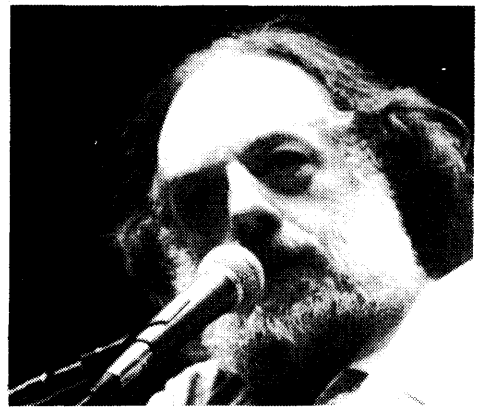
Unfortunately, however, just by watching the coverage on national TV you will not be able to tell that one-fourth of the American population is opposed to the U.S. moves toward war in the Middle East. As a matter of fact, if you happened to be a first-time visitor to this country, you would probably think that the TV networks are all state-owned.

Initially, we were told that we were going to Saudi Arabia to protect the Saudis against an impending Iraqi attack. Then we were told that we were there to insure the withdrawal of the Iraqi troops from Kuwait, and now we are being told by people in the government and the media that nothing short of a full-scale war to overthrow Saddam Hussein is acceptable.

The question is, where were these characters when Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982? And where have they been for the past 23 years while Israeli occupation has continued to devastate the Palestinian land and people?

Or are we to believe that not all occupations are equal? It's time for us to expose the American government's hypocrisy and double standard for what they are.

The social, economic, and political concerns of the Arab people in the Arab world have no military solutions. Military intervention is not the answer. We believe that the United States is better off cultivating the friendship and trust of the Arab people through cooperation, not confrontation; through diplomacy, not gunboat policy; and through negotiations, not military intervention.



Brian Willson

• Excerpts from a statement by Corporal Jeff Patterson, a 22-year-old Marine stationed in Honolulu, Hawaii, who announced on Aug. 16 that he would refuse to ship out with his unit to Saudi Arabia. The statement, dated Sept. 10, was sent to the teach-in by the Jeff Patterson Defense Committee in Honolulu:

Since making my stand around the war in the Middle East public, I have experienced the repressive arm of the U.S. government first hand. I have been punished for thinking and for speaking. Immediately after filing my Conscientious Objector application, I was confined to barracks.

The military has recommended that my C.O. application be denied, even though finding that I was sincere. They forced me to disobey their orders by volunteering me to be among the first in my battalion to board the plane for Saudi Arabia. They chose to confine me in the brig prior to my court-martial even though they conceded that I was a danger to no one and was not a flight risk.

They have alleged that I am a threat to "the effectiveness, morale, discipline, and readiness of the command and the national security of the United States" — just because I have exercised my constitutional right to free speech. Consequently, they intend to hold me in the brig until my court-martial on a yet unknown date.

They are denying me access to all media and have made it extremely difficult to have any contact with my support group. They are attempting to isolate and silence me.

The events of the past weeks, both around the continued escalation of war preparations in the Middle East and my own personal experience with the repressive apparatus of the state, have only served to reinforce my beliefs around the correctness of my stand.

As a U.S. Marine, I will refuse to fight a war for profit and oil in the Middle East. As a resident of the United States and citizen of the world, I will continue to expose and struggle against all U.S. interventionist war and repressive domestic policies. I will not be silenced.

• Letter to teach-in from Thomas J. Gumbleton, Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit:

Dear Jeff,

I commend you for organizing so quickly to take a stand against the U.S. government's position in the Gulf. I wish I could make it to Berkeley on Sept. 14 for the National Teach-In because I strongly support what you are doing. Unfortunately, I cannot arrange my schedule to be with you except in spirit.

Let me, then, unite with the common voice you will raise to let it be known that we cannot sit idly while our government (1) deploys military force solely to guarantee the free flow of oil to the United States, (2) introduces in the area offensive military weapons which are capable of launching attacks against Iraq, and (3) blockades food, medicine, and other humanitarian aid, thus using innocent civilians as pawns.

We cannot allow the winds of war ominously stirring in our land to silence the voice of moral responsibility required of peoples who pride themselves on the rights of citizen participation.

I hope you will fill the university's auditorium with a concerned audience that will leave even more convinced that the United States has no right to continue on the course it has taken so far in this crisis.

Sincerely,
Thomas J. Gumbleton
Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit

'Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are not exactly democracies'

The central role of oil in the Persian Gulf crisis

By DICK ROBERTS

Dick Roberts, former editor of *International Socialist Review*, is the author of several books and pamphlets on oil and the Middle East. The following are excerpts from the talk he prepared for the Sept. 14 Berkeley teach-in and the Sept. 15 San Francisco Socialist Action forum on the crisis in the Middle East.

There is little doubt in anyone's mind that oil lies behind the terrible crisis that looms in the Persian Gulf.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has been charged with planning nuclear capability, and spokespersons for the Bush administration have hinted that this is the real problem. We should keep in mind that in 1981 a bombing raid by Israel destroyed the French-supplied Osiraq research reactor outside Baghdad. It has not been replaced since then.

A 1988 in-depth "country study" of Iraq by the Federal Research Division of the U.S. Library of Congress (pp. 231-2) found no evidence of nuclear-weapons production in Iraq and pointed out that at the time of the 1981 Israeli attack on the Iraq reactor, no weapons had been manufactured there.

The so-called nuclear threat posed by Saddam Hussein cannot therefore explain plans to position the vast armada President Bush has ordered into the Persian Gulf. And oil, of course, is not the only reason for this highly combustible situation. Years of economic underdevelopment in the Middle East, long-standing policies of the United States and Europe, the evolution of Israel and its conquest of Palestine and occupation of the West Bank—all these count.

But oil is, indeed, a central factor, and it is worth focusing attention on this factor to shed light on critical aspects of the Persian Gulf crisis. As the *New Yorker* magazine of Aug. 20 stated: "The American-Iraqi War, if there is to be such a thing, is not about freedom, or, really, about deterring aggression. This war is a war for oil. American soldiers are in Saudi Arabia because we are a society dependent on Arab oil."

The centrality of oil

Soon after the United States began to deploy troops to Saudi Arabia, an unnamed Bush adviser told *Time* magazine (Aug. 20), "Even a dolt understands the principle. We need the oil. It's nice to talk about standing up for freedom, but Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are not exactly democracies."

The centrality of oil in the capitalist world economy cannot be understated. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (Aug. 14): "In 1989, 52 of the world's 500 largest industrial corporations—and four of the top 10—were oil companies, accounting for a staggering \$758.9 billion in combined sales."

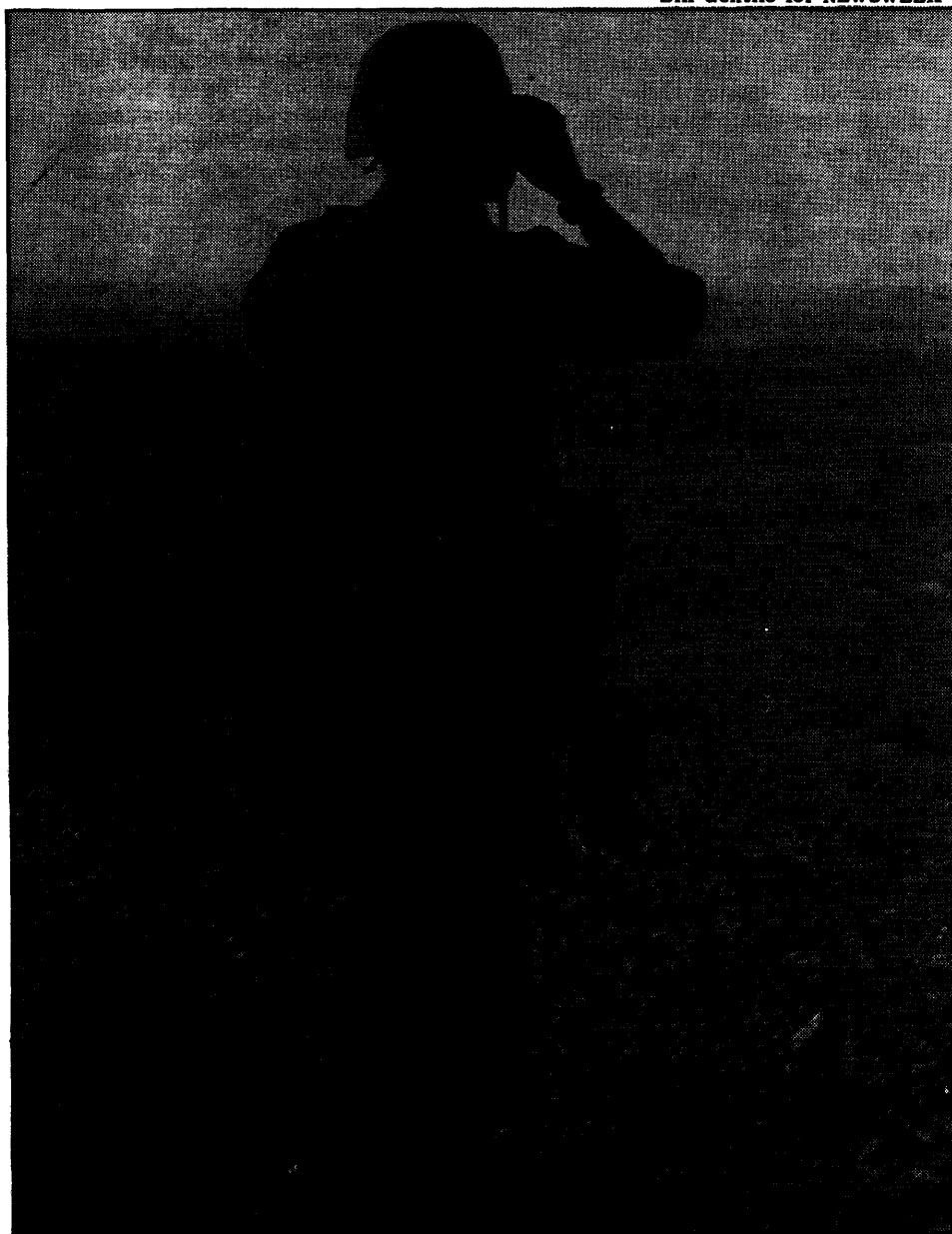
Three of the 10 largest corporations mentioned are U.S. oil companies: Exxon, Mobil and Texaco. Up until 1974 these three companies and Standard Oil of California owned 100 percent interest in ARAMCO—the Saudi Arabian Oil Company.

Today these giant corporations do not own the Arabian oil wells—but they ship, refine, and distribute a large percentage of oil internationally. The United States itself consumes 25 percent of world oil. For these companies, a stable supply of Middle Eastern oil undoubtedly is vital to their profits.

In the 1970s and '80s, as oil prices fluctuated in world markets, the distribution of oil became more monopolized in the United States. We are all familiar with the lack of significant price competition at the gas pump and the speed with which the oil companies pass price increases on to consumers. In the first four days after the Persian Gulf crisis began, they raised gasoline prices 7.1 cents per gallon, thus reaping an immediate \$1 billion windfall profit.

Underdeveloped nations

The nations of the Persian Gulf are all economically underdeveloped. Oil, their most vital economic asset, remained under foreign ownership until the 1970s. It was



Bill Gentile for NEWSWEEK

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World War II that touched off renewed anti-colonial struggles, ultimately leading to the independence of the Arab nations.

Eliminating the foreign ownership of oil was even more prolonged than the gaining of political independence.

It began earliest in Iraq, under nationalist pressures, when in the 1950s Iraq began taking half of the oil profits. Iraqi army officers overthrew the monarchy in 1958. Iraq saw a series of governments, leading to the rule of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in 1968. Saddam Hussein, a longtime Baathist leader, came to power in 1979. The process of nationalizing Iraqi oil was completed in 1973.

These countries are entirely dependent on oil for any economic development. For Iraq, oil constitutes 95 percent of its exports. It lacks the industrial and agricultural base to achieve any significant degree of self-sufficiency. It relies on imports for 70 percent of its wheat and nearly all its chicken feed, meat, cheese, sugar and cooking oil.

Kuwait, where water is so expensive that only 1 percent of land is used for agriculture, is even more dependent on food imports. These statistics underline Washington's strategy of boycott and show why the people of Kuwait are even more harmed by it than those in Iraq.

Nor did ownership of the oil pass from foreign owners into the hands of the people. In Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, it was the ruling emirs who gained possession of the oil. In Iraq the oil is owned by the government. This has made a handful of Arab families immensely wealthy.

But the overall picture is somewhat bleaker. Middle East expert Mohammad Tarbush summed up the economic situation of Middle Eastern Arabs in an Aug. 29 *Los Angeles Times* column:

"There are now about 200 million Arabs dispersed in 22 heterogeneous states. A high percentage of them live below subsistence level, while a few thousand have wealth that neither they nor their descendants could ever live long enough to spend."

It is to these poor that Saddam Hussein is now appealing in his effort to break Arab governmental support of Washington's blockade. And these people side with Saddam Hussein against the United States.

Saudi Arabia: A special case

Within the context of Third World underdevelopment, Saudi Arabia is, nevertheless, a special case. It has by far the greatest amount of known oil reserves that are the least expensive to produce. The super-profits from these wells go directly to the Royal Family to use as they please.

As the wealth of the Saudi rulers vastly increased, U.S. ties to Saudi Arabia became even more important to Washington. U.S. corporations in 1988 held \$2,047 billion worth of direct investments in Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is the largest purchaser of U.S. military equipment abroad. Bendix, Lockheed, and Boeing all have significant military dealings with Saudi Arabia.

Two of the largest construction companies in this country, California-based Bechtel and Fluor, also have significant operations in Saudi Arabia. These firms were major backers of Reagan's 1980 election campaign, according to author William Powell, in his "Saudi Arabia and its Royal Family" (1982). Bechtel vice chairman, George Shultz, was Secretary of the Treasury under Nixon and managed Reagan's election campaign. Shultz became U.S. Secretary of State.

Saudi Arabia also has major holdings in the United States, including a significant

share of Texaco. Its present ruler, King Fahd, gave large sums to support the CIA's operations in Afghanistan (over \$1 billion) as well as to the Nicaraguan contras (\$30 million).

Kuwait owns 9 percent of British Petroleum. A March 7, 1988, *Business Week* article placed the figure for Kuwait's foreign assets at "at least \$100 billion and possibly \$200 billion."

What is important to recognize is that much of the great wealth that the emirs have gained from nationalized oil properties has not gone back into the economies of their own countries. It is invested abroad. And this makes the financial interests of these families ever-more closely tied with the interests of the advanced capitalist nations that they are investing in.

U.S. aims in the Persian Gulf

The oil of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia is not vitally important to the United States in a physical sense. There are vast *discovered* reserves in this country that aren't being tapped; the undiscovered reserves are believed to be even greater. The inefficient way in which the United States consumes petroleum is a factor. One commentator on the Gulf crisis made the remark that "the principle we hold most dear is 18 miles to the gallon."

Japanese citizens use about a third as much energy as their U.S. counterparts. If the United States used oil as efficiently as Japan, it would consume 9.2 million barrels a day instead of the 16.6 million barrels it consumes.

But the oil companies in the United States are privately owned and they have sought the oil that is cheapest and most profitable to produce—and that oil is currently in the Middle East, especially in Saudi Arabia. In doing this they have deepened their ties to the ruling sheiks in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait with whom they have been producing oil for more than six decades, at great profit to both.

At the same time, the profound problems of the world economy have worsened the situation of the masses of Arab people. There can be no doubt at all that Washington greatly fears Saddam Hussein's ability to arouse these discontented masses. A "senior State Department official" told *The Los Angeles Times* (Sept. 5): "The Arab masses are looking for a hero, and Saddam can't become that hero."

The Bush administration is seeking, at the least, an increased and possibly permanent military presence in the region. *The Wall Street Journal* declared in the first week of the crisis that, "The allied forces will be in a position to take steps to ensure that there are no further crises of this type in the Persian Gulf. That will entail a permanent force of some power in the region."

But this is only one of Washington's objectives. Militarily seizing Kuwait and inflicting enough damage against Iraq to topple Saddam Hussein—and these are President Bush's implied threats—will cost countless thousands of American and foreign lives.

"This is a deal with no known end, no predictability," said an unnamed White House aide, who was quoted both by *Time* magazine and *The New Yorker*.

A war with no known end sounds familiar. That is the way the war in Vietnam went, year after year. We must surely ask ourselves if the protection of oil sources in the Middle East is worth that kind of a toll on human life.

"Bodes well for our side"

Let me end this talk by again stating how grateful I am to have been able to appear at the teach-in at Berkeley last night (Sept. 14). It cannot be stressed too strongly how significant that turn-out of 1800 eager and supportive people is. This is 45 days into the Persian Gulf Crisis.

During the Vietnam War the first teach-ins weren't held until 1965-66, three and four years after the war began. And they were quite different. There weren't antiwar Vietnam veterans there like Ron Kovic. There weren't marine reservists like Eric Larsen standing up and opposing the war. There weren't Chicano leaders like Carlos Muñoz, or trade union leaders like Jim Ryder, or trade union rank-and-file activists like Dianne Wang.

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There is little doubt in anyone's mind that the war behind the terrible crisis that looms in the Persian Gulf.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has been charged with planning nuclear warheads, and being responsible for the Iraqi administration's repression of the Iraqi people. We know that in 1981 a bombing destroyed the French-supplied nuclear reactor at the Baghdad. It is not clear if it has been replaced.

There is a great deal of talk in the United States about the crisis in the Persian Gulf. The U.S. government has spent \$2.5 billion and no one knows where the money is going. It is not clear if it is being used to buy oil.

The crisis in the Persian Gulf is a war for oil. It is a war for oil because the United States is dependent on Arab oil. It is a war for oil because the United States is dependent on Arab oil. It is a war for oil because the United States is dependent on Arab oil.

Oil is, indeed, a central factor, and it is the central factor in the Persian Gulf crisis. As the *New Yorker* magazine of Aug. 20 stated: "The American-Iraqi War, if there is to be such a thing, is not about freedom, or, really, about deterring aggression. This war is a war for oil. American soldiers are in Saudi Arabia because we are a society dependent on Arab oil."

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But the oil companies in the United States are privately owned and they have a vested interest in the status quo. It is not clear if they will support a Middle East war, especially if it would mean the loss of their oil reserves. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, with whom they have been producing oil for years, are the ones who stand to gain the most from the crisis.

At the same time, the people of the nations of the world, especially the nations of the Middle East, are looking for a hero, and Saddam can't become that hero.

The Bush administration is seeking, at the least, an increased and possibly permanent military presence in the region. *The Wall Street Journal* declared in the first week of the crisis that, "The allied forces will be in a position to take steps to ensure that there are no further crises of this type in the Persian Gulf. That will entail a permanent force of some power in the region."

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U.S. soldiers: Cannon fodder for Saudi Arabian feudalism?

By HAYDEN PERRY

Without a vote by any elected body, President Bush has condemned thousands of American soldiers to an indefinite stay in one of the most inhospitable regions on earth. They are enduring hellish heat and blowing sand, loneliness, and the gnawing anxiety an uncertain future brings.

They must also confront a peculiar time warp in which a medieval society embraces the high technocracy of the 20th century. They are in a land where almost any camel driver can buy a car, but no woman may drive one. It is a land where criminals are beheaded in the public square, while crime statistics are stored in computers.

Other undeveloped countries have had to make a forced march to absorb the technology of the West, but they usually had a generation or two to adapt. Because of particular circumstances, the Saudi people had less than 50 years to leap from the Middle Ages to the age of the jet plane and the TV screen. Slavery was not abolished until 1962!

Foremost among the special circumstances was the desert, and the poverty and isolation it ensured. Until Bush came along, no Western power cared to risk their soldiers' lives in the endless burning sands.

The British nibbled at the Arabian coast mainly to safeguard their route to India. They drew arbitrary lines in the sand to carve out emirates and sultanates with puppet regimes. The interior deserts of Arabia held few attractions. The Ottoman Turks, who were nominally in control, were easily pushed out of Arabia after their defeat in World War I.

The House of Saud

Not so easy was creating a nation out of the numerous tribes wandering about the desert. Their loyalty was limited to family and tribe. It took a very strong tribe with a particularly gifted leader to unify a score of fractious tribes into a single nation. It took Abul Aziz, better known as Ibn Saud, of the House of Saud, over 10 years to overcome all rivals and establish the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The nation was not formally recognized until 1932.

The House of Saud is like no other royal family. First is its vast size. Ibn Saud sired 45 sons by 22 different wives. His eldest son fathered at least 55 sons and 55 daughters. Today the royal family numbers over 4000, all princes and princesses entitled to royal stipends that maintain them in luxury.

Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy. The nearest approach to a parliament are informal meetings of the senior princes. Saudi Arabia is also a theocracy. The Muslim faith dominates the lives of all believers from the moment they awake until they retire.

The holy city of Mecca happens to be located in Saudi Arabia, intensifying the hold of religion. The *ulema* (clergy) of the most puritan sect, the Wahhabs, stand at the king's right hand, while other zealots (Ikwan) patrol the streets watching for violators of Islamic law.

World crisis in oil

For 1300 years, the social order on the Arabian peninsula changed very little. Goat herding, a little agriculture, and income from the yearly pilgrimage of thousands of the faithful to Mecca, produced an income slightly above the poverty level.

Then on March 20, 1938, Standard Oil prospectors struck oil and changed life in Saudi Arabia forever. Oil has been found in many parts of the world, but never in such abundance. The average well elsewhere produces less than 100 barrels a day. The daily output of a Saudi well is measured in thousands of barrels.

Saudi wells will continue to produce for a long time. After selling 30 billion barrels to the West, the Saudis still have three times more known oil reserves than 20 years ago.

The discovery of oil did not produce instant riches for the Saudis. The Depression, and then the war, slowed development. The king often had to borrow money from ARAMCO during these years. The American oil companies in the ARAMCO consortium were happy to oblige, believing this would tighten their grip on the House of Saud.



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They had pushed out the British, and intended to enjoy the Arabian bonanza all by themselves.

Then on Oct. 20, 1973, ARAMCO and the United States got a rude shock that changed Saudi-U.S. relations considerably. On that day, President Nixon asked Congress for \$2 billion to help Israel in the Six Day War. ARAMCO warned Washington this might annoy the Saudis. The objection was brushed aside.

King Fahd wasted little time arguing. For five months, he simply turned off the tap feeding oil to the American market.

The Nixon administration issued ominous threats. In an interview, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger declared the U.S. would contemplate using military force if faced with "some actual strangulation of the industrial world." Defense Secretary James Schlesinger backed up Kissinger by saying armed intervention was possible.

A flood of petrodollars

For the Saudi monarchy, getting control of the oil fields proved far easier than controlling Saudi society after the petro-dollars started rolling in. No other country has gained so much wealth in so short a time.

From 1970 to 1973, national income rose from nearly \$5 billion to \$11 billion. Then it rocketed to \$42 billion by the end of 1975. The money went directly to the Royal Family, who have difficulty distinguishing between their personal finances and the national treasury.

In pre-oil days the treasury was said to be kept in a wooden box stored under the king's bed, and funds were doled out by the monarch personally. Essentially, the petrobillions are handled the same way, although a bank had to be established to replace the

wooden box.

Billions have been spent to build the infrastructure of a modern state. Smelling huge profits, hordes of corporate carpet baggers descended on the Saudis. For outrageous fees they built telephone systems, airfields, and office buildings.

The clergy looked askance at these radios and telephones. They were even more disturbed by the hundreds of thousands of foreign workers brought in to build and maintain the new facilities. With nearly 2 million guest workers in the country by 1980, the priests wondered how the purity of the faith could be maintained.

The House of Saud had to perform a delicate balancing act to reassure the *ulema*, and yet give capitalist enterprise freedom to de-

velop. Awkward compromises evolved. The Koran forbids usury, getting interest by money lending. So the princes used the euphemism "return" in place of "interest" and collected millions in "returns" from all over the world.

Women are forbidden to talk to any man, except a close relative. So taking most jobs was out of the question. But there was now a need for thousands of Arabic speaking office workers. A woman who took a job described how she was locked in a closet with a typewriter. Papers were passed to her under the door. Other women describe how the Ikwan would raid a business establishment and chase all the women out.

Oil glut in the 1980s

So long as the golden tide of petrodollars kept piling up, the Saudis could absorb the huge cost of modernizing. But by 1983, an oil glut developed. Saudi exports fell from 7 million barrels a day in 1982 to 3.5 million in 1983; and the prices fell.

The bonanza that seemed to have no end—ended. It was time to cut back on many construction projects. Even the princes were put on rations. Limits were put on many of the social benefits the masses enjoyed. It was not a return to poverty, but the euphoria of limitless wealth faded.

Now the insecurity of the House of Saud began to show. Having taken credit for the largess they had doled out, they now had to take the blame for the shortfall. The Royal Family feared both domestic and foreign enemies.

As guardians of the holy cities, the Saudis should have taken the lead in the Pan-Arab movement that was stirring the Arab people from Morocco to Zanzibar. But the House of Saud feared the changes this kind of Arab nationalism would bring.

First, Gamel Nasser of Egypt proclaimed the rise of an Arab nationalism with populist features. He had kicked King Farouk off the Egyptian throne and set the masses in motion. Such ideas were anathema to the absolute monarch of Saudi Arabia. So Egypt became enemy Number One.

Later, Nasser was replaced by the Ayatolla Khomeini of Iran who called for a *jihad*, (holy war) led by the Shiite Muslims. This threatened the Wahhabs and Sunnis of Saudi Arabia, who had suffered the embarrassment of an armed attack in 1979 on the holiest mosque in Mecca by dissident fanatics.

Saddam Hussein became a bosom buddy of Saud and the U.S. when he fought a bloody, pointless war against Iran. Now Iraq is the enemy, and the position of Iran is uncertain.

But the biggest enemy of the Saudis among all these shifting alliances is the state of Israel. The wounds the Zionists inflict on the Palestinians are felt by every Saudi. "The friend of my enemy is no friend of mine. So why are 150,000 American soldiers parked in our desert?" many Saudis are bound to ask.

Bush hopes to maintain the status quo by using military might in Arabia. But he is weakening the House of Saud every day the troops remain. All the disaffected Saudis will raise their voices.

The Bedouins will resent the foreign tanks tearing up their beloved desert. The Wahhabi fundamentalists will condemn the King for permitting this invasion of infidels. The new technocrats will demand a voice and vote on the future of their country.

Women chafe at their oppression. Everyone resents the opulent life styles of the princes. All these resentful Saudis will shake the House of Saud as they cry, "Send the invading armies home!"

Democracy Kuwaiti-style

Throughout its rule, Kuwait's ruling al-Sabah monarchy has denied political rights to the majority of its population.

Sixty percent of Kuwait's population does not have any citizenship rights. Moreover, all immigrant Palestinians, Lebanese, Iraqis, Iranians, Jordanians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, Filipinos, and others are forever prevented from becoming citizens; even the children of foreigners born in Kuwait cannot become citizens. Of Kuwait's 1.9 million population, close to 400,000 are Palestinian and 90,000 are Jordanian.

These "foreign" workers, some of whom are third-generation residents of Kuwait, represent more than 80 percent of Kuwait's work force. Only 10 percent

of non-Kuwaiti Arabs are allowed to attend public school. Non-Kuwaitis are denied medical care provided to citizens.

"Foreigners" in Kuwait cannot own property, not even homes. They are also barred from participating in political activity and are not allowed to join trade unions. The monarchy did set up a parliament for which only 6 percent of the population could vote. It was dismissed, however, by al-Sabah two weeks before the Iraqi move into Kuwait.

The country's great oil wealth is controlled by a royal family and a small circle around them. As late as 20 years ago, all Kuwaiti investment was controlled by a mere 18 families.

Nation of Islam's statement on the Gulf: 'U.S. has no right meddling in Arab affairs'

The following are excerpts from an article which appeared in the Sept. 28 issue of *The Final Call*, the newspaper published by the Nation of Islam, the organization led by Minister Louis Farrakhan. The article, titled "Arab Berlin Walls Must be Dismantled," was written by Middle East staff reporter Ali Baghdadi.

Read his lips. The U.S. president is lying again. He lied to the American people that he would not raise taxes. Now he is lying to the entire world regarding the true reasons for this massive deployment of American troops to the Arabian desert in the aftermath of the Iraqi move into Kuwait.

The U.S. response is not motivated by high moral grounds and opposition to the use of force in settling disputes. The American mobilization for war is not triggered by a concern for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Arab states.

Peace and morality have always been the least of the U.S. government's concerns in international relations. The invasion of Grenada, the air raids on Libya, the bombardment of Lebanon, and the war waged against Nicaragua are only a few examples. Power, greed, and Zionist influence dictate U.S. policy.

The United States has no right meddling in internal Arab family affairs. The Kuwaiti

system that jails oppositionists and enslaves Arabs, Africans, and Asian workers must be ended. Arab oil and resources belong to the Arab people; an absolute ruler that treats these riches as his family property must not be defended.

One must be reminded that Kuwait was carved out of Iraq. The political barriers that exist today have been imposed by colonial powers. These barriers defy the will of the Arab people and are responsible for their impotence as a nation. The Arab Berlin Walls must be dismantled!

Mr. Bush imposes a blockade to starve Iraqi children and force Iraq into submission. However, the U.S. president has done nothing

to end Israeli occupation of lands belonging to three Arab countries. On the contrary, he continues to spend \$4 billion a year in taxpayers' money to feed and arm the Israelis, who have violated international law and ignored 43 years of United Nations resolutions.

The United States is determined to keep Arabs in turmoil and divided. Arab oil, if properly managed, is a powerful weapon. The oil can transform the Arab world into a superpower. A unified Arab world means an end to U.S. price fixing and exploitation.

The Iraqi move is opposed by the majority of Arab leaders. The support by Arab people, however, is fierce and unequivocal! ■

By HAYDEN PERRY

President Bush tells us our troops are in Saudi Arabia to preserve the "American way of life." This lofty phrase is subject to many interpretations. Is it the way of life of the millionaires who want to keep all they have and to get more? Or is it the way of life of the poor who have little and are losing much of that?

For millions around the world, the "American way of life" suggests opportunity, upward mobility, a chance for sons and daughters to live better than their parents. Upward mobility has been a reality for many in the past. The children of white immigrants have gained a better education, and unions have won shorter hours and higher wages.

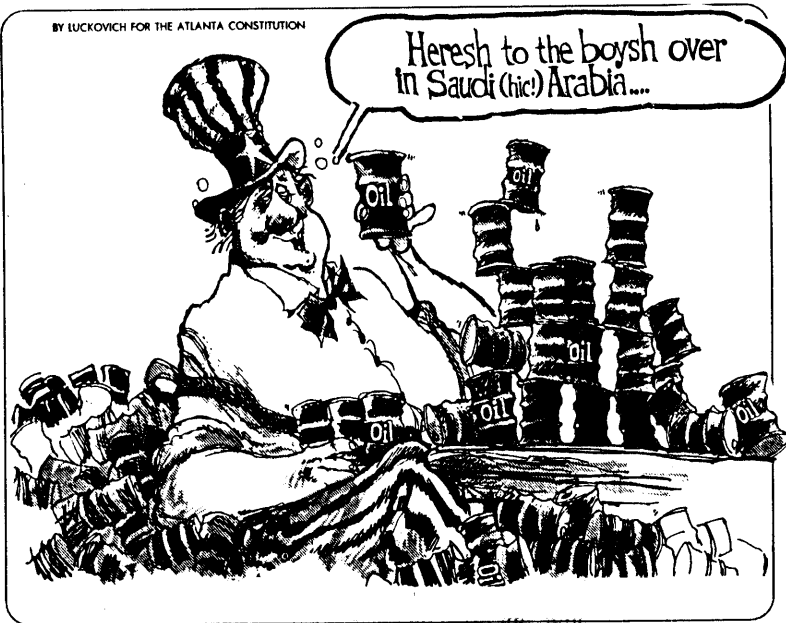
This is no longer true. Today the poor are getting poorer while the rich are getting richer. Climbing out of poverty is becoming more difficult, if not impossible. This is documented in a study by the Economic Policy Institute in Washington. Their finding, "The State of Working America" was published this September.

The study points out that in 1973 the poorest 40 percent of American families took home 17 percent of the national income, while the richest 20 percent pocketed 41 percent. Now the same poor get only 15 percent while the rich grab 44 percent. The trickle-down theory has become the trickle-up reality where wealth moves up from the poor to the rich.

Few job prospects

Young American soldiers sweltering in the desert may not be surprised that the losers in the

While U.S. troops fight abroad, poverty increases back home



American way are the young. Many of them joined the military only because they saw no better prospects.

Workers in the 25-34 age bracket earned 2 percent less in 1987 than they did in 1973. If the breadwinner had not finished high school, his or her earnings would have dropped a shocking 29 percent in these 14 years. This is partially because manufacturing jobs, protected by union contracts, have been replaced by hamburger jobs paying minimum wages.

Today, only 14 percent of the work force is protected by union contracts, and many of these discriminate against the young. They

have "two-tier" clauses that give the newly hired lower pay than senior employees doing the same work.

The dream of owning one's home is fading fast for young Americans. In 1973, nearly 44 percent of 25-29 year-olds were paying off home mortgages. Now that percentage is 35 percent and will fall further. In California and other major markets, only 15 out of 100 potential home buyers can qualify for a loan.

Unable to buy, young veterans will have to rent. Here they will face grim prospects. Rents in major cities have risen much faster than wages. This means that as many as 78 million Americans are "shelter

poor." They have to pay from 50 to 70 percent of their income for rent. After the landlord has taken his cut, not enough is left to even feed the family adequately.

It is estimated that 40 percent of the homeless are working 40 hours a week but don't earn enough for minimum shelter. Thirty percent of the homeless are children. Millions of families who have shelter right now are only a paycheck away from homelessness.

Healthcare—at what price?

The young soldiers in Saudi Arabia may worry about their health, but not about their healthcare. When they take off their uniforms back home, however, they will stand naked before the medical industry. If they turn to the Veterans Administration for treatment, and their ailments are not service-connected, they will be turned away unless they are 65 and living in poverty.

They will be offered private health insurance, but at prices they can't afford. So they will join the 30 million families who have no health insurance. With medical costs rising faster than even oil prices, they can face charges of \$1000 or more for stitching up a simple cut.

The sick worker's last resort is the county hospital. But medical care is not assured even there. Los Angeles County Hospital in California, which has been treating about 250 walk-in patients a day,

will now limit service to 100. The other 150 sick people will be turned away—with absolutely no other place to go.

Officials say these heartless measures are forced on them because the state and county have cut their budget by \$4.2 million. Mental health budgets have been slashed even more, to the point where disoriented veterans of previous wars are left to wander on our city streets.

If our veterans try to escape poverty by getting more education, they will face more disillusionment. They will not receive the GI educational benefits their veteran fathers got after World War II. They will be offered onerous loans instead of grants. A young professional may start his or her career owing as much as \$30,000 before earning a single penny.

With university fees soaring, the veteran may try the community colleges. But community colleges, like county hospitals are being starved. They are eliminating courses and shutting down adult education programs. Meanwhile the failure of high school education is pushing the nation back to 19th-century levels of illiteracy.

So long as American troops remain in Saudi Arabia, the quality of life at home will continue to deteriorate. Social services will be slashed still further to finance the war for cheap oil and feudal monarchies.

This is the wrong war in the wrong place. The right war is the political war on poverty at home. To mobilize the massive forces to win the war on poverty, we must first demand: No intervention in the Middle East! Bring our troops home now! ■

SALES NOTES—Opportunities to sell *Socialist Action* newspaper are growing everywhere. Every day, our branches report, there are meetings, rallies, and teach-ins. Students, in particular, are telling us in a loud voice that they want to know more—they want the truth about the Middle East—and *Socialist Action* sales teams are making the effort to meet up with them.

Last month, *Socialist Action* branches were sent nearly double the amount of newspapers they usually receive. In most cases, they sold out and had to order even more by mid-month. For October, we have once again doubled our usual press run.

In many areas, *Socialist Action* salespeople participate in regular campus sales. Chicago reports success in door-to-door sales in the neighborhoods, including Arab communities.

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—BARBARA PUTNAM

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...Gorbachev's emergency decrees

(continued from page 1)

ing to do with returning economic and political power to the dispossessed millions of Soviet citizens. Instead, it called for undermining the historic gains of the Russian Revolution by opening the door to massive foreign investment and private ownership of state land and property.

While no ordinary Soviet citizen had enough stakes to play at the same table with the succession of foreign high-rollers who began flooding into the Soviet Union, the government's promise to break up the bureaucratic apparatus still carried considerable mass appeal.

Now, five years later, the economy is even worse off. The recent spectacle of bread lines forming in the capital city of Moscow during a bumper grain-crop season only further antagonized Soviet consumers already impatient with government excuses.

Program hasn't worked

Why is it that Gorbachev's reforms have been so unpopular among the Soviet people?

This is the riddle which all of Gorbachev's advisers and soothsayers have been trying to solve. Easing the transition to a capitalist-type "market economy" step by step without provoking massive unrest has been the formula followed up to now. But it hasn't worked.

Even before the powerful August 1989 national Soviet miners' strike, there were already an average of 15,000 workers on strike each day during the previous six months.

This accounts for perestroika's numerous twists and turns over the last several years. First, private businesses were encouraged, then the lid was placed on them because of the massive popular reaction to the exorbitant increase in prices. Then last May price increases for basic necessities were announced, only to be quickly withdrawn during a storm of protest.

These detours have been incorrectly attributed to Gorbachev's skillful maneuvering against a conservative opposition inside the Communist Party. But Gorbachev himself admits that it's the resistance of the Soviet people which has slowed perestroika's capitalist-type reforms that call for price hikes and massive unemployment.

"I know only one thing," Gorbachev counseled his advisers not long ago, "that after two weeks of such a market, people would be on the streets, and it will smash any government." (*The Economist*, Nov. 18, 1989)

Gorbachev, Yeltsin shake hands

The recent peace pact between Gorbachev and his main rival, newly elected Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin, was heralded as a signal that Gorbachev was abandoning his cautious approach to reforms and speeding up the move toward a market economy.

This is true, but what is often overlooked is that the Soviet parliament under Gorbachev's leadership had already adopted significant proposals entirely consistent with Yeltsin's openly pro-capitalist orientation.

In August, for example, the government unveiled a plan to sell off some 400 state-owned companies. Even earlier, restrictions were lifted which had strictly limited foreign capital investment in Soviet enterprises to under 50 percent and stipulated that the managerial staff would consist exclusively of Soviet citizens.

As a result of this relaxed policy, some 100 joint ventures per month are being set up, with several thousand more in the pipeline awaiting registration. This is in sharp contrast to the small number of 200 joint ventures which were established throughout 1987 and 1988. (*Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 14, 1990)

Also in August, the government proposed allowing all Soviet enterprises to sell stocks and bonds to anyone—not only to employees as the previous law stated.

So, the differences between Gorbachev and Yeltsin are mainly differences of style and tempo—not substance.

Putting the USSR up for sale

Following the 1917 Russian Revolution, all the land, mines, factories, and natural resources of the country were placed under the control of democratically elected workers', soldiers' and peasants' soviets (councils)



which were established throughout the country.

The enormous economic and social consequences of this historic and liberating accomplishment were never realized due to the revolution's inability to overcome two major obstacles—being surrounded since birth by hostile capitalist countries intent on strangling the economy and the equally disastrous effects resulting from the usurpation of power by the murderous Stalinist dictatorial machine.

Today's Soviet bureaucrats are seeing their special status and favors threatened by mass social upheavals. In virtual unison, the political heirs of Stalin's bureaucratic system have reacted by attempting to exchange their fragile bureaucratic privileges for the seemingly more durable privileges of property ownership.

This explains Gorbachev's love affair with President George Bush and other leaders of the world capitalist system. For their part, the capitalists are more than eager to show Soviet rulers the advantages of selling off the natural and capital resources of the Soviet Union.

One outspoken capitalist economist, Paul Craig Roberts, appeared before "Mr. Gorbachev's reformers" at the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Asked to present his case for the restoration of capitalism, he argued that it is the only solution for the collapsing Soviet economy.

He writes that "nothing can be done until private property rights are established. Peasants will have to be given the land and workers and managers will have to become the owners of the factories." He neglected to acknowledge that no capitalist country had ever done this. But this didn't seem to matter; he evidently had his audience in the palm of his hands.

Roberts observed that "all of this made sense to my sophisticated Moscow audience. Still the question arose, 'What do we do with the Communist Party?' 'Give them a disproportionate share of the new ownership rights,' I said, 'and make them the idle rich.'"

"Soviet reformers saw this as a common-sense proposition. Historically, ruling classes have had to be accommodated or overthrown. Golden parachutes for Communist Party members is an inexpensive way of obtaining an efficient private economy." (*Christian Science Monitor*, July 20, 1989)

Capitalist road takes a new turn

The much-touted "500-Day Plan" for establishing a capitalist market economy, which was approved by the Russian Federation government in September and endorsed in principle by Gorbachev, settles an issue which has been hotly debated for several years inside top Soviet government circles.

The clear winners in this debate are those who consider the question of freely rising prices required by all genuine capitalist economies to be too socially explosive to introduce at this moment. Making them the starting point for the "market economy," critics argue, doomed the project from the start.

Nikolai Petrakov, economic assistant to Gorbachev, reflects a common understanding among most government officials about the pitfalls of perestroika, a premise which laid the basis for a Gorbachev-Yeltsin partnership.

Petrakov says, "I believe that building a market economy cannot be started by raising the prices of staple goods, from any viewpoint, psychological included. A market economy has always been used in our country to scare people: It will be like the West—poverty and inflation."

This undoubtedly well-off swivel-chair bureaucrat complains that "a stereotype [about the capitalist market] has been shaped" in his country. And the danger, he observes, is that "the government's policy has backed up this stereotype. It speaks about the market economy, but price increases lead the way."

Instead, the new "500-Day Plan"—even if

it is slightly modified by Gorbachev, as is expected—calls for bypassing a direct confrontation with the Soviet people over drastic price hikes, at least for now.

The new proposal calls for making millions of Soviet citizens property owners to "give them a stake" in a capitalist future before the inevitable rash of price increases and removal of government subsidies take effect.

A *New York Times* editorial says the plan "would kill socialism," saying that it "deserves to be called the 'Capitalist Manifesto.'" Certainly it's understandable why Western capitalists and government officials are euphoric. They are the only ones with sufficient capital to take advantage of Gorbachev's proposed unprecedented fire sale of property and resources rightfully belonging to the Soviet people as a whole.

In the real capitalist world, and not the fairy land panacea suggested by Soviet rulers, it's the wealthy few who own the overwhelming bulk of property. It's the Western capitalists and their partners in the Stalinist state bureaucracy who will reap the benefits if the largest land and property auction in history goes on as projected.

The "500-Day Plan" calls for privatizing the bulk of state property, 70 percent of industrial enterprises, and up to 90 percent of the construction and retail trade industry. What Soviet worker or peasant will be able to bid for these properties?

To enlist support from the majority of Soviet citizens, Soviet planners are discussing giving each city dweller a chance to own their current apartment at a discount rate. In the countryside, small land plots would be parceled out to farmhands. Clearly, millions of people would have some form of property, establishing, according to one Soviet observer, "a sense of responsibility associated with owning property."

In the advanced capitalist countries, millions of workers own some form of private property, mostly personal consumer items, cars, and homes. But this hasn't stopped monopoly control of the economy and government by the capitalist minority for one moment. This is the dead-end road being followed by the ruling strata in the Soviet Union today.

But as Gorbachev carefully floats his reactionary proposals, he is undoubtedly mindful that the massive and powerful Soviet working class has more than once sunk his best-laid plans.

Unemployed become mercenaries

The following are excerpts from an article that appeared in *Moscow News* (Sept. 16-23, 1990). The article notes that the GDR (East German) National Army will cease to exist after Oct. 3, when East and West Germany reunite.


According to G. Stoltenberg, Federal Minister of Defense, only about 50,000 soldiers from the GDR's army will join the Bundeswehr [West German army]. About as many soldiers from the GDR will enter the "army of the unemployed," which in the last few weeks has grown in the GDR to 350,000.

As became known recently, Saudi Ara-

bia was the first to take an interest in the fate of the former GDR army officers. Mohammed Yafai, Saudi Ambassador in Bonn, declared that his country is "exceptionally" interested in German soldiers and officers. If they express a desire to strengthen the military might of the Kingdom, the diplomat was prepared to immediately forward their statements to Riyadh [Saudi Arabia's capital].

As is done in the market, the officers themselves have named their price: For 2500 DM [German Marks] a month they are prepared to go to far-off countries. "Who can live," they ask, "on the unemployment relief of 500 DM?"

Gorbachev's USSR: Is Stalinism Dead?



A collection of essays in defense of socialist democracy

Edited by Carl Finamore

Essays by Esteban Volkov, Pierre Broué, Susan Weissman, Nat Weinstein, Paul Siegel, Ralph Schoenman, Zbigniew Kowalewski, Gerry Foley, Hayden Perry, and Carl Finamore

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Sandinistas didn't learn historical lessons of the Russian Revolution

(First of a two-part series)

By MALIK MIAH

The February 1990 electoral defeat of the Sandinistas by the pro-capitalist forces led by Violeta Chamorro in Nicaragua is deepening a debate over the strategy followed by the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) during its nearly 11 years in governmental power. Many supporters of Nicaragua's anti-imperialist and democratic revolution are asking whether or not the road taken by the Sandinistas was the only choice they had based on the relationship of class and social forces.

The FSLN followed a policy of economic compromise with the local capitalists under the program of a "mixed [i.e., capitalist] economy" and political compromise with the capitalists on agrarian and industrial development. They openly rejected the Cuban Revolution as the model to be emulated.

In a recent interview Bayardo Arce, a member of the FSLN's National Directorate, reiterated the FSLN's defense of this policy of compromise and explains: "Despite the setbacks suffered by socialism because of its structural problems in Eastern Europe and our own experience, this in no way means the perspective of anti-imperialist struggle has lost validity.

"Nor do I think socialism is over. We're simply entering a new historical phase. We have to define more clearly what socialism will be like in the era of computers and interdependence. We can't go on clinging—and we never did—to the concept of socialism as defined by the theorists of the last century.

"We'll have to adjust ourselves to the new realities, but always, at least as I see it, from a socialist point of view." (May 5, *Barricada Internacional*.)

Is Arce's view of "theorists of the last century," Marx and Engels, valid? Are Marx's and Engels' views of socialism and socialist revolution outdated? How are anti-imperialist struggles won and consolidated and capitalist rule defeated?

A review of two revolutions and leaderships that followed the views of Marx and Engels will show that this position of Arce and the FSLN is incorrect. A serious study of the Russian and Cuban revolutions will show that the defeat and overturn of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua was not inevitable.

The October Revolution

"The most indubitable feature of a revolution is the direct interference of the masses in historic events," explained Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Russian Revolution. "The masses," he added, "go into a revolution not with a prepared plan of social reconstruction, but with a sharp feeling that they cannot endure the old regime. Only the guiding layers of a class have a political program, and even this still requires the test of events, and the approval of the masses." (pages 15-16, *Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution*, Sphere Books)

That's exactly what happened in Russia in 1917. Around the slogans of peace, bread, and land the masses rose up to smash the old order.

Although Russia was an imperialist power, its class structure was marked by a semifeudal inheritance. A landed aristocracy controlled most cultivable soil. Nearly 80 percent of the population was engaged in agriculture—most as pauperized small peasants and agricultural workers who labored on large farms for starvation pay.

The industrial working class was very small. But they were heavily concentrated in large factories.

Czarist Russia was a "prison house of nations." Some 57 percent of the country consisted of subjugated and oppressed nationalities—including Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Georgians, Tartars and Turks of Central and East Asia to Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians in the West.

These nations and peoples had been forcibly incorporated into the Russian state and denied the right of self-government. They were subjected to economic, social, and cultural discrimination. Great Russian Nationalism (i.e., chauvinism) was used to



'Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the workers and peasants of Russia defeated the propertied classes politically. The...government then used that soviet power to move against the old ruling classes economically.'

divide and dominate all the peoples of the country.

The weak Russian capitalist class subordinated itself to the ruling landed nobility. They refused to lead a democratic revolution against the landed aristocracy because they feared the workers and peasants more than they hated the nobility.

The tasks of earlier bourgeois-democratic revolutions (never fully completed anywhere) such as providing land to the peasants, national self-determination, equal rights for all, and religious freedom were not on the Russian capitalists' agenda.

These were the political and economic conditions in Czarist Russia when it entered World War I against Germany in 1914. Russia was no match for imperialist Germany. In 1916 an army of some 15 million had been conscripted, but by the end of that year one-third had been killed, wounded, or captured.

Revolt at home

The inter-imperialist war caused great suffering for the mostly peasant country. Food and fuel became scarce in the big cities while profiteers increased their wealth.

In this context workers rose up to overturn the old regime. In mid-February 1917, women textile workers in Petrograd struck; they were soon followed by others. An armed insurrection followed and workers seized control of the city by the end of the month. Popular support for the Petrograd rebellion spread to other cities, rural areas, and the army.

Popular bodies called soviets (councils) were established to express the democratic will of the masses. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies became the *de facto* state power.

In response to the revolutionary mobilization of the workers and peasants the capitalist forces—in alliance with petty-bourgeois leftists—formed a provisional government to

attempt to head off the mass struggle. The new regime, however, continued to fight the imperialist war against Germany under the slogan of "revolutionary defensism" and stalled on land reform.

But as Trotsky explained, while the masses enter history based on rejecting the old order, how far the process goes is dependent on program and leadership. The soviets were formed at the initiative of the workers of Petrograd.

Yet the capitalist class maintained control of the government through a provisional government supported by the "claimed" representatives of the workers and peasants, particularly the Social Revolutionaries, a populist party rooted in the peasantry, and the Mensheviks, a social-democratic party.

The Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries argued that the Russian democratic revolution must be led by the liberal capitalists. They favored a parliamentary republic where the workers' and peasants' interests would be subordinated to the capitalists.

In the period from the downfall of the Czar in February 1917 to the seizure of power by the soviets (under Bolshevik leadership) in October 1917, the Bolsheviks were a minority in the soviets. But based on the experiences of Marx and Engels, Lenin, the party's main leader, explained that only the workers and peasants could successfully carry through and consolidate the democratic revolution in Russia.

Lenin along with Trotsky argued that the revolution could only succeed along these lines: a fight for all power to be taken by the soviets of workers', peasants', and soldiers' representatives; no support to the capitalist Provisional Government; and political opposition to any soviet party that compromised on this question.

To achieve their immediate goals of peace, land, bread, and liberty, the Bolsheviks argued, the workers' soviets had to take

power, instead of voluntarily ceding it to the privileged classes represented by the Provisional Government, as the Mensheviks and leaders of the Social Revolutionaries had done.

The leadership of the revolution would be the urban workers, in alliance with the peasants, especially the poorest peasants, and the rural workers. Under the guidance of the workers' vanguard party, Lenin explained, the revolution could then move in transitional stages from the solution of immediate democratic, social, and economic tasks toward the socialist transformation of the country in cooperation with the working people of the world.

Power taken

Based on this revolutionary perspective the Bolsheviks won the majority of the Petrograd soviet and used that base to organize the insurrection in October 1917.

After taking power the Petrograd workers and soldiers handed it over to the All-Russia Congress of Soviets. The soviets functioned on the basis of full internal democracy. All political tendencies loyal to the revolution had complete freedom to advance their views. It was the highest form of democracy that has ever existed. It was the instrument the workers and peasants used to seize and consolidate power.

Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the workers and peasants of Russia defeated the propertied classes politically. The new workers' and peasants' government then used that soviet power to move against the old ruling classes economically. Factory committees were set up to lay the organizational basis for state regulation of the industrial economy.

The new leadership began to carry out the tasks of the democratic revolution: land to the peasants, self-determination for the oppressed nations, and equal rights for women, among others. Most importantly the new workers government sued for peace with imperialist Germany.

On all counts progress was made: landed estates were expropriated and land parceled out to peasants. Self-determination was granted to the oppressed nations. They could secede from Russia or freely remain a part of the Soviet Union.

Peace with Germany was achieved at high cost; but it gave the new state some breathing space.

Imperialist intervention

The response of the local capitalists and world imperialism to these measures was to step up economic sabotage and direct military intervention.

The Bolsheviks had two choices: seek a deal with imperialism and the politically defeated capitalist class or deepen the revolution, while awaiting reinforcements from the extension of the revolution to other parts of the world.

Unlike the Sandinista leadership, the Bolsheviks chose the latter course. In response to imperialist attacks the new workers' and peasants' republic began nationalizing more and more capitalist enterprises.

The Red Army organized under Trotsky's leadership led the military defense of the revolution. The imperialist armies of Britain and Japan, supported materially by the U.S. government, sought to smash the new Soviet—i.e., workers'—state.

By the end of 1918 every capitalist enterprise of decisive economic importance had been nationalized and placed under administration of the workers, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The result: capitalist property relations were definitively abolished. All key instruments of production were centralized in the hands of the new state—that is, in the hands of the working class as the ruling class. The imperialists and local capitalists were defeated. The challenge for the new state was to consolidate its rule and move forward.

In spite of the immense suffering caused by World War I and the high loss of lives during the Civil War, Lenin's party did not follow the Sandinistas' strategy of compromise with imperialism or the local capitalists (as codified by their policy of "mixed economy" and "political pluralism") to "save" the revolution.

Lenin understood that such a policy of trying to find a middle road would only embolden the reactionaries and inevitably lead to the downfall of the first victorious socialist revolution. The expropriation of the capitalist class economically as well as

(continued on next page)

Debate in the FSLN: 'Social Pact' and the Revolution

In the aftermath of the electoral defeat of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in the Feb. 25 Nicaraguan elections, a growing clamor has developed among the FSLN's rank-and-file members for greater democracy inside the Front. The membership has insisted on an open discussion of the reasons that led to the FSLN's electoral defeat and of what strategy the FSLN should adopt toward the government of Violeta Chamorro.

In response to this pressure, the Sandinista leadership agreed to hold a national convention of the FSLN in the spring of 1991. This is the first convention of the FSLN since its founding 27 years ago.

Soon after the decision was taken in June 1990 to hold a convention, the Sandinista newspapers, *Barricada* and *Nuevo Diario*, began to run articles critical of Sandinista policy decisions. One such article in *Nuevo Diario* by Carlos Fonseca Terán went so far as to call for the removal of the current nine FSLN commanders and the election of a new leadership at the upcoming FSLN convention. (The dominant current in the FSLN, however, rejects this view, arguing that the election of a new leadership is not—and will not be—on the convention agenda.)

The increasing ideological debate and struggle inside the FSLN is the reflection of the class struggle inside Nicaragua.

Those sectors in the FSLN that gained material privileges during the Front's 10 years in power support the FSLN leadership's social pact (or "concertación" as it is called in Nicaragua) with the Chamorro government. They also support the decision by Daniel Ortega to affiliate the FSLN with the Second International (the Social-Democratic international current headed by German Socialist Party Chairman Willy Brandt.)

Those sectors closest to the rank-and-file workers and peasants, however, have begun to speak out against the social pact, arguing that it is political suicide to share political power with Chamorro. It is among these FSLN members that the campaign to elect a new FSLN leadership has taken root.

We are reprinting below excerpts from an opinion article that appeared in the Aug. 25, 1990, issue of *Barricada*, the FSLN's daily newspaper. This article by Augusto Zamora gives a sense of the debate currently taking place inside the FSLN.

—ALAN BENJAMIN

On the TV screens, the Chamorro government promotes its slogans calling for "concertación" [social pact between the workers and the capitalists]. They say this is the magic key to economic salvation. Off the screen, however, the mayor of Managua lays off public workers and expels squatters from city lands. Agricultural cooperatives are also assaulted, and workers and peasants are being killed.

Down here below, from where we were supposedly going to govern, we are all taking a beating from the new government. Can



'But the Revolution has another urgent mission. It must survive! We must genuinely reorganize to win back political power.'

there be any doubt why so many people question the viability of "concertación?"

On the one hand, Chamorro and her government call for a "national dialogue" with the workers and peasants, but on the other hand they ignore the agreements they signed with the National Workers Front (FNT) following the July general strike. They say they are open to dialogue, but in the next breath they turn around and say that the government's economic policies are not subject to discussion.

Let's call things by their right name. "Concertación"—or social pact—for the government is a way to swindle the workers

and peasants. No sooner were the agreements that put an end to the May and July general strikes signed than Chamorro shelved them and proceeded to attack our gains and rights.

What kind of social pact can there be with a government that betrays its promises? What guarantees do we have that the "national dialogue" won't be just another swindle?

These are questions being asked not just by supporters of the Sandinistas, but by the large majority of the Nicaraguan people.

But another, more profound question is also involved. The new government talks about reprivatizing and "liberalizing" the

economy—from denationalizing foreign trade, to undoing the agrarian reform, to ending all social spending. In other words, Chamorro wants to liquidate the Nicaraguan Revolution.

With the Revolution—or not?

In this context, what we Sandinistas have to decide is whether or not we want to defend the gains of the Revolution. Do we stay with the Revolution or do we ditch it?

The Chamorro government has a plan. To be successful in implementing it, it needs the cooperation of the workers and their unions; they must accept massive layoffs and give up their right to strike. The government can even bribe the leaders of the unions or the opposition political parties to ensure that their program is implemented.

But the Revolution has another urgent mission. It must survive!

We must genuinely reorganize to win back political power. We must fight to prevent Nicaragua from becoming, once again, a colony of the United States. We must defend the rights and gains of the workers and peasants. We must make sure that the blood we spilled for our revolution was not spilled in vain.

Voices in the government—and among the Sandinista leadership—tell us incessantly that the defense of the "nation" requires that we accept the social pact. But whose "nation" are they talking about anyhow?

It is not the nation of the dispossessed, of the growing numbers of unemployed, of the tens of thousands who are starving. They're not concerned about the nation of the vast majority of the Nicaraguan people. No, the "nation" this government seeks to defend is the "nation" of the rich—of the capitalists.

It's about time we began to think seriously about where the interests of the Revolution—of the real Nicaragua—really lie, and how we're going to defend them.

It's time to drop our strategic orientation of "dialoguing" with Chamorro. This strategy is political suicide.

Let the government govern by itself, without our help. And let the opposition be an opposition and the trade unions function as genuine unions. Any other conception will simply lead to the death of the Revolution. Is that what we want? *Quo vadis*, Nicaragua? ■

...Russian Revolution

(continued from previous page)

politically was the prerequisite to move forward.

In an article written on the fourth anniversary of the revolution Lenin discussed the main goal and objective of the 1917 revolution:

"The direct and immediate object of the revolution in Russia was a bourgeois-democratic one, namely, to destroy the survivals of medievalism and keep them away completely, to purge Russia of this barbarism, of this shame, and to remove this immense obstacle to all culture and progress in our country."

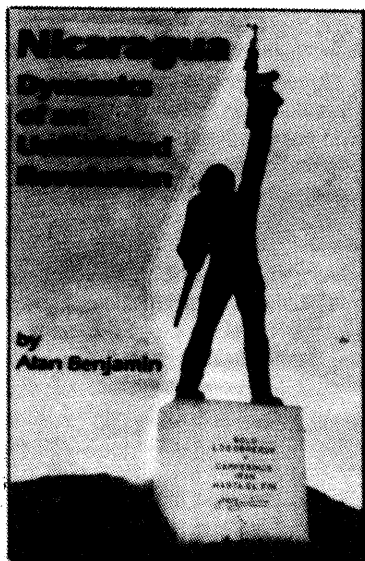
"The last four years have proved to the hilt," he continued, "that our interpretation of Marxism on this point, and our estimate of the experience of former revolutions were correct. We have consummated the bourgeois-democratic revolution as nobody had done before. We are advancing towards the socialist revolution consciously, firmly and unswervingly, knowing that it is not separated from the bourgeois-democratic revolution by a Chinese Wall, and knowing too that (in the last analysis) *struggle alone* will determine how far we shall succeed in consolidating our victories. Time will show. But we see even now that a tremendous amount—tremendous for this ruined, exhausted and backward country—has already been done towards the socialist transformation of society."

It was that consolidation of the new political power of the workers and peasants by expropriating the capitalist class economically that allowed the new Soviet Union to survive imperialist intervention and civil war.

The subsequent degeneration of the revolution and the crimes of Stalin have not yet been able to reverse these earth-shaking changes begun by the Russian workers and peasants in 1917.

Next month we'll see how Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolutionary leadership responded to similar imperialist threats and led the people of Cuba to establish the first workers state in the Western Hemisphere. ■

A critical analysis of the Sandinista Revolution



- **Catherine Cusic**, Coordinator, Nicaragua Center for Community Action (NICCA), San Francisco

"There are two books in English that **have** to be read by serious supporters of the FSLN in Nicaragua, George Black's 'Triumph of the People' and the just-published 'Nicaragua: Dynamics of an Unfinished Revolution' by Alan Benjamin.

"Although I have serious disagreements with some of Benjamin's conclusions, his material is challenging and he raises questions that need to be examined by those of us making serious social change."

- **Prof. John Weeks**, Middlebury College, Vermont

"For those who look for new thinking on Nicaragua, this book is necessary reading."

- **Prof. James Rhodes**, Luther College, Iowa (from *Library Journal*):

"Benjamin provides a tightly argued and carefully documented case for what he terms an incomplete revolution."

Written by Socialist Action newspaper editor Alan Benjamin in collaboration with researchers at Managua's ITZTANI Institute, 186 pp. Intro. by Rod Holt and Jeff Mackler. To order, send \$8.95 (includes \$1 postage) to: Walnut Publishing Co., 3435 Army St., Rm. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110.

SWP abandons revolutionary traditions as it breaks from Fourth International

By MALIK MIAH and BARRY SHEPPARD

At the June 1990 convention of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the delegates voted to disaffiliate from the Fourth International (FI), the world body of revolutionary socialists founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938 shortly after the founding of the SWP itself.* The establishment of these two organizations in the same year was not an accident. The SWP played a central role in founding the Fourth International and building it in subsequent decades.

The break with the FI represents a major rupture with the entire history of the SWP up to the early 1980s. One would think such a major move would be carefully documented, debated, and explained. But the "World Political Resolution" placed before the June 1990 SWP convention which codified this break contained only one reference to it in a single sentence:

"We are not part of the 'Trotskyist movement,' or the Fourth International, currents that emerged from the 1980s on a trajectory determined by rejection of a communist course toward building parties of worker-Bolsheviks who are part of the fighting ranks of the working class."

This resolution itself was not available to the branches of the SWP for discussion until two weeks prior to the election of delegates to the convention. But there was very little opposition to leaving the FI among the SWP ranks. How can that have happened?

First, the lack of discussion on such an important topic reflects the overall atmosphere in the SWP, which more and more emphasizes "centralism" and following orders from above than party democracy. Anyone who even questions any major aspect of the politics of the central party leadership in New York is swiftly branded as "retreating from communism" or as "losing faith in the working class."

Unilateral split from FI

But another factor operated in this case. Since 1985, the SWP membership received no documents on the discussion in the Fourth International, and few if any reports on what was happening with its sections. In actual fact, the SWP had split from the FI years ago by unilateral action of its leadership, with no discussion within the ranks of the SWP and no balance sheet on the FI to justify this split.

An addendum to the "World Political Resolution" that seeks to further explain why the SWP split from the FI is in the form of a May 1988 letter from SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters to some comrades in the Swedish section of the FI, urging them to split from that section.

The major reason given is the assertion that the Swedish section, and the FI as a whole, had failed to carry through a major reorientation decided on by the FI at its 1979 World Congress—to work to get the majority of its members into industrial jobs.

It is true there are very grave weaknesses in the FI and its sections, including the question of their class composition. But by abandoning the FI, the SWP has given up the fight to try to change the FI's course.

When the Australian SWP split from the FI in 1985, the SWP issued an "Education for Socialists" bulletin, in which Doug Jenness pointed out that "Despite its view that the Fourth International's 'very existence' is an insurmountable roadblock to 'to building a new international revolutionary movement—one with mass influence.' ... Despite all of its talking about turning 'toward a more real internationalism,' the [Australian] SWP leadership has walked away from the only revolutionary international organization that it could be part of today."

The Fourth International has not changed qualitatively from what it was in 1985. Doug

* Because of the restrictions of the reactionary Voorhees Act, the SWP participated in the Fourth International only in a fraternal capacity.



Fidel Castro in the 1960s

In the '60s, the SWP hailed the Cuban Revolution but pointed to the shortcomings of the Cuban leadership

Jenness' words back then fit the American SWP today—for the U.S. SWP also claims to be turning toward a real internationalism. The "World Political Resolution" calls it "our world movement."

The "world movement" referred to are groups in seven countries in addition to the United States (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Iceland, Britain, Sweden, and France) which politically agree with the SWP. These groups have either split from the FI, or were pushed out of the FI by the FI majority leadership. Most are quite small, adding up to less than 200 members worldwide, not counting the SWP.

Before discussing the nature of this "world movement," let's see how things got to this state.

Building a new mass international

In the early 1980s, the SWP leadership—including the two authors of this article—projected building a new mass International, based on a convergence of forces from the Fourth International, the Cuban Communist Party, the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and the New Jewel Movement in Grenada.

The latter two had taken power in anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist struggles in 1979. The hope was that they would follow the path blazed by the Cubans and extend the socialist revolution in the Americas. This would give an impetus to the development of revolutionists elsewhere and lay the objective basis for a new mass International for the first time since the destruction of the Third International by the Stalinists in the 1920s and 1930s.

But things didn't work out that way. Despite an initial thrust forward in the mobilization of the workers and peasants, the FSLN failed to deepen that course and indeed opted for its opposite. They turned away from the Cuban road, with the result that a capitalist state has been consolidated in Nicaragua today.

Revolutionist Maurice Bishop of Grenada

failed to build a proletarian party following the victory of the New Jewel Movement in 1979. This, combined with his lack of understanding of the nature of Stalinism, led to the coup against Bishop by a Stalinist faction around Bernard Coard.

Coard was able to defeat a pro-Bishop insurrection by the Grenadian masses, with the result that the revolution was destroyed. That paved the way for Washington's invasion and the reimposition of imperialist control over the island.

There remains the Cuban Communist Party. This party was built and consolidated following the revolution led by Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement that overthrew the Batista dictatorship in 1959. The Castro leadership carried through a far-reaching land reform, stood up to imperialism, and by the fall of 1960 mobilized the working masses to carry through the expropriation of both foreign and domestic capital and set up a workers' state.

At the time the SWP hailed the Cuban Revolution as the opening of the socialist revolution in the Americas, and the opening of a new stage in world history following the Stalinization and destruction of the Third International. A new revolutionary leadership had emerged that had bypassed Stalinism from the left. At the same time, the SWP correctly pointed to weaknesses in the understanding and program of these new revolutionists of action.

With the adoption of the "new mass International" approach in the early 1980s, however, the SWP leadership dropped virtually all critical evaluations of the Cuban leadership that the SWP had held up to 1979.

The SWP simply labeled the Cuban CP as "communist"—and by "communist" the SWP today means not a general term that encompasses all who claim to be Marxist, but a very specific term referring to those who have a genuine Marxist program. For example, it does not think that the two authors of this article are communist—nor is Socialist Action

or the Fourth International. But the Cuban CP is communist in their view.

Marxist analysis of Stalinism

This new analysis of the Cuban CP is another major rupture in the continuity of the SWP after 1979. But it is precisely the weaknesses of the Cuban CP which prevent it from charting a road toward building a new revolutionary international.

One of these weaknesses is the Cuban CP's failure to develop a Marxist understanding of Stalinism and of the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers' states. This has led them to oppose the mass movements for democratic rights that have erupted in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China.

While correctly opposing the Stalinists' push toward capitalist restoration, the Cuban leaders have turned their backs on the only people who can resist capitalist restoration—the working masses of these countries, whatever illusions they might have. Such resistance, in fact, has already begun.

Without understanding the Marxist analysis of Stalinism, which was developed by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in the 1930s, it is impossible to have a truly world revolutionary viewpoint.

The Cuban leaders also have no revolutionary program for the imperialist countries. This leads them to take reformist or liberal positions when they do mention these countries. For example, they support the Democrats in elections in the United States—although they always have resisted U.S. imperialism, whether the Democrats or Republicans were in power in Washington.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the Cubans have generally taken much better positions, especially in the fight against imperialism. Their genuine internationalism in sending doctors and teachers abroad, in aiding anti-imperialist struggles like sending troops to defend Angola against the South Africans, is well known and hated by the imperialist powers.

But their message to the masses in the oppressed countries of the world is ambiguous. On the one hand, from the beginning they have said that for these countries there will be "either a socialist revolution or a caricature of a revolution." On the other hand, they have given political support to "left" bourgeois regimes.

The Cubans have not fully grasped a key idea advanced by the Third (Communist) International under Lenin's leadership. The Third International explained that in the oppressed nations, the democratic revolution cannot be carried through to completion, nor can its conquests be defended, without going on to mobilizing the masses to make the socialist revolution.

Following the Stalinization of the Communist International, this idea was denounced by the Stalinists as "Trotskyism" and as part of the perspective of "permanent revolution." The Cuban Revolution itself is a positive example of this truth, while the defeat of the Nicaraguan Revolution is a negative one. [See article pp. 18-19.]

But the Cuban leadership is not Stalinist. While bureaucratic deformations exist inside the Cuban workers' state, they have not crystallized to the point that a distinct bureaucratic caste has arisen whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of the Cuban people.

Cuba and workers' democracy

Internally, the Cuban Revolution has much to its credit. The revolution leans on the mobilization and arming of the masses to defend itself from the real threat of a U.S. imperialist attack. Socialist values of equality and human solidarity are appealed to, as opposed to the capitalist values of greed and selfishness.

While encouraging the participation of the masses at local levels of power, the Cuban leadership has yet to involve the masses through their representatives at the national level to participate in debates with full information on the big national and international

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questions vital for the revolution's survival. And the leadership has yet to set up mechanisms to bring workers into the actual management of their enterprises.

In short, the Cuban leaders have yet to institutionalize measures of workers' democracy through soviet-type institutions at all levels of government, and factory committees that increasingly involve workers in management itself, as outlined in the program of the Communist International, based on the teachings of Marx and Engels.

At the same time, internal differences in the Cuban CP itself are not allowed to be expressed by the formation of internal tendencies or factions, and debated out on that basis, as was the case in Lenin's party.

Too many decisions are made at the top, and indeed by Castro himself. This weakens the party, not strengthens it. What will happen when Castro is not on the scene? How well will the party ranks and leaders at all levels have been educated without organized internal debate?

The Cubans lack an understanding of Leninist party building concepts in another area. They have been unable to chart a course for the extension of the Cuban Revolution to the rest of Latin America and the rest of the world—which is the only hope for the survival of the Cuban Revolution itself. This stems from the same theoretical shortcomings.

In the 1960s the Cubans thought they could bypass the Stalinists and extend the revolution in Latin America through guerrilla warfare. That strategy, which avoided the hard question of building Leninist parties (which would necessitate a political struggle against the Stalinists and other opponents of Leninism), failed. Since that time, the Cubans have had no strategy to build a world movement.

To point out these or other weaknesses of the Cuban leadership does not detract from their great accomplishments, which we must more than ever defend in the face of the debacle of the heirs of Stalin and the mounting imperialist threats. But these weaknesses must be overcome if the Cuban Revolution is to survive and if the Cuban revolutionists are to make their contribution toward building a genuine mass international party.

But for this to occur, it is necessary for revolutionary-Marxists to articulate an alternative program to that of the Cuban CP leadership—that is, the historic program of the Fourth International. The organizational form which Cubans who agree with this program will assume must be left to them.

A new addition to the list

Lately, the SWP leadership has added to those who might form part of a new mass International. They refer to a supposed real Marxist current emerging in South Africa.

In her May 1988 letter to some Swedish comrades, appended to the "World Political Resolution," SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters gives as one reason why the Fourth International should be abandoned:

"I would add that the response of the United Secretariat [of the Fourth International] to the communist leadership emerging within the African National Congress over the last decade has been ... [that] they see it as a threat" [emphasis in original].

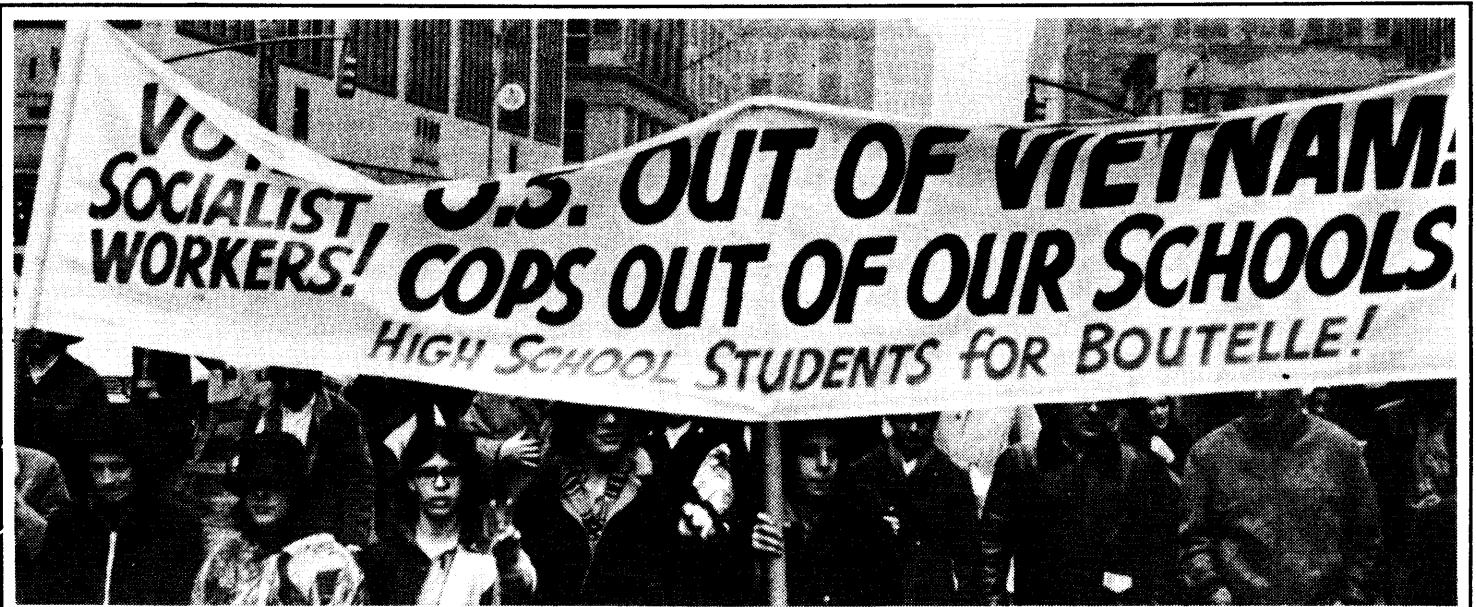
What makes this very odd is that the SWP's "World Political Resolution" makes it clear that we should not orient to the South African CP, which is described as "Stalinist," or "any wing of it." Who then are these genuine communist leaders emerging in the ANC? Do they have names? What is their program?

Thus, as can be seen, the SWP perspective of a new mass international with the Sandinistas, the Grenadian New Jewel Movement, and the Cuban CP collapsed, becoming instead a "world movement" of those groups from the Fourth International that agree with the current line of the SWP.

The SWP's new 'world movement'

What is this "world movement" like? First, we should note that many of the members of the seven former sections of the FI were originally attracted to the SWP because of its strengths, and not the deviations and weaknesses it developed during the 1980s. They were attracted to its long record of building a proletarian party in the United States, and its record of struggle for a correct orientation in the Fourth International.

In the 1970s, that meant support for the



The SWP under founder James P. Cannon (below) advocated self-thinking revolutionary parties to mobilize workers and youth in the coming struggle for power.

struggle led by the SWP against a guerrillaist deviation adopted by the FI majority against the Leninist strategy of party building. They were also attracted by the SWP proposal to get the majority of FI members into industry.

Based on their trust of the SWP, however, these comrades were induced to follow the SWP leadership in its break with the continuity of the SWP during the 1980s. Now that process is completed with the break of all these groups from the Fourth International and the establishment of what the SWP calls "our world movement."

In the "World Political Resolution" the SWP goes on to explain what it means by "our."

First, the centralism of this movement, according to the SWP's resolution, "is the opposite of the perspective of a programmatic regroupment of revolutionary organizations based on a checklist of political points, or 'principles,' of agreement and disagreement."

Whatever else this odd formulation is supposed to mean, we can be sure it means that no deviation by these groups from any aspect of current SWP policy will be tolerated. As both of us heard SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes explain to a meeting of the SWP National Committee some years ago, these groups "must give their souls to the SWP."

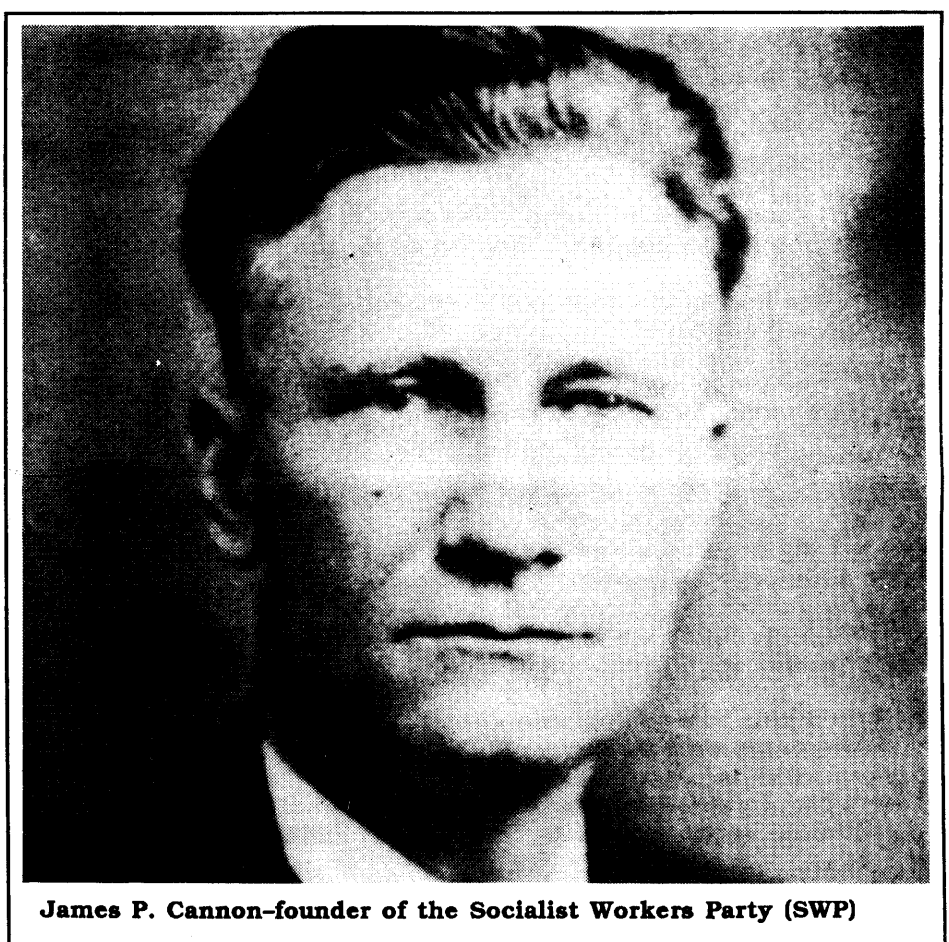
Second, this centralization is "the opposite of centralization that flows primarily through executive bodies made up of leaders selected from parties in various countries (whether chosen by the parties themselves on a federative basis, or elected by a sovereign international congress)." So much for elections and democracy in "our" new "world movement."

What then does the "growing international centralization" of this movement consist of? A "double axis of our political work." One, all the groups in the seven countries outside the United States must expand the work of distributing books published by Pathfinder Press, which in the main are edited by SWP leaders. Two, they must distribute *The Militant* newspaper, also edited by SWP leaders and printed in English, as their main weekly political paper—no matter the language used in their own countries. This is not projected as a temporary expedient.

In short, the SWP runs the whole show, lock, stock, and barrel. This is its World movement in the full possessive meaning of the word. While the word "centralism" is used over and over in relation to this world movement, the word "democracy" never appears once.

In lockstep, every one of these groups will carry out the same campaigns in every country—campaigns decided by the SWP.

An example given is "Eastern strike solidarity." Leaving aside the SWP's ludicrous insistence that the Eastern strike is in October 1990 "stronger than ever," it is the height of foolishness to maintain that Eastern strike solidarity work should be a common international campaign in the United States, Iceland, and Australia, etc., organized through a single newspaper published in New York.



James P. Cannon—founder of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The setting up of this "world movement" represents a rupture with everything the SWP stood for in the past in regard to international work.

Break with past internationalism

It is true that Lenin and Trotsky favored a democratic-centralist international party and that the statutes of the Third (Communist) International which they founded provided for this type of functioning.

But the political authority of the leadership of the Third International was derived from the successful Russian Revolution of 1917. This revolution affirmed the program of revolutionary-Marxism in practice; that is, it established the first government on earth where the working class became the ruling class.

Yet even under these circumstances, Lenin and Trotsky avoided in virtually every case imposing their authority when differences arose in the Third International. They preferred patient discussion to clarify the correctness of their views.

The SWP had been known in the Fourth International as standing against every form of "super centralism" on an international scale. It explained, over and over again, that each section in each country had to develop its own leadership naturally out of its own ranks.

To do this, each section had to think through its own positions, not only concerning its own country but on all world issues.

From Lenin to Trotsky, any attempt to impose a single press, with a single position, on the sections of the International—even if that position was correct and the section's was wrong—was rejected.

No self-confident leadership could emerge in the sections in such circumstances, and no section could be built with a tested leadership that could face the enormous task of building a revolutionary party that could take power in that section's country.

The socialist revolution is international. But proletarian revolutions are made country by country, not all at once internationally. That's why independent sections must be built as components of a world movement.

Jack Barnes himself had explained these truths many times in the past. Now Barnes, the SWP, and those around the world who have "given their souls to the SWP" have broken with this view.

What can only begin to happen in such circumstances—and it probably has already begun—is that the SWP leadership will begin to choose the leadership of these other groups from among the most sycophantic. Any who resist "giving their souls to the SWP" will be looked upon with disfavor.

All this is a sure recipe for an international sect, whose components will form a cult of the SWP leadership. What a debacle!

Malik Miah and Barry Sheppard are former National Chairpersons of the Socialist Workers Party.

S. Africa: democracy or 'Iron Fist?'

What a democrat F.W. de Klerk has become! South Africa's president now claims that he supports (in his own words) "one man, one vote."

What has caused this turnabout in a man who not long ago was an enthusiastic supporter of white supremacy? During last month's visit to Washington, D.C., De Klerk explained he had been inspired by "the dream of Martin Luther King."

De Klerk's honeyed words found a willing audience in President Bush and his staff. Bush, who pro-

Editorials

claimed that the reform process in South Africa was "irreversible," gave a signal to U.S. allies to loosen economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. Once again, the world leaders hope, South Africa will be declared "safe" for capitalist investments.

But anti-apartheid activists remain on guard. For one thing, the South African head of state continues to advocate "power-sharing" in the government. Even some members of the U.S. Congress were forced to admit, after meeting with De Klerk, that "power-sharing" is a code word for giving whites veto power over decisions by the Black majority.

In other words, De Klerk is willing to grant "democratic" voting rights to Blacks in order to elect a government that is fundamentally undemocratic.

During his White House visit, De Klerk preferred to skirt the fact that South Africa is undergoing one of the most blood-filled periods in its history. On the eve of his talks with George Bush, De Klerk ordered army and police units to occupy the Black

townships. The operation has been code-named "Iron Fist."

The new state of emergency was enacted ostensibly to put an end to violence between supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) and the right-wing Inkatha movement, which is based mainly among the Zulu people. This factional fighting is a product of the government's grand design to divide Black people according to language groups and "tribes" and to pit them against each other.

On numerous occasions, white men (sometimes with blackened faces) have been sighted directing the mob attacks. De Klerk has admitted that a "hidden force" among the whites has been working with Inkatha. It is an open secret, however, that the "hidden force" is the police itself!

And now, those who are mainly responsible for the violence have been given an "Iron Fist" to keep order. "It looks like the government is arming itself to deal with the liberation movement," ANC leader Nelson Mandela pointed out. Mandela said that he had made a mistake earlier when he called for the army to step in.

The ANC and other groups have called for a heightened campaign to demand a constituent assembly, a body elected by all the people with the power to create the foundations of a free society in South Africa.

This is the way to go. Let all the people vote! Let all the Black organizations that speak for the people participate. Let all shades of opinion be heard—including that of revolutionary socialists. A constituent assembly will demonstrate real democracy—Black majority rule—unlike the empty promises of President F.W. de Klerk.

... All out for Oct. 20 protests!

(continued from page 1)

Seattle, and Houston. New cities join this list daily. The primary demands of these demonstrations are "Bring the Troops Home Now!" and "U.S. Out of the Middle East!"

Protests have been called for Stockholm, Paris, and Toronto on this date as well.

In the case of San Francisco, seven coalitions have come together to build Oct. 20. This unity around slogans calling for the U.S. to get out of the Middle East is important to ensure the largest possible demonstrations.

Slogans calling for "U.S. Out of the Middle East" and "Bring the Troops Home Now!" have the potential for building a mass antiwar movement that can reach out to students, GIs, their families, and all the American people who see no need for themselves or their loved ones to die in a war that can only profit the oil companies and a government beholden to them.

The Oct. 20 nationwide demonstrations should be built as broadly and massively as possible. Now is the time to visibly demonstrate that even at this early stage, there is a significant opposition to the government's intervention in the Middle East.



Paratrooper kisses son goodbye.

Auto pact will not 'save' jobs

The United Auto Workers (UAW) and General Motors Corp.'s new contract is being held up by labor as a "job security" pact. Under the new three-year agreement ratified by the membership at the end of September, autoworkers will get a 3 percent wage hike, two 3-percent lump-sum bonuses in the second and third years, three \$600 Christmas bonuses, and continued cost-of-living increases.

Additionally, GM agreed that workers now on layoff with 10 years' seniority will get 95 percent of pay for three years, up from two; other workers on layoff will get 95 percent of pay for 18 months, up from 12; and workers laid off for more than 36 weeks will get training or other work and full pay. In addition, pension, early retirement, and buyout plans will be improved. Health-care provisions continue as before.

In return for these "gains," GM management will be allowed to close plants and lay off up to 60,000 workers GM claims must be shed to become more competitive. Under similar "job guarantees" in the 1987 contract, GM reduced its workforce from 370,000 to 310,000 today. GM's share of the auto market continues to decline, especially as the Japanese automakers take a bigger share of the market.

Moreover, fully owned Japanese plants in the United States are nonunion.

In this context the owners of GM decided not to force a strike with the autoworkers, although some bosses would have preferred that route. Chrysler, for example, is financially weaker than GM and Ford and considers the new pact too expensive. But GM's management believes its cooperative relationship with the UAW leadership is the best way to ensure labor peace and increase the company's long-term profits.

The new pact, however, is not an advance for au-

toworkers. It does not keep wages at pace with inflation. It will not guarantee jobs anymore than the 1987 pact did. GM will be able to use the "loophole" of a sales slump to avoid implementing job-protection aspects of the agreement. More jobs will be permanently lost.

In addition, the decision to go without wage increases in the second and third years in exchange for lump-sum payments lowers real wages. Lump sums are not calculated into pension and other benefits. The company's so-called job bank benefits few workers and when a major recession hits, it will go out the window.

Moreover, the UAW leadership's refusal to push for a better deal weakens its appeal to workers at nonunion auto assembly and parts plants who make comparable hourly wages.

While the UAW's top officials in Detroit were hailing the new GM agreement as groundbreaking, their counterparts in the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) decided to strike Ford. After an eight-day strike, Ford workers approved a three-year contract. The new pact increases wages 7.5 percent in the first year, 6.7 percent in the second, and 4.8 percent in the third, including a cost-of-living allowance. It also includes "job guarantee" language.

Will the new pacts keep peace on the assembly line? Not likely. As we head toward a recession, autoworkers and other working people will face increasing employer attacks. GM, Ford, and Chrysler managers will push to close plants, lay off workers, and impose job-combination local agreements. Auto workers will see they were sold a bill of goods and will begin to resist—and new union leaders will step forward to lead the fightback.

Our readers speak out

Greyhound

Dear editor,

On Labor Day, some 300 trade unionists rallied in Portland, Maine, in support of striking Greyhound bus drivers. Rank-and-file members from about 30 different unions were present.

Several Democratic Party candidates also came, looking for votes—including Congressman Joseph Brennan, who is seeking re-election to his previous position as governor of Maine.

In the middle of Brennan's boring speech, militant unionists called on the crowd to help stop two scab buses that had just arrived. It was amusing and heartening to watch the crowd running away from Brennan's platform to keep the buses out.

Police pushed back the crowd and dragged away those who sat down, but no arrests were made. For a few brief moments, it appeared we might have stopped the buses. But there was so much confusion—and no direction from the union leadership about how to fight back.

On the evening news that night, a local union leader was quoted as saying that civil disobedience to stop the buses was the wrong strategy to win the strike. He urged union members to get out and vote to ensure that "friends of labor" (read Democrats) get elected this fall.

What is most amazing to me is that our union leaders haven't been able to drum out every ounce of militant instinct left in us.

When Joe Brennan was governor the first time, he was definitely not a friend to 10,000 state employees who worked without a contract for 18 months. And he was responsible for changing the workers' compensation laws to the detriment of workers in Maine. To wait for the Democratic politicians to change labor laws is like waiting for Hell to freeze over.

L.H.,
Bath, Maine

Berkeley

Dear editor,

Readers of *Socialist Action* may have seen the Aug. 28 *New York Times* article which stated that students at U.C. Berkeley (1) were indifferent to U.S. intervention in the Middle East and (2) ignored a *Socialist Action* salesperson displaying the September issue with its "Bring the Troops Home Now!" banner headline.

I was on the Berkeley campus the day the *Times* reporters were there, and talked to them. But I saw something different than they did. I sold 14 issues of *SA* in just one hour. (An *SA* sales team at San Francisco State sold 50 papers that same morning.)

More important, on that first day of classes at Berkeley, there was a table up for a new student group, Students for Peace in the Persian Gulf, which was a center for student discussion the entire day. They already had a leaflet out for a rally at Sproul Plaza, which two days later attracted over 600 students.

The Sept. 14 Middle East teach-in that drew 2000 to the Berkeley campus (mainly students) was also already planned, and the *Times* reporters were informed of both these events.

But not only did the *Times* misrepresent what was happening that first day at U.C. Berkeley, they did not even cover the rally or the teach-in. I can only conclude that the truth about what is happening on the campuses is not something the *New York Times* considers fit to print.

A.C.,
Union City, Calif.

Iraq

Dear editor,

We still suffer from the destructive results of British colonialism in the Middle East. Kuwait was a former British colony which had been carved out of greater Iraq in the last century. One could draw an analogy to the present British protectorate of Hong Kong, which is soon to be returned to China. If China is entitled

to regain control of Hong Kong, why shouldn't Kuwait be returned to Iraq?

It has been the policy of Western powers since WWI to "divide and conquer" the Arabs in the region. First, to perpetuate colonialism but, more recently, to keep the petrodollars away from the large Arab masses, where this money could be used to threaten Israel.

The best evidence of this recent policy is the mere fact that it is our country, with its large Israeli lobby, which has gotten the most hysterical about Saddam, even though we are the least dependent on Iraqi oil.

The desire of Saddam for a "greater Iraq" and also for the greater Arab state, which was promised, is no different than our very own notion of *Manifest Destiny* in the last century. Remember that "trumped-up" war that we had with Mexico in 1846? Perhaps we should give all that oil in Texas and California back to Mexico, which we stole from them?

Why not deal with Saddam and recognize that the balance of power has shifted? Israel, which was supposed to be our strategic asset, is clearly only a liability to us now. Provided that Iraq recognize Israel's right to exist at its pre-1967 border, we can settle this mess right now and save ourselves the \$5 billion that we give to both Israel and Egypt each year to perpetuate this ill-conceived foreign policy.

David McLaughlin,
Mill Valley, Calif.

Porn

Dear editor,

Your recent explanation that *SA* is opposed to sexual censorship was reassuring, but not entirely. As the Philadelphia gay newspaper *Au Courant* put it (Sept. 17), "If porn can be called offensive, it is because its power structures are white, male, and heterosexual (and, we would add, capitalist—E.H.). Such power structures should be the issue of debate—not porn itself."

Formulations such as "pornography is inherently sexist" are not only scientifically unfounded, but offensive and oppressive to the many people of all sexes and sexual orientations who enjoy both mainstream and alternative porn.

In light of the evidence that future right-wing violence may increasingly be focused on issues relating to sexuality, subscribing to anti-pornography theory—which has already led some to equate prostitutes with scabs and to label even feminist-created porn "woman-hating"—could be dangerously disorienting for the socialist movement.

Eric Hammell,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Farrakhan

Dear editor,

I would like to register my objection to the article in your September issue on Louis Farrakhan. Because of the U.S. invasion of the Middle East, Socialist Action should be making overtures to Muslim groups—and especially in the U.S., to the "Black Muslims"—not attacking their leader on the basis of his opposition to Malcolm X 30 years ago.

Farrakhan's organization probably represents the most deeply rooted militant Black organization in the country. They should be approached about common actions when circumstances allow.

G.G.,
Boston, Mass.

Correction

The article on the Nation of Islam, which appeared in our September issue, stated that all the men convicted of Malcolm X's assassination claimed to be innocent. One of those men, Talmadge Hayer, did confess to the assassination. But he stated that the two other men who were convicted were innocent.—The editors

What led to Frank Lorenzo's demise?

By MALIK MIAH

The U.S. aggression in the Middle East has sent the stock markets into a tailspin around the world. Among the hardest hit stocks are those of the major airlines. As the U.S. economy slides into a recession, the first cutback for corporations is business travel. Leisure travel also drops.

Moreover, since July 31 jet fuel has gone up over 60 percent from about 57 cents a gallon to 94 cents a gallon. After labor costs, this is the highest expense for the carriers. Every one cent-a-gallon increase adds \$160 million to the industry's annual expenses. The airlines have responded by raising their average domestic fares by 9.5 percent and international fares by 7-10 percent.

U.S. Air and Pan Am have announced major layoffs. Other carriers have announced plans to freeze hiring and/or trim their workforces by the year's end.

Lorenzo's demise

Talk of recession and the price of jet fuel has helped push the main airline news of 1989-1990 out of the picture—the strike at Eastern Airlines that began in March 1989. Eastern under its court-appointed trustee, Martin Shugrue, continues to fly despite major losses. In addition to higher fuel costs, it faces the added burden of a boycott campaign organized by the machinists' union (International Association of Machinists, IAM).

The IAM is demanding that

Shugrue settle the strike or sell the airline to other capitalists ("white knights"), such as the owners of Northwest Airlines, a union carrier. Of course, the strikers will go with the purchase. That's the hope.

Whatever happens, however, it is clear the old Eastern Airlines will never exist again. The "new" Eastern is half its former size due to the liquidation of major assets.

And on Aug. 9, union-buster Frank Lorenzo announced a \$30.5 million deal to sell his interest in the former Texas Air Corporation, now Continental Airlines Holding Inc., to Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS). The deal includes Lorenzo's agreement to stay out of the airline business as an owner for seven years. He will remain on Continental Airlines Board of Directors.

Lorenzo's departure from the industry scene was hailed by both labor unions and the big business media.

Lorenzo had turned a \$25,000 investment in Texas International Airlines in 1971 into an empire with a market value of \$2.1 billion at its 1987 peak. After deregulation of the airlines in the late 1970s, Lorenzo became a central figure in the industry.

After creating Texas Air in 1980, Lorenzo quickly took center stage in labor-management conflicts. He destroyed the unions at Continental after provoking a strike through the use of bankruptcy laws in 1983. He became the most hated employer in the airline industry during the cur-

Which Side Are You On?

By
Malik Miah



rent Eastern Airlines strike, with buttons and signs with a red slash across his name symbolizing opposition to union-busting.

Lorenzo's arrogant refusal to talk to leaders of the International Association of Machinists at Eastern (because he doesn't talk to unions) became widely known.

Lorenzo's high antilabor visibility was fine with the other employers throughout the 1980s as long as the rank and file were cowed and unable to put up much resistance. Lorenzo was put on the front page of business magazines and invited to speak at business schools nationwide. His union-bashing made it easier for other airline executives to impose two-tier contracts on their union and nonunion employees.

In 1986 Lorenzo took over debt-ridden Eastern Airlines and Frontier Airlines, as well as the nonunion

People's Express. His goal was to build the largest low-cost airline in the world.

But this meant a head-on confrontation with the Eastern unions. Systematically Lorenzo stripped Eastern of its most valuable assets—giving them to Continental for a song. The ultimate objective was to break the unions and roll Eastern into Continental.

Unfortunately for Lorenzo, the situation in 1989—when Eastern workers were forced on strike—and the one in 1983 were quite different.

In 1983 the labor movement was still reeling from Reagan's 1981 destruction of the air-traffic controllers' union. Rank-and-file workers willingly voted for takeback contracts to "save" their jobs.

When Lorenzo took on the unions at Continental he pitted the machinists against the pilots—and

then destroyed both. Labor solidarity was lacking. Most labor unions stood on the sidelines watching. The AFL-CIO top brass gave lip-service to the fight but did little.

Enter 1989. Lorenzo prepared for a repeat of 1983. He wooed the pilots and told the machinists they were through. But the unions had experienced 10 years of takeback contracts. They didn't trust Lorenzo and united for the first eight months of the strike, an unprecedented and unanticipated development.

The rank and file were fed up with concessions and were now ready to strike and fight, even if the prospect for victory was slim. As Eastern strikers have already shown, it is better to fight, lose your job but keep your self-respect, and have the company go under, than to die a slow death while the owners walk away scot free.

While Lorenzo walks away a rich man from 10 years of raping the workers and public, he failed to keep his airline empire. A decline in the economy, combined with sharp competition in the industry, hit Lorenzo's airlines hard.

The strikers' visibility on the picket line, urging boycott, was also a factor in his downfall. At the same time, Lorenzo did destroy the lives of tens of thousands of union workers at Eastern, Continental, and other airlines that he took over.

Although all employers do the same to their workers, Lorenzo was unable to go nonunion and make a profit for his shareholders. Ultimately, it was the bottom line that led to his demise.

The Trotsky Publications Fund \$20,000 goal set to distribute works in USSR

By ALEX CHIS

Walnut Publishing Co. has learned of exciting opportunities to have many more of Trotsky's works published in the Soviet Union than it had previously thought possible.

A four-volume work, "Archives of Trotsky: The Communist Opposition in the USSR 1923-1927" was recently published by Terra publishers, a Moscow cooperative. The set, compiled by Dr. Yuri Felshtinsky, was printed in an edition of 100,000 copies and is on sale throughout the Soviet Union.

Dr. Felshtinsky told *Socialist Action*: "This is a very important event. Books by Trotsky have not been published in the Soviet Union

since the 1920s. I want to thank Walnut Publishers for their invaluable help in getting this edition published in the USSR."

Walnut has also been working to have the two-volume Russian edition of "Stalin" published. We have now learned that it may be possible for seven more volumes of Trotsky to be published, including "The Comintern After Lenin" (which has never appeared in a Russian edition) and his writings on the Chinese Revolution.

Walnut would like to embrace this chance and go forward with this project as boldly as possible. But we need your help. This is a costly project. It cannot be done unless we raise significant sums of money.

The total cost of the project will

be in the neighborhood of \$20,000. Walnut Publishing Co. received a letter from Trotsky's grandson, Esteban Volkov, urging support of this project [see letter below].

Please heed his request and give generously to the Trotsky Publications Fund. Help ensure that we can get Trotsky published in the Soviet Union as soon as possible. The sooner his writings are available, the sooner they can have an impact on the debate now taking place in

all levels of Soviet society.

As a bonus, donors of \$50 will receive a volume in Russian of the books by Trotsky which, with your help, are being published in the Soviet Union. Donors of \$75 will receive two volumes, of \$100 four volumes, and of \$250 and over, eight volumes.

Checks should be made payable to: Trotsky Fund/Walnut Publishing Co., 3435 Army St. #308, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Leon Trotsky's grandson urges support for project to publish Trotsky's works in USSR

Dear Friends,

We have a great historic opportunity before us. In March 1989, a small group of my friends and collaborators traveled to the Soviet Union, on a tour sponsored by Walnut Publishing Co. in San Francisco, to speak to Soviet citizens and government officials about the possibility of clearing the name of my grandfather, Leon Trotsky, and to investigate the possibility of his writings being published.

With this successful tour we met new friends and gained energy for continuing with the goals of clearing Leon Trotsky and his family and fighting the Stalinist censorship.

I am now making an appeal for friends to help with a new and exciting project, which follows up on the success of that inspiring tour. It is now possible for the first time in over 60 years to get the writings of Leon Trotsky published in the Soviet Union.

An important first has already been accomplished. A four-volume set "Archives of Trotsky: The Communist Opposition in the USSR 1923-1927" has been published in the Soviet Union, in an edition of 100,000 copies by Terra Publishers, a Moscow cooperative. Walnut Publishing Co. gave essential help to get this published in the USSR at this time. More can be done, but your help is needed.

This is a crucial time in the struggle for socialism. It is now that the fate of the Russian Revolution and the gains it made will be decided. In October 1917 the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union inspired the

world and showed the way forward out of capitalist barbarism and war.

They gave their lives in the millions in the struggle against the Tsar, the White counterrevolution, the imperialist invasion, and the Stalinist Thermidor. We have a chance to repay them in some small way for their tremendous sacrifice for the world socialist movement.

It is necessary that they be able to read the words of Leon Trotsky, who embodies the revolutionary struggle from his leadership of the Petrograd Soviets in 1905 and 1917, to the creation of the Red Army, to his crucial role in the fight against Stalinism. History has placed us in a position to see that his works are available to the Soviet people.

Walnut Publishing Co., by taking advantage of every opportunity, has made a great start. With your help much more can be done to see that Trotsky's works are available to the Soviet people.

In the same way that the 1989 tour of the Soviet Union was only made possible by the generous contributions of friends, it is only with your help that we can ensure that works of Trotsky such as "Stalin" and "The Third International After Lenin" will be published in a timely manner, unedited and unabridged, in the Soviet Union. I urge you to give generously to the Trotsky Publication Fund.

Esteban Volkov,
Coyoacán, Mexico

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look us up!

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Baltimore
P.O. Box 16005
Baltimore, MD 21218

Boston
P.O. Box 1046 GMF
Boston, MA 02205
(617) 497-0230

Chicago
P.O. Box 578428
Chicago, IL 60657
(312) 327-5752

Cincinnati
P.O. Box 21015
Cincinnati, OH 45219
(513) 272-2596

Cleveland
P.O. Box 6151
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 429-2167

Detroit
P.O. Box 32546
Detroit, MI 48232

Los Angeles
P.O. Box 862014
Los Angeles, CA 90086
(213) 660-2891

Minneapolis
P.O. Box 14087
Dinkytown Station
Minneapolis, MN 55414
(612) 430-1476

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

New York
P.O. Box 20209 Ca. Fin.
693 Columbus Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10025

Pittsburgh
1625 Pillow Ave.
Harwick, PA 15049

San Francisco
3435 Army St., Suite 308
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 821-0458

Santa Barbara
P.O. Box 90644
Santa Barbara, CA 93190
(805) 962-4011

Seattle
P.O. Box 1182
Bothell, WA 98041

Access to abortion declines as terror incidents increase

By JONI JACOBS

For women in the United States, it's becoming harder to get an abortion. Besides the lack of public funding and increasing restrictions on abortion, even finding a clinic or hospital that provides abortion services can be a challenge.

The Alan Guttmacher Institute's recent study, "Abortion Services in the United States, 1987 and 1988," points out that abortion services are becoming increasingly inaccessible to women, especially in the nation's rural areas.

Between 1985 and 1988, the number of abortion-service providers in the United States declined 19 percent, entirely due to hospitals closing their abortion facilities. In 1977, 1654 hospitals nationwide offered abortion services; by 1988, that figure had fallen to 1040.

As the number of hospitals performing abortions has fallen, the number of clinics offering abortion services has risen over the same period. However, these clinics are in urban areas; overall, the number of rural clinics performing abortions has declined by 7 percent.

The Guttmacher study points out the dangers of concentrating abortion clinics in urban areas: "It is ... important that physician and hospital services be available in sparsely populated areas where it is not economical to establish clinics. The loss of hospital abortion services has left increasing numbers of women without any provider in their local areas."

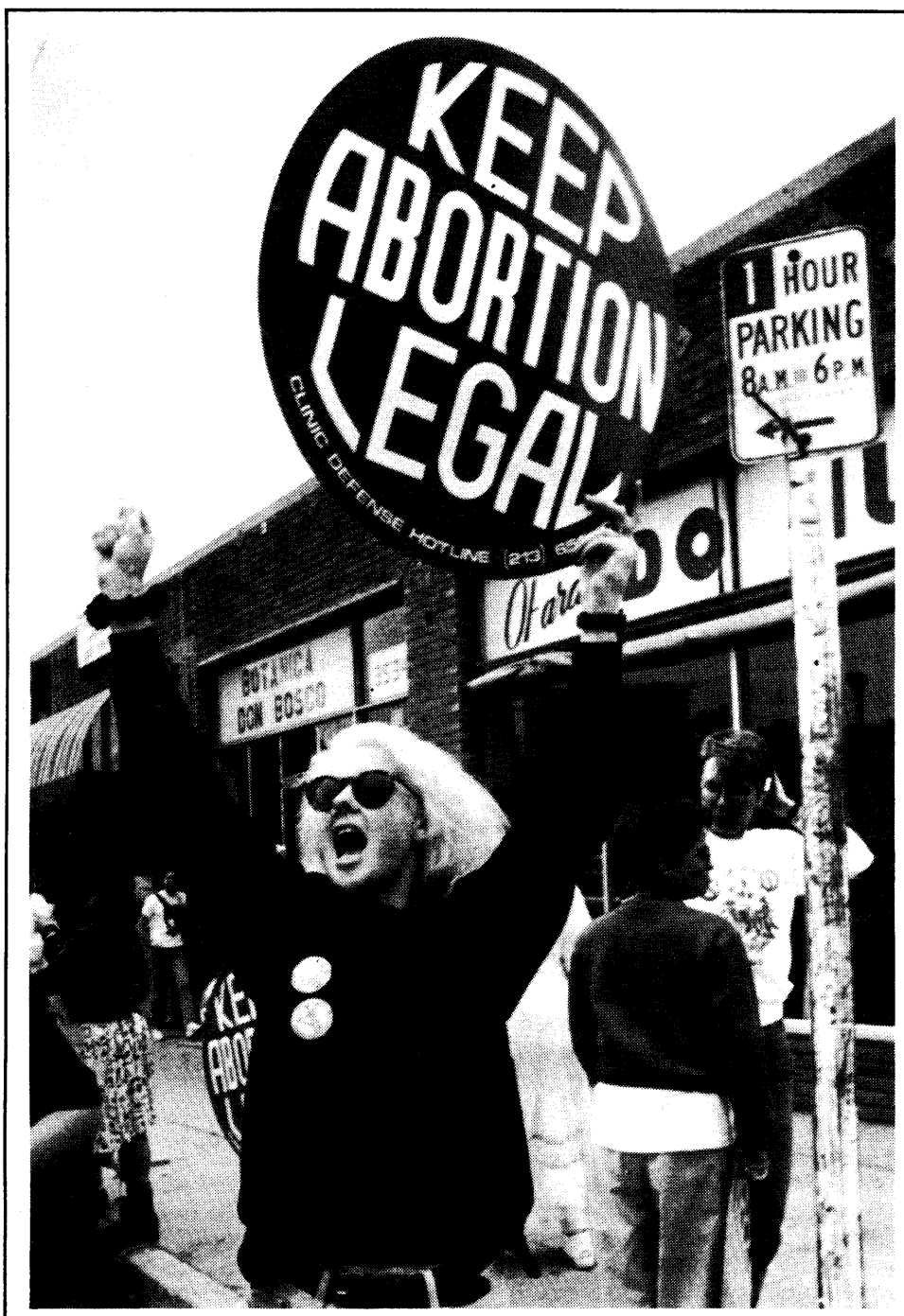
"The net decrease in the number of hospitals that perform abortions has had the unfortunate effect of reducing abortion services in states and counties where they were already scarce. Extreme inequality of access to such services already exists, even without new state restrictions that may result from [the July 1989] decision in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*. Women in many parts of the country have to travel long distances to obtain abortions, and those who manage to overcome such obstacles are likely to have their abortions later in pregnancy, when the health risks are greater."

Operation Rescue's terrorism

The concentration of abortion services at free-standing, urban clinics has another negative consequence for women. These clinics—much more than hospitals—serve as targets of anti-choice terrorism and harassment.

Operation Rescue regularly targets free-standing family planning clinics for their blockades and aggressive picketlines. Of several hundred actions held in cities across the country over the past two years, only a handful occurred at hospitals or private physicians' offices.

Moreover, anti-choice extremists periodically bomb free-standing clinics. If anti-choice extremists targeted hospitals, an outraged public would quickly demand government protection. But violence against family-planning clinics, which are also medical facilities, has not sparked the same kind of outcry. Bombings and arson at-



Kathleen O'Nan/Socialist Action

tempts are on the rise.

There have been 44 incidents of violence at clinics so far this year, according to the National Abortion Federation. On Sept. 4, the Planned Parenthood clinic in Concord, Calif., became the latest victim. An incendiary device tossed into the waiting room sometime before 2:15 a.m. caused fire damage estimated at \$200,000.

Concord police are refusing to investigate the incident as anti-choice terrorism, claiming instead that it was a random act of violence.

Speaking to the *San Francisco Examiner*, Heather Estes, Planned Parenthood executive director for the clinic, disputed the claim of the police. "There is no question," she said, "but that this is an indication of stepped-up terrorist activity by anti-abortionists who are trying to close us down by intimidation. We see this as part of an increasing trend to use violence to shut us down."

Estes also cited recent fires at Planned

Parenthood clinics in Orange County, Calif.; Olympia, Wash.; and Kansas City, Kan., as well as bomb threats at other Northern California Planned Parenthood centers.

The Concord clinic was the second Northern California clinic to be bombed in six months. Last May, a family-planning clinic in Redding suffered extensive damage to its surgery facility.

Almost in inverse proportion to the number of clinic bombings, the other efforts of anti-choice groups in Northern California have dwindled. Operation Rescue (OR) seems to be suffering a major crisis. Insiders estimate that OR's membership has dropped in half, despite active recruiting among churches in California's Central Valley.

Moreover, "turf battles" between local chapters have kept OR from staging either a blockade or a picket in the San Francisco Bay Area for more than two months. Their members continue to picket regularly at clinics in more rural, isolated areas, but this has meant a considerable loss of publicity for OR's campaign against abortion rights.

New challenges in the courts

Hand in hand with the extra-legal attacks on abortion rights, the U.S. Supreme Court is expected to render decisions this fall which will further restrict access to abortion. The Court will decide the constitutionality of federal laws prohibiting Title X funding to family-planning agencies that counsel women about the option of abortion, regardless of whether they perform abortion services directly.

The restrictive laws passed last fall in

Guam and Pennsylvania are also making their way through the legal pipeline. Many pro-choice activists believe that these laws will serve as direct challenges to *Roe v. Wade*, the historic decision which legalized abortion.

Meanwhile, state legislatures are continuing to restrict abortion as well. Last month, Michigan passed a law denying minors access to abortion without the consent of their parents.

A strong movement is necessary to counteract these assaults on women's rights. However, the largest pro-choice organizations—Planned Parenthood, NARAL, ACLU, and NOW—have turned their attention towards the ballot box in a misguided attempt to elect "pro-choice" candidates to office.

The electoral strategy of these organizations focuses primarily on electing Democratic Party politicians. The Democrats, however, controlled Congress in 1977 when the Hyde Amendment was passed, which was the first major assault on legal abortion. The Democratic Party is in large part responsible for women losing federal funding for abortion.

The surprising statistics quoted at the beginning of this article could serve as the basis for these pro-choice organizations to band together to demand government funding for abortion.

Instead of relying on politicians who change their position with every new public-opinion poll, the movement must rely on the hundreds of thousands of activists who have marched, defended clinics, and organized for reproductive rights. These are the true allies of the pro-choice movement, and the only allies capable of winning the fight to keep abortion safe, legal, and accessible. ■

'I performed a service'

For women in North Dakota, the lack of abortion services is more than a statistic in a newspaper article—it's reality. Last February, Dr. Robert Lucy, a 72-year-old obstetrician-gynecologist, retired from his medical practice. He was the only physician in the entire state who performed abortions.

Working out of an office in Jamestown (located in the center of the state), Lucy performed more than 450 abortions per year. "I felt I performed a service," Lucy is quoted in *The New York Times*. "I saved lots and lots of marriages and prevented a lot of girls from having to quit school to have a baby."

So far, none of North Dakota's 1200 physicians has stepped forward to fill the void left by Lucy's retirement. The State Health Department cites ostracism by peers, which is no doubt fostered by a sustained campaign of picketing and harassment by anti-choice organizations, including Operation Rescue.

Since Dr. Lucy's retirement, the Women's Health Organization clinic in Fargo has been flying in doctors from other states to provide abortion services to North Dakota women. For many women, getting to the clinic means driving 350 miles to the Minnesota border, where Fargo is located.

Clinic Director Jane Bovard reports, however, that the long trek hasn't stopped women from coming from as far away as Saskatchewan and Manitoba, Canada. "Our patients get here no matter what," she says. "If they want an abortion, they'll come in a blizzard."—J.J.

Other articles inside:

- Eleanor Smeal announces campaign against abortion restrictions for teens
- And much more! See pp. 4-5