

Students to build on Feb. 21 protests

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Recent press reports revealing the scope of the U.S. bombing of civilians in Iraq and signs that Washington is about to engage in a massive ground war have stiffened the determination of student and youth activists who are building February 21 international antiwar protests.

Representatives of the National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East said that they have received reports from more than 200 cities and campuses and some 30 states where February 21 protests are slated.

The activities include teach-ins, picket lines, marches, rallies, speak-outs, and dormitory canvassing. Citywide protests have been called in Chicago; Los Angeles; New York; Philadelphia; Salt Lake City, Utah; Amherst, Massachusetts; and Albany, New York.

These actions coincide with student and youth protests in Canada, France, Japan, and the Philippines.

Organizers are demanding an end to the war and are calling for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. and foreign troops in the Middle East.

"The bombing [of Iraqi civilians] shows that this is not a just war or an effort to liberate Kuwait," said Sharif Al-Saifi, a student volunteer in the Washington, D.C., office of the National Student and Youth Campaign. "The U.S. never intended to just have Iraq withdraw from Kuwait. It is out to destroy Iraq."

Jill Hickson, another office volunteer, said the reports of the bombing of civilians in Iraq by U.S.-led forces "brings the war closer to home." The American University student said she was angry at the McCarthyite attacks launched against Cable News Network reporter Peter Arnett. So much of the truth about the war has been concealed "that it is sometimes hard to know who to believe," she said. Hickson has a brother who is a GI

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Young Socialists: 'Bring the troops home now!'

The following statement was released February 18 by the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA is a revolutionary organization of students and young workers in the United States.

The Young Socialist Alliance condemns the murderous war being waged by Washington and its allies against the people of Iraq. The bombing of the Baghdad air-raid shelter by U.S. warplanes February 13 and of an apartment building in the town of Fallujah by British forces the following day add to the rising civilian carnage. They are a direct result of Washington's mounting aggression on the eve of a bloody ground war.

The February 21 international day of student protests helps show that by mobilizing in the streets and extending debate and discussion on the war, young people can begin to effectively fight for the demands of "Stop the bombing!" and "Bring the troops home now!" These actions are helping lay the groundwork to bring the broadest possible forces into the streets in support of these demands.

Since last August, when the U.S. rulers

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Stop invasion of Iraq!

Washington expands air war slaughter

BY RONI McCANN AND SETH GALINSKY

Washington and its allies are rapidly moving to launch a massive invasion of Iraq. Diplomatic gestures from Baghdad have been dismissed by the U.S.-led allies as insufficient to halt the imperialist onslaught.

Two days after the murderous February 13 allied bombing of a civilian bomb shelter in Baghdad, the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council issued a statement on a conditional withdrawal of its forces from Kuwait.

Calling the statement "dead on arrival," U.S. President George Bush reiterated that nothing less than a complete and unconditional Iraqi surrender would be deemed acceptable by the allied forces. Such a move could only begin with "a massive withdrawal" from Kuwait with Iraqi troops "visibly leaving" the country as Washington has repeatedly demanded.

The White House reacted in a similar way to the February 18 announcement by the Soviet government that it had handed Iraq's Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz a proposal that Iraq withdraw from Kuwait and comply with other United Nations Security Council resolutions.

After rejecting the diplomatic move by the Iraqi regime, Bush traveled to a Raytheon Co. plant in Andover, Massachusetts, where he addressed several thousand workers who produce Patriot missile parts. Bush declared: "There will not be a cessation of hostilities. There will be no pause. There will be no cease-fire."

"We're going to continue to fight this war on our terms, on our timetable, until our objectives are met."

Bush told his audience there was one other way "for the bloodshed to stop." He encouraged "the Iraqi military and the Iraqi people to take matters into their own hands and force Saddam Hussein, the dictator, to step aside" and then "rejoin the family of peace-loving nations."

This statement summed up Washington's

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Militant/Jon Hillson

Opponents of U.S. war demonstrate in Kent, Ohio, February 10.

Two days of terror: Hundreds of Iraqi civilians killed in allied bombing

BY SETH GALINSKY

On February 10, during a trip to Saudi Arabia, U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney flashed a "wicked smile" (in the words of the *New York Times*) and signed his name to a 2,000 pound laser-guided bomb, known as a GBU-27.

"To Saddam. With appreciation. Dick Cheney."

He was followed by Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "To Saddam. You didn't move it, and now you'll lose it," he wrote.

It was two GBU-27's dropped by U.S. Air Force Stealth fighter-bombers that pierced the concrete and steel reinforced roof of a Baghdad air-raid shelter on February 13, incinerating more than 400 civilians. The shelter was one of numerous targets during a 12-hour-long bombardment of Baghdad.

Hundreds more civilians were killed in both Iraq and Kuwait over the next ten days by British and U.S. attacks. With 2,600

More Gulf war news See pages 7-9

bombing missions a day, the air war is systematically wrecking buildings, motor vehicles, roads and bridges, essential services, and areas in the countryside, bringing a growing human toll in its wake.

Witnesses to the air-raid shelter attack, told reporters that the concussion from the first bomb jammed the shelter's steel doors, preventing those inside from escaping.

According to Alfonso Rojo, a reporter for *El Mundo* stationed in Baghdad, the second bomb "went clean through the solid concrete roof, slicing apart the thick steel bars as if they were silk threads."

The exact number of dead may never be known. The shelter can hold up to 1,600 people. By late afternoon on 288 bodies had been recovered from the still-smoldering building, many of them children.

Omar Adnan, 17, was one of the survivors. "I was sleeping and suddenly I felt heat and the blanket was burning," he said. "I turned to try to touch my mother who was next to me but grabbed nothing but a piece of flesh."

The next day British bombers demolished an apartment building and a market in the town of Fallujah, west of Baghdad, killing 130 people. British authorities at first denied

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A BOOK FOR THE FACTS ON WASHINGTON'S MIDEAST WAR

U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations, also available in Spanish, is now in its third printing. It is an irreplaceable tool in the fight against the U.S.-led war against Iraq. An introduction by Mary-Alice Waters outlines the stakes for working people in the imperialist war. The book contains a useful chronology of the U.S.-led war preparations since early August and 10 UN resolutions adopted on the Gulf crisis.

Featured in the book are statements by Cuban Ambassador to the UN Ricardo Alarcón and President Fidel Castro that rebut the pretexts and arguments used by Washington to justify its unilateral acts of aggression. Unionists, GIs, veterans, reservists, and other workers involved in struggles against the employers' offensive at home can use the facts and arguments it contains to arm themselves and help convince others to join in campaigning against the slaughter taking place by the same employers, through their government, in the Mideast.

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'Support troops' line used in calls for nuclear strike on Iraq

BY RONI McCANN

Under the guise of supporting U.S. troops in the Mideast, a number of elected politicians, government spokespersons, and military officials have raised the possibility of using nuclear weapons against Iraq.

Washington should "use everything at our disposal before we send our young Americans into a meat grinder," said U.S. Congressman Daniel Burton in a speech to the House of Representatives February 5. "To do less would be inhumane in my opinion," he said. Burton has emerged as one of the most outspoken proponents of this course.

Arguing for the use of the deadly weapons on the "Good Morning America" television show Burton said, "If we use tactical nuclear weapons we could end this pretty fast" and "protect our troops."

These rationales get a hearing among a layer of working people and others. The February 13 *Wall Street Journal* published the results of a Gallup Poll done in late January that found 45 percent of those surveyed said they would favor the use of tactical nuclear weapons if it would save the lives of U.S. soldiers.

Washington, the only government that has ever dropped nuclear weapons, used the same "humanitarian" argument in 1945 for dropping nuclear bombs on the Japanese cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

What are today called "tactical" nuclear weapons — bombs that kill with heat, blast, or radiation — can in fact be as destructive as the nuclear bomb the U.S. government used to wipe out Hiroshima. That bomb had the equivalent of 13,000 tons of trinitrotolu-

ene (TNT) in explosive power. The deadly tactical nuclear arms can vary from 100 to 12,000 tons of TNT. Longer-range U.S. nuclear weapons, dangerously positioned around the world today, may carry several warheads, each with a yield equivalent of 335,000 tons of TNT.

Washington has some 8,100 tactical nuclear weapons in its arsenal around the world. This includes 300 Tomahawk missiles with nuclear warheads and 1,500 nuclear artillery shells. Most B-52 bomber planes have been loaded with nuclear arms. One hundred nuclear warheads are aboard U.S. ships in the Gulf, according to a report from nuclear-data analysts at Greenpeace.

Some government officials and military spokespersons argue "against" using the weapons. Congressman Robert Torricelli of

New Jersey said using the bombs has "political liabilities" and the "weight of a debate on nuclear weapons" would strain the U.S.-led alliance.

Bruce Blair of the Brookings Institution and a nuclear weapons specialist, said the U.S. government would "lose all moral high-ground" if it unleashed the bombs against Iraq right now. Besides, using the weapons to "cut a swath" through entrenched Iraqi forces "has a major downside," he said. Due to radiation "you couldn't run your troops through the area for some time... it could actually delay you for days."

In response to questions about the use of nuclear weapons against Iraq, President George Bush said, "I think it is better never to say what option you may be considering."



This twisted structure was all that was left in this area of Hiroshima after United States dropped nuclear bomb in 1945, equivalent to 13,000 tons of TNT.

Canadian authorities detain Iraqis

BY MARGARET MANWARING

TORONTO — Since January 9 a young Iraqi couple has been held in prison here by the Canadian government. Their lawyer, Clayton Ruby, has charged that the detention violates both federal immigration law and the country's constitution.

The couple were arrested by immigration officers after arriving January 9 at Toronto's international airport. The government claims they were traveling on falsified Saudi Arabian passports and that papers in their possession included a

"shopping list" for weapons. The government accuses the two of being Iraqi spies and claims they represent "a threat to Canada's national security."

The man, 29, and the woman, 20, cannot be identified by order of a federal court judge. They are members of Iraq's Al-Dawa Party, which opposes the government of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. The man fought on Iran's side in the Iran-Iraq war.

On January 15, Canadian Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall issued a ministerial certificate prolonging the couple's

detention seven days. The certificate was renewed on January 23.

The following day, at their refugee claim hearing, immigration adjudicator Dennis Paxton ordered the couple released on bail, ruling that they are refugees and that the government's arguments for detention are, "to be generous, unlikely."

Despite the ruling, the government has continued to hold the couple. On January 25 the imprisonment was reaffirmed. Under a never-before-used section of the immigration law, Minister McDougall and Solicitor-General Pierre Cadieux signed a "national security certificate," asserting deportation was necessary on national security grounds.

A federal court judge must examine the government's evidence within seven days of the issuance of the certificate. That process took place in the absence of the couple or their lawyer. No appeal or review of the decision is allowed.

"In my view, it's all unconstitutional," said lawyer Ruby. "I don't think you can do this to anybody."

When Ruby challenged these measures in federal court on February 12, demanding access to the government's files on the proceedings, he was told such access would be "injurious to Canada's national security." When Ruby asked to cross-examine the translator used in the Immigration Department's interviews with the couple, he was told that the interpreter "is a hidden source and it would damage him in his community and jeopardize his safety."

The couple's immigration hearing is scheduled for March 26.

Palestinian art student held in Seattle jail

BY JEFFREY FORD

SEATTLE — When the Arab-Persian Gulf state of Qatar cut education subsidies to Khaled Ashour's father, the young Palestinian art student was forced to leave classes at Boise State University in Idaho at the end of the fall quarter.

Hoping to finish his education by seeking refugee status in Canada, Ashour packed up all of his belongings and headed for the border crossing at Blaine, Washington. Instead of refuge in Canada, however, Ashour has spent every day since January 23 in a jail cell in Seattle.

Authorities of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) are holding Ashour for deportation because of alleged student visa violations. But, immediately after his arrest, immigration police branded Ashour a "potential risk to the national security." INS district counsel David Hopkins said Ashour

"was in possession of documents that raise the specter that he might be an adherent of terrorist activities."

Ashour, through his attorney Carol Edward, has denied any wrong-doing. Edward told the press that Ashour's arrest was illegal because INS rules state that a student has sixty days from the end of a term to leave the country or apply for a new status. When Ashour was arrested, only thirty days had passed since the end of the fall quarter.

Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) spokesman Ahmed Amr said the only reason Ashour had been stopped in the first place was because he is a Palestinian.

At a February 7 bail hearing here, the government retreated somewhat from its original allegations. Government attorney Gregory Fehlings admitted that "at this point,

the government has no specific information to say this respondent is a terrorist." He said, however, that the government would "continue its investigation because 'Ashour' is a common surname which may be linked with other suspects with that surname."

The INS demanded bail be denied to Ashour on the grounds that he was a "risk to flee." Their argument rested solely on allegations that Ashour failed to finish paying for some traffic tickets when he left Tucson, Arizona, where he lived for five years before moving to Idaho.

Immigration Judge Penny Smith agreed with the government's contention, ruling that Ashour was a "risk to flee." She placed his bail at \$7,500, an amount that attorney Edward explained was extremely high for a visa violation case. Amr of the ADC called the judge's decision "outrageous."

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Huge celebrations in Haiti mark '2nd independence day'

BY NANCY COLE AND JEAN-LUC DUVAL

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — The presidential inauguration of Jean-Bertrand Aristide February 7, accompanied by jubilant celebration by hundreds of thousands of working people, marked what many here call Haiti's second day of independence.

In the five years since popular mobilizations forced dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier to flee Haiti, five military-dominated governments have ruled the country. Terror campaigns by the armed forces and especially the paramilitary Tontons Macoutes — who are responsible for the deaths of thousands of Haitians — continued. Conditions of life for the masses of the Haitian people, already the poorest in the Western Hemisphere, worsened.

Throughout this period Aristide, a Roman Catholic priest, championed the cause of the most oppressed and spoke out against the continued denial of rights to the people of the country. He was targeted for assassination several times because of his place in the struggle against the dictatorial regimes. Because of this record he won by a landslide in United Nations-supervised elections held December 16.

Huge crowds in the streets here on inauguration day cheered the 21-gun salute marking the installation of Aristide as president. Leading up to the inauguration hundreds of thousands had mobilized to defend the president-elect from a right-wing coup attempt.

Curtis committee at half-way point in \$30,000 fund drive

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee have passed the halfway point in their drive to raise \$30,000.

The fund covers the expenses of a team of defense committee leaders who have traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, to attend a meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. The money will also help meet continuing legal expenses.

Mark Curtis is a former packinghouse worker now serving a 25-year jail term in an Iowa state prison on frame-up rape and burglary charges.

Thus far, \$16,500 has been pledged or contributed to the fund through the efforts of defense committee activists who have been calling supporters of civil and political liberties across the United States.

A Kansas City Greyhound striker pledged \$25 after getting an update on Curtis' fight from the defense committee. He said he would review his finances and consider increasing the pledge.

A former paperworker striker in Jay, Maine, pledged \$25 and asked for Curtis' prison address to write to him.

One supporter from New Mexico gave \$10 and reported that she had visited the Soviet Union last summer. She took along defense committee literature explaining Curtis' frame-up and fight for justice, and distributed it at a march in the Ukraine. She said quite a crowd gathered around her to hear about Curtis' case, despite her broken Russian.

Supporters in other parts of the world have also joined the effort. In Britain, a check for £600 (US\$1,184) was put in the mail by supporters who have engaged in a fund-raising effort.

John Rubinstein, an activist in the Mark Curtis Defense Committee office in Des Moines, Iowa, said the fund-raising is no longer solely being carried out by that office. Local groups of supporters from New York; Newark, New Jersey; Boston; St. Louis; Detroit; Seattle; and Austin, Minnesota, have launched their own special efforts.

For more information or to make a contribution contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Tax-deductible contributions may be made payable to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.

Thousands also mobilized in a volunteer cleanup effort, organized for the most part by neighborhood committees. Garbage was removed, neglected streets repaired and swept, and curbs and light posts painted blue and red, the colors of the Haitian flag. Murals were painted on blank walls and streets strung with overhead blue-and-red flags.

"Everyone is volunteering to work because we never had a government we wanted to work for before," a vendor at the La Saline Market said of the self-financed volunteer effort.

A central slogan of Aristide's is *lavalas*, Creole for torrent. "Alone we are weak, together we are strong, all together we are a torrent," the now popular slogan goes.

Marise, a young woman, who works in a small downtown soft drink and food store, said that Aristide's election is "like a miracle. I never thought it could happen."

Annual per capita income in Haiti stands at \$360. Life expectancy is 55 years for men and one year longer for women. The country has an official unemployment rate of more than 50 percent. Some 77 percent of the country's people are illiterate.

Many working people here, like Marise, strongly believe that the election of Aristide is a chance to begin to address these conditions.

Officials of the General Confederation of Workers (CGT) hope that the Aristide presidency will provide the unions with more political space to fight for workers' rights. The CGT, made up of about 60 unions, was formed last October. "We support Aristide but that doesn't mean that the CGT is in power," said one federation leader.

In an interview, Michael de Landsheer, a member of the National Federation of Haitian Students, said the issue in the elections was "justice." He said the popular organizations should remain autonomous from the new government and begin a two-fold campaign to organize people around specific issues and to educate broader numbers of people about the class structure of Haiti.

Antoine Augustine, from the Democratic and Progressive Youth League of Haiti, said that "in the popular coalition we believe one thing: that the masses have the capacity to mobilize, the creativity to end this macoutist system and take Haiti out of neocolonialism. There will be no democracy without the participation of the masses."

It is widely believed that many of the hated Tontons are still in the armed forces. In his inaugural speech, Aristide pronounced a "marriage" between the armed forces and the people. "From today on, no more bloodshed," he said, "not a little drop." He announced that he was retiring six of the army's top generals, while leaving the commander of the armed forces in place.



Militant/Nancy Cole
Crowds cheered at the inauguration of Jean-Bertrand Aristide.



Militant/Nancy Cole
Thousands in Port-au-Prince mobilized in a volunteer cleanup effort, organized for the most part by neighborhood committees.

HANDS OFF THE MIDEAST! Campaigning worldwide against the imperialist war

Working people — in and out of uniform — are discussing and debating the imperialist war in the Mideast led by the governments of the United States, Britain, Canada, France, and Australia. In factories, mines, and mills; on warships; and among those now stationed in Saudi Arabia, workers and farmers have discussed and expressed opposition to the war against the Iraqi people.

Rallies, marches, and conferences are being held with broad participation, especially from youth; action coalitions have been formed in cities around the world; veterans, GIs, and reservists have been speaking out; antiwar buttons are being worn at work; and planning for more antiwar actions is under way.

We encourage readers to contribute items to this column that will help campaign against and build visible opposition to the war.

To protest Washington's war against Iraq, some 40 students set up on January 16 and have since maintained a 27-tent "Peace Camp" at the North Campus of the University of Georgia in Athens.

Tim Sanchez, a student activist at the camp, spent four and a half years in the Navy and was stationed in the Gulf during the Iran-Iraq War. He said he was sure many of his friends who are now there have questions about the war.

"We didn't understand why we were there then," Sanchez explained. "It was a real eye-opener for me. I always thought the American government was squeaky clean. It is not as squeaky clean as everyone thinks."

The camp was set up by Students Against the War in the Middle East. With the help of several faculty members, the student group has also sponsored weekly teach-ins on the campus. A teach-in was also organized at a local high school.

Charles Knapp, president of the university, has suggested the protesters dismantle the camp. "The university has the right to regulate freedom of expression, regarding time, place, and manner," Knapp said.

"If they can show me in the Constitution where there is a time limit for free speech, I would like to see it," Tim Sanchez responded in the student newspaper.

An outpouring of support from students, faculty and the community has forced President Knapp to back off and negotiate with the students.

On January 20, tens of thousands poured into the streets in Barcelona and Madrid, Spain to show their opposition to the U.S.-led war in the Mideast. These protests

followed on the heels of protests on January 13 of some 50,000 in Madrid, and 50,000 in Barcelona.

On January 15, students went on strike to protest the war. In Madrid and Barcelona, the strike closed 70 percent of the secondary schools and some 60,000 people demonstrated in the two cities.

On February 2, 325 people took part in a silent march and rally in downtown Montréal, Canada to protest the Mideast war, and the attacks on the democratic rights of people of Arab descent.

Heading the march were colorful banners that read, "Oui à la paix, non à la guerre" (yes to peace, no to war), and "La guerre n'est pas un jeu" (war is not a game) with a video game scene.

Dozens of young people helped lead off the march. They carried placards against the war, against the bombing, and against racism.

Behind a large banner of "New Zealand, United States, and allied troops out now," 1,000 people in Auckland protested against the Mideast war February 8.

The New Zealand government has sent a military medical unit and several transport planes in support of the imperialist intervention in the Gulf.

Participants at the march and rally chanted "U.S. out, N.Z. out" and "No blood for oil — foreign troops off Mideast soil" as they marched through the main shopping area in the city.

Bill Andersen, president of the Auckland Council of Trade Unions spoke at the rally and called on those present to support a planned national day of action on March 22.

A February 9 program on "The Fight of Family Farmers" in Omaha was sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. Arlo Hoppe, a family farmer, spoke about the impact of the U.S. war in the Mideast on farmers and the rural areas in Nebraska.

He explained that it is workers and farmers who are dying in the war. Before the war he said, a lot of grain was exported to the Mideast, Iraq in particular. According to Hoppe, grain exports have dropped since the war began and this has had a dramatic impact on farmers incomes. "The real problems in this country are not being addressed," Hoppe said.

Ellen Berman from Atlanta; Mike Eaude from Spain; Mike Browne from Auckland New Zealand; and Cheryl Pruitt from Montréal contributed to this week's column.

Prowar events show wider polarization

BY JOHN SARGE

DETROIT — The news media, local governments, and corporations in this area are contributing in a variety of ways to the campaign to win support for the U.S. war in the Middle East. These developments are part of a deepening polarization in the United States sparked by the war.

Major daily newspapers here are playing down antiwar actions, and giving greater coverage to prowar activities. Major corporations have funded patriotic activities and others are attempting to gag employees who hold antiwar views.

The Committee for a Peaceful Resolution to the Gulf Crisis, the local affiliate of the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, picketed *The Detroit News*, the state's largest newspaper, February 1.

Fifty pickets protested after the paper buried reports of the big January 26 antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, in an article about a major protest in Germany. The same issue of the *News* ran a front-page article entitled "Rockets red glare brings out state's true colors." That article reported on prowar activities, the largest of which it claimed had 1,500 people.

The January 31 *News* ran an article promoting a February 2 prowar rally organized by local politicians to "support our troops." The paper quoted an organizer who said that the event was "not prowar or antiwar." The rally took place in an airport hangar owned by the Chrysler Corp., which also supplied hot dogs and soda.

The coverage of the prowar rally was itself part of the campaign to win support for the war. Local media gave extensive coverage to the event, including pictures of the rally and a march that was led by a tank.

On the day of the event, radio reporters estimated the crowd at 1,000 to 3,000. But the evening television news reports upped the estimate to 8,000. The next day, *Detroit papers* used the 8,000 figure, while the *Oakland Press*, a suburban daily, reported 15,000.

Attacks on Arab-Americans

During the same week attacks on Arab-Americans and their property escalated. There have been reports of arson in Detroit, the city's northern suburbs, and in Blissfield, a small town in the southeast corner of Michigan.

There have also been numerous reports of vandalism throughout the metropolitan region where Arab-Americans make up nearly 10 percent of the population.

At the airport, an Arab-American member of the International Association of Machinists Local 141 had his car vandalized and defaced. A Teamsters union activist reported that Arab-Americans working in the airport parking lot have faced similar attacks.

Activists opposed to the war have reported that individuals have been victimized by employers or school officials. Management at one hospital reportedly suspended a leader of the Military Family Support Network for "unprofessionalism." The group is made up of GIs' relatives. The hospital worker was outspoken in his opposition to the war.

At a United Auto Workers-organized auto parts plant the bosses have ordered workers to remove their antiwar buttons, but not the yellow ribbons worn to express support for the war. UAW members there plan to fight this attack on free speech and union rights.

Students at Berkeley High School in Detroit's northern suburbs were suspended for protesting the war at the school. To prevent students at Dearborn's Fordson High, a school with a large Arab student body, from attending an antiwar teach-in at a nearby college, school officials canceled a planned afternoon off.

Protest actions against the war, however, continue. On February 2, 600 people, mostly Arab-Americans, attended a meeting addressed by local politicians, religious leaders, and Clovis Maksoud, the ambassador to the United Nations of the League of Arab States. The speakers blasted Washington's war against Iraq and called for a cease-fire.

On February 5, 100 high school students demonstrated at the military recruiting station in Royal Oak.

The Committee for a Peaceful Resolution to the Gulf Crisis is planning actions for February 16, one month since Washington began its bombing of Iraq. It has also organized a committee to work with students to plan activities in Detroit on February 21 as part of the international day of student and



Prowar demonstrators in Washington, D.C.

youth actions against the war.

BY JON HILLSON
AND BEVERLY TREUMANN

KENT, Ohio — Efforts by the United Students for the Liberation of Kuwait to create an impression of widespread backing for Operation Desert Storm, backfired here February 9. The group, a recently formed prowar organization at Kent State University (KSU), ran up against a countermobilization of antiwar forces.

The prowar group attracted 150 students to their action, despite their claim that representatives of 50 universities would be attending the rally. A few members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion

joined the students at the rally, held in a gymnasium that can seat 1,800.

Meanwhile, nearly 400 activists attended a spirited outdoor protest sponsored by KSU's Students United Against the War. The protest was called as a response to the rightist rally.

Antiwar demonstrators came from a dozen campuses in Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, including a busload from the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie-Mellon University.

After an hour-long rally, held in zero-degree weather, the antiwar protesters streamed from the Student Center Plaza to a memorial for the four Kent State students killed 21 years ago by the Ohio National Guard during a protest against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

Chanting "What do we want? Peace! When do we want it? Now!" the marchers

Military tops' war talk dehumanizing

BY RONI McCANN

"KIA." "Assets." "Collateral damage."

This is the language used by U.S. military commanders and government officials when they report on the war they are waging against Iraq. The dehumanizing jargon displays their callous disregard for the lives of workers and farmers both in and out of uniform.

In late January when U.S. marines were killed during ground battles along the Saudi Arabian border, U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf broke the news at a briefing. After spending 23 minutes narrating a video featuring what the general termed "rather sensational" bombing of Iraqi troops, he added that the U.S. Marines had lost "12 KIA."

"KIA" means "killed in action," wrote syndicated columnist Mike Royko in the February 7 *Jersey Journal*. "The results are just as fatal, but KIA sounds much better than killed in action. And it's much preferred to 'shot to death' or 'blown up.'" Royko describes the news reports on the war as "soothingly sanitized."

When it comes to the deaths of Iraqi soldiers it gets worse. In fact, no numbers are usually given at all. "I have absolutely no idea what the Iraqi casualties are," said General Schwarzkopf at a press conference after the bombing began. "I am anti-body count."

Both Iraqi and allied soldiers and military equipment are known as "assets" to the top brass and government officials.

'Collateral damage'

A reporter in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, asked about Iraqi civilians killed. "War is a dirty business," said Marine Brig. Gen. Richard Neal, "and unfortunately there will be collateral damage."

"Collateral damage" is the U.S. military's euphemism for hitting civilian targets with bombs and missiles that have thus far left thousands of dead and wounded in Iraq and Kuwait.

Treating weaponry as if it had equal value with human life, Air Force Capt. Jon Engle claimed, "Every day we go out and kill a few more tanks." On January 29 allied forces bombed an Iraqi convoy, called "a mover." U.S. military officials said 24 tanks, armored personnel carriers, and trucks were destroyed. It was "the first hard kill we've gotten on a

big target," said Marine Col. Ron Richard.

Flames from the burning vehicles could be seen for miles. "That was very much a fun mission because you could see the parts of the trucks flying," said the commander of Marine Aircraft Group 11, Col. Manfred Rietsch.

Organizing around-the-clock bombardments of Iraqi troops, air force planners referred to a map of Kuwait as a "target-rich environment."

Relentless bombing of Iraqi army posi-

could hear the prowar students, a quarter-of-a-mile away, shouting "What do we want? Victory! When do we want it? Now!" As the prowar rally emptied from the gymnasium they added, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Saddam Hussein has got to go."

KSU student Eric Van Sant, who spoke at the prowar rally, stressed the need to "support our troops" in the Arab-Persian Gulf. He mocked antiwar activists who claim to hold a similar position. "How can you [support them], when you don't support what they [the troops] believe in," he asked.

"Born in the USA"

Van Sant projected further actions that he said would convey the hope that "each and every one" of the troops "come home alive." Bruce Springsteen's song, "Born in the USA," was played at the rally.

A well-promoted evening prowar event attracted 100 students, most of whom had attended the daytime rally.

Several speakers at the antiwar protest assailed the slaughter being waged against Iraq. "From here, we should organize around the call for international student protests against the war on February 21," KSU antiwar leader Tom Albanese said to cheers. These actions, he said, would help build a statewide March 9 student protest in Columbus, the capital of Ohio.

The media has paid keen attention to rival activities, given KSU's history as a center of protest activity during the Vietnam War. Articles that appeared earlier touted the emergence of the United Students for the Liberation of Kuwait as a sign of "changing times" at KSU.

Cleveland's ABC-TV affiliate showcased the prowar event and did not cover the antiwar event. The *Plain Dealer*, the state's largest paper, estimated the antiwar march had 750 participants and said the prowar action had under 150 participants.

— COMING SOON! —

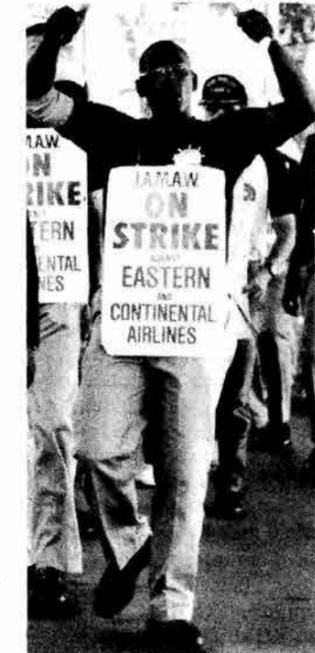
from Pathfinder:

The Eastern Airlines Strike

Accomplishments of the rank-and-file Machinists and gains for the labor movement

By Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan, and Jack Barnes

The story of the strike against Eastern Airlines by members of the International Association of Machinists union: the battle that brought down the notorious union-buster Frank Lorenzo. Included is an introduction by rank-and-file strike leader Ernie Mailhot that describes the victories won over the course of the strike and the accomplishments for labor. The narrative by Judy Stranahan closely follows the fight from the beginning to its conclusion 22 months later. Also contains an article by Socialist Workers Party leader Jack Barnes on the state of the labor movement as workers enter the 1990s. 96 pp., photos. \$8.95



Available soon from the Pathfinder bookstore nearest you or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add \$1 per book for shipping and handling.

War spurs Mideast book sales

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Pathfinder has announced that its recently released book, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, is now in its third printing.

"In the days since the war began, orders for the book have jumped substantially," said Helen Meyers, the director of Pathfinder business and promotions. The first edition of the title was in pamphlet form and sold out in weeks. In November an expanded book edition was printed. The third printing of 5,000 copies will come off the press by February 21. So far, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* has sold more than 11,000 copies.

Sales of its Spanish-language counterpart, *¡EE.UU. fuera del Oriente Medio! Cuba habla en Naciones Unidas*, are also going well, reports Meyers.

The book contains 10 U.S.-initiated resolutions on the Iraq-Kuwait crisis adopted by the UN Security Council, as well as speeches related to these resolutions by Cuban President Fidel Castro and Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations. In their statements the Cuban leaders argue against the pretexts used by Washington to justify its war drive.

U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! includes an extensive chronology of events from mid-July until mid-November, as well as photos.

A January 18 *New York Times* article, entitled "Sales of Mideast Books Surge on News of War," noted that Pathfinder had received a "sharp increase in orders" for the *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast* book.

The *Times* wire article was carried by several papers around the country, including the *Pantagraph* in Bloomington, Illinois; the *Journal American*, in Bellevue, Washington; and the *Great Falls Tribune*, in Great Falls, Montana. The *New York Amsterdam News* printed the press release Pathfinder issued on the book.

The *L.A. Bay News Observer*, a weekly in Bakersfield, California, said the Pathfinder book "contains material that has received little coverage in the major U.S. media. It thus adds an important and compelling voice to the public discussion about this world crisis."

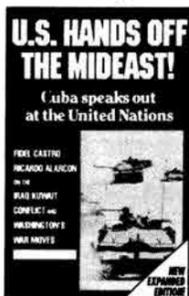
Patrick Koehn, trade books manager at the Michigan Union Bookstore at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, said the Pathfinder book was the store's most popular Middle East title.

"I sold more than 130 copies of the *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* to several different kinds of stores," said Pathfinder sales representative Bob Schwarz. Schwarz had just returned from a two-week sales trip visiting commercial bookstores in southern California. Bookstore managers "were eager to get anything they could on the Mideast," he said.

"One manager told me she liked the book because it contains actual UN documents and speeches," said Schwarz. "Another buyer thought the chronology alone was worth the price of the whole book."

A further indication of interest in the book, according to Schwarz, is the response of distributors who service many bookstores in the United States. One of the largest national bookstore chains has placed an order to supply more than 300 of its branch stores with the book.

U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! is 126 pages and sells for \$9.95. *¡EE.UU. fuera del Oriente Medio!* is 135 pages and also sells for \$9.95. Both are available from major U.S. wholesalers and bookstores, or from Pathfinder Press.



Campaign to sell socialist press to unionists

Subscriptions up, areas raise goals

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

An increase in the number of *Militant* subscriptions sold to unionists on the railroads, in mines, textile mills, and at other industrial workplaces marked the seventh week of the campaign to get out the truth about Washington's war against Iraq.

"The deepening of the imperialist war in the Mideast increases the opportunities to reach to broader layers of working people with the *Militant*," said *Militant* business manager Doug Jenness.

"Last week, the campaign by supporters of the socialist press who are members of 10 industrial unions boosted the number of trade unionists who subscribe to the *Militant*," Jenness said. "Their efforts are an important component of getting out the facts about the war and can help build opposition to it," he explained. He noted that 28 new subscriptions were gained as a result of the drive. Eleven new subscribers were members of the International Association of Machinists.

"So far since January 1, 281 readers have renewed their subscriptions," Jenness said. He pointed to the fact that unionists constitute an important part of the renewals.

Achievements of the week

Since they had already surpassed their goal to sell 235 copies of the *International Socialist Review* supplement, members of the IAM decided to try for 400 — an increase of 165!

And this week, union miners topped their goal for the supplement, too.

Also noteworthy: members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Los Angeles have raised their goal for sales of *International Socialist Review*, bringing the ILGWU members' nationwide goal for the supplement to 74.

Just off the fax

Lisa Ahlberg from Los Angeles reported that supporters of the *Militant* set up a literature table outside a meeting of 1,500 members of the United Auto Workers. The UAW members had gathered to discuss contract negotiations with their employer, McDonnell Douglas Corp.

"Many who went by wore sweatshirts with slogans saying 'Operation Desert Shield — Support Our Troops,'" Ahlberg wrote. "Others sported yellow ribbons with flags on their jackets or hats."

Despite the majority's prowar sentiment, many of those who passed or stopped at the table took the literature seriously. There were



2,792 TOTAL
1,779 WEEK 7

SCOREBOARD

Union	Total %Sold	Militant* Sold (Goal)	Mideast Book Sold (Goal)	ISR Sold (Goal)
IUE**	107%	7 (23)	46 (41)	113 (91)
UAW	90%	14 (75)	48 (75)	163 (100)
UTU	74%	18 (77)	55 (105)	156 (127)
UMWA	66%	3 (22)	14 (28)	46 (45)
ILGWU**	65%	8 (22)	31 (45)	52 (74)
IAM**	57%	40 (170)	67 (170)	318 (400)
UFCW	55%	18 (85)	26 (70)	131 (163)
USWA	54%	8 (90)	45 (77)	131 (171)
OCAW	50%	9 (50)	53 (100)	87 (150)
ACTWU	49%	6 (38)	14 (41)	52 (67)

Total 64% 131 (652) 399 (752) 1249 (1388)
Should be 78% 507 585 1079

Unions listed are ACTWU, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; IAM, International Association of Machinists; ILGWU, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; IUE, International Union of Electronic Workers; OCAW, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW, United Auto Workers; UFCW, United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA, United Mine Workers of America; USWA, United Steelworkers of America; and UTU, United Transportation Union.
*Also includes subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and *L'Internationale*.
**Raised goal

only a few hostile comments. She noted one worker, a Vietnam veteran, "called the war in the Mideast 'a racist war' and was upset about how the media manipulated people's views on the war."

Ahlberg highlighted another discussion. When one woman started arguing for the war, an older Black worker joined in and said, "I've been through three wars — the Korean war, which was never called a war; the Vietnam crisis, which was never called a war; and now this one in Saudi Arabia. We're fighting a useless war. This is a fight for oil."

Subscribe to the Militant



Join the campaign to get out the truth

Order your bundle of 'International Socialist Review'

Join *Militant* readers and opponents of the U.S.-led war against Iraq in campaigning against the imperialist assault by helping distribute the *International Socialist Review*. Since December nearly 10,000 copies of the special supplement have been ordered: by *Militant* supporters who have taken goals to get it out widely among unionists, farmers, GIs, and students; and by readers who have sent in coupons for bundles to sell in their areas.

The supplement contains two articles by Socialist Workers Party leader Jack Barnes, "Working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive: Fighting the employers' offensive at home and abroad" and "War and the communist movement."

Barnes outlines the stakes for working people in the war in the Mideast, the fight being waged by Cuba against this war, the changes in the U.S. working class that make it possible to carry out an effective campaign to mobilize unionists and other working people against imperialist war, and the prospects for building the communist movement today.

Bundles of the supplement may be ordered for \$1 each for 10 or more, a 33 percent discount. Single copies are \$1.50 each. Shipping is included. Just send in the coupon below.

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Please send _____ copies of the special antiwar supplement. Enclosed is \$ _____.

Mail to: the Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



Pan Am airlines alters ban against Iraqi nationals on its flights

Pan American World Airways altered its ban against allowing Iraqi nationals on its flights in response to a civil rights lawsuit filed January 31 in Manhattan federal court.

Eric Lieberman, general counsel of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), announced the change February 6. Pan Am will now allow Iraqis who are U.S. residents to fly, but will continue to bar Iraqi nationals who have U.S. visas.

"Pan Am's policy still unlawfully discriminates against Iraqi nationals in the United States on valid visas but who are not lawful permanent residents," Lieberman told the *New York Times*.

Lieberman and NECLC filed the civil rights lawsuit on behalf of Salan H. Salman, a U.S. resident, who was denied tickets to Czechoslovakia by a Pan Am reservations agent because he is an Iraqi national. Pan Am's policy change makes the lawsuit moot.

Pan Am had also been subpoenaed to appear before the New York City Human Rights Commission to testify on its ban. A spokesperson for the commission said that Pan Am's deposition had been postponed pending a meeting with company officials to determine whether New York's anti-discrimination ordinances were still being violated.

Other carriers, including United Airlines, have apparently adopted similar bans discriminating against Iraqis.

Students to build on February 21 actions against war on Iraq

Continued from front page stationed in Saudi Arabia.

Al-Saifi reported that February 21 teach-ins and antiwar activities have been organized on several Washington, D.C., university campuses, including Howard, George Washington, Georgetown, American, and Catholic University of America. Students at the University of Maryland in Baltimore and the University of the District of Columbia have also scheduled protests or teach-ins.

Bombing of civilians causes outrage

"Activists are outraged by the bombing and sense the ground war coming," said Greg Rosenberg, who helps staff the Western Student and Youth Action Network Against the War office at the University of California in Berkeley. "Students and young people want to do something about what's coming. They want to protest it."

Rosenberg reported that students at Sonoma State University in Rohnert Park, California, and students in Boise, Idaho, just recently learned of the February 21 actions through phone calls from the Berkeley office. "They are now organizing activities, despite the short notice," he said.

More than 30 campuses in California have targeted February 21, Rosenberg said. They include the University of California in Berkeley, San Francisco State, and San Jose State, as well as several community colleges. Students in Oregon, Washington State, Colorado, and Utah are also planning February 21 activities.

Rosenberg said students have come to the Berkeley office from around the San Francisco Bay Area to help with phone outreach to other campuses, press work, and mailings. "The office has become more of a center to organize these activities in the last few days," he said.

National meetings to discuss next steps in fight against war

Activists opposed to the U.S. war in the Middle East will meet at two important conferences in Washington, D.C., on February 23 and 24.

The National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, the coalition that sponsored the January 26 march on Washington, D.C., of 125,000, will meet February 23.

"We believe that by coming together to improve the coordination and cooperation within the antiwar movement that we can be stronger and more effective," said a letter to coalition members from Leslie Cagan, the National Campaign's coordinator.

The meeting will be held at the Miles Memorial C.M.E. Church at 5th and N streets N.W. It will begin at 10:30 a.m. Registration begins at 9:30 a.m. For more information call the National Campaign's New York office at (212) 227-0221.

The National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, which called the February 21 internationally coordinated campus antiwar protests, has scheduled a February 24 steering committee meeting. "Only through our unified action can we be a part of building a movement that is strong enough to stop this war," the call for the meeting said.

The agenda for the steering committee includes discussions on proposals for future regional and national protest actions and conferences, as well as exchanges on fund-raising, outreach, building networks, and media work. Each endorsing group will have a vote at the meeting. New groups or organizations need to notify the National Student and Youth Campaign of their endorsement prior to February 24.

The steering committee will meet at Catholic University, at 4th Street N.E. and Michigan Ave. It will convene at 9:00 a.m. Registration is at 8:00 a.m. at the University Center East in the main lounge. For more information call the Washington, D.C., office of the National Student and Youth Campaign at (202) 462-1801.

"I'm infuriated by the U.S. bombing," said Winter Anne, a student at Merritt Community College in Oakland, California. Anne helped found Students for Peace on her campus and is a volunteer in the Berkeley office. She said the February 21 actions are important because anyone who is opposed to the war "will see an alternative, people uniting and speaking out against it."

The reports of Washington's lethal bombing help "break the illusion that this can be a clean, technological war — without death," said Travis Parchman, an activist in Philadelphia and member of the national organizing committee of the Student Action Union.

"There has been a reaction to the bombing reports," Parchman said, "but I don't think it has opened an avalanche yet of people coming to see that the government doesn't tell the truth. The press is trying to get us to forget and Washington wants us to believe that the civilians are just the 'casualties of war.'" The truth getting out, however, helps "open people's eyes," he said.

Parchman said students at several Philadelphia campuses are coordinating their activities and will converge on the city's downtown on February 21. From there they will march to the site of the Liberty Bell for a rally. Campuses involved in building the action include Pennsylvania State, Temple, and La Salle universities, Swarthmore College, some community colleges, and several high schools. One high school has canceled classes to hold a teach-in.

'Continue the national effort'

Parchman stressed the need to continue coordinating and organizing efforts on a national level. "Grass roots work is important, but it is necessary from time to time to show the national 'powers that be' what we have accomplished," he said. "Without the masses of people in the streets, there is no concrete pressure, and Washington and the corporate boardrooms will not be moved."

On February 24 the National Student and Youth Campaign will have a steering committee meeting in Washington, D.C., to assess the accomplishments of the February 21 protests and to chart the next steps for antiwar activities. On February 23 the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East is also sponsoring a national meeting.

"We need to get to those meetings to make sure that students and youth have an impact on the policies made there," Parchman said. The Philadelphia activist said that it would be important for the meetings to discuss and issue another national call for actions. Broader meetings to draw others in and unify students and youth will also be needed, he said.

Kristin Schwartz, a student at Oberlin College in Ohio, reported that there have been prowar activities across the state. In Oberlin, many people have put lit candles in the windows of their homes to show that they "support the troops," she said.

But, Schwartz added, some of the revelations coming out about the war's toll have made some supporters of the war uneasy. "There's a lot of confusion out there, and a day of education would do some good," she said. Students at Oberlin are organizing a series of discussions and educational on the war in the Middle East on February 21.

Students at the University of Montana in Missoula have an ambitious day of activities planned. Between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m., four workshops will be held every hour to educate students, faculty, staff, and the community about the war. The day will culminate with a march of solidarity against the war in downtown Missoula at 6 p.m.

"It will be a busy and rich day of education and action," said Jim Parker, a leader of the Student Coalition for Social Responsibility.

'We must challenge prowar forces'

Parker said that there has been a large shift toward support for the war and U.S. President George Bush, but antiwar forces have remained active. "We want to continually challenge them [the prowar forces] to hear a different view and to see if they can refute it," he said.



Militant/Harvey McArthur
High school students across the United States are joining college and university students in building February 21 protests against the U.S. war in the Middle East.

Recent events "will have an impact and will demystify some myths," prompting some people to join in the February 21 actions. Parker said. "But for most the feeling seems to be 'perhaps something is not as it should be' and that's why we need to be there, to get out our antiwar ideas."

The scope and success of the February 21 call to action "has been a hell of a good start in the brief time we have had to organize," Parker said. "We need more national events and regional conferences." The activist said he was encouraged by the national meetings called for February 23 and 24. "There are a whole bunch of isolated local areas and we need a vehicle to link up," he said.

On February 18 student and youth leaders held a West Coast press conference on the steps of Sproul Plaza at the University of California in Berkeley to publicize the February 21 international day of antiwar protests.

Speakers included representatives of the United States Student Association, Associated Students of the University of California, Young Koreans United, Campus Peace Committee, and Students for Peace in the Persian Gulf.

A scheduled February 19 press conference in Washington, D.C., was to feature Julius Davis, president of the United States Student Association; Randa Adib of the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East; Andrea Lampros, a coordinator of the Washington, D.C., Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Jin Sook Lee of Young Koreans United; and Sharif Al-Saifi, who is also active in the Georgetown Palestine Association.

Black student and youth activists meet in Atlanta to discuss antiwar protests

BY JAMES HARRIS

ATLANTA — Twenty-five people, mostly Black youth from Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia, met here February 16 to begin organizing against Washington's war in the Arab-Persian Gulf. The one-day meeting was organized by members of the People of Color Caucus of the National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East.

Participants had a wide-ranging discussion on the legacy of Malcolm X and his relevance to the current struggle against the war. They also discussed the organizational structure they should adopt to further antiwar activities and the February 21 international day of antiwar protests called by the National Student and Youth Campaign.

Early in the meeting a student from Atlanta raised that some on his campus did not understand the reason for choosing the anniversary of Malcolm X's assassination for the internationally coordinated protests. Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965.

The student said some people thought calling an action on that day was disrespectful and that any observance of the anniversary should only focus on Malcolm X. These comments sparked a lively discussion.

The big majority at the meeting agreed that calling for antiwar protests on February 21 was a good idea and that it best honored Malcolm X's legacy.

"In my opinion an activist is best honored

Almost a dozen volunteers met the weekend of February 16 at the Washington, D.C., office of the National Student and Youth Campaign to better organize the office's activities and prepare for the February 24 steering committee meeting. Angela Lariscy, one of the volunteers, said students from Catholic University are making a big contribution by helping to plan the logistics of the steering committee meeting that will be held on their campus.

February 21 was chosen for internationally coordinated antiwar actions by two January 27 conferences, one in Washington, D.C., and the other in Berkeley, California. More than 1,500 youth from across the United States attended the twin meetings.

Organizers have noted that the protests coincide with the anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X, a revolutionary fighter, an outspoken opponent of imperialism and its wars, and a leader of the struggle for Black rights in the United States. Malcolm X was gunned down on February 21, 1965.

For more information on the national meetings being planned and how to contact the National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, see the article below.

On the West Coast, contact the Western Student and Youth Action Network Against the War at (415) 642-4018. The address is Western Student and Youth Action Network Against the War, ASUC, c/o Office on External Affairs, 200 Eschelmann Hall, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720.

by activism," said Latrease Rutland from Tuskegee University in Alabama. She also pointed out that Malcolm X's "global vision" was important for activists to understand. Rutland convened the meeting along with Brenda Davenport of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Youth.

"Reading and studying Malcolm X will better prepare us to organize against the war," another participant pointed out.

Others said that the focus on Malcolm X would help opponents of the war in the Middle East to better relate to the war being waged against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities here at home.

One segment of the meeting addressed how best to organize ongoing activities against the war. One concern expressed was how to make sure that Blacks from the South had a voice in the decision-making process of the National Student and Youth Campaign.

The activists ended the day with a discussion of activities they would promote February 21. Several students from North Clayton County High School here proposed handing out armbands and antiwar literature. Others from Atlanta raised the possibility of a city-wide teach-in at the Martin Luther King Jr. Center.

Rutland reported that there would be a teach-in at her campus. Leslie Watson, a leader of the National Student and Youth Campaign from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, said activities would be held at eight campuses in her state.

Gulf war news kept sanitized by restrictions, self-censorship

Accord in South Africa a step toward dismantling apartheid

The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and South African President F.W. de Klerk struck an accord February 15 breaking through a deadlock in progress toward negotiations on dismantling apartheid.

The de Klerk government accepted the right of organizations to engage in peaceful mass action protests free from government violence or intimidation. The ANC agreed not to create any new underground military structures, and said it "would cease all military training of combatants inside the country."

"We will be moving rapidly towards the commencement of multi-party negotiations," de Klerk said about the results of the accord. He said the government would now deal "more comprehensively" with the release of political prisoners and granting amnesty to exiled anti-apartheid activists.

"This agreement marks another significant step on the road to democracy and peace in our country," said an ANC statement.

Cuba wins sponsor for Interests Section in Washington, D.C.

The government of Switzerland announced February 11 that it would become the formal sponsor of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C. The move guarantees that Cuba and Washington will continue to have diplomatic representation in each other's capitals, an arrangement begun in 1977.

Czechoslovakia, Cuba's former sponsor, said last month that it intended to withdraw its sponsorship of the Cuban Interests Section.

Relations have been strained between Cuba's government and the regime of Vaclav Havel that came to power in Czechoslovakia a little more than a year ago. The Czechoslovak government has cut aid and credits to Cuba. It has helped Washington lead an international campaign under the cover of "human rights" to attempt to isolate Cuba.

"This is not something to be happy about, but it conforms to the current state of the relationship," a Bush administration official said about the new arrangement between Cuba and Switzerland.

N. and S. Korea to field joint soccer and table tennis teams

North and South Korea will field joint teams in the world table tennis championships in Japan in April, and the World Youth soccer championship in Portugal in June.

The agreement comes after 28 years of often interrupted negotiations between the two governments on the peninsula. It also comes despite the South Korean regime placing its forces on maximum alert, claiming the North Korean government was planning an attack.

The joint teams are a victory for supporters of reunification, whose popular support is growing in South Korea. The government in North Korea has a long-standing policy advocating the peaceful reunification of the country.

Korea was divided at the end of World War II by Washington and Moscow. Today 45,000 U.S. troops are stationed in South Korea to prop up the proimperialist regime there and maintain the division.

Headline stories in the news

- Contrary to initial reports by Tokyo, information now available indicates that **Japan** had its worst nuclear-power accident February 9. The Mihama power plant, about 220 miles west of Tokyo, nearly had a meltdown. The company confirms that radiation was released into the atmosphere.
- A cholera outbreak has killed 86 people in **Peru** since late January. Surrounding countries are bracing for the disease's spread. Deteriorating social conditions in Latin America and government treasuries drained by payments on enormous debts to imperialist banks have contributed to the crisis. The World Health Organization said it is the first major cholera outbreak in the Western Hemisphere in this century.

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

U.S. government restrictions on war news and self-censorship by the big-business media are together presenting a sanitized, prowar version of the Mideast conflict to millions around the world.

"News" is presented as military and State Department press briefings, comprised of the top brass presenting carefully selected information or figures relating to the bombing of Iraq and Kuwait. No independent verification or proof of any assertions is provided.

As in the Vietnam War when Pentagon figures listed huge numbers of Vietnamese killed in combat, current reports on the number of Iraqi tanks and artillery hit by bombs from U.S.-led forces have increased dramatically to serve the political needs of the U.S. rulers' war aims.

Press reports that are not controlled by the U.S. military, such as those filed from Baghdad by Cable News Network (CNN) reporter Peter Arnett, come under fire as Iraqi government propaganda.

The Pentagon continues to enforce the most severe restrictions on war coverage since the Korean War. These include:

- requiring that all copy and film be submitted to a security review;
- limiting news coverage to assigned "pools" of reporters;
- not allowing reporters to live with military units, but instead rotating them in and out with military escorts.

Only 113 of the some 1,000 reporters in the Arab-Persian Gulf are assigned within pools.

Those operating within the pools have more direct access to information the U.S. military decides to give out. The Pentagon decides where reporters can go and provides the transportation.

Associated Press reporter John King said, "if you ask a question they [military escorts] think is inappropriate... [they] will interrupt and say, 'That's a political question.' I think we have every right to ask these kids if they think this is worth dying for."

Reporters in the pools can share information with other journalists, but all stories are subject to military scrutiny before being filed.

When asked how the pool system is working, Stanley Cloud, *Time* magazine's Washington bureau chief said that is "like asking whether a smoothly functioning dictatorship is working well. Yeah, it's working well, but we shouldn't have to put up with it. We're getting only the information the Pentagon wants us to get."

Reporters say they have been denied access to prisoner-of-war camps, B-52 pilots, AWACS planes, chaplains, and hospitals. Many of the Army's ground forces have no



reporters with them.

Edward Cody a veteran correspondent for *The Washington Post* said his pool reports face big delays because the military relays them on jeeps. "The first day of the war, my story went nowhere. You turn over control of your copy to them [the military] and they don't care whether it gets there or not. It's not part of their culture. We, the newspapers, did it by buying into this stupid system of take-me-along," Cody said.

Until recently, there has been little opposition by major news organizations to the restrictions. In fact the big-business media has decided not to report some of the news it has had access to.

For instance, the International Channel network has been running news reports and film footage from Baghdad since the war began. "All the other networks have access to this same footage," said Joseph Haiek, publisher of *News Circle Magazine*, a Los Angeles-based Arab publication, "but the point is they don't use it."

Haiek noted that CNN used parts of a report from Baghdad that showed 172 homes leveled, but did not include scenes of the bodies of dead children being pulled from collapsed houses. "Somebody made a decision that these details either were not important or that the audience could not stomach them," he said.

Following the U.S. bombing of a Baghdad air-raid shelter on February 13, one British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) announcer said some of the casualty pictures were too gruesome to show.

Some reporters have started to look for ways to do reporting on their own, but most of their efforts have been foiled by the military.

Chris Hedges, a *New York Times* reporter, tried to report outside the pools from a small town near the Kuwaiti border. He was picked up by military authorities, detained for a few hours, and sent back to his hotel in Dhahran without his press credentials. "The pools are bordering on dysfunctional," Hedges said.

Others have been detained as well. Associated Press reporter Mort Rosenblum was held for three hours for reporting without an escort, and a BBC television crew had its credentials removed for three days.

A photographer was held for 30 hours, part of it blindfolded, and challenged to name the Governor of New York to prove he was not an Iraqi spy.

Statements by press executives give a glimpse of the extent of the Pentagon restrictions. For instance, pools were not brought to the battle at Khafji until 18 hours into the fighting. George Watson, ABC's Washington bureau chief, complained the battle "didn't yield the kind of pictures that one associates with a fairly substantial clash of armies."

R. W. Apple, Jr., *New York Times* bureau chief in Dhahran, called the situation "horrible and seemingly getting worse." He described the military's daily briefings in Saudi Arabia as "much worse than the Five O'Clock Follies in Saigon. They don't say anything... and the briefers can't even speak English. They all speak Pentagonese."

Attack on Arnett

Until recently, CNN's Peter Arnett was the only the U.S. reporter covering the war from Baghdad. But his accounts of the U.S. bombing of civilian targets and the resulting casualties have come under intense fire.

Marlin Fitzwater, a White House spokesperson accused Arnett of supplying Iraqi disinformation. "Any reports coming out of Baghdad are, in effect, coming from the Iraqi government."

On February 8, Sen. Alan Simpson called Arnett an Iraqi "sympathizer," and called his reporting "repulsive." Simpson said, "My question is, why is he the only one there?... Here is a man who is reporting from a country with which we are at war, the same people who are trying to kill our young men and women."

Some journalists have defended Arnett, who has been reporting under Iraqi restrictions on military information — the same forms of censorship as those of the U.S. Pentagon.

New York's *Newsday* associate editor Sydney Schanberg called the attacks on Arnett scapegoating. "The scapegoaters didn't like the chilling and embarrassing television footage of the civilian bodies being carried out of the rubble and of the sobbing and hysterical relatives who had rushed to the scene," speaking of Arnett's reports on the U.S. Air Force air-raid shelter bombing that killed some 400 civilians.

After having temporarily barred all news organizations except CNN, the Iraqi government started admitting other journalists January 30. Many of these journalists were taken to the scene of the February 13 bombing.

"Some of this stuff just makes your blood stop — close-ups of charred lumps and half bodies. It's a painful part of the story, and we have to report it," said Ed Turner, executive vice-president of CNN.

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Washington extends its air war slaughter

Continued from front page

real goals in the Mideast to put a government in Baghdad subservient to its interests — a virtual protectorate regime — by smashing the Iraqi army through a bloody war. The U.S. government's course since last August has been aimed at forcing an unconditional surrender of the Iraqi government, not the "liberation" of Kuwait.

Response from U.S. allies

Washington's allies also rejected the Iraqi government statement. British Prime Minister John Major termed it "a sham." French President François Mitterrand said that unless Baghdad withdraws its forces from Kuwait, the statement is "not acceptable." President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, along with seven other allied Mideast nations, also dismissed the Iraqi move.

Meanwhile, massive U.S.-led forces poised on the Iraqi border and positioned in the Arab-Persian Gulf waters, closed in on final preparations for the invasion. Faced off with an Iraqi army numbering more than a



U.S. troops practice firing a 60-mm mortar in western Saudi Arabia.

half million, border skirmishes between the two armies increased. Washington and London intensified their brutal, around-the-clock bombing of Iraqi cities and troop positions, putting the number of expeditions flown at over 76,000 by February 17.

The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Pen-

U.S. State Department bans travel to Iraq and Kuwait

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

On February 8 the State Department made U.S. passports invalid for travel to Iraq and Kuwait. The decision in effect banned travel there since passports are required to enter either country or to return from them to the United States.

This decision was then followed by a February 14 announcement confirming that all travel by U.S. citizens to either country had been banned.

The department issued a warning that "all U.S. citizens are strongly urged to avoid all travel" to the two countries and suggested those still there "depart as soon as possible."

The only exemptions would be for "full-time members of the reporting or writing staff of a newspaper, magazine or broadcasting network whose purpose for travel is to gather information."

In addition, Red Cross volunteers and others who prove "compelling humanitarian considerations," are exempted from the ban. The only other exemptions are for travel deemed to be in "the national interest."

According to department travel advisories, anyone not covered under these exemptions would be in violation of the ban and would face prosecution and imprisonment.

tagon officials announced February 16 the invasion will be unleashed within four days.

Some 70,000 troops will attack along the Kuwaiti-Saudi border as army and marine heavy armored divisions conduct simultaneous attacks into Iraqi territory. These army and marine forces will sweep around the main Iraqi front line fortifications and attempt to move deep into Iraq in an effort to cut off its army in Kuwait and box in the Iraqi Republican Guard force.

Aerial bombardment will precede attacks up and down Iraqi front lines and blanket "the battlefield with explosives, smoke and cluster bombs," said the *Los Angeles Times*. Accompanying the offensive will be an amphibious assault by the largest such U.S. force assembled since the Korean war.

The invasion, one general said, will be "a controlled hurricane of firepower," that will bring into battle more than 1 million soldiers between Iraqi and allied forces.

U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney said allied forces will attempt to drive deep inside Iraqi territory. "There's no sanctuary inside Iraq for Iraqi forces," he said.

Army officers said they expect to lose from 10 to 100 percent of some units. "We could get lucky but we expect we'll pay," said one officer, according to the *Los Angeles Times*.

Seven border clashes in a period of five hours on February 17 left two U.S. GIs dead. Along with five downed aircraft, the number of U.S. GIs that have been killed or missing since January 29 has reached 50.

Bombing assault continues

After 32 days of unremitting bombing against Iraq, military officials said the bombardment would increase in order to "shape the battlefield."

Washington has ordered even deadlier bombs to be dropped inside Iraq, including fuel-air explosives (FAE's). Known as the "poor man's atom bomb," FAE's carry a fuel such as petroleum which is sprayed into the air over a target, spreading a cloud of gas. When the gas is ignited, the explosion sucks oxygen out of the atmosphere, including from the lungs of people inside blastproof tanks or bunkers.

Due to the heightened bombing raids and "new bombing tactics," U.S. Central Command spokespeople claimed February 15 that the allies had destroyed nearly double the number of Iraqi tanks that had been reported the previous week. The U.S. military's purported facts and figures are designed to back up political shifts made by Washington. As a result they vary widely. By reporting an increased level of destruction of Iraqi forces allied commanders seek to boost the fighting morale of the troops and confidence among working people at home in preparation for the invasion.

Dividing up the booty

Eight Arab governments in the anti-Iraq alliance met in Cairo, Egypt, on February 15 and 16. The eight governments — of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and the exiled Kuwaiti government — mapped out their plans for dividing up the booty and the post-war configuration of proimperialist regimes in the region if Iraq loses the war. They rejected the Iraqi peace proposal "in its entirety and in detail."

The Moroccan government, which has sent 1,300 soldiers to Saudi Arabia, turned down an invitation to attend the conference. Massive demonstrations against the war have taken place recently in Morocco.

The conference approved a series of proposals designed to reward those governments that back the U.S.-led war and punish those that don't.

"The war has broken china all over the floor of the Middle East," said a high-level Egyptian official. "These proposals are designed to help pick up the pieces."

Under the Cairo plan, Egypt and Syria would station troops in Kuwait after the war. They, along with other friendly governments, would receive massive aid from the wealthy oil nations in the Gulf Cooperation Council: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, and Oman. Governments that oppose the war would be denied future aid and suffer cuts if they presently receive aid.



U.S. Marines in Saudi Arabia. "There will not be a cessation of hostilities. There will be no pause. There will be no cease-fire," said U.S. President George Bush to workers at Patriot missile parts plant in Massachusetts.

The statement from the meeting did not include a role for Iran, which has made its own proposals for new regional alignments after the war. "This is going to cause trouble in the region," Rajai Khorrasani, chairman of the Iranian parliament's foreign affairs committee, said.

The Cairo communiqué pointedly omitted any mention of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The PLO has opposed the U.S.-led coalition.

"As far as we are concerned, [PLO Chairman Yassir] Arafat is finished," said one Egyptian official. "The question is whether the Palestinians are finished as well."

Earlier in the week Syrian President Hafez al-Assad met with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. After the meeting, Genscher appeared at a joint press conference with Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa. "Syria realizes that the recognition of the right for self-determination for the Palestinians also means that the right for Israel to exist is recognized and assured," Genscher said. Germany has promised Syria \$85 million in aid.

Sharaa told reporters, "We expressed our views that achieving peace in our region should be based on full Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and guaranteeing the national rights of the Palestinian people." Syria's Golan Heights have been militarily occupied by Israel since 1967.

At a news conference after the Cairo meeting, Sharaa said the U.S. government and the European Community had given "repeated assurances" to Syria about resolving the dispute with Israel.

The U.S. government's imperialist partners in Britain are moving to make sure they get their share as soon as the war ends, as well. British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd and eight businessmen recently visited Saudi Arabia to talk to Kuwaiti officials about British capitalists getting sufficient reconstruction contracts.

Canada, which has stationed 1,700 troops in the Gulf, announced it has contingency plans for sending 12,000 more. The Canadian defense minister has announced that CF-18 fighter planes could also be involved in aiding the allies for the coming ground war.

Tensions in the U.S. alliance

While the anti-Iraq alliance has so far remained solid, there are some initial tensions and conflicts.

The French participation in the war continues to deepen divisions within Mitterrand's ruling Socialist Party.

The "socialism and republic" faction of the party, led by former defense minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement, has been threatened with expulsion.

Chevènement resigned from his ministerial post in January in protest of the French government's alliance with Washington. His grouping has announced plans for more opposition to the Socialist Party's position on the war.

Soviet plan given to Aziz

A spokesperson for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev initially greeted the February 15 Iraqi proposal with "satisfaction and hope."

By the next day, the Soviet's initial enthusiasm had waned. The Iraqi proposal, Foreign Ministry spokesperson Vitaly Churkin said, "is linked to many conditions which could render it meaningless."

Commenting on the upcoming visit of Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, Churkin said, "We believe that the talks in Moscow with the representative of the president of Iraq will allow us to reach the goal, which is unchanged: the fulfillment of all the United Nations resolutions."

Following the talks the Soviets sent a cable to Washington outlining the plan Gorbachev handed the Iraqi foreign minister. A Soviet spokesperson said the proposals are "a concrete plan to settle the conflict in the Persian Gulf by political means" that "provide for the Iraqi pullout from Kuwait and the observance of relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council."

After a White House war board meeting involving Bush and top government and military officials, spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater said, "our military campaign remains on schedule."

Just prior to the release of the Soviet proposal, Secretary of State James Baker, pressed in a Cable News Network interview on the timing of Washington's invasion plans, said, "Suffice it to say . . . that we have a campaign plan and we have been sticking to that plan. There is not going to be any deviation from that — no pausing, no cease-fire."

To our readers . . .

With this issue the *Militant* will begin printing on Tuesdays, one day earlier than our current publication date.

This move will ensure that distributors around the world get bundles of the paper by Thursday, in time for weekend sales efforts. We began publishing on Wednesdays in November but have found that many distributors in the United States still do not receive the paper until Friday afternoon or evening.

Our new publication day coincides with making the paper available for the February 21 international day of student antiwar protests. We have set a special subscription offer for the day of \$5 for six weeks. The offer includes a copy of the special *International Socialist Review* supplement to the *Militant*, "Working-class campaign against imperialist war drive." For \$2, participants in the antiwar actions can purchase a single copy of the paper and the supplement — a 33 percent discount.

Reading the *International Socialist Review* and the *Militant* are essential to building effective opposition to Washington's war against the Iraqi people. Moreover, the supplement and the paper tell the truth about the struggles of working people against the employers' offensive at home. They chart a course for reaching out to young fighters, workers, and farmers — in and out of uniform — to discuss, debate, and mobilize the broadest possible numbers in the streets against the imperialists' Mideast war.

Getting the *Militant* out to distributors in a timely way, we think, is one step in getting the paper into the hands of students, unionists, striking workers, working farmers, and others who are fighting against the employers' war at home and abroad.

UN meeting kept closed by U.S. and allies

BY SELVA NEBBIA

UNITED NATIONS — For only the fourth time in the 46-year history of the United Nations, the UN Security Council began meeting in closed session February 14.

Washington and its allies blocked calls for a public Security Council meeting to debate the U.S.-led war against the people of Iraq. Representatives of Cuba and Yemen stood alone in voting against closing the session to the press and public. Representatives of China, India, Ecuador, and Zimbabwe abstained.

"The meeting has to be public," said Ricardo Alarcón, the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, "because this war is not the property of 15 countries, but the legitimate concern of all the UN-member states that above all else represent the anguish of all the peoples of the world."

"What is said here should not be kept in the shadows but brought to the light of day," he explained.

However, British Ambassador David Hanay, who introduced the motion for the closed meeting, argued for keeping the media out so that it would not "influence and even distort the course of the debate."

Since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait August 2, Security Council sessions that approved U.S.-backed resolutions against Iraq have been public. The November 29 meeting that gave the diplomatic green light to the slaughter being carried out today against the people of Iraq was open to the public.

The convening of the Security Council February 14 was the result of pressure from governments in Yemen and the Maghreb Federation, made up of Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, and Tunisia.

"Are we going to allow a Third World country to be destroyed by massive force that lacks all semblance of proportionality?" Yemeni Ambassador Abdalla Saleh Ashtal asked.

"The United States is turning the Security Council into a Pentagon press pool," said

Alarcón in response to the U.S. insistence that the meeting be held in secret. "During the first three weeks of the war they prevented the Security Council from meeting. Now, when they have no other alternative but to accept the obligation established by the norms and procedures of the Security Council, they want to make it private."

The Security Council began its deliberations February 14, following the killing by Washington's bombers of hundreds of Iraqi civilians at an air-raid shelter in Baghdad. A spokesman for UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said he felt "profound regret" upon hearing the news of the massacre.

At a February 15 press briefing here, the UN press representative said transcripts of the Security Council's closed meetings would not be available to the public until the end of the session.

In the midst of the debate, the German government requested it be allowed participation in the Security Council. Germany does not currently have a seat on the body.

The five permanent members, who hold exclusive veto power, are the United States, Britain, China, France, and the Soviet Union.

On February 12, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said the German constitution would be amended to allow that country to take part in UN-sanctioned military operations against Iraq. The current German constitution sharply restricts the use of German troops in combat.

"But everyone must realize," said the German foreign minister, "if Germany takes on such greater responsibilities, ways must also be found to bring German views more strongly to bear in the decisions of the world organization and of the Security Council."

Bombing kills 100s of civilians in two days

Continued from front page

having dropped any bombs in the area at all. Later in the day they admitted the charges, but claimed the laser-guided bomb had missed its target.

Two buses of Jordanians leaving Kuwait were attacked by allied planes on February 9. A missile hit one of the buses, killing 30 people. Another 30 were killed when a bus of Sudanese refugees came under attack on February 11 on their way to Jordan.

Washington blames Iraqis

Faced with the extent of the civilian carnage and outrage at the rising casualties, the U.S. government readily admitted having hit the bomb shelter and other civilian areas, while trying to shift the blame onto the Iraqi government and people. At a February 16 news briefing, Pentagon officials charged that Iraqis were faking damage to, or blowing up, buildings in civilian areas without naming any specific cases.

While refusing to present any evidence, U.S. spokespeople claimed the shelter was a military command post and even that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had deliberately put civilians there to be killed.

Defending the shelter attack, Defense Secretary Cheney told reporters the bombs "hit with great precision and there's no question in my mind or in the mind of our key people that what we hit was a military target."

Pentagon officials tried to hide the fact that they knew all along that the building in a residential neighborhood was originally built as a bombshelter in 1984, during the Iran-Iraq war.

Also hit the same day was the Palace of Conferences, a building next to the Rashid Hotel where many journalists and foreign diplomats are staying.

Like its claims against the shelter, Washington says the hotel sits on top of an Iraqi military command center.

In spite of rumors that the U.S. government believed the shelter was for senior Iraqi officials and their families, the Pentagon asserts the raid was not an effort to kill Saddam Hussein.

While making these statements U.S. government and military officials promised to continue the bombings. "There's no review, no change in procedures," said White House spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater.

'Deaths will not go unavenged'

In one of many funerals in Baghdad, 5,000 mourners marched behind the coffins of 20 of the victims. "The death of our women and children will not go unavenged!" they shouted.

Large demonstrations against the massacre also took place in Yemen, the Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Lebanon, Indonesia, and Jordan.

Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank began a three-day commercial strike in protest. "What the Americans are doing in Baghdad reminds me of 1982, when the Israelis bombed hospitals in Beirut," said a West Bank resident.

In Amman, Jordan, demonstrators stoned the U.S. and Egyptian embassies. At the U.S. Embassy some women threw their high-

heeled shoes at the embassy gate — considered an extreme insult in the Arab world. Children carried signs saying "Go away U.S.A." and "Murderers and killers of women and children."

"Is this how they are going to liberate Kuwait?" Walid Tarabsha, a chemical engineer in Jordan, asked a *New York Times* reporter. "Does this now give me the right, too, to go out and kill every civilian I see?"

The governments of Arab countries that back the U.S.-led coalition and its war against the people of Iraq tried to down-play the massacre.

Some newspapers in Saudi Arabia totally ignored the killings or kept the news off the front pages. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak accused Iraqi President Hussein of responsibility in the deaths, saying, "It is inconceivable for a ruler to make propaganda hay from the corpses of his citizens."

The Syrian government has also tried to prevent its people from knowing the truth about the war. Jordanian television broadcasts have been blocked for months.

After the air-raid shelter bombing, state-run Damascus radio charged that Hussein's "arrogance and stubbornness" was responsible for the "catastrophe."

Britain and France defend U.S. gov't

Many of the U.S. government's closest allies defended the bombing. The French government said it "deplored the tragedy" but insisted the war is the "sole responsibility of Saddam Hussein, who has refused a peaceful solution to the conflict."

"What are the Iraqis crying about?" asked Israeli Maj. Gen. Uri Orr. "They fire missiles at us explicitly in order to kill civilians."

The British government, with more than 35,000 troops in the Gulf, rapidly came to Washington's defense. Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said, "The greatest possible care is being taken to avoid indiscriminate attack on civilian targets."

Neil Kinnock, leader of the opposition Labour Party, continued to back British participation. Peace would be possible, he claimed, "if Saddam Hussein willed it. But without such action on his part, the conflict will go on and his and many other people will continue to suffer."

But Tony Benn, a Labour Party member of Parliament, disagreed. "The barbaric and horrific bombing has got to stop," he said.

Spain calls for investigation

Other U.S. allies have tried to take their distance from the massacre.

The Spanish government called for an end to bombing raids on Baghdad and other Iraqi cities and a UN and Red Cross investigation into the bomb shelter attack, while continuing to support raids against Iraqi forces in Kuwait. Although Spain has only small forces in the Gulf, 45 percent of all coalition warplanes that fly to the Mideast pass through the air base at Torrejón near Madrid.

Indian Foreign Minister V.C. Shukla stated that the U.S.-led alliance was going beyond the UN mandate by targeting non-military locations.

Since the start of the bombing on January 17, Washington and its allies have targeted oil refineries, electrical generators, bridges,

and phone centers. The destruction has caused suffering and hardship for millions of Iraqis.

"The lights went out in my country on January 17," said a Baghdad physician quoted in *New York Newsday*. "It will take years to repair the damage, perhaps decades. The destruction is simply enormous."

In their own words . . .

As news broke that hundreds of Iraqi civilians were killed in the U.S. Air Force bombing of an air raid shelter in Baghdad February 13, the U.S. and British governments quickly responded, callously defended the action, and tried to shift the blame onto the Iraqi government. Below are quotes taken from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *British Guardian*, and *New York Newsday*.

"We don't feel we attacked the wrong bunker or we made a mistake."
U.S. Marine Brig. Gen. Richard Neal in Saudi Arabia

"You're going to break some eggs . . . The question is, are you breaking more than you ought to? We take that into account . . . It's not a cavalier thing at all."
Col. Dennis Coupe, U.S. Army War College

The bombs "hit with great precision and there's no question in my mind or in the mind of our key people that what we hit was a military target."
U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney

"We knew there would be pictures of real war, but we thought it would be ground combat, soldiers killing soldiers, casualties of war, Americans being killed."
White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater

"We urge him [Saddam Hussein] once again to save his people and to comply with the UN resolutions."
Fitzwater

"Of course we recognized this as a problem . . . Seeing these pictures is heart-wrenching, it is brutal, it is horrible to watch. You cannot compete with these pictures and you don't want to."
"But even as you acknowledge that, you have to have some perspective, you have to remind people that this man has not one shred of human decency."
U.S. State Department spokesperson Margaret Tutwiler

Complaining about reporters who were asking U.S. military spokespeople if it was U.S. policy to kill civilians, one officer complained, "No one asks tough questions in Baghdad."
"For those who were opposed to the war, this will reinforce their view, while those who support the war . . . will understand that this is not something we were trying to do."
U.S. Senator John Chafee



Bombed-out housing in Baghdad

"The American people are mature enough to accept the fact that there will be civilian casualties in war, as tragic as that may be."

U.S. Senator John McCain

"We knew it was a command-and-control facility. We targeted it, we bombed it very accurately, we bombed a building that had barbed wire around it, not an indication of a bomb shelter. We bombed a shelter that had a building that had a camouflage roof painted on it . . . And there certainly is a possibility that there were civilians inside. And that's a shame."

Lt. General Thomas Kelly, director of operations for the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff

After a reporter told Kelly that several journalists in Baghdad saw the roof and that it was not camouflaged, he answered: "Well, then they've got bad eyes."

"We'll continue to attack military command-and-control facilities with the best intelligence that we have . . . We will continue to avoid civilian targets."

Kelly

"It was bound to happen sooner or later . . . You have to remember why we are bombing them."

A senior British government official who spoke on condition of anonymity.

"We have a responsibility to take them out rather than endanger our own people."
British Group Captain Niall Irving

"The greatest possible care is being taken to avoid the indiscriminate attack on civilian targets, and targeting is as precise as has ever been achieved in the history of modern warfare. War has its tragedies, even with the greatest care."

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd

We are relieved that "it was not us" who dropped the bomb.

A British government spokesperson

"The issue is settled. We are assured it was a legitimate target, and we continue to prosecute the war . . . There's no review, no change in procedures, no change in policy, no change in targeting development at all."

Fitzwater

"No way, no way at all."

An aide to Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of allied forces in the Arab-Persian Gulf, when asked if the United States would refrain from hitting all urban military targets, even for a brief time, and concentrate exclusively on battlefield bombing.

Why political ideas of Malcolm X are relevant for today's fighters

Malcolm X Talks To Young People: Speeches in the U.S., Britain & Africa. New York: Pathfinder, 1991. 110 pp. \$9.95.

BY JAMES HARRIS

January 27, the day after massive antiwar marches and rallies in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., 1,500 young people held two conferences to plan and organize the next steps in building opposition to Washington's war against the Iraqi people.

After debate and discussion the students and other youth from over 100 college campuses and high schools decided that on February 21, the anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X, they would hold an international day of protest against the war.

A conference held last November in New York to discuss the legacy of Malcolm X drew over 1,000 young participants. Twenty-five years after his assassination in 1965, the image of the revolutionary leader can be seen on T-shirts and posters throughout the world — especially where people are involved in struggle.

Pathfinder, for 25 years the main publisher of Malcolm's speeches and interviews, reports a booming interest in its titles by and

IN REVIEW

about Malcolm X. This is just an indication of the widespread interest in Malcolm X among working people and youth who are facing the government-employer assault on workers and farmers at home and abroad.

The publication of Pathfinder's new book, *Malcolm X Talks To Young People: Speeches in the U.S., Britain & Africa*, is timely and corresponds with this growing political interest in, and need for, the literary legacy of one of the great revolutionists of the 20th century.

Edited by Steve Clark, the book has eight pages of photographs of Malcolm in various countries. With an attractive cover design by Toni Gorton, the book is sure to have a wide circulation. The cover is a color reproduction of a portrait of Malcolm painted by noted artist Carole Byard on the Pathfinder Mural in New York City.

The speeches and interviews that appear in this compilation are as valuable to young fighters today as they were to those who heard and read them in the 1960s. Imperialist war abroad and the war being waged against the quality of life and living standards of working people at home make Malcolm's political perspectives, internationalist outlook, and uncompromising stand against exploitation and oppression especially relevant today.

Evolution in Black nationality

Blacks in the United States have fared differentially since Malcolm's death. Victories won in the Black rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s have resulted in some Blacks

making economic gains and integrating themselves deeply in the broader U.S. middle class. This layer reflects the attitudes of their class — fear and contempt for the broader mass of working people, including those who are Black. At the same time, the large proletarian majority of the Black nationality is suffering from worsening economic and social conditions and increasing segregation.

Young people are finding that the political ideas of Malcolm are not just interesting but essential and can be utilized as a guide to action as they engage in struggle. As class battles accelerate in this country and around the world, more and more young people of all nationalities and skin colors will reach out to Malcolm X for a better understanding of their struggles. When they do, many of them will gain an internationalist and anticapitalist perspective.

Those who reach out for *Malcolm X Talks To Young People* will not be disappointed. The book contains four speeches by Malcolm, a January 1965 interview with the *Young Socialist* magazine, and a March 5, 1965, speech by Jack Barnes, "In Tribute To Malcolm X." Barnes was then a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Most of the material in the book is printed for the first time. The rest is from a popular pamphlet by Pathfinder, published under the title, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*.

Malcolm X was a revolutionary leader who had a mass audience on U.S. soil. The new book shows clearly that he had also developed a hearing among young people on several continents. Through the speeches readers will also find a rich accounting of the deep-going struggle by Blacks in the United States for their liberation. In addition, the battles of youth, workers, and farmers in the colonial world for national liberation pervade each piece.

Experiences as a youth

The international respect that Malcolm won was not easily foreseeable at the beginning of his life in Omaha, Nebraska. His early life experiences paralleled those of many of the oppressed in this country.

Malcolm was named Malcolm Little at birth. His father, a Baptist minister and a follower of Marcus Garvey, the most prominent Black nationalist leader at that time, was lynched by white racists. By the age of 15 Malcolm was pushed out of school. He later became a street hustler and small-time criminal. When he was 21 years old he was convicted of burglary and sentenced to prison, where he served six and a half years.

In prison Malcolm transformed himself. He taught himself to read — starting with the dictionary. He also became a member of the Nation of Islam. Soon after his release from prison in 1952, he became the most prominent organizer of the Nation. Malcolm developed political differences with the Nation over its abstinence from the political struggles of the day and the hypocrisy of its

leadership. He split with the organization in March, 1964.

He explains this move in the *Young Socialist* interview: "I felt the movement was dragging its feet in many areas. It didn't involve itself in the civil or civic or political struggles our people were confronted by. . . . When I found that the hierarchy itself wasn't practicing what it preached, it was clear that this part of its program was bankrupt."

All of the material in *Malcolm X Talks To Young People* is from the 50-week period between the time Malcolm broke with the Nation and when he was assassinated. While in the Nation, Malcolm's internationalist perspective and opposition to imperialist exploitation and oppression gained him a wide hearing among fighters both inside and outside the United States.

In the brief time span after leaving the Nation, through wider travel abroad and contact with other revolutionary fighters, he increasingly developed an anticapitalist and prosocialist perspective.

As Malcolm explained in the interview, the experiences he had during this period convinced him that Black nationalism was not an adequate description of his new political outlook.

"So I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of Black nationalism," he told the interviewers. "And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months."

Revolutionary of integrity

Malcolm X Talks To Young People is an excellent introduction for those who have never read anything by Malcolm X. Anyone reading it will gain an understanding of Malcolm's political ideas and why he developed a mass following. They will find Malcolm not only an uncompromising revolutionary with integrity, but a political thinker with ideas that should be studied and restudied. For those who have read other books by Malcolm X, reading this new book in the context of the U.S.-led imperialist war against Iraq will be like reading Malcolm for the first time.

Prominent themes that come through this collection are Malcolm's internationalism, his insistence that the oppressed need to think for themselves and rely on their own strength, his opinion that capitalism could not end racism, and his emphasis on youth as the motor force of change.

Malcolm placed no limitations on the struggle for liberation. He thought the oppressed had the right to use "any means necessary" to gain their liberation. He was not a patriot. "I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver," he said.

Malcolm refused to look at the world through "American eyes" or identify in any way with the goals or aims of imperialism.

"I'm from America but I'm not an American," Malcolm said at the University of Ghana in a speech included in the collection.

"So I just try to face the fact as it actually is and come to this meeting as one of the victims of America, one of the victims of Americanism, one of the victims of democracy, one of the victims of a very hypocritical system that is going all over this earth today representing itself as being qualified to tell other people how to run their country when they can't get the dirty things that are going on in their own country straightened out."

In a speech to the London School of Economics included in the book Malcolm explains why it is necessary to have an internationalist outlook.

"Today the Black man in the Western Hemisphere, especially in the United States, is beginning to see where his problem is not one of civil rights, but it is rather one of human rights. And that in the human rights context it becomes an international issue. It ceases to be a Negro problem, it ceases to be an American problem. It becomes a human problem, a problem of human rights, a problem of humanity, a problem for the world," Malcolm said.

"And by shifting his entire position from civil rights to human rights, he puts it on the world stage and makes it possible where today he no more has to rely on only the white liberals within continental United States to be his supporters.

"But he brings it onto the world stage and makes it possible for all of our African brothers, our Asian brothers, our Latin American brothers, and those people in Europe, some of whom claim to mean right," he says in the speech, "also to step into the picture and do whatever is necessary to help us to see that our rights are guaranteed us — not sometime in the long future, but almost immediately."

Malcolm's internationalism meant that he also spoke out for the oppressed around the world. His refusal to look at the world through "American eyes" enabled him to see clearly the true horror of imperialism's crimes through the intentional distortion of the big-business media and the government.

In many of the speeches Malcolm exposed the U.S. government's criminal intervention against the struggle for national liberation in the Congo (today Zaire). He exposed the big-business media's role in shaping public opinion by presenting a false picture of the situation in the Congo.

Malcolm, who was also a victim of big-business media lies and distortions, knew how this worked firsthand. Anyone reading the speeches will see the same methods that are used to cover up and glorify the U.S.-led imperialist war in the Arab-Persian Gulf today, and learn that they are not new.

"Another example of how this imagery is mastered, at the international level . . ." is the "recent situation in the Congo," said Malcolm in the speech to the London School of Economics.

"Here we have an example of planes dropping bombs on defenseless African villages. When a bomb is dropped on an African village, there's no way of defending the people from the bomb," he said. "The bomb doesn't make a distinction between men and women. That bomb is dropped on men, women, children, and babies. Now it has not been in any way a disguised fact that planes have been dropping bombs on Congolese villages all during the entire summer. There is no outcry. There is no concern. There is no sympathy. There is no urge on the part of even the so-called progressive element to try and bring a halt to this mass murder. Why?"

"Because all the press had to do was use the shrewd propaganda word that these villages were in 'rebel-held' territory. 'Rebel-held,' what does that mean? That's an enemy, so anything that they do to those people is all right," Malcolm said. "You cease to think of the women and the children and the babies in the so-called rebel-held territory as human beings. So that anything that is done to them is done with justification."

Revolutionary educator

Malcolm's skill as a revolutionary educator who believed that the key to organizing people was waking them up to "their humanity, to their own worth, and to their heritage," is shown in all of the careful and educational presentations he makes throughout the book.

His speeches are constructed to give his listeners greater political understanding of the historical background to the conditions facing them and give them the self-confidence to move forward. In this respect Malcolm shares this attribute with other great revolutionaries of his age such as Maurice Bishop, Che Guevara, and Thomas Sankara. He directed his message to the masses of working people and was confident that they would be able to understand and respond.

Malcolm respected his audiences as those who could be the active forces that would change the world. There is no high-flown rhetoric in any of his talks and his language is simple and direct.

He explained that the oppressed had to learn to think for themselves, examine facts for themselves, and that gains would never be made as a result of the good will or guilty conscience of the oppressor.

A speech to a group of Black high school students from McComb, Mississippi, entitled "See for yourself, listen for yourself, think for yourself," is an example of how he instilled a sense of history in young civil rights fighters.

"Prior to 1939 our people were in a very menial position or condition," Malcolm said. "Most of us were waiters and porters and bellhops and janitors and waitresses and things of that sort. It was not until war was declared in Germany by Hitler, and America

Available from Pathfinder!

Malcolm X Talks to Young People

"The young generation of whites, Blacks, browns — you're living at a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built."

This new collection includes an interview with Malcolm X and four speeches given in Ghana, Britain, and the United States during the last months of his life. More than half the material appears in print for the first time. 110 pp., \$9.95.



Order from the Pathfinder bookstore nearest you or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1 for shipping and handling.



Militant/Robin Mace

New York City youth protest racist murder of Yusuf Hawkins in 1989. Malcolm X directed his message to the masses of youth and working people with confidence they would respond.

became involved in a manpower shortage in regards to her factories plus her army — it was only then that the Black man in this country was permitted to make a few strides forward.

"It was never out of some kind of moral

enlightenment or moral awareness on the part of Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam only let the Black man take a step forward when he himself had his back to the wall," he said.

Malcolm's revolutionary stance and his refusal to buckle to political pressure or blan-

dishments of the capitalist system comes through on every page of these speeches. Unlike many middle class leaders of his time, or of today, Malcolm never had the goal of integrating himself into the capitalist political or economic system.

When the *Young Socialist* interviewers asked Malcolm what his opinions were on the Democratic Party, Malcolm explained that: "The Democratic Party is responsible for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican Party."

When asked by the interviewers what he thought of the struggle going on between capitalism and socialism Malcolm said, "It is impossible for capitalism to survive primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck."

"Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely," he told the interviewers.

Throughout the book Malcolm's emphasis on the youth is a central theme. In Malcolm's opinion young people were less corrupted and less willing to put up with things they saw as wrong and more willing to act to correct them.

"If you've studied the captives being caught by the American soldiers in South Vietnam, you'll find that these guerrillas are young people. Some are just children and some haven't reached their teens. Most are teenagers. It is the teenagers abroad, all over the world, who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression

and exploitation," he said.

"In these countries the young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist. And here in this country, it has been my own observation that when you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation, you will find young people are more incensed over it — they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it," Malcolm said.

The literary heritage of Malcolm X is invaluable and necessary for revolutionists all over the world. As the world capitalist economic crisis deepens and imperialism wages more wars in the 1990s, young people will seek out and read Malcolm X — not just for political inspiration but as a guide to political action. They will find that Malcolm speaks for today's fighters.

Barnes explained in his speech at the conclusion of the book that Malcolm was a sign of the times and what is possible in the development of revolutionary leadership.

"Even with all his uniqueness and greatness as an individual, he could not have reached this understanding unless the conditions in this country were such that it was possible," he said. "Even though no one can fill his shoes, the fact that he did what he did, developed as the revolutionary leader he was, is the proof of more Malcolms to come."

"He was a proof as Fidel [Castro] was proof. Fidel stood up ninety miles away from the most powerful imperialism in the world and thumbed his nose and showed us, 'See, it can be done. They can't go on controlling the world forever.'

"Malcolm went even further than Fidel, because Malcolm challenged American capitalism from right inside. He was the living proof for our generation of revolutionists that it can and will happen here."

Firsthand report on Turkish coal miners' strike

BY SEVDA ÜÇER
AND A. KALEMEI

ZONGÜLDAK, Turkey — Striking coal miners went back to work here on January 27 after Turkish President Turgut Özal declared all strikes illegal. The miners had been on strike for almost two months.

Ten days later, on February 6, the National Mine Workers Union signed an agreement with the government.

Miners in Zonguldak, a city of one million in northern Turkey on the edge of the Black Sea, work as deep as 2,000 feet below the surface, under the most primitive and dangerous conditions.

The coal mines in Turkey belong to the state. Workers must purchase their own tools. Even during the bitter winters, there is no hot water and the miners must often work in wet clothes.

The state-owned company has let safety conditions go by the wayside. A disaster took place on Feb. 7, 1990, when 69 miners died in an explosion caused by the company's safety violations.

'What are we supposed to eat?'

Before the strike, miners earned between 400,000 and 550,000 Turkish lira per month. Equivalent to between \$133 and \$183, it is not enough to obtain the necessary calories for heavy work. A pound of meat costs about \$3.50; a pound of butter \$3. Workers often pay 100,000 lira or more per month for rent. Inflation is running at 48 percent.

Halil Elibash, a miner from the Kozlu mine, was quoted in a press release from the British Solidarity Committee with Striking Miners-Turkey. "I have worked here for 18 years," he said. "When I went to register two of my children for school, I found that the school books for one of them would cost 120,000 lira. The school books for two of my children will cost me half my monthly wage. What are we supposed to eat this winter?"

To make ends meet, many miners work extremely dangerous abandoned mines during their free time, digging their own tunnels.

Prior to the strike, in negotiations with the union, the government proposed a monthly

wage of 1 million lira. Workers demanded 2 million.

Each day during negotiations, tens of thousands of miners would go to the union headquarters after work to hear updates.

On November 17 President Özal declared, "The coal company is losing money. They cannot increase wages. Instead they can close down the mines."

For the mine workers the threat to close down the mines was the last straw.

Miners win widespread support

On November 30, 48,000 miners went on strike in the Zonguldak region and other surrounding mining areas. They won widespread support throughout the country.

On the first day of the strike meetings were held at eight locations and 20,000 miners marched to Zonguldak from surrounding mining towns.

The next day they were joined by family members and other supporters in a demonstration estimated at 200,000. Coal miners held marches, rallies, and demonstrations virtually every day for 35 days.

Workers in Zonguldak struck for one day in support of the miners. Lawyers from Zonguldak marched in their professional robes. Shops closed in support of the strike.

Government employees, who are prohibited from striking, contributed money and food for the miners. University students in a number of cities organized rallies and demonstrations. Kurds, an oppressed minority who until recently were prohibited from even speaking their own language in public, gave support to the strikers.

The miners also traveled around the country seeking and winning support.

Backing for the strike was so widespread that Türk İş, the largest legal union federation in the country and one that in the past has been close to the government, called a one-day general strike January 3.

More than a million workers joined in the work stoppage, which was also called to press other demands of the union federation.

To gain further support, 80,000 miners, miners' wives, and supporters began a 168-



Militant/Sevda Üçer

Coal miners' mass march during their nearly two-month strike.

mile march to the capital city of Ankara the day after the general strike.

Many of the miners marched with no more than a small bag of food and a blanket, fighting the below-freezing temperatures.

Strikers also began to tie in to growing antiwar sentiment. One of the demands miners chanted on the march was "No to the war." They also shouted a slogan directed at Özal: "Step down, resign; we want peace, he wants war."

The Turkish government is backing the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq. Özal has allowed U.S. warplanes to launch bombing attacks on Iraq from Turkish bases. There are 200,000 Turkish troops poised on the Turkey-Iraq border.

On the third day of the miners' march, the government blocked the road through the mountains. Using tanks, bulldozers, and barbed wire, soldiers and police stopped the lead contingent.

Miners told the soldiers and police on the front lines about their wages and working conditions. One soldier asked, "Is this really all they pay you?"

A miner said, "Our fight is not with you, but with the government."

But the soldiers and police followed orders. They arrested 200 of those closest to the front of the march.

Semsi Denizer, the main miners' union leader, entered into negotiations with the government. At his urging the miners returned home.

Three weeks later, using the war against Iraq as an excuse, Özal outlawed all strikes.

On February 6, an agreement was signed between the government and the union. Wages rose to 1.5 million lira a month for underground miners and to 1.25 million for those who work above ground. There will be no other wage increase for two years.

Günes Özgür contributed to this article.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

War and the Attack on Democratic Rights. Speaker: David Alvarez, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Malcolm X and the Fight against Washington's Wars. Speakers: Eli Green, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Los Angeles City Council, 10th District; member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; Geoff Mirelowitz, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Israel, the Palestinians, and the War in the Middle East. Speaker: Harry Ring, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

CONNECTICUT

Hamden

Rally for Peace. Every Sunday, 1:30 p.m. Corner of Dixwell and Whitney, across from Hamden Town Hall. Sponsor: Hamden High School Youth for Peace.

FLORIDA

Miami

Malcolm X and the Fight against Imperialist Wars. Panel discussion. Sun., Feb. 24, 4 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

After the Battle. 1989 video on impact of South Africa's war on Angola, and Angola's victory. Sat., Feb. 23. Dinner, 6 p.m.; Forum and video, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: Dinner and forum, \$6; Forum only, \$3.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Malcolm X and Imperialist War. Sat. Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

IOWA

Des Moines

Lessons from Malcolm X and the Fight against Imperialist War. Speakers: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Des Moines, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 431; Jonathan Narcisse, KUCB radio host. Sat., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

The Working-Class Campaign against the War. Speakers: Socialist Workers Party candidates. Sat., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Pathfinder Bookstore Open House. Sat., Feb. 23, 1-6 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

Celebration of Publication of Malcolm X Talks to Young People. Speakers: Jay Ressler, Pathfinder Bookstore; Margaret Pucci, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Lynn. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Celebrate Black History Month: Malcolm X and His Views on War. Video and panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

Malcolm X: His International Outlook. Speakers: Kim Washington, community activist; Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

The Fight against Imperialist War: World War I to Today. Every Wed. through Feb. 27, 5 p.m. University of Minnesota, Room 308, Coffman Union. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The Crisis of Family Farmers, International Trade, and the War. Speaker: Ted Leonard, participant in recent "Land and the Family Farm" conference in Britain. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

February 21 Actions Organized by Youth for Peace. International Day of Student and Youth Mobilization Against the War. Press Conference, University of Nebraska at Omaha campus, 9:45 a.m.; Demonstration, UNO campus, 10 a.m.; Teach-in, UNO campus, 11 a.m.; Demonstration, Memorial Park on Dodge Street, 4-5:30 p.m.; Teach-in, UNO campus, 5:30 p.m.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Malcolm X and the Fight against War. Video, speakers. Sun., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

UTAH

Price

Ideas of Malcolm X and the Fight against Imperialist War. Sun., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (801) 637-6294.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Stop the Bombing! Bring the Troops Home Now! Speaker: James Harris, Socialist Workers Party national committee. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. Days Inn Hotel, 12th and L Streets NW. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Panama: One Year After the U.S. Invasion. Speaker: Dave Welters, Socialist Workers Party. Video. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 1586 E Washington St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Bring the Troops Home Now! No Blood for Oil! Panel discussion by antiwar activists. Sat.

Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

Malcolm X and the Fight against Imperialist Wars. Video. Speakers: Wilbert Jenkins, professor of history, West Virginia Univ.; Chris Rayson, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

The Mideast War Today and Lessons of the Korean War. Speakers: John Hennen, student, West Virginia Univ.; John Williams, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Mar. 2, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

BRITAIN

London

The Gulf War and the Sharpening Economic Conflict. Speaker: representative, Communist League. Fri., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 71-401-2409.

Manchester

Out Now. Lessons of the Anti-Vietnam War Movement. Speaker: representative, Communist League. Fri., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 061-839 1766.

CANADA

Montréal

Malcolm X and the Fight against Imperialist War. Speaker: representative, Communist League. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum

Young Socialist Alliance: 'Stop the bombing! Bring the troops home!'

Continued from front page

seized on Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait to mount an unprecedented aggression in the region, the YSA has thrown itself into building visible opposition to Washington's war of conquest. The YSA has been part of the efforts to widen the debate and discussion among young people — in and out of uniform — about why we have no stake in the slaughter of the Iraqi people.

Washington, London, and their allies are embarking on the next stage of what they have been preparing for months: to defeat the Iraqi army, conquer Iraq, and establish the kind of regime there that will help safeguard imperialist interests in the region. Through the war the U.S. rulers seek to control the vast oil reserves in the region and deal a setback to the struggles of the Arab peoples, especially Palestinians, and of other oppressed peoples in the Mideast.

Statements made by President George Bush after the most recent bombings of civilians indicate that these are truly the goals Washington is single-mindedly pursuing.

Despite Washington's claims of concern for the U.S. troops, those who rule this country callously put the lives of hundreds of thousands of young people — both in the United States, Iraq, and throughout the Mideast — on the line in pursuit of their goals.

Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Young Socialist Discussions on the Mideast War. Every Sun., 3 p.m. 6566 boul. St-Laurent. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

February 21 Activities against the Middle East War. For information: Coalition Against the War in the Arab-Persian Gulf, (514) 253-9898 or 987-7042.

Toronto

Rally in Support of Mark Curtis. Speaker: Lynda Little, recently returned from United Nations Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva, Switzerland. Fri., Feb. 22, 7 p.m. 155 College St., 7th floor. Donation: \$5/\$3. Sponsor: The Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

The Mideast War. Opening Guns of World War III. Speaker: Steve Penner, Communist League executive secretary. Sat., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

The Fight for Korean Unification: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: George Fyson, recently returned from fact-finding trip to South Korea. Sat., Feb. 23, 4:30 p.m. 157a Symonds St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Malcolm X. Video. Includes footage from last speeches. Sat., Feb. 23, 4 p.m. 157a Symonds St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Wellington

Discussions on Fight against Imperialism and War. Every Thurs., 7:30 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Sponsor: Young Socialists. Tel: (4) 844-205.

Washington's war abroad is combined with the more than decade-long assault on the rights of working people at home. Not only are young men and women serving as cannon fodder in the Mideast, but at home we suffer the effects of rising homelessness, unemployment, restrictions on the right to abortion, cuts in funding for education, and limitations on our democratic rights.

The wealthy few who rule this country seek to make working people pay for the economic crisis of capitalism and shed their blood in the tens of thousands in an attempt to salvage the outmoded and crumbling world economic order.

Working people and young people around the world, including the working people and youth of Iraq, have common interests that have nothing in common with those of the imperialists and wealthy capitalist rulers.

The Young Socialist Alliance is an organization of revolutionary-minded youth who are committed to joining in the struggle to bring an end to the capitalist system and the wars and economic crises it breeds. We seek to win young people to the worldwide fight for national liberation and socialism. Join us!

**Stop the bombing! End the war!
Bring the troops home now!
No blood for oil!**

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Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

The Canadian peacekeepers — Last November, the Canadian government declared it was committed to no more than a trade embargo against Iraq. Now a treasury official assures that every



Harry Ring

dime being spent on Canadian military involvement was anticipated in the government's November spending estimates.

Free-market venture? — Ukrainian officials are offering tourists a guided tour of the radioactive contamination zone at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor that blew up in 1986. All trips begin and end with Geiger checks, and if medical treatment is needed it will be provided "at no extra charge." That's according to Associated Press.

How appropriate can you get — Britain's former prime minister, war-mongering Margaret Thatcher, flew to California to help celebrate Reagan's birthday with the trip paid for by Arco. The oil giant supplied a jet for the overseas flight, a chopper for local travel, plus lodging, meals, and other freebies.

Maybe he should try Baghdad — "Those damned drums are keeping me up all night." — President Bush, responding to antiwar protesters who have been beating a drum around the clock across the street from the White House since the war erupted.

How about an antiwar march? — Child psychologist Lawrence Kutner advises that if a youngster keeps drawing the same picture of a family with bombs exploding all around them, the parents should suggest a solution — like drawing an escape route, or a doctor for the wounded.

Safer than sex? — "Shares in

Okamoto Industries, Japan's biggest condom manufacturer, rose 10 percent on market talk that Allied soldiers in the Gulf were using condoms to keep sand out of their gun barrels." — Reuter

Forgot to shut down the city — On January 16, for the first time since World War II, the White House was closed indefinitely to visitors. Media spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater said the decision stemmed from concern that antiwar protesters might come in. The shutdown apparently didn't discourage the 25,000 antiwar folks who marched and rallied in the capital January 19, or the 125,000 who turned out a week later.

Gov't insurance — Considering its well-managed war coverage, you wouldn't think the U.S. big-business media needs managing. But, a survey finds that in 1989, 1,042 news organizations were hit with 4,400 subpoenas seeking tapes, testimony, photos, or reporters' notes.

More truth than poetry — An open display of "junk" sculpture in the Philip Morris sculpture court at the Whitney Museum, provides some of New York's homeless a warm spot to sit and rest. A guard commented, "Sometimes I consider them part of the exhibit. I call it 'The American Dream.'"

Cuban diplomat tours Alabama and Mississippi

BY PAT HUNT

BIRMINGHAM — Jorge Ruiz, diplomatic attaché for the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., stepped off a tour in Alabama and Mississippi at a meeting with Black farmers on January 31.

"Our revolution gave farmers a voice, and organized them to produce on their land," Ruiz told the dozen farmers from the Mississippi Association of Cooperatives (MAC) in Prentiss, Mississippi, attending the event.

In the discussion, the farmers described the hardships facing them, with the U.S. economy in a recession. Ruiz was shocked to learn that many Black farmers in the area are being driven off their land and end up unemployed, on welfare, or even homeless.

In Cuba, Ruiz said, a process is underway to correct errors of the revolution, known as the rectification campaign. The campaign includes steps to improve "life in the countryside so people won't miss life in the urban areas," he said.

Among the economic difficulties in Cuba today is a shortage of oil. This has caused some factories to be shut down, but "people are not thrown into the streets, they are given other jobs," and the workweek is being shortened," explained Ruiz.

Another theme of the discussion was the Mideast war. Ruiz said that Cuba voted against U.S.-sponsored resolutions on the Middle East crisis in the UN security council.

"We were told if we would vote in favor, it could have good results. They do not understand. Above all, we have principles. In Bush's 'new world order,' the United States is the policeman of the world. We would rather be sunk in the sea than to be taken over by the United States," he said.

Hollis Watkins, director of MAC, told the meeting, "We can not get a decent education here." The U.S. government, he said, "can spend half a billion a day on war. If a poor country can do this why can't we? The United States does not want these countries to be successful because it will set an example," he said.

The meeting was held at the Prentiss Institute, a small, predominantly Black college in rural Prentiss. The Institute has been shut down this year due to a lack of funds.

Following the discussion, many of the

farmers expressed interest in traveling to Cuba to talk to farmers there.

On February 1, Ruiz spoke to students at Jackson State University in Jackson, Mississippi. In discussions it was pointed out that a number of students have been sent to the Arab-Persian Gulf. Noting cutbacks in funds available for education in the United States, Ruiz said, "All my life in Cuba, I have never paid for even a pencil, nor had to worry about having enough money to go to the dentist."

During the discussion in a political science class, students asked Ruiz about Cuba's relations with Angola. Cuban troops went to Angola at that government's request to help repel a massive South African military invasion in 1975. Supported by the U.S. government, South Africa conducted a 13-year war against the people there.

"We left Angola only with the remains of our sons and daughters and the gratitude from the Angolan people for our solidarity," Ruiz said. He explained Cuba maintains fraternal relations with the Angolan government and "does not leave any economic interests there." A lively debate opened up when some students compared the sanctions against South Africa and those against Iraq.

Another student wanted to know if the Cuban people were preparing for life without Cuban President Fidel Castro. "The revolution is not just one person," Ruiz told the students. "Without the people, Fidel would be nothing," he answered.

After class, Ruiz visited a monument erected to honor the two Jackson State University students who were fatally shot in 1970 by state troopers and city police during a protest against the Vietnam War.

At a citywide meeting of 50 people at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, Ruiz continued to explain Cuba's opposition to the imperialist war. "Cuba tried all avenues to achieve peace in the Middle East," he told the crowd. "The embargo did not lead to a settlement, but instead caused the death of innocent victims, many of them children who died for lack of food and medicine. We voted against these measures because they were against our principles," he said.

Ruiz also talked about race relations in Cuba, noting that "racism is a criminal of-



Prensa Latina

Cuban diplomat Jorge Ruiz discussed conditions of farmers in Cuba with farmers in Mississippi. Above, sugarcane harvest in Cuba.

fense in Cuba and is not tolerated." In addition, he discussed the gains made in health care and education since the revolution.

Referring to Cuba's economic difficulties, he pointed out that many people ask him why Cuba does not return to capitalism. "We ask what capitalism are you talking about? That of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, or other underdeveloped countries? No way, we will never go back. Health care is guaranteed to everyone in our society. The little resources we have are shared among all," he said.

When asked about relations with the Soviet Union, he said, "Cuba respects other countries' decisions as to what is best for their country. The people in power are look-

ing forward to capitalism, but after they experience it, sooner or later, they will return to socialism, but in a much stronger way."

Ruiz was interviewed on Channel 42, a CBS affiliate; *The Birmingham News*; the *Jackson Advocate*, a Black weekly newspaper with a large circulation base; and on a local radio talk show hosted by Roy Woods, a well-known radio personality in the area. *The Birmingham News* ran almost a quarter-page article on Ruiz in a special section on the Gulf war.

In addition, Ruiz spoke before two church gatherings and to 60 students at Ramsey High School. The tour was organized by the Birmingham Cuba Solidarity Tour Committee.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
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Fifteen months after his landslide victory, [U.S. President] Lyndon Johnson's "great consensus" is being shattered by the Vietnam War. After months and months of genocidal bombing and massive troop reinforcements, the United States is still not winning and the war is becoming increasingly unpopular at home and abroad. This has created a rift in U.S. ruling circles, with a segment now arguing that it is the wrong war, at the wrong time, in the wrong place. This division in the capitalist power structure offers a tremendous opportunity for the antiwar movement.

One year ago, there was almost unanimous agreement in the American ruling class about how to prosecute the Vietnam war. Two Senators alone, Morse and Gruening, could be considered outspoken critics of that policy. Today it is estimated that from 30 to 50 senators oppose Johnson's Vietnam policy and as many as 100 congressmen are uneasy about it.

THE MILITANT
Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

March 1, 1941

[U.S.] President Roosevelt openly aligned himself Tuesday with the most reactionary

wing of Britain's war machine, when he brushed aside all discussion of war aims.

What are the worker-soldiers fighting and dying for? What kind of world-order will the victorious Anglo-U.S. war lords establish? What do they propose to do to avert another repetition of world war as the aftermath of their "peace," as happened with the Versailles "peace"? The people cannot be satisfied this time with vague promises of "war to end war," "war for democracy," — they got all that talk in 1914-18 and won't be put off now with a repetition of these empty formulas. They want to know precisely what the war aims of the "democracies" are.

But Roosevelt refuses to answer. Asked at his Tuesday press conference whether John G. Winant, ambassador to Great Britain, would take over proposals regarding lasting peace after the war, "Mr. Roosevelt replied that the first thing was to win the war — making clear that peace proposals and an outline of the basis of peace must come after victory." (New York Times, February 26.)

"Never mind about war aims. It is none of your business. Just go on fighting and dying — that is your task." This is what Roosevelt is saying to the armed forces of the British Empire — and to the millions of U.S. workers who will shortly be sent into actual warfare.

With this issue we are changing the "10 & 25 Years Ago" column to "25 & 50 Years Ago."

Readers will now be able to get a glimpse of the *Militant* as it campaigned against the employers' war against working people at home and Washington's entry into World War II.

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Build on success of Feb. 21!

As Washington counts down the hours to launching its massive and brutal invasion to conquer Iraq, students, youth, and working people opposed to the war should build on the successful February 21 antiwar actions and redouble their efforts to win wider opposition to the imperialist slaughter.

Washington has been preparing for an invasion of Iraq from the outset. It is only through invading and capturing Baghdad that the U.S. rulers can accomplish their goal: the christening of a U.S. protectorate regime on the blood and bones of a decimated Iraqi army and people. The rising number of civilian casualties — in Baghdad bomb shelters, homes, and business districts — are an indication of the brutality of the imperialists in their war of conquest.

As far as the imperialists are concerned, the invasion is the only possible outcome of the war they've launched — short of an unconditional surrender by the Iraqi government or their dreaded "nightmare scenario": massive withdrawal from Kuwait by the Baghdad regime.

The tanks, bombers, and battleship guns of allied forces are pointed at Baghdad. It's only by rolling in and taking on the Iraqi army that the imperialists have a shot at their target. That's why Washington has had no intention of halting the ground war.

In an attempt to control the vast oil resources in the Mideast, Washington and its allies are willing to throw the lives of hundreds of thousands on the line.

'Support troops' slogan a trap

Washington's escalating war against the Iraqi people has widened the polarization of the U.S. population. Government officials, the big-business media, and organizers of prowar actions have utilized the slogan "Support our troops" and raised the banner of "patriotism" as cornerstones of winning continued backing for the brutal imperialist assault in the Mideast.

Working people, students, GIs and reservists, farmers, and others should reject this framework. This is the only way to effectively educate, discuss, debate, and mobilize against the U.S. government's war of conquest.

As an invasion nears, stepped-up prowar propaganda — aimed at shifting public opinion further behind the Bush administration course — is having results. This can be seen in the yellow ribbon campaign, an increase in prowar activity, and even increased backing for the use of nuclear weapons against the Iraqi people.

The opening days of an invasion and the accompanying stream home of casualties will not shift the majority to oppose the war. It will take a longer, more prolonged war, with greater casualties, in order for support to erode, for the initial patriotic fervor to fade, and for a shift toward wider opposition to the slaughter to materialize.

Today, tens of thousands remain opposed to the war, and many more are open to a discussion and civil debate. In this context, it is important to present a clear perspective both

'Injury to one is injury to all'

The onset of the war against Iraq has brought a qualitative increase in attacks on civil liberties and political rights in Britain, Canada, the United States, and allied countries.

This fact presents unionists and other defenders of democratic rights in these countries with a big challenge. The governments and employers will use any gains scored in their attacks as a foot in the door to limit democratic rights and to narrow the political space for working people resisting union-busting assaults and the driving down of their standard of living.

The government-employer measures against democratic rights include press censorship; searches and interrogation of airport workers by Canadian police; employer and secret police attempts to intimidate and victimize workers opposed to the war; the arrest and detention of a Palestinian student by U.S. immigration; attempts to frame up Arabs as terrorists; and the arrest and detention by Canadian immigration of an Iraqi couple.

The U.S. State Department has banned travel by U.S. citizens to Iraq. The British, Canadian, and U.S. secret police have interrogated, harassed, and spied on Arab residents. U.S. airlines bar Iraqi nationals from boarding flights. Employers are stepping up security measures at work sites. And the British government is reported to have plans to round up and detain Iraqi immigrants.

Washington and its allies readily seized on statements by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein threatening worldwide retaliation in the event of war. With little variation, the

Their war against Iraq is a brutal, imperialist war of conquest. The rulers aim to deal a staggering blow to the Iraqi people, to the Palestinian masses' fight for self-determination, and to other oppressed peoples in the region.

In waging this war Washington is utilizing its colossal military might to make up for its economic and political decline relative to its competitors. Throughout the course of the conflict it has fashioned each military and diplomatic move — blocking any gestures made that could lead to negotiation while pressing ahead on the ground assault — in order to achieve its goals.

As the war deepens the imperialists' real goals become crystal-clear to millions. In the words of the U.S. President himself, "There will be no cease-fire . . . we're going to continue to fight this war . . . until our objectives are met." Opponents of Washington's course can reach out widely, building on the momentum of the February 21 protests and actions preceding them, to win more young people, workers, farmers, GIs and veterans, and others to opposing the bloody war. Fighters against the imperialist war can work to convince wider numbers of working people to move into the streets and demand:

End the bombing! Stop the slaughter!
Bring the troops home now!
Withdraw all foreign troops!
Stop the war now!

in debate and in the streets.

Adapting to the patriotic pressure and "support our troops" trap ends up disarming students, workers, and others opposed to the war and makes it harder to present a clear course forward in the fight.

Having a clear view that stands diametrically opposed to Washington is especially crucial now. Any notion that imperialism has the right to play the role of world cop should be rejected. Fighting workers, youth, and others should instead champion the demand that Washington stop the bombing of the Iraqi people now, stop the invasion, and immediately withdraw the troops.

Many youth involved in building the February 21 protests have pointed to the need to continue visible protests of Washington's slaughter. They seek to turn college campuses into centers for debate and discussion on the war. Their efforts to win broad support for the international student actions helps to lay the basis for larger and visible actions in the future.

The *Militant*, *International Socialist Review*, and the Pathfinder book, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, present the facts and tell the truth about the war. Their distribution is an essential part of broadening the discussion and arming people with a clear course of action.

British, Canadian, U.S., and allied governments have justified their attacks on democratic rights with "national security" and "prevention of terrorism" claims.

Arab residents have been a central target of the attacks. Given majority acceptance of the war and the prowar propaganda dehumanizing and painting Arabs as the enemy, Arabs' rights are the most vulnerable. Governments and employers are attempting to use this vulnerability to their advantage in the hope they will meet little resistance from working people.

But the stakes for working people in defending the rights of Arabs and others, especially in the midst of this war, are high. Allowing one group of people to be victimized weakens the fight to defend the rights of all working people.

Democratic rights and the ability to exercise them are fundamental to the struggle of working people to defend themselves against the continued government-employer offensive and from the ravages the war in the Middle East will bring.

The slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all" enjoyed a revival over the last period as groups of workers in Britain, Canada, and the United States stood up and fought back. The slogan promoted solidarity that strengthened their struggles and put all working people in a better position to fight.

Unionists and labor everywhere must extend this kind of solidarity to those who are persecuted and victimized today, so as to be in a better position to strengthen and fight for the rights of all working people.

Why was Malcolm X assassinated?

BY DOUG JENNESS

One sign during the last couple of years that political ferment is growing among a layer of youth, has been the interest shown in Malcolm X. T-shirts, buttons, videos, tapes, books, and conferences commemorating the revolutionary leader are increasingly widespread. The thirst to read and discuss what Malcolm said is stimulated by growing alienation from the wretched conditions, moral bankruptcy, and dismal prospects the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation offers young people.

Thousands of youth are looking for new, more radical proposals and heroes. This process is also reflected in the openness to revolutionary ideas expressed at recent confer-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

ences that have drawn hundreds of young women and farmers. Moreover, the opposition to Washington's imperialist war against Iraq has sharply accelerated this political radicalization.

It's not surprising that so many youth, both Black and white, turn to Malcolm X. Even youth who know relatively little about the man know that he was a revolutionary and advocated a revolutionary transformation of society. This is attractive to young people who are tired of parents, teachers, preachers, and other elders, who will not go all the way in fighting for needed change — lecturing the youth to be "reasonable" and to "let the system work."

Militant-minded young workers and students are drawn toward, not repelled, by Malcolm's recognition that all the instruments of repression, including the army and the local and federal police, as well as the media, are in the hands of the oppressors. He never presented these as belonging to "us," or deserving of "our" support. They belonged to "them." And he didn't talk about "national" interests and the "country's" goals, which are just a cloak for defending the interests of the privileged few over the great mass of humanity. As Malcolm put it so unambiguously, "I'm not an American. . . I'm . . . one of the victims of Americanism."

Malcolm was an internationalist and didn't have an ounce of bourgeois patriotism or jingoism. He didn't start with "America," but with the struggle of the hundreds of millions of toilers around the world who are fighting to have all the rights and conditions that human beings need and deserve.

Youth also recognize that Malcolm X had moral integrity. He couldn't be bought out or told what to say. He couldn't be intimidated into moderating his opinions or holding his tongue.

The principal reason that Malcolm X is still so widely read, and will be even more so in coming years, is that he had something of substance to say. His speeches had no bombast or demagoguery. And in his last 50 weeks, following his break with the Nation of Islam in 1964, he presented an increasingly clear view of world politics and the road forward for the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed.

It was his ideas and his ability to communicate them effectively to a mass audience that led assassins to snuff out the life of this outstanding revolutionary leader 26 years ago. *The Assassination of Malcolm X* (Pathfinder, 1991. \$13.95) effectively shows that the evidence points to government complicity in the murder.

This volume, which first appeared in 1976, has just been republished in a new edition. It includes a new introduction by Pathfinder editor Steve Clark and an index. It is a useful companion to the volumes of speeches and interviews by Malcolm that Pathfinder has published in the past 25 years.

The updated introduction outlines important revelations related to the assassination that have surfaced in the past 15 years.

The version of the killing peddled by the government and the big-business press was that Malcolm X was gunned down by members of the Nation of Islam motivated by factional animosity. The articles in this book, however, show that this account has more holes than Swiss cheese.

As the years have gone by, questions have mounted about the assassination, further undermining the credibility of the government's version. Increasingly, the possibility of government involvement seems more credible.

Clark notes that since 1976 thousands of pages of FBI files on Malcolm X have been forced out into the open. They show that, beginning in 1953 when Malcolm first became a minister in the Nation of Islam, he was the target of one of the most intensive spy operations ever conducted by the FBI.

While the files are chock full of rumors of assassination plots against Malcolm not one word is included on the plot that ended his life. "This," Clark writes, "despite the fact that the New York police publicly admitted at the time of Malcolm X's death that they knew an attempt was to be made on his life."

"People who charged that the government was out to get Malcolm X were dismissed as 'paranoid' twenty-five years ago, but who would dare say that now?" Clark asks.

Teamsters strike Minnesota munitions plant

This column is dedicated to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and the unions.

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, and attacks on health ben-

efits and safety conditions. Unionists faced with steep takeback demands, lockouts, or union-busting moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

ON THE PICKET LINE

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other Militant readers know about what is happening in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that, too.

Twelve hundred members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 1145 went on strike February 10 at two plants near Minneapolis operated by Alliant Techsystems, Inc.

The plants produce cannon ammunition and other military hardware such as cluster bombs and torpedoes.

Alliant had \$17 million in profits in the last three months of 1990. The company demanded an eight-month extension of the previous contract, and offered a lump-sum bonus in place of a wage increase. Production workers at the plant average \$11 an hour. Most of the workers at the two plants are women.

Unionists have pressed for a wage increase and a contract longer than eight months. Out of 1,200 workers, some 1,000 attended the union meeting to vote on a proposed con-

tract. Despite a recommendation for a "yes" vote by the union's officials, the company's proposal was voted down 630-to-375.

After picket lines were set up, unionists complained that local TV stations had accused them of being unpatriotic for going on strike during the U.S. government's Mideast war. Some workers said they were more patriotic than most and explained they had put up prowar signs and American flags inside the plant while at work.

Strikers received signs both of solidarity and of hostility from people passing by the picket line. A February 14 media report played up a statement by U.S. Army officials that they were "monitoring developments" in the strike because of the "critical" importance of the 25 millimeter cannon ammunition made at the plant.

As we go to press Teamsters Local 1145 members approved by an 88 percent margin a 32-month contract with Alliant Techsystems. In a February 17 vote, according to the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, the unionists accepted a contract that includes a one-time 6 percent bonus and a 4 percent wage increase in 1991 and 1992. Some premium increases in health insurance will be paid by the workers.

In New York's state capital of Albany, 20,000 workers protested February 5 against job cuts and slashing of public services proposed recently by Gov. Mario Cuomo.

Marchers, many wearing union hats and jackets, carried signs demanding "No Layoffs" or stating that "New York Works Because We Do" and "Quality Care Demands More Staff."

Citing a possible \$6 billion bud-

get deficit for 1991, Cuomo has pressed for drastic cuts in state employment. The size of the rally, called by the four unions that represent some 180,000 state employees, far exceeded the expectations of its organizers.

Thousands of unionists traveled in buses from across the state. The demonstration spilled out of the New York State Armory onto surrounding streets. An impromptu march was held to the governor's mansion where demonstrators demanded an end to layoffs and cutbacks.

Rail workers employed by the Burlington Northern Railroad, the Chicago and Northwestern, and the Soo Line attended a meeting in Minneapolis February 7 to discuss recommendations of a Presidential Emergency Board on a national rail contract. The last contract expired nearly three years ago.

The meeting, attended by 200 workers, was sponsored by the Inter Craft Association of Minnesota. The body describes itself as a "coalition of rail union members which has come together to address the new policies being implemented by management against workers."

In mid-January the Presidential Emergency Board, appointed by President George Bush last year, issued recommendations along the lines of the deep concessions being demanded by the rail bosses. These include the "sharing" of health-care costs and a wage increase that will not begin to even keep up with inflation.

The carriers and the union had until February 15 to either accept the recommendations or resort to "self-help." This means the company can impose the contract and the unions can strike.

Discussing the reports from a number of local union officials on the board's recommendations, one worker cited the dramatic increase in productivity of rail workers over

the past decade. "Why are we being so productive?" she asked. "Let's work to the rule." As in other industries, working to rule would dramatically slow down production.

Another worker opposed the board's recommendations and said the unions should strike the carriers.

Top rail union officials have declared the unions would not strike until the U.S. war in the Mideast is over. Some workers felt that because of the war they had no choice but to accept the contract. Others thought a moratorium on settling the dispute should be called until the end of the war.

A "One Day Longer Party" was held in New York February 8 to celebrate the fact that the Eastern strikers stayed out on the picket line one day longer than the carrier continued flying. Eastern closed its doors January 18.

One hundred strikers and their supporters gathered at the La Détente restaurant near La Guardia Airport for the event. Labor officials and members of the International Association of Machinists who had been on strike assessed the victories scored in their 22-month fight.

"This strike was for dignity and respect," said Leroy Washington, IAM District 100 general chairman. The strike, he said, "paved the way for the labor movement."

Union member Harry Radish emphasized the important solidarity from working people as a factor in breaking the union-busting drive by Eastern management.

Thomas Van Arsdale, president of the New York Central Labor Council, said that the strike should be documented "so it can be an inspiration for future struggles." He said the strike was not defeated by the carrier. "It would have been a defeat if Eastern were to continue as a nonunion airline."

In a defeat for airline workers, the

International Brotherhood of Teamsters lost a December 12 election at USAir to represent some 7,000 fleet service workers — baggage handlers and caterers. In a vote by mail, 2,400 workers cast ballots in favor of the union, just under 35 percent of the total eligible. Under National Mediation Board rules, 50 percent of the votes plus 1 from eligible workers are needed for union representation.

The election was a result of a successful appeal by the Teamsters against company irregularities in a January 1990 election. USAir was charged with unfair labor practices and the mediation board called for another election.

Teamster officials are currently appealing the December election loss. If upheld, most fleet service workers will have no union representation. This includes those employees in Buffalo, Boston, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh who had been represented by the Teamsters since 1980, as well as employees of Pacific Southwest Airlines, who voted to be represented by the union in 1988 after a merger with USAir.

The union attributes the election loss partly to the fact that there was little time between the successful appeal and the election to overcome the company's antiunion propaganda.

Some workers at USAir are members of the International Association of Machinists. The IAM has now been without a contract with the carrier for almost a year. A federal mediator has just been appointed to the dispute. The union will be in a weaker position now that more than half the employees at USAir are not members of any union.

Joe Callahan from Minneapolis; Larry Lane and Mike Kozak from Albany; Joey Rothenberg from Minneapolis; John Naubert from New York; and Edwin Fruit from Baltimore contributed to this week's column.

LETTERS

Flag-waving at marches

The front-page article in the February 8 *Militant* on the January 26 demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco triggered off a few thoughts on antiwar marchers carrying U.S. flags and "Support our troops — bring them home alive" signs.

I'm a Vietnam combat vet who, like hundreds of thousands of GIs, sailors, airmen, etc., turned against the war. I and a few thousand others also went even further than that and became part of the Marxist left after we left the military. So I very much want the troops all brought home alive now.

That being said, I don't call them "our troops." They're "our" a lot of things — our sons, daughters, co-workers, lovers, wives, husbands, school friends, etc. — but when you wear that uniform, you're "government issue" and you fight for the corporate-dominated government, not for the vast majority of the people in the U.S.A.

Despite the best intentions of those in the peace movement, it still comes across as a "me, too!" concession to the right wing. You can't out-flag-wave the flag-wavers.

Greg O'Brian
Oakland, California

Blind on NDP?

Standing with the Tories and Liberals, New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin wants Canadians to "close ranks behind the war effort" in the Arab-Persian Gulf, it was alleged in the February 1 *Mili-*

tant. Sources of this charge were candidates of the Communist League, which is campaigning, it seems, for a new labor party in Canada.

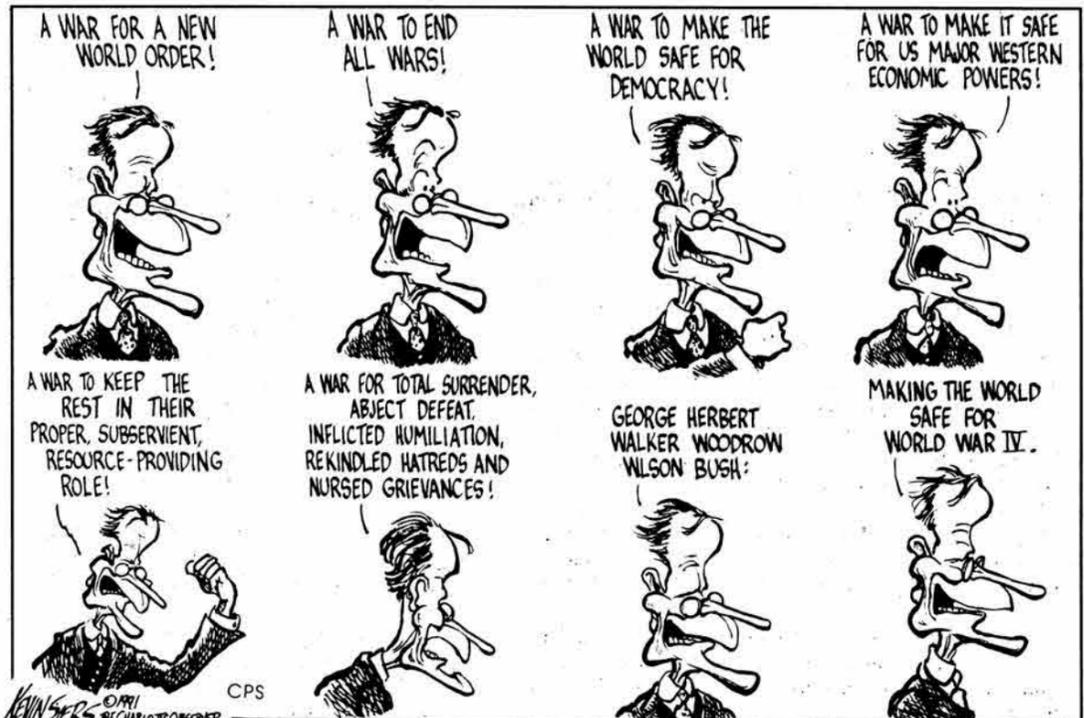
Closing news date for that *Militant* was January 22. That very day the NDP caucus had voted in the House of Commons against a government motion that, in effect, declared Canada at war with Iraq.

"New Democrats will be taking their antiwar message to the streets," *Canadian Press* reported from Edmonton a few days later. McLaughlin said that "the NDP plans to play a leadership role in the antiwar movement," according to the *Press*. The NDP, as the news agency sees it, is "the only major national party to consistently oppose war in the Gulf."

The NDP's Gulf policy, whatever its consistency, reflects the breadth of antiwar sentiment among the workers and farmers who are the party's base of support. The NDP's stance creates important new openings for building the antiwar movement and advancing the need for independent labor political action.

In general, opposition to the war becomes intertwined with promoting labor political action through the NDP. The perspective is raised of fighting, with mass action methods, to replace the Tories in Ottawa with an NDP government committed to withdrawing Canadian forces from the Gulf.

In conjunction with initiatives that deepen links between the NDP and the antiwar movement, socialists can find more fruitful opportu-



nities to explain what's wrong with the social-imperialist policy framework shared by NDP and trade union leaders.

On the basis of such a policy, the Communist League could magnify its contribution to building the antiwar movement and more deeply immerse itself in the real political life of Canadian labor. Instead, with its call for a new labor party, the League seems to have abandoned the lessons learned through decades of Canadian communist experience with the NDP.

Isn't the League blinding itself to the real processes at work and new opportunities opening in and around

the already existing labor party?
Howard Brown
Rosetown, Canada

Troop quarantine

Workers servicing commercial planes commandeered by the U.S. Army from major airlines have witnessed firsthand the political quarantine imposed on the troops headed for Saudi Arabia.

Military charters that stopover for en route servicing at JFK Airport in New York are kept on remote parts of the ramp accessible only by mobile equipment. Troops are not able to disembark to use the newsstand. As part of servicing these planes,

workers replace the magazine library with large bundles of sports and automobile magazines. No bundles of newspapers usually brought onto the commercial flights are allowed on the military charters.

Nancy Rosenstock
Brooklyn, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Canada rulers face crisis on Québec

Liberal Party demands sovereign governmental rights for the province

BY JOHN STEELE
AND ROBERT SIMMS

MONTRÉAL — The political crisis facing Canada's ruling families was brought into sharp focus January 29 with the release of a Québec Liberal Party report demanding sovereign rights for the province.

The Liberals, headed by Québec Premier Robert Bourassa, form the government in the Québec National Assembly.

Drafted by a party committee headed by Jean Allaire, the report on Canada's constitutional set-up calls on the Québec government to issue a virtual ultimatum to the federal government in Ottawa that it cede authority on a wide range of governmental functions in the province to the Québec government.

If such measures are rejected by Ottawa the report urges a provincial referendum be held on Québec assuming "the status of a sovereign state" with an "offer to arrange an economic union with the rest of Canada, managed by institutions of a confederal nature."

The deadline for either option is proposed for the end of 1992.

Nationalist pressures

The far-reaching proposals in the Allaire report reflect rising nationalist pressures on the government from the Québec population.

The Québécois comprise 80 percent of the population of Québec, one of 10 provinces in Canada. French-speaking, they are an oppressed nationality within Canada. This is graphically demonstrated by the fact that while 25 percent of Canada's population lives in Québec, the province had 32.3 percent of Canadians living in poverty and 36.6 percent of those on welfare in 1986.

In 1985, an English-speaking person in Québec earned on average \$3,043 — 15 percent more than a French-speaking person. School and hospital facilities serving the French-speaking population are distinctly inferior to those serving the English-speaking population.

To enable the "Québec state" to "move resolutely toward the political autonomy necessary for the full development of Québec society," the Allaire report says, the Québec government should "exercise full sovereignty" over 22 areas of government jurisdiction currently shared with, or under the domain of, the federal government.

These areas include social and municipal affairs, culture, education, natural resources, health, agriculture, communications, energy, industry, commerce, language, and public security. According to the report — foreign affairs, Native affairs, taxation and revenue, immigration, justice, and other governmental jurisdictions would be shared between Ot-

tawa and Québec City.

The highest court in Québec would be the Québec Supreme Court, not the federal Supreme Court. Québec would have its own constitution. Under the plan, the federal government would be left with exclusive responsibility over the areas of defense, customs and tariffs, and currency.

In June 1990 a move to implement constitutional amendments, known as the Meech Lake Accord, that were crafted in an attempt to secure Québec's ratification of the Canadian Constitution of 1982 fell apart. The accord failed to receive the necessary ratification of all 10 provinces.

The 1982 constitution eliminated some of Québec's historic constitutional rights. For this reason it was opposed by a large majority of Québécois, including all major political parties in Québec. Trade unions in Québec were against the constitution, including the Québec sections of country-wide unions such as the auto and steelworkers unions.

The Québec National Assembly has refused to ratify the 1982 constitution, unlike the rest of the provincial governments in Canada.

Since the failure of the Meech Lake Accord, Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Québec Premier Bourassa have presented themselves as defenders of a federal system. They both originally supported constitutional accord.

However, the scope of the proposals in the Allaire report, which are endorsed by Bourassa, go much further in the direction of Québec autonomy than the Meech Lake Accord.

Response to report

Federal Liberal Party leader Jean Chrétien, a staunch federalist, called the Allaire report proposals "a list which is very long, and not very realistic, if it is to be acceptable to keep a country together."

Ontario Premier Robert Rae of the New Democratic Party said he is willing to negotiate but does not agree with "the kind of complete dismantling that is being talked about in terms of some areas." He rejected the proposed elimination of the Supreme Court of Canada's right to rule on the constitutionality of Québec laws.

Jeffrey Simpson, political columnist for the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, wrote: "The separation of Québec from Canada is just a matter of time following . . . release of new constitutional proposals from the supposedly federalist Liberal Party of Québec. The proposals are dead on arrival outside Québec."

Within Québec, leaders of the province's three largest union federations, condemned the report for proposing more negotiations



Militant/Cheryl Pruitt
"Our real country is Québec," reads sign during a demonstration for national rights in Montréal.

and maintaining a federal system. Gérald Larose, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, had earlier called on the Bourassa government to hold a Québec referendum on sovereignty before June 24, Québec's national holiday.

In the wake of the Meech Lake Accord's demise, numerous federal and provincial commissions were established to come up with proposals on the restructuring of Canada.

The Québec government established the Bélanger-Campeau commission, comprised of representatives from businesses, labor unions, and Québec's political parties. In March, the commission is expected to propose sovereignty measures at least as sweeping, if not more so, as those in the Allaire report.

In Ottawa, hundreds of civil servants under the direction of the Prime Minister's Office are working on proposals for a decentralized federal state.

Utah socialists campaign against Mideast war

BY BILL ARTH

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — The 1991 Socialist Workers campaign for municipal offices here and in Price, Utah, is off to a good start. Launched in the first days of the imperialist assault against Iraq, the campaign has served as a pole of attraction for those opposed to the war. The candidates have made building the February 21 international day of antiwar protests a top priority.

The candidates include Patricia Grogan for mayor of Salt Lake City; Nancy Boyasko and Dave Salner for Salt Lake City Council; and Tony Dutrow and Sherrie Love for Price City Council.

The socialist candidates sponsored an open house at the Salt Lake City campaign headquarters after a January 19 rally of 1,500 people against the war. More than 60 people packed the room after the three-hour demonstration. A lively discussion occurred following a presentation by Grogan on the war. Students from Brigham Young University and the University of Utah, high school youth, industrial workers, and many others attended.

A statement by the socialist candidates denouncing the war has been widely distributed, and several coupons on the statement have been clipped and returned, including one asking for more information about the candidates' position on the war. Dave Salner, who works at a magnesium plant and is a member of United Steelworkers Local 8319, reported that several of his coworkers initially responded to the bombing of Iraq and Kuwait by attempting to stifle any discussion against the war. With the launching of his campaign, however, some of these same coworkers are now open to discussing the ideas raised by the candidate.

A news conference held by the candidates to announce their campaign was covered by two major Salt Lake TV stations and the *Deseret News*, one of the two daily papers here. Patricia Grogan delivered a statement on behalf of all the candidates calling on the U.S. government to stop the bombing of Iraq and demanding all the troops be brought home now. She pledged the candidates will "do all we can" to build the February 21 international days of protest against the war.

One reporter asked Grogan, "Don't you

feel that you're alienating the people you're after, because working people support the war?" "We're looking forward to a discussion with working people," Grogan responded. "We believe what people are being told is an extremely restrictive view of the war and its effects — that it will be quick, easy, with no casualties. We don't think this will be a short war, and it is deeply interconnected with the economic crisis at home. I think there is a grudging support of the war, but as facts become clear about the killing and the civilian casualties, working people will welcome a discussion and will be won to opposing the war."

Grogan pointed to the bill severely restricting access to abortion recently passed by the Utah Legislature as an example of the connection between the war and the attacks by the employers on working people in the U.S. "We will campaign to restore to women in Utah the right to choose safe, legal abortion," she said.

Auto companies lay off tens of thousands

BY JEFF POWERS

DETROIT — Chrysler, General Motors (GM), and Ford — the "big three" automakers in the United States — put 61,500 auto workers on layoff the week of February 10-17. Twenty-three plants in the United States and Canada were temporarily idled.

Top management at the three automakers have all recently said they might have to reopen labor agreements negotiated with the United Auto Workers (UAW) last fall. The three-year contracts cover some 500,000 union members.

Auto sales have plummeted due to the recession. North American cars and trucks are selling at a rate of 11 million units per year, only slightly above the recessionary level of 1980. GM and Ford have reported fourth quarter losses in 1990 at \$1.62 billion and \$519 million respectively.

Contracts negotiated at the three companies last year were widely trumpeted by UAW President Owen Bieber and other union officials as providing permanent in-

come security for every worker at GM, Ford, and Chrysler.

Under the pacts, no workers were to be temporarily laid off for more than 36 weeks during the life of the contract. Every worker laid off would receive pay of up to 95 percent of regular wages.

In addition a "Jobs Bank," providing full wages and benefits for those out of work for more than 36 weeks, was established.

The contract was actually intended to allow the auto giants to, as GM management said, "downsize in an orderly way." Faced with overcapacity, GM management openly spoke of eliminating up to 60,000 jobs. The recent announcement lay bare the fact that the pact had nothing to do with long-term financial security for even a small layer of auto workers.

The auto companies set limits on the amount of money they would set aside for the income security measures. Because of the layoffs it has become clear that the funds will not be sufficient to last three years. Already

Chrysler is projected to spend most of its commitment by the end of this year.

Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca was quoted in the February 9 *Detroit Free Press and News* saying, "There's no free lunches is what it all means to me. You can say we're going to have a new day and pay people to stay home, regardless of the market, regardless of the war. But in the end it doesn't work that way."

Faced with a similar situation in the early 1980s the auto bosses at all three companies reopened contracts with the full blessing of the UAW leadership. At that time millions of dollars in concessions were extracted from union members.

Since that time auto workers have seen their union decline in size by one-third — from 1.5 million to just under 1 million. Labor productivity has been increased through massive speedup and job combinations. Deaths and injuries on the job have greatly increased, especially in the auto parts section of the union.