



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Who's To Blame for the Bloodshed



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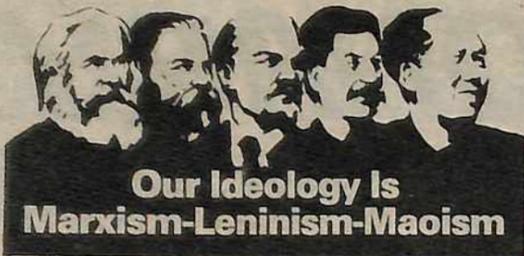
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# Facing Life As It Is— In Order To Radically Change It

By Bob Avakian

Along with the other big contributions of the Black Panther Party, one thing that definitely should be pointed out is that they were “godless atheists.” They broke with and took on this whole thing about how you couldn’t appeal to Black people without putting some religion in your message. Oh, it is probably possible to find a few “nods” to religion in this or that thing the Panthers said or wrote, and they did—quite correctly—try to unite with and influence people who were religious. But basically, you have to say the Panthers were not into all that god nonsense!

This basic “godless atheism” was an expression—in fact one of the most outstanding expressions—of the real radicalism of the Panthers. It was an expression of their most revolutionary side. The more revolutionary they were, the more they were free of religion. And this was especially the case during those times when the Panthers were most into Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Chairman Mao (as we called it at that time).

Our Party, which is firmly based in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (as we call it today), is consistent in our atheistic viewpoint. Why does MLM insist on atheism, why does it insist that there is no god? I have answered this at more length in other things I have written on religion (including “Liberation Without Gods” in RW 435, 436, 437, “The Morality We Need, and the Morality We Don’t Need” in RW 516, and “Religion: Who Needs It...and Who Doesn’t” in RW 538) But the basic answer is this: MLM rejects belief in god because there is no god, and believing in things that don’t exist, and even more, counting on those things that don’t exist to do for you what you have to do for yourself—that can only bring harm and hold back things that have to be done.

Some people who believe in religion say that we communists lack a “spiritual side” because our ideology rejects belief in god. Well, we communists definitely have spirit, in our own way. Our spirit comes from our beliefs—the same as those people who believe in religion. But the difference is that our beliefs are grounded in reality—they are based on taking life as it actually is. Religious beliefs are not grounded in reality—they are based on fantasy, on the belief in things which in reality do not exist.

But it is more than that. As I have said before, “Religion is the doctrine of submission—blind obedience. Marxism [is the doctrine] of rebellion—ever more conscious rebellion.” (Bullets, p. 206) MLM is an all-conquering ideology: it shows how the masses of people, through struggle, can consciously understand

reality and *change* reality—and how people can consciously change themselves in the process of changing the world. But this requires, as a starting point, facing life as it really is, and *on that basis* grasping how it can be changed and moving to change it.

To do this means breaking with the religious indoctrination that the powers-that-be instill in the people through many different means. How sharp a break this can be—and how crucial it is to make this break—was driven home to me in a story I was told about a woman who all her life had felt the need for religion but was also coming to understand the need for a radical change in society. At one point she was reading over a speech of mine, and when she got to the point where it started to talk about the scientific basis of our ideology, dialectical materialism, she put the pamphlet down and said, “I can’t keep reading this.” When someone asked why, she said, “If I keep reading on this dialectical materialism then I won’t be able to keep believing in god, and I need my belief in god to keep me going.”

Well, she was half-right, and half-wrong. She correctly understood that if she really got into dialectics and materialism and the whole outlook of MLM she would come to cast off religion. But she was wrong in thinking that she had to keep on clinging to religion. Holding onto religion means holding onto a refusal to face life as it actually is—and that means you cannot fully devote yourself to radically changing things.

If you are afraid of the truth—if you stop pursuing the truth because you are afraid of where it might lead you—then you cannot be free. And that is what religion will cause you to do, sooner or later. The Christian Bible may say “You shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free,” but in reality that Bible cannot stand up to the truth, nor can it really, fully set people free.

Only communist ideology can do that. Only Marxism-Leninism-Maoism can lead the masses of people to complete liberation, exactly because MLM is a scientific outlook representing the most revolutionary class in history, the proletariat. For this reason, people armed with the ideology of MLM have no reason to fear the truth, no interest in stopping half-way or turning back from the pursuit of truth. They have every interest in continuing to go after the truth, in the deepest, fullest way, and every interest in *acting* on the truth to free not just themselves but all humanity.



Bob Avakian,  
Chairman  
of the RCP.

## Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian  
Chairman of the RCP, USA

What do we in the Revolutionary Communist Party want people to learn from all that is exposed and revealed in this newspaper? Mainly, three things:

1) The whole system we now live under is based on exploitation—here and all over the world. It is completely worthless and no basic

change for the better can come about until this system is overthrown.

2) Many different groups will protest and rebel against things this system does, and these protests and rebellions should be supported and strengthened. Yet it is only those with nothing to lose but their chains who can be the backbone of a struggle to actually overthrow this system and create a new system that will put an end to exploitation and help pave the way to a whole new world.

3) Such a revolutionary struggle is possible. There is a political Party that can lead such a struggle, a political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains:

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

This Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge for all those who would like to see such a revolution, those with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the better, all those who dare to dream and to act to bring about a completely new and better world: Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and its organized strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning.

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# Who's To Blame for the Bloodshed



Left to Right: Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense, James Baker, Secretary of State, George Bush, President, Colin Powell, Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff.

For a week the people of the world watched in horror as the U.S. president torpedoed a possible settlement of the Gulf war. Then on Saturday, February 23, the U.S. launched a massive air-land assault on Iraqi forces in Kuwait and southern Iraq.

On the day of the invasion, a man in Chicago walked out of his house, pulled his American flag off the porch and threw it in the bushes. The events of the last days had taught him a hard lesson.

Official censorship prevents the people from seeing the invasion of Iraq. But we know what it means. Thousands of U.S. soldiers sent to seek out and kill young Iraqis just like themselves. Savage aerial bombardment of the Iraqi capital and other civilian areas. Iraqi soldiers burned with the fireballs of fuel-air bombs. Napalm is back.

When the U.S. powers launched their attack they knew what could follow: massive tank battles, chemical warfare, house-to-house combat for Kuwait City. Saturday afternoon, Pentagon spokesmen repeated that their president had available a "full range of options"—this was a threat to use nuclear weapons.

Who is to blame for the bloodshed? Who sees benefits for themselves in this war, its killing and destruction?

The answer is clearer than ever: the modern imperialists who have sent a massive war machine halfway around the world to dog and dominate the Arab people of the Persian Gulf. They are the ones to blame.

The powers say, "Our guns will decide everything. There's nothing you can do but watch, wait, and support the troops." But we can't let things go down like that.

The powers claim that "opposition to the war just prolongs the suffering." Isn't it clear whose interests that argument serves? The warmakers want a free hand to enforce their will and their system on the people of the world. The real truth is that a quick victory by U.S. armed forces would really "prolong the suffering"—because it would strengthen U.S. domination over billions of people across the planet. And if they get away with this—what will they do next?

Many people in the U.S. may be ignorant about Arab peoples, their culture and their conditions of life. But the basic people in the U.S. have far more in common with the Iraqi people than we could ever have with the powers who would benefit from a U.S. victory in the Gulf.

Big resistance is demanded. From the ghettos and campuses of the United States to the bazaars of Amman and Cairo—the people must speak and act against this U.S. war of aggression. . . BOLDLY. . . NOW! We must SUPPORT ALL GI RESISTANCE.

## Peace—A Nightmare Scenario for the U.S. Rulers

Every day of the last week showed that this ground war could have been avoided. The Iraqi government agreed to a Soviet proposal for withdrawal from Kuwait. So why was there an escalation to all-out air/land battle? Because those directing this war, from the White House and the Pentagon, did not have an interest in ending the war. To them each peace proposal was an *obstacle* to their goals. They called an Iraqi withdrawal "the nightmare scenario"!

On Friday, President Bush brushed aside Iraqi/Soviet proposals and issued an ultimatum to Iraq to "get out of town by high noon." It was calculated to wreck negotiations.

While U.S. pilots dropped fire bombs in Kuwait, Bush accused the Iraqis of setting fire to the oil wells. This meant that even if the Iraqis accepted his ultimatum he would have an excuse to continue the war. Even before the deadline, U.S. troops were entering Kuwait and Iraq to start the ground war.

In the end, nothing could convince the United States to call off their offensive. There is only one conclusion to draw from this: The U.S. warmakers are lying about their *real* goals in this war.

The U.S. says they are fighting a war to "liberate Kuwait." But when Iraq agreed to leave Kuwait, the U.S. refused to discuss it. Ending Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was never the real U.S. goal. Now they will destroy Kuwait "in order to save it."

Bush was telling some truth when he said the war is about A NEW WORLD ORDER. The U.S. goal is enforcing U.S. domination of this region. And they want to make sure that other powers, especially the Soviet Union, do not play a major role in determining the post-war relations. To do that, the U.S. powers decided long ago that they needed to crush the armed forces of Iraq and prove before the world that the United States had the will and ability to put down challengers.

"Stopping aggression" was never the issue. Carrying out victorious U.S. aggression was the issue. If you couldn't see it before, you should be able to see it now.

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Even before the ground offensive, U.S. crimes in this war were terrible. U.S. bombers pounded the people of Iraq for a month without mercy—mass murder from a safe distance. They killed many thousands of civilians. They stripped the country of its most basic life support systems: water, sewage, electricity, medical facilities, food transport. They sealed the entrance to the Amiriya air raid shelter with one bomb and then penetrated it with a second bomb to burn 500 civilians alive.

The U.S. warmakers worked overtime to brainwash people. They preached a low-down logic that said Iraqi lives were worth nothing compared to American lives. And they justified every brutal act of the war in the name of "saving the lives of American troops."

And now those same powers have thrown those U.S. troops into a battle that could have been avoided. The powers cared nothing about the lives of these soldiers—just as they cared nothing about the lives of Iraqi people.

The U.S. rulers are making a big power move, but at the same time they are in deep trouble. The way this offensive came down has left the powers and their die-hard supporters even more exposed. The truth is there to see—they are bankrupt liars and killers. Their cause is unjust.

This is a crucial time for the people to act to stop the war—to challenge those who have been confused and suckered by the government, to take it to the streets.

**U.S. Troops Out of the Gulf—Now!**

**Stop the U.S. War Machine No Matter What It Takes!**

**The Arab People Are Not Our Enemy!**

**They Are Our Sisters and Brothers!**

## FLASH!

As we go to press, the Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network reports that "day after" demonstrations protesting the start of the ground war are taking place in Los Angeles, Seattle, San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, Atlanta, Boston, New York and other cities. The Pledge of Resistance has called for a blockade of the San Francisco Federal building on Tuesday, Feb. 26. The Action Network has called for a "People's Blockade" at the Oakland Army Base for Wednesday, Feb. 27. See RW next week for coverage.

# U.S. Goes the Last Mile to Avoid Peace

When it looked like Iraq might respond to the Soviet plan and withdraw from Kuwait—the U.S. powers were furious. They created new, humiliating and even impossible demands.

- On Friday Bush demanded that the Iraqis agree to withdraw within seven days. Meanwhile the Pentagon's own logistics experts were calculating that it was *literally impossible* to withdraw more than 50 percent of Iraqi forces within seven days.
- Bush demanded they start the withdrawal without any pre-agreed cease-fire in the massive air bombardment—knowing full well that it would be suicidal for any Iraqi troops in Kuwait to emerge from their bunkers under those conditions.
- Top Pentagon brass let it be known that they did not want Iraqis to withdraw with their armored equipment and supplies. They said the U.S. military could not accept anything less than an Iraqi withdrawal from *southern Iraq* too—leaving most of their tanks and munitions behind. One said, "If the Iraqis want to withdraw, let them fight their way out of Kuwait."
- The Soviets announced they had reached an agreement with the Iraqis that met all important requirements of UN resolutions. The U.S. response was to officially ignore these possible agreements and call Soviet leader Gorbachev an insignificant "side player." On television, Henry Kissinger reminded the world that the United States had a veto in the Security Council—and he openly said that any proposal to end the war could be vetoed, leaving previous pro-war UN resolutions in place.
- As Bush's Saturday "deadline" closed in, there remained a chance that the Iraqis might simply comply with it. In preparation, the United States started fabricating last-minute charges about Iraqis systematically destroying the Kuwaiti oil industry and undocumented new "atrocities" against Kuwaiti civilians. Under questioning, the U.S. war command's spokesman Neal admitted that all these charges were nothing but "an area of speculation"—there was no proof of any of these charges. In fact, any burning Kuwaiti oil wells had ignited in the middle of the most intense U.S. aerial bombardment yet—including the new use of napalm incendiary weapons. But

such questions were not raised in the U.S. media—everywhere anchors and reporters echoed the official line about "Iraqi scorched earth policies."

- Once the media got the message, there were no more interviews with GIs eager to avoid fighting. Suddenly all you got to see were grim officers' wives stateside making remarks like—"I want my husband home, but I think we need to finish

the job so we don't have to go back in a few years." In other words, soldiers had to die to "save lives of U.S. troops" of *some future generation*. This "save U.S. lives" slogan can truly be stretched to justify *any* slaughter!

No matter *what* the Iraqis did, the United States powers were making sure they would have an excuse to invade.

Tens of thousands of civilian casualties,

close to a hundred thousand Iraqi military casualties and the total destruction of Iraqi life from the air were not enough. The Iraqi army and government had to be completely crushed. And U.S. troops had to forcibly conquer Kuwait and southern Iraq. Nothing less would satisfy Washington.

In fact, by the time the Saturday noon deadline came, the U.S. ground war was already underway. □



Baghdad resident standing in the rubble of his house shows pictures of his family who were killed by U.S. bombing.

## An Old Gangster Game: Soviets Do the Suez Double Cross

Suddenly, on the eve of the U.S. ground offensive, the Soviet Union made its appearance on the scene. The United States was not pleased.

When a major Soviet diplomat first traveled to Baghdad to open discussions, the U.S. military would not even promise to avoid shooting his plane down. He went by train.

Over the next two weeks the Soviets developed a peace plan—in consultation with the Iraqis. According to it, the Iraqis agreed to pull out of Kuwait over 21 days. In exchange the U.S.-led coalition would agree not to punish them anymore, the bombing would stop during the withdrawal, and the embargo would eventually stop.

The whole development infuriated the United States.

The Soviet plan seemed to meet all UN expectations—but it didn't meet unspoken U.S. goals for the whole war. The UN resolutions focused on Iraqi withdrawal. But the U.S. plan was to dominate the whole region and crush the Iraqi military.

The Soviet proposal would have left the Iraqi army retreated-but-undefeated. The Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein would have stayed in place.

From the U.S. perspective this would have been terrible: because it would have made it difficult for a new U.S.-centered stability to fall over the region. In fact, it would leave the Hussein regime in a position to undermine the pro-U.S. regimes in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Egypt.

Even worse, it meant that the Soviet Union was suddenly emerging as a major player in the key events of the region. One observer suggested that the Soviet Union imagined itself as "a lawyer" for those with a grievance against the U.S.

This was *definitely* not in the U.S. plans—their "New World Order" is based on the idea that there is only *one* super-power policeman in the Gulf.

### The Suez Switcheroo

The Soviet Union helped encourage the United States to get itself deep into conflict in the Persian Gulf. They supported the pre-war embargo that strangled Iraq. They voted in the UN for major anti-Iraqi resolutions—including the November 29 resolution that gave the United States a green light to use "all necessary means" (meaning war) against Iraq. One Soviet official said last September, "We would welcome the intervention of the U.S. in the Middle East on a temporary basis as the 'big stick' of the UN."

Then, once the war started, it switched policy. Iraq-Soviet negotiations represented a major change.

All through last fall, the Soviet Union pursued their interests by supporting the U.S. war efforts. Now they pursued their interests by undermining the U.S.

The prominent U.S. columnist Leslie Gelb wrote in the *New York Times* on February 20: "Moscow is trying to do to

the U.S. in the Persian Gulf in 1991 what Washington did to Britain and France in the Suez Crisis of 1956."

Over 30 years ago, the Egyptian nationalist leader Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which had been controlled by the British imperialists. Britain and France invaded. But the U.S. imperialists intervened. They said that Nasser was not the "Hitler" that Britain claimed, and argued that he was unlikely to be a big problem in the future. The U.S. held back its allies from gaining military victory. The whole affair greatly weakened British control of the region and boosted the U.S. to the position of number one power there. Another reason for the U.S. action was that they did not want the Arab masses to deepen their anti-imperialist movement and move in a revolutionary communist direction.

At that time, the revolutionary Mao Tsetung described these developments from the point of view of the proletariat: "An incident broke out on the Suez Canal. This is a peculiar thing. Nasser wanted to reclaim the canal and [British Prime Minister] Eden dispatched troops to prevent him from taking it. Sly and crafty politicians don't often stir up a crisis like this. But right now Eden, confused in mind, made a mistake. The result is to turn the Middle East over to the U.S. The greatest contradiction is with the U.S., not with Nasser. The U.S. is trying to maneuver Britain out of the Middle East, for it harbors the sinister design of taking over the Middle East."

How close the parallel is today. This is an old imperialist game—one the U.S. knows how to play. The Soviet Union hopes that the U.S. is a declining power that has gotten in over its head. The Soviet Union hopes to develop influence among the masses of Arab people for the future. And, like the U.S., the Soviet Union hopes to dampen revolutionary sentiments among the Arab peoples—sentiments that it fears may even spread to Muslim and other peoples within the Soviet Union itself.

It is a doublecross among gangsters. In Moscow there had been growing speculation that this war could end badly for the United States, and the Soviet Union should position itself to benefit. Soviet President Gorbachev's military advisor, Marshal Akhromeyev said on Jan. 10 that the war in the Gulf "will not be a local conflict." He pointed out that most Arabs already oppose the U.S. and that "the whole Arab world will be implicated, the ground will burn under people's feet." He later announced that Soviet forces along the USSR's southern border had been placed on a state of alert during the Gulf war.

The White House officially pretended that nothing important had happened and that the Soviets were "helping" by probing the Iraqi position. But the U.S. knew very well that the Soviet leaders were trying to "Suez" them—just as they had done to the British some 30 years ago. □

# Warning: The Slogan of Support For the Troops Is A Deadly Trap!

"During the Vietnam war the 'support the troops' slogan was raised by Richard Nixon in a futile attempt to discredit the anti-war movement. Very often the anti-war demonstrators were the troops. In reality many GIs came to the conclusion that we were fighting a war of genocide, and that we could no longer unquestionably carry out the orders of the U.S. War Machine. We demanded an end to the war, not support for a job well done.

"Since there is no honor in this war, there certainly can be no honor in fighting it. No, instead the honor will be in resisting it and all of the crimes against humanity that will result because of it. We know that many GIs don't want this war, but the government has put them on the frontlines where they must choose between their duty to humanity and their uniform. Many, at great risk, have chosen humanity over uniform, and all who will make that choice deserve our support. GI resisters are putting it all on the line, can any of us do anything less!"

Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist  
January 1991

Now that the warmakers have launched their ground war, the call to "support the troops" has grown even louder.

But the question must be asked: Support them in doing what? Carrying out the war the government is ordering them to carry out? The answer must be definitely NO.

Some people in the antiwar movement have been fooled into thinking they can say "support the troops, oppose the war." But this is not true. It is a terrible trap to pose as the "real defenders of the troops"—this sends the wrong message to the people and to the troops. It is very important that people get clear on this. When the U.S. started this ground war, the powers pointed to the yellow ribbons and expressions of support for the troops as signs of support for the war! The justification for sending these troops into the ground battle was to "save American lives"!

The U.S. government has sent half a million young men and women out to be hitmen for a shameful war against the whole nation of Iraq. The military will wrap the body bags in American flags and tell grieving families that they should be proud. But it is a hollow lie. The nightmares of the veterans from Vietnam are filled with the realization that they were killers in an unjust war. Hard as it may be for people to own up to, the soldiers in the Gulf are being used as pawns for the world-dominating aims of a brutal system.

- Anyone with a sense of justice must simply and firmly state that they do not support these troops in carrying out this war.
- The line of "support the troops" has been used to justify the savage bombing of Iraq. The bombing at the Amiriya shelter shows what crimes people are lending support to if they don't get up off this "support the troops" line.
- It is racist to say "now that the ground war has started I feel sympathy for the soldiers and their families." Are the lives of American soldiers worth more than the lives of Iraqi people?
- It is the responsibility of people who see that this war is wrong to tell the soldiers the truth. If you had a relative who was going to join a criminal gang, would you just say, "Well, okay, I'll support you"? Or would you say, "Don't do it—it's wrong"? And if they went ahead and joined such a gang and participated in its murderous activities, would you then say, "Well, that's okay, I support you"?
- The U.S. soldiers are part of a criminal gang which has brought about death and destruction from Vietnam to Panama to Iraq—the U.S. armed forces. Talking about support for the troops will not help them to do the right thing and will not give them the kind of support they really need—support in resisting the war.
- There is only one way for the people to stop the war, and that is to OPPOSE THE WAR. That was the lesson of the Vietnam War. The antiwar movement in Vietnam clearly

## Oil Slick Lies

New evidence disproves American propaganda on the massive oil slick now moving south through the Persian Gulf. Buried deep within the pages of the *Washington Post*, February 20, was the following sentence: "After weeks of allied condemnation of Iraq for causing what was labeled the largest oil spill in history, Saudi officials yesterday said the Persian Gulf slick is much smaller than originally feared and is probably at least partly the fault of allied bombs."

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Weeks ago a massive oil slick started spreading southward from a Kuwaiti pumping station. The United States immediately declared that Iraq was pumping oil out of major oil pipelines. They declared the act had no rational military purpose. One more proof, they said, that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was a "madman." Bush personally accused Hussein of "environmental terrorism."

During this storm of condemnation, Iraq claimed that the oil slick had been caused by the U.S.-led bombing campaign. They claimed that five loaded oil tankers, stranded near Kuwait City by the war, had been hit by bombers of the United States or one of its allies.

The United States spokesperson ridiculed this version of events. U.S. experts said satellite pictures documented an oil slick of many millions of barrels. This was

evidence from outer space, they said, that Iraqis were deliberately "pumping" oil out into the Gulf from oil pipelines.

Saudi princes suddenly became eco-experts. Saudi officials claimed the slick contained 11 million barrels, leading U.S. propagandists to repeat over and over that this slick was 50 times bigger than the Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska.

Now the Associated Press reports that the most recent satellite photography shows that 1.5 million barrels of crude oil entered the Gulf since the war began—9.5 million barrels short of their earlier reports. The source is Abdullah Dabbagh, director of research at the University of Petroleum and Minerals in Saudi Arabia. U.S. experts say they are "surprised" by this new assessment.

How could original U.S./Saudi estimates have been so far off? Two possible explanations:

The first explanation comes from Dabbagh, who says that seabeds and plankton fields shown in satellite imagery of the Gulf's shallow waters were mistaken for oil. This is hard to believe.

The second explanation was that the U.S. and Saudi Arabia conducted a cynical campaign of disinformation: after their own bombers polluted the Gulf, they fabricated false numbers to fan public opinion against Iraq.

In any case, the fact is that the massive campaign of outrage launched against Iraq



Iraqi women whose house was bombed.

targeted the government and the system as the enemy. Wherever and whenever soldiers broke with the ruling class it was the antiwar movement that gave them support. And it was reactionary "support our troops" types who turned on these soldiers with a vengeance.

## SUPPORT ALL GI RESISTANCE!

### STICKER:

**This Yellow Ribbon Is Soaked In The Blood of Iraqi People**



Anti-war demonstration in Boston.

was a lie, based on false evidence. Not surprisingly, the emerging truth about this incident is being buried under mountains of new lies. And the old lies, useful to the U.S. war effort, are not being publicly challenged.

This oil spill is still a major disaster for the planet. But evidence increasingly suggests that it was the U.S. war makers and not the Iraqis who are responsible. This is

not the only ecological disaster that has been caused by the U.S.-led bombing campaign: people in Iraq face poisoning from both nuclear and chemical poisons—released on them by U.S. bombing of industrial and military facilities in Iraq.

Who are the *real* environmental destroyers? And how many lies will they get away with before people just stop believing them? □

# Feb. 21: "This War Is Against the Interests of Black People"

February 21 is the anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X, a great Black revolutionary. Across the country people protested, linking the oppression of Black people to the unjust war in the Persian Gulf. We have reports from New York and the San Francisco Bay Area.

## New York

Over 300 people rallied at the Harlem State Office Building in response to a call put out by the December 12th Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement. Among those that joined the action were people that issued and supported the "Stop the War—Our Fight Is Here" call for actions on February 21. (The "Stop the War—Our Fight Is Here" call, initiated by RCP spokesperson Carl Dix and others and signed by many well-known Black activists, appeared in the *RW* last week.)

The protesters were mostly Black youth. Many high school kids from all over the city joined. After a short rally the demonstrators took off for a tight, disciplined march through the streets of Harlem. Chants went up: "Malcolm X! Malcolm X! Malcolm X!", "Our War Is Here," "Today's Youth, Tomorrow's Revolution." People on the streets really dug the march, and some joined up. Overheard during the march—one cop asking another, "What do we do if we have a riot?"

Leaders of the march announced that the march was heading to the Audubon Ballroom, where Malcolm X was assassinated. But when the march got near Columbia University, people all of a sudden ran high speed for the gates of the campus. Columbia University is in Harlem, but it is fenced in from the rest of the community and sur-

rounded by iron gates guarded by cops who check IDs. The university especially wants to keep Black youth from the neighborhood off the campus. But on this day the marchers rushed through the gates and onto the steps of the library to hold a rally. About 200 Columbia students immediately gathered around to listen. Someone announced that at the same time the rally was being held a group of people had taken over an office in Columbia to protest the university's plans to tear down the Audubon Ballroom and build a lab.

Among those who spoke on the steps of the Columbia library were:

Omwale Clay, from the December 12th Movement, exposed the role Chief of Staff Colin Powell is playing for the powers. He challenged people to look at the demonstration as preparation for the future struggle with the enemy and talked about the importance of the things people were learning about discipline and not letting the police tell you where you can go. The crowd really dug it.

Alkamal, from the Black Consciousness Movement, the youth group of the December 12th Movement, talked about how the Black people's fight is against oppression here, not the war in the Persian Gulf. He said the problem was capitalism and imperialism and ridiculed Black politicians who front for the system.

Carl Dix's speech got much applause and cheers from the youth. There was a big response when he said, "This call 'Stop the War—Our Fight Is Here' went all across the country. People in many different cities, Black people and other people of color and others mobilized to take this up.... I'm not gonna lie to you, sisters and brothers. We gotta fight this war, but more than that we

gotta fight the system that's responsible for the war in the Persian Gulf and the war on Black people here. And we not only gotta fight it, we gotta fight to get rid of it. Every day that we take 'em on we're getting ourselves ready, preparing politically—getting in position for the time when we can rise up and do this whole bloodsucking system in once and for all. You can't reform it, you can't vote it out, no way. You gotta overthrow it. And that means revolution." Carl Dix ended with the slogan, "Fuck the U.S. and All It's Might! Revolutionary War Is the One We'll Fight!"

On Saturday, February 23 the African American Coalition Against U.S. Intervention led a march of 300 from the Audubon Ballroom to the Harlem State building. The action protested "Operation Stormtrooper" and was held "in the spirit of Malcolm X and W.E.B. duBois."

## San Francisco Bay Area

One hundred people answered the "Stop the War—Our Fight Is Here" call with a rally in a downtown Oakland park. Speakers included Berkeley High and Oakland High students; a junior high girl; Sharon Johnson, a Black woman whose son was deployed to Saudi Arabia; Tahan Jones, a Black resister; a Black member of VVAWAI; the Ragamuffin Posse rap group; a junior college student from Roots Against War and a spokesperson from the RCP Bay Area Branch. The messages from the speakers went out over the busy downtown area. When two women who had been participating in a weekly protest called by Parents Against War tried to cross the street to join the rally, police arrested them for jaywalking. The MC from the adhoc Com-

mittee for Righteous Resistance that organized the demo called out for people to stop the arrest, exposing it as an attempt to prevent Black youth and middle class people from coming together to oppose the war. Around 20 more people from Parents Against War crossed the street to protest the arrest and join the rally.

Sharon Johnson recalled that when her son turned 17, recruiters had come like flies with lies and false promises. She said that at the time she and her son thought the military was the only way out from life on the streets of Oakland. She urged high school youth to file for conscientious objector or seek other alternatives to enlisting.

High school students who had participated in walkouts at Oakland High and other schools at the beginning of the war called on others to speak out and stop the war. One high school girl said that people should "bring our youth home from the front lines to fight for freedom here."

The RCP spokesperson pointed out that Malcolm X said no Black person had any cause to fight for this system but every cause to fight against it. He called on Black people to take the fight against the war higher as part of getting ready for all-the-way revolution.

The high school youths later led a march to the nearby recruiting center. A UC Berkeley student took the bullhorn to tell people, "Just say no to this motherfuckin bullshit government. I turn on the TV and there is George Bush and he's lying, Dick Cheney is lying and that other man they got, the Black guy.... And all them motherfuckers is lying. So don't believe that bullshit, they're lying and they been lying, they been doing it for the last 400 years." □

## Malcolm: "That Wasn't Us, That Was Somebody Else"

In November 1964, after returning from a trip to Africa, Malcolm X told of a discussion he had with freedom fighters in the Congo who were going up against the imperialist lackey Moise Tshombe—who was backed by European powers and U.S. forces. Malcolm told how one of these freedom fighters expressed anger over the fact that a number of the U.S. armed forces in the Congo were Afro-Americans. Saddam Hussein is not a freedom fighter or a revolutionary leader, and some of the things Malcolm says about that situation dealing with the Congo may not exactly apply to the situation today with the war in the Persian Gulf. But still we feel our readers will identify with the basic spirit of what Malcolm says, especially at this time when the U.S. is once again making war on a Third World country:

"I was talking to a brother from the

Congo, who was very angry.... He was very angry because he said that most of the paratroopers, the American soldiers that were guarding these transports that Tshombe was using, were American Negroes.... And so I sat down to let him know that all of us don't think like that. That they had to go all over the United States with a microscope and find that many Negroes dumb enough to let themselves be sent to the Congo—imagine, a Negro that lets himself be sent to the Congo!—in a uniform, against people who look just like he does. Why he should be shot. So I let him know that wasn't us, that was somebody else."

From Malcolm X's speech, "The Homecoming Rally of the OAAU" (Organization of Afro-American Unity), November 29, 1964, published in the book *Malcolm X, By Any Means Necessary*



Malcolm X addresses Harlem crowd in the early 1960s.



Detroit, 1967

## PIG of the WEEK: General Tom Kelly

You see his face every day on TV. General Tom Kelly has been the main spokesman for the Pentagon since the whole Gulf War started. Here is another insight into the kind of men these guys are.

During the Panama invasion, General Kelly was director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff (the Pentagon's top command). At that time, Kelly said: "It took us about ten days to clear Detroit when we had a functioning government and police department, which we don't have in Panama right now."

To him, the military invasion of Detroit during the Black uprising of 1967 was just another experience in putting down oppressed people—to be studied and discussed for the lessons it contains. For pigs like this, the killing of Black people in Detroit during the 1960s, the invasion of Panama in 1989, and now the Gulf War of 1991 are just different episodes in their long and bloody careers—lives spent defending the power of Imperialist Amerikkka. □

This draft call for international actions against the war on March 8, International Women's Day, was initiated by Mary Lou Greenberg, spokesperson for the RCP, New York Branch and author of *Women Are Not Incubators! The Assault on Abortion Rights: Where It's Coming From, What Has To Be Done About It, And Why All Who Hate Oppression Must Fight for Women's Liberation*. The draft call is being circulated among feminists, prominent women from various fields and women's groups, and a list of signatories is in preparation.

## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY 1991

A DAY FOR WOMEN WORLDWIDE TO ACT AGAINST THE WAR

STOP THE WAR—STOP THE RAPE OF IRAQ

NO "NEW WORLD ORDER"—NO MORE U.S. AGGRESSION!

NO MORE ATTACKS ON WOMEN AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE!

Throughout history, International Women's Day, March 8th, has rung with the strength of women's voices, the rage of women's lives, and the promises of women's dreams. On this day, women have acted to throw off not only the chains which bind women, but all chains of oppression. This tradition must be carried on and advanced this March 8th by women all over the world taking action against the war in the Persian Gulf.

### STOP THE WAR—STOP THE RAPE OF IRAQ

The war in the Persian Gulf is not our war. The fight for oil, power and control is not our fight. The Arab people are not our enemy. As women, we know about rape. We know what it is to be brutally and forcibly violated. And, as women, we know that is what the U.S. is doing to Iraq.

- A "smart" missile kills over 400 women, children and elderly people in a bomb shelter, and the U.S. arrogantly says the mission was successful because the target was a military "command and control" facility.
- Each day, 35-40 babies are delivered prematurely in Baghdad because of stress to pregnant women and the lack of medicine and food. Premature infants in incubators in Baghdad hospitals die because electricity is cut off. Bush accused Iraqi troops of doing this in Kuwait—now his bombers are doing it on a massive scale!
- Thousands of people have already been killed in this high-tech mass murder. Huge sections of Iraq have been devastated. And more rivers of blood will flow unless this war is stopped.

NO "NEW WORLD ORDER"—NO MORE U.S. AGGRESSION!  
NO MORE ATTACKS ON WOMEN AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE!

This "New World Order" only means more wars—against the people around the world, against women who refuse to "stay in their place," against poor people, Black people and other people of color. Only days after George Bush ordered massive bombing of Iraq, he declared January 22 "Sanctity of Human Life Day" (the date abortion was legalized in the U.S. in 1973). The U.S. has refused to fund international family planning programs that are connected to abortion-providing services, contributing directly to the deaths and impoverishment of millions of women and children by that policy alone. The lives of women and oppressed people in the U.S., in Iraq, and in every country mean nothing to Bush and his government.

In this war, U.S. military women, nearly half of whom are women of color, are sent along with their brothers to fight and die and kill people like themselves. And this supposedly in defense of countries where women are kept in feudal subservience, where in Saudi Arabia they aren't allowed out of the house unless they're cloaked and veiled and are arrested if they dare to drive a car. To be clear about this: women are indeed "fit" to be on the front lines—but it must be on the front lines of struggle for justice and liberation, not as part of aggression halfway around the world.

# Students Hold National Day of Actions to Stop the War

Students around the country demonstrated and held teach-ins on February 21 in a national day of protest against the Gulf war. The call for the protests came from the National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, a coalition of many different student groups. The date was chosen to mark the anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. According to the organizers, the protests involved students at 230 colleges and high schools in 32 states and the District of Columbia. The actions were held under the slogans: "Stop the War! Troops Home Now!", "No Poverty Draft! No Legal Draft!", "Fight Racism!", "End the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza!" and "Develop a Sustainable and Renewable Energy Policy."

We received reports from local correspondents about student actions in several cities:

**New York:** Over 1,000 college and high school students held an action in the Wall Street area. Many were from CUNY (City University of New York). After rallying at the federal building the students marched through the Wall Street area to City Hall. A group of people tried to storm the doors of the American Stock Exchange. Some win-

dows were broken, garbage was thrown into the streets and walls were spray-painted. One woman said, "We are going to disrupt until the war is over." Traffic was blocked and backed up all afternoon. Several people were arrested when police charged into the crowd. After the City Hall rally about 200 people marched on the precinct demanding that police release the students who were arrested.

One former CUNY student at the protest said, "Student aid has been cut, student tuition benefits have all been cut, there's a particular move going on right now in the student system to price poor people out of education and then to force them to have to join the army in order to join the army just to get an education. I don't believe that we should have to fight for imperialist America in order to get an education. We have a right to an education. That's our right. And if the government doesn't want to respect our rights for education, then we just have to overthrow the government."

**Chicago:** As rush hour started, traffic all over the Loop (downtown) was disrupted as 500 students took to the streets. A fast-moving march took off from the federal building. The first stop was the offices of Pan Am Airways to protest their racist

policy against Arab people. Next stop, the Israeli consulate, where the demand was raised to "End the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip!" Finally, the *Chicago Tribune* to protest the media coverup and lies. All along the way bank walls and other buildings were painted with peace symbols and stickers that said, "Stop the Racist War." Firecrackers went off in front of City Hall. Workers in office buildings flashed peace signs out of windows. The mood at the protest was no business as usual—traffic was repeatedly stopped and major intersections blocked.

These are just some of the many other student actions that happened on Feb. 21:

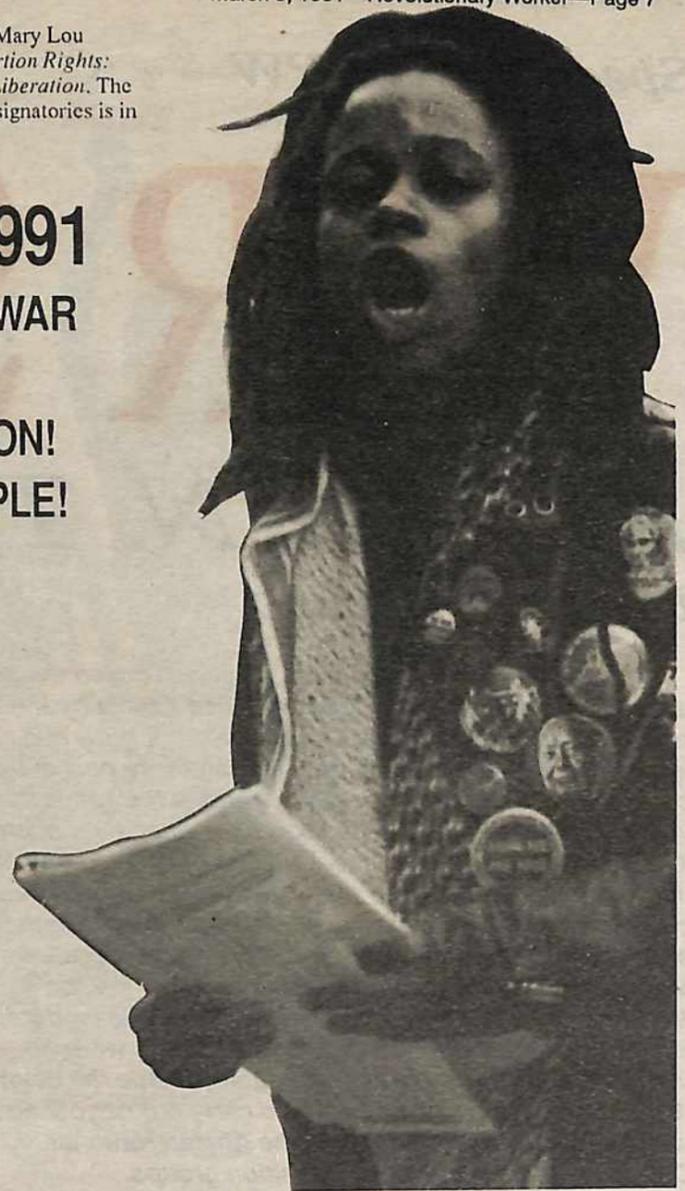
At the University of Indiana in Bloomington, 150 students took over the campus ROTC building for 45 minutes. When the protesters went back to the building the next day, one student was arrested by the military and put in jail. Hundreds demonstrated at University of Maryland, the first major action against the Gulf war at this campus which was a hotbed of protest during the Vietnam War.

At Amherst, a college town in western Massachusetts, there were reports that 1,000 students from five colleges in the area rallied at the town common. Three

days earlier 30-year-old Gregory Levey had burned himself to death at the common in an antiwar protest. The spot is now marked by stones, candles and flowers. Some students held up portraits of Malcolm X. The protesters marched down Main Street and blocked traffic at several big intersections. Forty-three were arrested. Two hundred students from the University of Texas in Austin marched to the state capitol. Some protesters wore sheep masks and "baa"-ed to ridicule those who are going along with the war fever.

### CORRECTION

There were two typographical errors in the endorsers' list for "Stop the War—Our Fight Is Here: A Call to Act on February 21" which appeared on p. 7 last issue. Scarface Production is not a separate endorser but should be part of the ID for Marcus Clemmons. Tahan K. Jones is the correct spelling of the name of the conscientious objector.



WOMEN HAVE NO INTEREST IN FIGHTING IN  
OR SUPPORTING THIS WAR

WOMEN MUST NOT BE SILENT  
WE MUST DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO STOP IT!

Sisters, now is the time to act, and International Women's Day is the time to do it! Circulate this Call everywhere. On March 8th, there must be massive outpouring of opposition from the schools, workplaces, and communities. There must be teach-ins, walk-outs, demonstrations, and more. Feminists and organizations who have mobilized around reproductive rights, against rape and assault, for women's equality, for lesbian rights; women anti-war activists; women whose loved ones have been sent to the Persian Gulf; women from churches, synagogues and mosques; students, authors, artists, musicians—along with men who support this Call—all must join together on this day in powerful actions. A number of activities are already planned, and there may be many different events in one area. But in each city let us strive to have one gathering in common to focus our strength.

Such a rising of women will not be able to be ignored. Let this day encourage and draw forth even more resistance. Let it have a profound impact on the ability of the warmakers to continue their carnage. And let us give notice of a time when women's dreams of justice and liberation can be realized.

For more information or to sign this call, contact: (212) 969-0592

*Special to the RW*

# WAR STORIES

## RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA

by Michael Slate

Part 2

*In the mid-1980s a ferocious rebellion rocked the apartheid regime of South Africa—called Azania by the revolutionary people there. As the uprisings grew and intensified they drew Black people from every part of the country and all walks of life. By the end of the 1980s the white minority regime was weaker than it had ever been. The South African government tried to bury the rebellions in prisons and blood. And they failed. While the repression continued, the regime was forced to embark on a path that seemed unimaginable at the beginning of the decade. Many apartheid laws were formally repealed. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released from jail. Long banned political opposition groups were legalized and allowed to operate openly inside the country. And the apartheid regime began to carry out negotiations with its long time opponents in the African National Congress and other Black opposition groups.*

*In the face of all this the Azanian people continued to struggle for liberation. By mid-1989 the situation in the country was being compared to the situation that existed at the height of the nationwide uprisings in 1985. Yet the Western press continued to carry out self-censorship about the struggle in South Africa. They presented a sanitized and wildly distorted picture of what was happening. They presented a rosy picture of negotiations leading to fundamental change and real progress. Reports on the struggle of the Azanian people were limited to sensationalized stories of "black on black violence."*

*In 1987 Michael Slate, correspondent for the Revolutionary Worker, traveled to South Africa to break through the blanket of press censorship on the Azanian people's struggle and bring back the truth about what had gone down during that upsurge and how different sections of the people were summing it up. As a result of this trip the RW published the series "War Stories: A Report from South Africa." This series brought the war in the streets of Azania alive for the readers of the RW.*

*Recently, Slate returned to South Africa to investigate how the situation had changed since his last trip and to speak to the people themselves about the current situation, the negotiations and reforms, and the continuing struggle of the people for liberation. The stories Slate has brought back—and the voices that tell them—are those never heard in the mainstream press. They are voices of the youth on the frontlines of battle and of the peasants with revolution in their hearts in the countryside. In the coming weeks the RW will be publishing these stories in a new series—in the hope that it will contribute to hastening the day when the racist South African regime is brought down and genuine liberation for the Azanian people from apartheid and imperialism is achieved.*

### I Speak Zulu

The young Azanian reached out and gave me his own very enthusiastic version of the Black Consciousness handshake—very vigorous and about eight moves longer than the standard handshake. When we had finished I started to speak to him. With a proud and defiant look he announced, "I speak Zulu!" Immediately after his announcement he insisted that I stay put while he went off to do something.

The scene was a regional conference of a new college-level black student organization allied with the Black Consciousness political trend. The conference had attracted radical black students from all over Natal, including a number of college students from the University of Zululand and a few revolutionary high school students from the rural parts of the KwaZulu bantustan. As I stood talking with a student I had met on my last trip to Azania, the Azanian youth returned with a Zulu speaking comrade who had accompanied me to the conference. The comrade explained that the youth had been told I was a revolutionary journalist and that he was very anxious to tell me about his "revolutionary thoughts and plans." Within minutes we found an empty room in the basement of the building and, as the thunder of a few hundred people dancing a toyi-toyi rolled over our heads, our discussion began.

"I come from an area called Ngoye in Zululand. The majority of the people in my area are unemployed and the reason for their unemployment is just obvious to everyone—it's not that they don't want to work, it's that the white man has no work for them to do. I myself am a school-going kid. The work that is available in my area is on the sugar plantations. The majority of people who work on the plantations are the women. If men happen to be lucky enough to get work they work for the Department of Electricity, digging holes for electricity pylons. My whole family is involved in the plantations. The conditions are very, very terrible. They work almost the whole day and every day, and yet they get almost nothing out of it. Most of the people in my area live on the plantations themselves so they are totally dependent on the plantation owner to stay alive. On each of the plantations there are about 300 people. My family is a special case, though, because we have managed to keep some small plot of land where we can grow our own vegetables and what not—just enough so that we can add it to what the plantation owner supplies and keep ourselves alive.

"All of my friends, even the majority of the people in my area, we are all against what they call the negotiations process. We know that the land, our land, was taken from us by the white man with force of arms and we know that it can only be taken back in the same way. I see no future in negotiations, the land was lost on the battlefield and can only be regained on the battlefield. We would be too happy to start the battle to take back our land today. We must defeat the Boers, we must not fail to defeat them. We can fight them and win. We do have arms, we are just lacking the way in which they should be used. But we have a determination that our land has to be taken back, that we have to fight, that we have to wage a war. Even the very young children of Ngoye know that this is true. The youngest children will tell you that we must have our land, that the land belongs to our people and we will fight to take it."

I asked what he and the people in his area thought of the current attempts to smother the liberation struggle under the negotiations process. He laughed and then said: "I know of Mandela and once I thought he was the leader. But now I think he is not so much a leader. Mandela is lost. He is taking a lost course, especially with his negotiations program. We, the black people, want to rebel against system, but Mandela is leading us right back into system. I think system is using Mandela like a car. You take a car only when you want it to take you to a certain spot. When you get to that spot you leave the car and then you get into it again when you want to go somewhere else. So DeKlerk is using Mandela like a car, Mandela is DeKlerk's car. You know the South African Defense Force is now in our area. They come when there are rallies and they come at the invitation of the ANC. The ANC has asked the SADF to give them security at their rallies. So how can they ever be leading us to rebel against system."

"I am in the process of mobilizing people into the movement myself. I want to fight the revolution and I will only go with those who also do this. I have been involved in the struggle from way back. I can't really remember but I think it was four years and I am now 17 years of age. But for most of that time I have not been in structures. We would have meetings to discuss the situation and to make our plans but we had no organization. We would always toyi-toyi to the meetings and toyi-toyi from the meetings. Sometimes we would even raise the banner of the ANC because that is all we knew and system said we could not raise that banner so we said that we must raise it. It is only now I am coming to know of Mao, only since meeting these comrades here."



A village in the countryside.

## Plantation System

As we drove back from the conference the comrades who had taken me there were eager to talk about what had gone on and some of the people who had shown up. As the discussions wound down into joking and making plans for dinner, the comrade who had acted as a translator with the youth from Zululand began to speak, "That young guy, he really took me back. What he said made me think of myself not so long ago."

The other activists in the car began to quiet down and listen. They were born and raised in the urban townships and were not all that familiar with the lives and conditions of the black people on the white farms and in the rural areas.

The comrade continued with his story. "I come from a white farm area, I was born and raised on a white farm. We are seven in the family and I am the second oldest after my sister. I am 23 now. I went to the farm school from class A to class 6 and from there went to a Roman Catholic school until Standard 9 and in Standard 9 we organized a group of our students around Black Consciousness. We organized them into the Azanian Students Movement and when this got to the ears of the authorities who ran the school we were expelled at the end of the year, about 9 of us were expelled. I then went and finished my high school in a city near my home.

"I basically come from a rural and peasant type background and in recent times I have begun to think about the type of life the people in my area have lived on the white farms. I count myself as one of the luckiest of the guys from my area, I got away. You know, on the farm school you usually go from Class 1 to Standard 2, from kindergarten until you are about eleven years of age. It just gives a basic education—to count from one to one thousand, to know how to sign your name and to write a letter in your mother tongue. I got to learn English and to learn all of my subjects in English at Standard 6 and that is long after most of my friends had left school. You know, I said that I was one of the luckiest because if you want to go to school beyond the Standard 2 of the farm school you had to leave the farm. There are very few who can actually do this, out of the whole group of us at the farm school there are only three who have actually matriculated.

"This is really a well-planned system because it makes the children on the white farms not go as far as they could in education—because if they did they would then be able to leave the white farms and deprive the white farmers of the labor power that they need. The minimum education they give you is only for the benefit of the white farmer, so that you will be able to count his cattle. Early in the morning you have to be able to go and count the white farmer's cattle, his sheep and everything so that he can be sure they were not stolen over the night. You count the cattle and you make a list and then you take it to him so you can show him that in this area, in that area, everything is still in order. The education you get is just so you can carry out these basic farm chores. I am one of the luckiest ever to have gotten some higher education level.

"This keeps generations after generations on the white farms. With me, my father came from a part of Zululand near the border with Swaziland when he was 12. He came with this white guy to inner Natal and started working from the age of 12. From my mother's side, everyone that I can think of, my great grandmothers and great grandfathers were from the area I was born in. Very few ever leave the white farms for good. Our families are like the serfs of old.

"It is quite amazing to know how my family raised the money to send me away from the farm and to the boarding school. I was the first ever in my family to get an education beyond the farm school. My mother used to steal apples from the farm, we would help her at night, we would just sneak into the orchard at night and take these apples and she would go and sell them the following day. She would also try to keep chickens here at home and then sell them. That's how she raised all five of us, my father was not contributing even a cent and from 1986 he just disappeared.

"I cannot excuse my father for this but the reason he left us was that this white guy that he started working for at the age of 12 sold the farm in 1983 to this Belgian guy about 20 years old. He also owned a factory in Pietermaritzburg and so he just uses the farm for his leisure time, he does not want it to be productive for him. So he took my father, who was working as a kitchen hand on the farm, he took my father to his home in Pietermaritzburg where my father lived in the white man's backyard. My father broke some rules that this white man had so the white man started to be violent with my father, started to beat him. My father took



to physicals with this guy and fucked him up badly. So this guy just kicked my father out, said he was no longer wanted at the city home or on the farm. And the white man said that if he sees my father on the farm he will just kick the whole family out. So my father had no option, he either saw his whole family kicked out of the farm or he just went away alone. And that is what he did, from 1986 he just disappeared.

"When I started working on the farm after my school day ended and on holidays I was making 25 cents a day. Today my mother, after all those years on the farm, she makes only 200 Rand a month, about 70 U.S. dollars per month. Most of the women on the farm work in the fields of the plantations. They use very primitive tools to do the planting and what not. The men usually are made to cut wood in the forest and things like that. My father as a kitchen hand would start work at six in the morning and finish at nine at night. In those days, 1983 he as a 'breadwinner' would get 45 Rand a month and be given 25 kilos of mealie-meal (cornmeal), 2.5 kilograms of beans, 2 kilograms of brown sugar and some salt, and this salt was grain salt that the farmer also uses for his cattle. As for milk, we never tasted real milk. We would milk the cows and then we would also take the milk and churn it to make butter and whatever remained of the skim milk after the butter was made we would sometimes be able to share it among all of the farm laborers. We would only get meat once a year and that was at Christmas time. They would slaughter one cow to be shared amongst all of the farmhands. Our house was three rooms with a fireplace for the seven of us.

"Now I want you to know that the farmer who owned the farm I am from is considered to be relatively kind and good to his farm laborers. He is a young liberal from Belgium and he does things a little better than the other white farmers in the area. He would let me work in his factory for extra money and when I would go to work he would let me ride in the cab of the truck with him and we would pass all these other white farmers along the way to the factory. The other white farmers started to ostracize him because they said he was making them look bad to their laborers. As bad as things were for us on his farm, the other farms were far worse and there were always laborers from the other farms trying to get hired onto this Belgian guy's farm.

"On most of the farms in that area it was nothing for a white farmer to just kill a black person. I myself know of cases where a black man from one farm was shot dead as a trespasser for simply taking a short cut across another white-owned farm or killed for ruining good animal grass by walking on it. And dogs—whew! In this country there

are black dogs and white dogs. The white dogs, man I'm telling you they will just bite and rip apart any black person they see. I can't tell you how many times I've had to run for my life from one of the white man's dogs. And some of these farmers, they don't want to tire themselves or use other means so they just tell their dogs to attack some black person and the dogs will do it. The dogs will just rip you to pieces. And nothing happens to the white, nothing at all.

"You know, for me, when I left the farm I saw that the whole country was just a bigger plantation. And everything I had learned about life from the farm was true on the bigger plantation too. I started to read to try to understand. I read Biko and Black Consciousness. I read what I could find of the struggle of Black people in America, Malcolm X and all those people. And I started to read this paper, the *RW*, and I learned of things like China and Mao and of the revolution in Peru. I took this to comrades in the township and we would discuss all of the issues in the paper and try to get other revolutionary literature to read and discuss amongst ourselves. We used it to try to learn Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The *RW*, the politics and the information it gave to me, was just something that spoke to me, that appealed to me. And all of this helped to mold me to be the revolutionary I am today." □

Michael Slate is appearing this week in Los Angeles and the following week in the San Francisco Bay Area with the "Yo! The World Is Being Turned Upside Down" Revolutionary Journalists Tour. Other panelists for the Los Angeles program include: Larry Everest on the Gulf situation; Heriberto Ocasio, national spokesperson of Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, on the people's war in Peru; Li Onesto, long-time writer for *Revolutionary Worker*, on revolutionary journalism. Jack Gardener, who traveled to Panama after the U.S. invasion and uncovered evidence of U.S. atrocities, on media coverage of the Panama invasion and the Gulf War. Gardener will moderate a provocative Q&A.

Check out the following main programs:

**February 27**—UCLA, 2 p.m., Fowler Museum, Rm. A103B. Sponsored by African Student Union and Academic Affairs Committee.

**March 7**—UC Berkeley, 7 p.m., 105 Northgate Hall

**March 11**—S.F. State Univ., 12 noon, Student Union, Rm. A

# From the Gestapo Police Dept.

The powers are trying to deal with anti-war protesters in two ways. One is to use their media to black out or play down the opposition while putting the spotlight on the pro-war forces. The other is to use violent police suppression against those



Busted at Bush's church.

who refuse to go along with the brainwash. The following are three recent examples of outrageous police intimidation and attacks against antiwar protesters.

John Schuchardt was arrested for making a statement against the war at a February 17 church service in Kennebunkport, Maine attended by President Bush. Reverend Patricia Adam had invited people to speak and voice their prayers for those who were ill. Schuchardt stood up and said, "I have a concern. Think of the 18 million people of Iraq, half are children under the age of 15. There are children, just like the children sitting here." He called the war against Iraq a "vicious immoral attack" and said, "We must think of what it means to be bombed by more than 2,000 planes every day." Trying to drown him out, the congregation rose and sang "God Bless America." Later, when Schuchardt tried to speak again, the police moved in to arrest him. When he went limp, the police dragged him out of the church as he shouted, "I am the voice of the voiceless." Schuchardt was charged with disorderly conduct and held at a local jail since he refused to post the \$1,000 bail. Is the thought police operating in George Bush's church?

A woman was arrested for trying to place a wreath on the body of a man who set himself on fire to protest the war. On February 18 30-year-old Gregory Levey carried an anti-war sign into the town commons next to Amherst College in western Massachusetts and set himself on fire. He died on the spot. This was not the first person to protest U.S. actions in the Persian Gulf in this way—on December 9 a 48-year-old Vietnam vet in California set himself on fire and died. When a crowd began to gather at the Amherst common, the police used squad cars to block people from seeing the body. In a gestapo-like move, the police arrested one woman for disorderly conduct—for trying to push through the blockade and lay a wreath on the body.

Police have assaulted protesters beat-



Drumming outside the White House.

ing on drums in Lafayette Park, across from the White House. Last month Bush had to admit that the protesters' drums were keeping him awake at nights. The police have set a limit of 60 decibels on the noise that can be made in the park—which would make even crows and seagulls illegal. The police have also physically attacked the drummers. One witness reported: "On February 9 I spent the afternoon in Peace [Lafayette] Park. I saw several incidents where the police would try to confiscate personal property or grab a drum because the drummer was resting or had forgotten to keep his drum off the ground. At one point I observed several police entering the park one at a time and standing separately at various distances. Then one policeman came in and lunged at one of the drummers, trying to take his drum away. When the drummer refused he was thrown to the ground and surrounded by many policemen. Another drummer was then thrown to the ground because he had tried to view the situation. The crowd responded by standing and trying to calm a very tense situation. We, the drummers, kept drumming and more or less 'walking' the police back to the gate to Pennsylvania Avenue. As I was standing there I was elbowed quite violently from behind and as I turned to respond to



Amherst site where anti-war protester set himself on fire.

what I thought would be an apology a policeman said: 'Don't step in my path again.' There wasn't much time for surprise as another policeman in front of me shoved me backwards twice. As a mother and grandmother and survivor of the Vietnam-era protests I still find it hard to believe I'm out here again 22 years later and that I'm being assaulted by the police."

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Consider what Chairman Bob Avakian says about the "freedom of expression" in countries like the U.S.:

"The alleged freedom of expression in the 'democratic countries' is a sham—and for two basic reasons—because the ruling class has a monopoly on the means of molding public opinion and because its monopoly of armed force puts it in a position to suppress, as violently as necessary, any expression of ideas, as well as any action, that poses a serious challenge to the established order."

Bullets, pp. 229-230

# Message from the

The following is the text of a leaflet that Stop the War/Just Say No Brigade is distributing in Germany. The leaflet was made available to us by Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist. The Brigade is made up of Vietnam vets organized by VVAW A-I to go to Germany to support GI resistance and others opposed to the war. The leaflet is addressed "To All GIs & Dependents."

This is to announce the formation of the Stop the War/Just Say No Brigade here in Germany. The Brigade is made up of Vietnam veterans, active duty GIs & dependents, and veterans from other armed forces around the world. We are not here to bullshit and lie to you like the government does. We are here to tell it like it is; we are here to expose and oppose what's going down in the Mid-East war. And we are here to give political support to the anti-war GI resistance movement that is spreading throughout the U.S. military both here and in Germany, back in the States and even in the war zones!

President Bush and the powers-that-be have moved to sacrifice the lives of millions of people in an unjust war for oil & world control.

We know that the vast majority of you did not join up to be part of this Mid-East slaughter. We know that you signed up because the army looked like the way out of the ghetto, barrio or some other dead end, going nowhere life. Now you know why the recruiting vultures had to come on with a lot of slick talk and sweet sounding bribes to sucker you in.

You've got to look at reality straight in the face. The brass and the politicians don't give a damn about the Arab people. And the cold hard truth is that they don't give a damn about you either—except that you kill and die for their imperial Empire!

Bush and his billionaire pals are counting on you to pick up your gun, throw on your gas masks and be triggermen and cannonfodder for them. They are counting on you to buy their b.s. propaganda and blindly carry out their or-

## Letters From GIs

# "The Biggest Mistake I Ever Made"

The RW reported last week about an antiwar group of U.S. military spouses in Germany with husbands serving in Saudi Arabia. In a statement the women said, "Many of us already know that the war is wrong. But the military tell us to write 'upbeat letters' to our husbands and tell them how 'proud' we are that they are fighting over there. They cannot trick us because our husbands have written us letters which tell the truth about their feelings toward the war." Some of the women have made public letters from their husbands. Here are excerpts from two letters.

Jan. 14th '91

Demonstrate! Do it. The people must get the message across. Although it will do little good—it will do something. The people have forgotten what war is. I had some dumb kid sitting by me when we came here. He was an infantry private, straight from school. He said, "I want to go to war so I can get the combat Infantry Badge." This is the kind of stupid bastard that is going to get killed doing something heroic.... Bush, Mitterrand, Major, Saddam Hussein and all the others are going to destroy so many lives that it makes my heart sick to see it all. I hope God has his way with them and sends them all into the deepest pit of Hell for what they have done.

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How are you and the children doing? Please let them know that daddy loves them and misses them. I also feel the same about you and don't forget that. I am not doing too good today. I couldn't sleep last night because I was thinking about the situation over here.

Last night they told us that we are going to be very close to Iraq and they were talking to us about different types of

chemical gasses. I have to admit I am pretty scared, and I thought about the war last night. You know in the army they have what you call a front line on the battlefield, well we are on the 2nd line. All Iraq have to do is shoot one big bomb, chemical or a normal, and half of the people will die or either get hurt.

I am sorry that I am talking to you about this, but at least I wanna let you know what I am thinking and what's going on over here. If something happens to me let the kids know the truth and my family, because I think all these things we are doing is wrong. They want us to hate the Iraqi people, but how can I hate someone that never have I met or did something wrong to me.

I hate to say this, but I don't think I'll make it back and a lot of guys or soldiers are thinking the same like I am. So I am gonna write you as much as possible.

Today is 11 December and it's 11:40, my lunch break, so instead of eating I'll rather write to you. The soldiers are very angry that they are here and are arguing and complaining every day. Yesterday I had to wait 11-2 in line just to eat a normal meal and this was outside in the dark.

The higher people are bossing us around like animals. I know this has to be the biggest mistake I've ever made in my life by coming here to Saudi Arabia. I am almost going crazy being here and around these people, but I try to keep my mind somewhere else.

When I am not writing you, or washing my clothes, I am reading my books. Last night I looked in the photo album and there were tears in my eyes. I am thinking about you and the kids all the time. I hope the kids don't think their father ran off and forgot all about them.

I really hate it here and I am very scared.

## Pan Am Forced to Back Down from Racist Policy

Because of strong and vocal protest, Pan American World Airways was forced to back down from its racist and fascist policy of refusing to sell tickets to people with Iraqi passports. Pan Am had extended its discrimination to even Iraqi nationals who oppose Saddam Hussein and live in the United States with valid visas.

Various organizations took action to force a change in the Pan Am policy. Refuse & Resist! called a national consumer boycott of Pan Am. The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee brought a lawsuit against the airline. New York Human Rights Commissioner Dennis deLeon threatened to take legal action. Opponents of Pan Am said that the airline's policy was designed not to "improve security" but only to whip up fear and antagonism against Arab people living in the United States. On Tuesday, February 19, activists from Refuse & Resist! held a noontime demonstration outside of Pan Am's Washington, D.C. offices. R&R! spokesperson Greg Maney said: "The Arab people are not our enemy, they are our sisters and brothers."

# Stop the War/Just Say No Brigade

ders...orders that will mean the slaughter of countless civilians and the death & mutilation of hundreds of thousands of soldiers from both sides.

Many of us served in the U.S. military during the Vietnam War and we know what you are going through today. As soldiers & sailors then, hundreds of thousands of us resisted that war in many ways: From massive numbers of AWOLs and desertions to combat refusals, sabotage, fraggings, mutinies and political demonstrations...our actions played a powerful role in forcing the withdrawal of the U.S. Armed Forces from the unjust Vietnam war. **WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO????**

Today's war in the Middle East is no more just than the Vietnam war. And since the U.S. made its move, mass upheaval and opposition has busted loose across the world. Despite what the news media tells you, the truth is that hundreds of thousands of people back in the States have taken to the streets in protest. From big cities to small towns people are marching, calling for strikes at schools, and have shut down major highways, government buildings and military offices. **WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO????????????????????**

The brass thought that everyone in the Armed Forces would be mindless fools and passively march off to war. But they had their bubble burst...they miscalculated!!!!!!

Beginning with Marine corporal Jeff Paterson, the first GI to refuse to go to Saudi, a movement for anti-war resistance has been spreading throughout the military:

- A growing number of both active-duty GIs & reservists have outright refused to go.
- A widespread group has applied for Conscientious Objector status.
- In many parts of the States, Army & Marine reservists are playing a major role in organizing anti-war actions.
- The stockades & brigs back home are rapidly filling up with AWOLs, deserters, COs and other resisters.
- 20 GIs applied for political asylum in Sweden but were turned down because the U.N. supports the war.

- GIs in Ashaffenberg, Friedberg, Mainz and other German cities have resisted and been dragged off to Saudi in handcuffs.
- Other GIs have simply "disappeared" and then reappeared on German TV to denounce the war. Many are living underground with the expanding number of German families who are offering sanctuary to GI resisters.
- Both in the States & here in Germany, spouses and dependents of GIs in Saudi have become political anti-war resisters. They have joined the movement to STOP THE WAR and their reports from people in Saudi have allowed some truth to get by the military censors.
- Since the start of the war, GIs in Saudi have sent one unanimous message...**"DON'T BELIEVE THE HYPE & LIES FROM THE NEWS MEDIA!!!"** They've reported on the rotten conditions and constant harassment from the brass...how no one wants to be there and how no one wants to fight in this bullshit war! One army brother from Houston said "the Iraqi people ain't my enemy. If I do any fightin it will be against them pig cops down town."

Without willing soldiers, the generals are helpless! **What are you going to do???????????????**

Secretary of State Baker told front line troops in Saudi that they will "return with honor and dignity." The ones returning now are coming home in body bags wrapped in American flags and the brass tell the grieving families that they should be proud. This is pure bull!! The nightmares of Vietnam vets are filled with the horrible realization that we were nothing but puppets for the Powers in an unjust war. There is no dignity in dying as a chump cannonfodder for the rich and the powerful. And there for sure is NO honor in bombing and killing the basic people of another country. You must take a hard look at reality. Hard as it may be to own up to it, you are being used as cannonfodder for a brutal system. **DON'T BELIEVE THE HYPE!!!!!! FIGHT THE POWER!!!**

1971—Vietnam Veterans Against the War organized Dewey Canyon III demonstration in Washington, D.C. where veterans threw back their medals onto the steps of the U.S. Capitol.



# Killing for the New World Order

There is widespread understanding among people opposed to the Gulf war that the U.S. goal is not to "liberate Kuwait" but to go after oil and control in the Middle East and beyond. This is reflected in popular slogans like "No blood for oil." Such understanding is definitely a positive thing. But in order to take on the U.S. war machine in the most powerful way, this needs to be taken further. It is very important to grasp more deeply what this war is fought over—what are the interests and aims of the two contending sides and why they erupted into war. As Lenin said, people will be "victims of deceit and self-deceit" unless they learn to discover the real class interests behind all events in society.

Clearly, the U.S. powers want control of the vast oil resources in the region. Mideast oil is source of enormous profits for the Western powers, and cheap oil is the fuel that drives the industrialized economies of the world. But people also need to understand the geostrategic moves and plans of empire that are behind the U.S. war against Iraq. For the U.S. rulers, the conflict with Iraq is a focus of their efforts to protect and strengthen their domination over the Middle East—which in turn is key to their position worldwide on top of oppressed people as well as over the other imperialist powers. In contrast to these global calculations of the U.S., Saddam Hussein's ambitions are regional—but they have come in conflict with the U.S.

## What Is Saddam Hussein After?

The interests and objectives of the Iraqi side were laid out in a pretty clear and straightforward way by Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz after his Jan. 9 meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Baker a week before war started. Referring to Bush's "new world order," Aziz said, "I have no problem with that order. And we would love to be partners in that order. But that order has to be implemented justly." He also complained, "The U.S. government has covered the Israeli position, protected it politically at the Security Council, and that's very well known to everybody. And the U.S. government still supplies Israel with military and financial means to stick to its intransigence." Aziz said that if this situation was changed, "a lot of differences between [U.S. and Iraq] will be removed."

Aziz's remarks show that in essence what Saddam Hussein and his regime are after is a "reshuffling of the deck"—a re-

ordering of power relations—in the Middle East. They want to abolish the situation where Israel has a "special relationship" with the Western powers at the expense of the Arab states. They want to force a realignment so that Israel no longer holds that position and instead the Iraqi regime becomes the top regional power. This is what Saddam Hussein is after when he claims to be the champion of the Palestinian cause. The network of relations would be recast, but it would still be dominated by the U.S. and other big powers.

## What Is the U.S. After?

But the U.S. rulers are set on maintaining the basic power relations in the Middle East, especially the special status and role of Israel as their main enforcer in the region. The U.S. imperialists do want to bring about some changes—but only in order to serve their own interests. These changes may involve a certain role for some Arab states, but that role is meant to remain subordinate to the role of Israel, and these Arab regimes must obey U.S. orders. A powerful Arab state like Iraq trying to shake up this basic setup is something the U.S. cannot tolerate and is not about to allow—even if, when it comes down to it, Saddam Hussein only wants a bigger piece for himself within a framework still dominated by the imperialists.

This is why the U.S. and its allies moved to hem in Saddam Hussein after the end of the Iraq-Iran war. Hussein had built up a strong military machine during the war with Iran with the help of the U.S. and all the great powers. But with Iran defeated, Hussein was becoming too powerful and the U.S. acted to "cut him down to size." Even before Iraq's takeover of Kuwait, the U.S. government began denying exports of weapons, technology, machinery and food to Iraq. With U.S. backing, Kuwait produced more oil than the OPEC quota allowed and drove down oil prices, seriously hurting Iraq's economy. Kuwait also pumped oil from an oil field that mainly runs under Iraqi territory.

At the very least, the U.S. created a situation where Hussein felt he was being squeezed and undercut and had to do something to deal with this. There is evidence that the U.S. even encouraged or "enticed" Hussein to move into Kuwait in order to set up a justification for ganging up on Iraq. For example, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq



U.S. Apache helicopters.

met Saddam Hussein three days before the Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait, when Iraq already had moved a large military force to the border. But the ambassador did not issue any warnings and even said that the U.S. government had "no opinion" on Iraq's disputes with Kuwait.

It is important to remember that right after moving his military into Kuwait, Saddam Hussein indicated he was willing to work out a settlement if Iraq's grievances against Kuwait were dealt with. Such a settlement probably would have involved Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. In several interviews, King Hussein of Jordan revealed that he had received this basic commitment from Saddam Hussein and that an "Arab settlement" was basically

worked out in early August. But such an agreement was blown out of the water by the sudden massive deployment of U.S. forces to the region.

## Bush's "New World Order" and Iraq

In fact, one the main immediate aims of the massive U.S. deployment was precisely to sabotage and prevent any such agreement that would give "concessions" to Saddam Hussein—even if that agreement involved the withdrawal of his forces from Kuwait. This has to do with the overall global goals of the U.S. powers-that-be. They are out to impose a "new world order," with themselves as the undisputed

## Poll of the Week

The latest CNN cellular phone poll shows that:

- 107% of Americans believe that civilians bombed by the allies in the war are really mummies stolen by Saddam Hussein from pyramids in Egypt.
- 11% believe they are really Iraqi civilians that have been killed in the allied air raids.
- 48% are not sure where Iraq is or what civilians are.

(Right) Chicago, Feb. 16—In a demonstration called by the Pledge of Resistance, 900 people denounced the media's pro-war coverage and censorship of antiwar protests in the U.S. and around the world. The protesters also called for support for GI resistance and liberation for the Palestinian people and all Arab people. Some demonstrators wore cardboard TVs on their heads with screens that read, "Stay tuned, more pro-war news to come." After marching to the Israeli consulate and the Chicago Tribune building, the protesters headed to the busy Lake Shore Drive where hundreds took over the street and blocked traffic. Eighteen were arrested and some protesters, especially women, were viciously beaten by the police.



**Forum On  
Media Lies and the War in the Persian Gulf  
March 3, 1991  
7 p.m.  
Revolution Books, 2425 C Channing Way,  
Berkeley, CA  
(415) 848-1196**

Revolution Books in Berkeley is hosting a panel discussion on the role of the media in the war. The speakers are:  
**Dennis Bernstein**—Host of the "Warwatch" program on KPFA  
**Larry Everest**—Contributing writer for the *Revolutionary Worker*, has traveled extensively in the Middle East  
**Representative of FAIR**—Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting  
**Andrew Goodman**—Freelance TV news reporter and producer for Channel 7 and CNN

imperialist chieftains. They want to reconstruct the "American Century" that they proclaimed coming out of World War 2 but which has been badly shaken and battered since then. They seized on the current world situation where the open and sharp U.S.-Soviet contention of the '80s has given way to more collusion. And they seized on the Persian Gulf/Middle East as a place where they saw both the necessity and opportunity in terms of imposing this "new world order." Necessity, because the U.S. could not let Iraq upset the basic power relations in this very important region. Opportunity, because the U.S. imperialists saw a chance to move in with big military force and declare themselves cops of the world.

For Bush and the U.S., devastating Iraq and destroying its capability to be any kind of a significant power in the region has become the focal point of imposing their "new world order." A significant reduction of Iraq's military power and status would have been the goal of the U.S. even if Hussein had withdrawn from Kuwait right away (and this was the U.S. goal before he moved into Kuwait). But Hussein defied the U.S. threats and tried to win over the support and sympathy of the Arab masses. Because of this, the U.S. rulers felt it necessary to cut down his power all the more devastatingly.

This explains why the conflict between the U.S. and Iraq was very likely to and in fact did erupt into war—and why both sides have been determined to carry out the war to extremes. The U.S. left Saddam Hussein no alternative but fight or capitulate—which means accepting the reduction of his regime's power and status. The Iraqi side made it clear that they preferred devastating war to such capitulation.

At the Jan. 9 press conference, Tariq Aziz ran down the U.S. actions against Iraq even before Iraq moved into Kuwait and said, "The threat to the security of Iraq was there before the 2nd of August." He was making the point that there was not much difference between what the U.S. was doing before Aug. 2 and what it did after—both were aimed at reducing Iraq's power and position in the region in ways the Hussein regime could not accept. Aziz told Baker that Iraq had made no "miscalculations," and this was very believable. Hussein calculated that as long as he had no choice but to fight, he should do it for big stakes. He might as well, because only if he did so, and moreover only if he had some success in the fight, would he have any chance of bringing about a situation where the whole power alignment in the Middle East would get thrown onto the balance scales. Even if he failed, if he held out long enough and inflicted enough damage on the U.S. and its "alliance," his stature would rise tremendously among the Arab and Muslim masses—and it already has. The situation in the Middle East will not go back to what it was before, even if a new "Pax Americana" is imposed on the region in the short run.

Hussein's goals and class nature shape the way Iraq has fought the war. The Iraqi leadership's outlook and program is that of the comprador bourgeoisie—the ruling class in an oppressed country like Iraq who are tied to and dependent on the imperialists. Hussein is fighting in order to negotiate and in an attempt to force a larger role for his regime in the overall imperialist-dominated relation of forces in the region.

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The fight between the U.S. (and its "alliance") and Iraq is a fight between big dogs and little dogs. Dreaming of a "new world order" with themselves at the top, the U.S. powers have unleashed massive death and destruction on the oppressed people of Iraq in order to prevent the Hussein regime from upsetting the existing power relations in the region. The U.S. seized the opportunity to reassert its leading position among the big powers of the world and to threaten people around the world with a live-action display of its weapons of high-tech genocide.

The understanding about what's behind this war needs to be conveyed very broadly—including among those who are confused about what stand to take or have been fooled into supporting the war. And these questions need to be widely raised: Are these interests and aims of the U.S. worthy of support? Do they justify the deaths of masses of people in Iraq and the Middle East and young people from the U.S. as well, in their tens of thousands and perhaps even millions if war continues and spreads?

# Emperyalistleri ve Uşaklarını Halk Savaşıyla Defedin!

Ortadoğu Halkları Birleşin,



This poster was put out by TKP/ML Maoist Party Center, an organization of Maoist revolutionaries from Turkey. It says: "People of the Middle East: Unite and Destroy the Imperialists and Their Lackeys with People's War."

The following are excerpts of a statement the RW received from the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement:

## Fight Against the U.S.-Led War of Aggression Against Iraq!

On 17th January, in the dark of night, U.S. imperialism and its allies launched a vicious and cowardly attack against Iraq. These U.S., British and French criminals, with the support of the Soviet social-imperialists and with their Israeli watchdog on alert, threw their massive and sophisticated armaments against a far weaker foe.

This shameful crime cannot and will not be left unanswered.

Throughout the world, workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and all who oppose imperialist bullying and aggression support their sisters and brothers in Iraq and throughout the region in fighting back against the aggressors.

In the imperialist countries themselves, despite an unprecedented propaganda barrage of lies and distortion by the ruling classes of these countries to justify their gangsterism, a large section of the masses have already recognized that this war of aggression is not in their interests, and outpourings of resistance to the imperialist war have taken place in all of the aggressor countries. We hail this resistance and call upon the masses in those countries to step up and intensify their struggle against this barbaric war.

While the focus of the attack is on Iraq, it is aimed at the people of Palestine, the whole Arab world and the Middle East. In fact, George Bush has nakedly declared that the real purpose of this war is to establish a "new world order" which will last one hundred years. This order is nothing other than the same old imperialist law of exploitation and plunder of the poor by the rich; aggression, interference and bullying of the weak by the strong; and domination of the whole world by the West.

But the people will never tolerate such a terrible future. Already the need for revolution cries out all over the globe. Their latest bloody massacres can only intensify the hatred of the people for this system and escalate their revolutionary struggle worldwide.

The imperialists hope that their colossal military might will mask the reactionary, putrid and fundamentally weak nature of a system which can only survive through massive terror. But they have been defeated in the past, as in Vietnam, and they can be defeated today—just as the Communist Party of Peru has been successfully waging people's war and is preparing to defeat the Yankee aggressors head on. Final victory will belong to imperialism's grave-diggers, the proletariat of all countries and the oppressed nations of the world.

The people of all countries have a common interest in defeating this U.S.-led war of aggression against Iraq.

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, 17th January 1991

(Released by the Information Bureau of the RIM: BCM RIM, 27 Old Gloucester St., London WC1N 3XX, U.K.)

# Battle Cry at Pine Ridge: Wounded Knee 1973

"I will stand with my brothers and sisters. I will tell the truth about them and about why we went to Wounded Knee. I will fight for my people. I will live for them, and if it is necessary to stop the terrible things that happen to Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation, I am ready to die for them. But the judge and his lawyers must know by now I will never lie against my people, crawl for a better deal for myself."

Pedro Bissonette, President of Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization, in an affidavit to the court during the Wounded Knee trials on June 27, 1973. Pedro was later murdered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Eighteen years ago this week hundreds of Indian people and their supporters held off an army of federal, state and local police forces at the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. They had gone to the village to demand that the U.S. government recognize Indian sovereignty (self-government) and honor the treaties it had signed, and to fight against the growing attacks coming down on them by the tribal government, racist whites and the police. The day after their arrival for what they thought would be a symbolic action, the Indians were surrounded by an army of over 300 government forces from the FBI, BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs), U.S. Marshals and the Justice Department. They were joined by state and local police forces as well as Dick Wilson, the tribal chief at Pine Ridge, and a "goon" squad he had set up illegally using tribal money.

The Indians refused to leave until their demands were met. The government siege on Wounded Knee lasted 71 days. At least two Indian men were murdered by the government forces—Frank Clearwater, an Apache, and Buddy Lamont, a Sioux. Dozens of people inside the village of Wounded Knee were wounded.

The events at Wounded Knee showed how important the oppression of Indian people is to the powers in the United States and their oppressor setup—and how important the Native peoples' fight against this oppression can be to the struggle to bring this whole system down. The battle cry from Wounded Knee is still very relevant today. And the war by the powers against the Indian peoples continues, as the recent siege of the Mohawk people in the U.S. and Canada have shown.

Part 1 of this article goes into the developments that led up to the siege at Wounded Knee. Part 2 will tell what happened at the

Pine Ridge battleground. The main sources for this article are: *Voices From Wounded Knee: The People Are Standing Up*, published by Akwesasne Notes; *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*, by Peter Mathiessen; and *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*, by Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall.

## A History of Massacres and Broken Treaties

The village of Wounded Knee is located on the Pine Ridge reservation in the southwestern corner of South Dakota, right on the border with Nebraska. It was in this territory that the U.S. lost its first war ever—against the Oglala Sioux Indians led by Chief Red Cloud in 1868. (The Oglala Sioux is one of the 7 groups of Lakota Indians, commonly referred to as Sioux.) In 1868 the U.S. government signed the Fort Laramie Treaty with the Sioux. It said the land surrounding the Black Hills (a sacred place for the Sioux people), including eastern Montana and Wyoming and western North Dakota and South Dakota, belonged to the Sioux forever. The U.S. never kept this treaty or any of the over 300 treaties they made with the Indian peoples throughout North America. Instead, the U.S. continued to wage war against the Sioux to steal their land and subjugate them on reservations.

In 1876 the U.S. broke the treaty and stole over three-fourths of Sioux land, including the Black Hills. Later on the government created a symbol of its subjugation of the Indian peoples by carving faces of U.S. presidents into the side of Mt. Rushmore in the Black Hills. In 1890 the government finally succeeded in forcing the last of the Indian peoples onto reservations after U.S. government troops brutally massacred over 300 Minneconjou Sioux men, women and children of Big Foot's band at Wounded Knee. (See RW #586). They were forced onto the worst land. Most were unable to grow enough food to even feed themselves. And the white settlers and government railroads had wiped out all of the buffalo and most of the other game. Many people were forced to rely on government aid just to survive.

The government has continued to steal Indian land and to try to assimilate the Indian peoples into U.S. society by force. The Dawes Allotment Act was passed to break up Indian land into individual plots assigned to each family. (The Indian peoples did not believe in the private ownership of land.) At first the allotments were held "in trust" by the government for the Indians. The BIA "offered" people "relocation money" if they changed their residence

from the reservation to the cities. Eventually the government "allowed" them to sell their land. Many were forced to sell because they had no other way to survive.

In 1924 Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act. This act outlawed traditional forms of Indian government and replaced them with elected "tribal councils" which depended on funding from the government administered through the BIA. In effect, this allowed the BIA to control these councils. Traditional religious ceremonies such as the sun dance and the sweat lodge were banned and Christianity was promoted. In 1973 there were 137 churches on the Pine Ridge reservation alone—more than one for every 100 residents!

## The '60s and the Rise of the Indian Struggle

The siege of Wounded Knee took place in the midst of the upsurge against the Vietnam War and the Black liberation movement in the U.S. in the 1960s and early '70s. The Vietnamese people were defeating the U.S. military machine. The whole country was being rocked by struggle against the system. The American Indian Movement (AIM) was formed during this time, in 1968. It was a movement for Indian rights and sovereignty which took inspiration from the Black Panther Party. AIM was started by Indians who lived in the inner-city ghettos. They formed Indian self-help programs, survival schools and police patrols to help Indian people struggle against racist treatment by the pigs and courts.

AIM members were involved in a number of actions against the government that captured the attention of millions of people and drew forward a whole new generation of Indian youth to fight the powers. These actions included the 19-month occupation of Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay, occupations of Mt. Rushmore, a Thanksgiving "Day of Mourning" held at Plymouth Rock and the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan to Washington, D.C. which ended with the occupation of the BIA building.

Native Americans are among the poorest people in the country. Those on the reservations face even worse poverty than those in the cities. The conditions of life at Pine Ridge reservation at the time of the siege of Wounded Knee shed some light on this situation. By the 1970s unemployment on the reservation had reached 54 percent. One half of the people worked in tribal government or the BIA bureaucracy. One third depended on welfare or pensions from the government. 7.1 percent of those under 18 in South Dakota were Indian, but Native people received almost half the state's ADC

(Aid To Dependent Children). Most of the businesses were owned by whites and charged outrageously high prices. These businessmen would often take the whole government check a family would receive to pay for "back debts." Oglala life expectancy is 46 years. Alcoholism and suicide rates are very high. By the 1970s, of 3 million acres on the reservation only 1.5 million were still owned by Indians. Eighty-three percent of the Indians who owned land were forced to lease all or part of their land to whites, who are the only people with enough money to rent it.

## Murder of Yellow Thunder

The area where Pine Ridge is located is one of the most racist areas of the country. Attacks on Indian people by whites and the police are common. In February 1972 a Sioux named Raymond Yellow Thunder was abducted and beaten by two white men in Gordon, Nebraska. They took him to an American Legion hall dance. His pants were torn off and he was thrown in the middle of the dance floor where whites kicked and beat him over and over again. His battered body was found two days later.

Yellow Thunder's murderers were charged only with second degree manslaughter and released without bail. The authorities sealed the coffin and refused to even let the family see the body or the autopsy. After local authorities refused to help the family get justice for Raymond, they turned to AIM. AIM led a caravan of 200 cars to Gordon, Nebraska. They forced the authorities to file serious charges against the murderers, to dismiss the local police chief and to agree to meetings to discuss racism in Gordon.

Severt Young Bear described how many people felt at the time: "People here still talk about Yellow Thunder and what happened in Gordon. When AIM came in and helped the family look into the death, that made the older people that are living out on the reservation, out in the country—they kind of lifted up their heads, and were speaking out then. And they been talking against the BIA, Tribal Government, law and order system on the reservation, plus some of the non-Indian ranchers that are living on the reservation and been abusing Indians. It was brewing and it finally happened in Wounded Knee." After this action AIM chapters formed all over the reservation. The powers were very worried about the growing influence of AIM among Native peoples in Pine Ridge.

## The Government Mobilizes Against AIM

AIM's growing influence on the reservation was a serious threat to the powers. Huge corporations make billions of dollars in mining, logging, farming, natural gas, gravel and other operations on Indian land. In particular, the Black Hills and the Pine Ridge reservation contain large deposits of uranium, in a form that is very easy to mine. Uranium is crucial in the development of nuclear weapons, and the U.S. government desperately needed the uranium in the Black Hills to develop their stockpile of nuclear weapons.

The authors of *Agents of Repression* pointed out: "Overall, the plans for industrializing the Black Hills are staggering. They include a gigantic park featuring more than a score of 10,000 megawatt coal-fired plants, a dozen nuclear reactors, huge coal-slurry pipelines designed to use millions of gallons of water, and at least 14 major uranium mines." During the 1960s and 1970s 3.5 million tons of radioactive waste was dumped on the banks of the Cottonwood Creek from a uranium mine in Edgemont, located in the Black Hills. Hundreds of tons washed into the creek and into the Pine Ridge water table, exposing tens of thousands of area residents to potentially deadly radiation.

AIM's influence on the reservation threatened to jeopardize the mining in the



Wounded Knee, 1973—Indian guards four U.S. government agents and two farmers.



Wounded Knee, 1973.

Black Hills. The powers also had similar operations on other Indian lands across the country. So the government moved to crush AIM. In the spring of 1972, through the BIA, they backed the election of Dick Wilson as tribal chief. Wilson was a reactionary who was very patriotic to the U.S. and who especially hated AIM. He was given a huge amount of money by whites to run his

campaign. In return, he promised them liquor and construction contracts on the reservation. Wilson used tribal money to give high paying jobs to his relatives and to bribe people to back him up. He began a reign of terror on the reservation against AIM and its supporters. Hundreds of people were threatened, harassed, beaten, shot at, had family members injured or their

homes burned down by Wilson and a group of thugs he hired with tribal funds called the "GOONS" ("Guardians of the Oglala Nation").

In late November Wilson banned AIM from the reservation. The Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization led angry residents of the reservation in an attempt to impeach Wilson. They also demanded the

removal of the Pine Ridge BIA Superintendent Stanley Lyman. In response, Wilson called in BIA police and the FBI to back him up. The BIA gave Wilson \$62,000 to hire an auxiliary police force.

On January 21, 1973 an Oglala man named Wesley Bad Heart Bull was murdered at Buffalo Gap, South Dakota by a white man. His murderer was only charged with involuntary manslaughter. Sarah Bad Heart Bull, Wesley's mother, asked AIM for help in getting justice for her son. On February 6 AIM organized a demonstration at the town of Custer to demand that the charges be upgraded to murder. It was later revealed that the authorities set AIM up for a confrontation. Hundreds of police in riot gear were called in. FBI observers were on the scene. Police pushed Sarah Bad Heart Bull down the stairs. AIM members and police fought for hours, and two police cars were overturned and burned. Police tear-gas canisters burned two buildings to the ground. Sarah Bad Heart Bull did five months' time while her son's killer never saw a day in jail. The AIM action forced the mayors of towns in the area to meet with them and hear a set of Indian demands.

A week after the Custer confrontation the impeachment hearings were held. With backing from the FBI, BIA and the GOONS, Wilson controlled the hearings and forced a vote that reinstated him as tribal chief. To prevent people from organizing against him, the same day he announced a ban on all public meetings and demonstrations on the reservation. From February 20, on "the Justice Department turned the FBI, U.S. Marshals, BIA and state police into a paramilitary force equipped by the Pentagon to try and make it appear it was helping out local authorities, not putting down a popular revolt." They began monitoring every movement of AIM and OSCRO members on the reservation. A big confrontation was brewing.

**Still to come—Part 2: The Siege at Wounded Knee**

## "A Native American Concept of War"

*The following is an excerpt from an editorial in the February issue of The Circle, an Indian newspaper published in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Although the writer is not writing from a Maoist perspective, she raises important points about the relationship of Native American peoples to this war. We want to share them with our readers.*

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Should Native American people be participating in the United States aggression against the Arab nations—people of color in their own land? We were once a very brave and courageous people, most tribes have warrior societies and the warrior is held in high regard with much respect because they were the protectors of their people. Protectors not aggressors—we must really study our history and our language to really understand the meaning of these words in the context of our own culture and not the foreigners.

There is no honor in killing women and children. The idea of wars for annihilation is a foreign concept. Wars were fought and enemies were made between tribes in this country, but there was more honor given a warrior when they could shame their enemy by hitting them with a stick than killing him with a gun. It was honorable to die fighting for protecting your people. It was only one hundred years ago when our people were fighting the United States Army.

We are still feeling the effects of these wars and we are still fighting wars here in this country—the wars of poverty, drugs, alcoholism, oppression, and racism. Why are so many of our people fighting for the United States when our rights to live in our own country the way in which our ancestors lived are not honored?

Who is going to gain in this war? Certainly not the Indian people, our economic status is not going to change if the United States wins or loses. The story of Ira Hayes

is a tragic story and should send a powerful message to us as Native people and our role in this country's wars. He was one of the Marines in the famous picture on top of Iwo Jima helping to raise the United States flag. He was given top honors by the military, and he became an instant hero on his return from the war, yet when he went back home

**"It was only one hundred years ago when our people were fighting the United States Army.... It's hard to be happy living with people who thrive on destruction and care only about personal wealth."**

to live on his reservation in the southwest, nothing changed for his people. He died drunk, lying in his own vomit.

I am not proud that this country is in a war perhaps because I lack "team spirit." I quit watching the news on television because I felt like I was at a Superbowl game and I never did possess much "team spirit." When everyone else was out cheering for their team in school or in their city, I was out rallying, protesting, or helping to organize around real down home issues like housing, jobs, education and racism.

No, I am not going to support the ideal of white supremacy. It is obvious that the government of this country does not reflect the people that live in this country. How many people of color or women are in the Senate, the House of Representatives or any other governing body in this country? President Bush does not speak on my behalf.

The American people would not be so arrogant if the bombs were being dropped on them. The people would not be so quick to support such military aggression if they

knew what it was like to see their children burnt to a crisp from a bomb, or their homes that they are so proud of and pay on for most of their lives demolished with one quick drop of a bomb.

The weapons of today are so evil, I wonder what kind of minds would think of creating such diabolical machinery. So much time, energy and money goes into the making of these weapons. War is definitely big business and I wonder if it is ever going to end. It's hard to be happy living with people who thrive on destruction and care only about personal wealth.

I even feel guilty when I drive my car

and think about all the lives that are being lost because we Americans want to keep our cheap oil. I would easily give up my car before I would give up my children to fight in a war that doesn't have any honor or meaning. There are alternatives but it doesn't seem like anybody is interested in learning or hearing about them. Bicycles are much more healthy than cars and I would gladly trade my car in for one. I say let's bring all the men and women back here and start seriously looking at alternatives to war, greed, racism and hatred.

Ruth Denny  
Editor, *The Circle*



1990—The U.S. cavalry in Saudi Arabia. For ceremonial occasions, the cavalry still uses uniforms designed like those worn while they massacred the Indians. In fact, the U.S. military currently refers to the land separating U.S. and Iraqi forces as "Indian country"!

# Deeply Angry About the War in the Persian Gulf— Does This Sound Like You?

## Then You Should Support the Revolutionary Communist Party



Here we are approaching the 21st century and the mightiest military on earth and its allies is revelling in the massacre of Iraqi people and the destruction of Iraq—as a prelude to building their New World Order.

You watch with dread the U.S. government's willingness to send half a million to kill and be killed—while refusing to even consider negotiations or international conferences.

You cannot abide the ugly, hollow, national soul of a country which has the privilege of sitting in the safety of its living room and cheering on the high-tech genocide of a people thousands of miles away—so that America can maintain its oil-drenched, earth-destroying way of life.

You are fed up by the flag waving. You cannot wear a yellow ribbon when you know that under the banner of "support the troops," the U.S. armed forces are waging a brutal, unjust war. You wonder what all this will mean when the war is over. You can understand why Arab people hate the U.S.

You sense there is a connection between the way children are socialized in this society and the macho of the generals who gloat over "kills" and "bomb damage assessments." You feel it is no accident that the best "job opportunity" the system can offer many young Black and Latin people is to be cannonfodder in the U.S. military. You see immigrants harassed and threatened by the FBI only because they have an Arab surname. You see billions spent on bombs while more and more homeless people are on the street. You see the common threads between all these problems and you hate it.

You are not impressed by the politicians. Maybe the patriotic closing of ranks behind the president after some meaningless gestures was the final straw for you...or maybe it was the naked greed of the savings and loan swindle...or the assault on civil rights and the attempts to do away with abortion rights.

You cannot see hoping and waiting for the pendulum to swing back. Too much is at stake. The problem is too profound. You may have felt the weight of the media hype—hopelessness and cynicism—tugging at you. Yet you cannot live with yourself knowing that this means so many dying, while you look the other way.

You are impatient and mad. You want to make a real difference.

### IF YOU FEEL THIS WAY THEN YOU OWE IT TO YOURSELF AND HUMANITY TO CHECK OUT THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY.

The party needs and welcomes support and friends from all walks of life. There are many people who contribute to the revolutionary cause, even when our disagreements are substantial. But we share common concerns and the situation is urgent. You have an important role to play.

There are a thousand deeds crying out to be done: financial contributions and fundraising for the party; subscribe and introduce others to the valuable analysis and exposure found only in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper; circulate and post leaflets; help answer a phone or send out a mailing; help oppose the government's repression against the party and others stepping out against the war. There are many other creative ways that you can do something which will really make a difference. And if you are willing to adopt the ideology and stand of those on the bottom of this society, the proletariat, then you should join this party as well.

We in the RCP are actively preparing politically for an all-the-way revolution that will bring into being a new society built on completely different social relations. The world we are fighting for is one where war will become a relic of the past—when the U.S. will not dominate other nations; whites will not lord it over people of color; and men will not dominate women. It is for this reason, and from this perspective, that we in the RCP are helping to build the most determined movement to stop this U.S. war of aggression. We extend a hand of unity to all those who want to end the war and urge that we work together to make the resistance even more powerful.

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