

REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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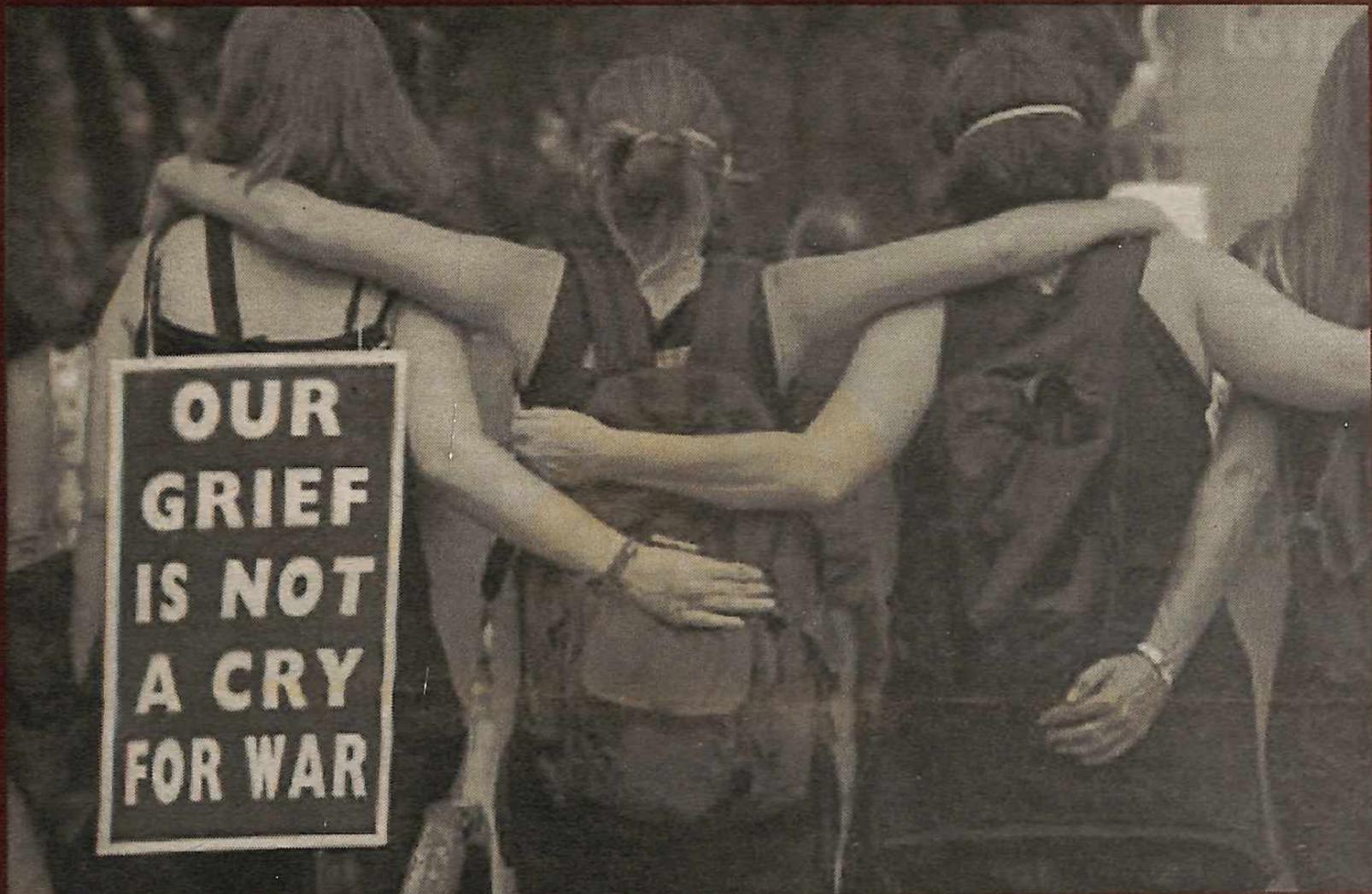
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U.S. Targets Afghanistan and...



Union Square, New York City, September 22, 2001.

a Time to Resist a Time to Stop the War

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As of September 23, 2001 Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) has been held in isolation for

8 Years, 326 Days

In October 1992, Chairman Gonzalo—leader of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru—was sentenced to life imprisonment by hooded military judges of the U.S.-backed regime in Peru. The fascist regime in Peru is holding this revolutionary leader of the Peruvian people under very brutal conditions in an underground concrete dungeon at a

naval base. He is being denied visits by lawyers, doctors and relatives and deprived of proper medical care and reading materials. Peru's former president Fujimori publicly threatened to execute Chairman Gonzalo and boasted of applying psychological torture on him. Fujimori changed Peru's constitution to legalize the death penalty, which could be used against Chairman Gonzalo and other revolutionary prisoners. The Peruvian regime must be prevented from killing Chairman Gonzalo through the death penalty or by other means.

Fujimori repeatedly claimed that Chairman Gonzalo has made a call for negotiations from prison. In this situation, what possible excuse can the Peruvian government now offer for continuing to deny Comrade Gonzalo independent contact with lawyers, doctors and friendly and neutral visitors from outside the prison in a way that meets the basic international standards for treatment of political prisoners and prisoners of war? It is vitally important for people in Peru and around the world to hear what Chairman Gonzalo's views are from Chairman Gonzalo himself—directly and unimpeded. This heightens the urgency of the fight to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to grant access to Comrade Gonzalo by his legal representatives and other friends who can meet and talk directly with him.

**Support the People's War in Peru!
Support the Communist Party of Peru!
Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo,
Fight to Break the Isolation!**



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15. The New Socialist Economy Part 2: Agriculture, City and Countryside, Ecology, and Planning
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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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Union Square, New York City, September 22, 2001.



Palestinian youth confront Israeli soldiers in the West Bank.



San Francisco vigil for peace and remembrance.



Demonstration against U.S. war moves at the U.S. embassy in Seoul, South Korea, September 17.

"As the dust clears from our eyes, the people in the most powerful country in the world find ourselves held hostage to the inevitable repercussions of the actions of this U.S. power structure and their bloody military machine...."

"And now they call on the people to support their retribution. They speak of war and justice. No."

"Through the shock we seek the truth: Global exploiters and mass murderers have no right to retribution and they can only bring more destruction and injustice...."

"As people mourn lost loved ones, as we put our arms around each other, all who seriously want justice need to reach out to the people of the world—to stand together against the crimes of the system, to strengthen our resistance against every act of war and repression."

From a statement by the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA,
September 14, 2001

It is...

a Time to Resist

a Time to Stop the War

Afghanistan Intrigue:

Young boys digging bomb shelters in the dusty hills of Afghanistan. Tens of thousands of Afghani refugees trekking to the border of Pakistan, desperate to leave before U.S. bombs fall on their country. What will happen to the people of Afghanistan who have lived in war and poverty for so long? It is a terrible thing, that the U.S. power structure is moving its forces halfway around the world—that the U.S. is putting the people of Afghanistan, once again, in the crosshairs of war.

Our heart-felt solidarity goes out to our sisters and brothers there—to the revolutionary people struggling under such difficult conditions in the vast refugee camps of Pakistan and the war-torn villages of Afghanistan itself. We are inspired by the heroic women daring to defy the Taliban and tradition's chains. And we salute our courageous Maoist comrades working underground among the masses, strategizing about how to launch and win a genuine revolution.

They are walking the only road that offers hope to the people of Afghanistan. It is the people alone who can create a bright and liberated future through revolutionary struggle against imperialism and domestic reactionaries.

Within hours after hijacked airliners crashed into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the U.S. government claimed that its "prime suspects" were the al-Qaida organization and its leader, Osama bin Laden.

Within days, the U.S. president was threatening war on Afghanistan—accusing the Muslim fundamentalist government of that country, the Taliban, of "harboring" the networks that attacked the U.S. As we go to press, U.S. authorities have offered very little evidence to back their public claims.

Who are these forces around Osama bin Laden that the U.S. government has accused? Where did they come from? Who trained and organized them?

The answers to these questions lead back to the CIA—back to major crimes, campaigns and global rivalries of U.S. imperialism.

Osama bin Laden first appeared on the stage 20 years ago as a major recruiter for U.S.-backed armed forces who were fighting the Soviet army in Afghanistan.

War Comes to Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a rich tapestry of many different peoples living relatively isolated, deep in the highlands of Central Asia. In the 1960s, the U.S. power structure considered Afghanistan as a "buffer state" between the Soviet Union to the north and the strategically important U.S.-backed states of Iran and Pakistan to the south. The overwhelming majority of the population of 18 million lived as impoverished farmers in the extremely backward countryside—dominated by large landowners and the heads of feudal clans. But then, at the end of 1970s, the intensifying global rivalry between the U.S. and USSR brought bitter warfare to Afghanistan.

In 1978, bureaucrat-capitalist forces allied with the Soviet imperialists staged a coup and took over Afghanistan's weak central government in Kabul. Resistance to the Kabul regime developed among a wide range of forces who were hostile to each other—from Maoists, who opposed Soviet domination, to traditional patriarchal clans who were in an uproar over girls going to school. And in 1979, the



Family digs a bomb shelter behind their house in Kabul.

Soviet army invaded to prop up their local allies.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to former U.S. President Jimmy Carter said: "Literally the day after the Soviet action in Kabul, I wrote a memo to the president in which the key sentence was 'We now have the opportunity to give the Soviet Union its Vietnam.'" According to Charles Cogan, the former CIA station chief for this area, U.S. arms were arriving at the scene within 13 days of the Soviet invasion.

The U.S.-Soviet rivalry produced a war that would tear Afghanistan apart. More than one million Afghani people were killed and one-third of the population fled into refugee camps. Tens of thousands of Soviet soldiers died in the war. Twenty years later, the fighting in Afghanistan has still not ended.

Jimmy Carter's Jihad

"It is a deliberate effort by a powerful atheistic government to subjugate an independent Islamic people."

Jimmy Carter denouncing the 1979 Soviet invasion

"Portraying the Soviet imperialists as 'communists' and hence the anti-imperialist struggle of the Afghani people as one between 'communism' and the 'soldiers of Allah' helped strengthen backward religious feeling amongst the masses and propped up the authority of the feudals and clergy. This was done with the full backing of the Western imperialists, who funded religious propaganda and armed the Mujahadeen as a weapon in their rivalry with the Soviet social-imperialists."

M.N. Cham, A World To Win magazine

For the masses of Afghani people, the Soviet invasion was an intolerable attempt at direct foreign domination. Revolutionary and progressive forces, including the country's Maoist organizations, threw themselves into the fight against the invaders. However, as M. N. Cham writes,



Refugees from Afghanistan cross into Pakistan.

"In the absence of a revolutionary party capable of uniting the people into a people's war against imperialism and feudalism, the resistance of the masses was in the main organized under the leadership of various feudal and bourgeois forces."

The U.S. ruling class threw its resources behind some of the most reactionary forces in Afghan society—who came to be called the Afghan Mujahadeen. Their program for Afghanistan was the all-round-defense of traditional feudal society—including the protection of big estates from land reform and the violent defense of traditional practices oppressing women. They were organized under the banner of *jihad*—holy war—to drive foreign troops from the Muslim world. But the truth is that this modern *jihad* was controlled from the White House and conducted to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism.

These U.S. interests were completely opposed to those of the masses of people. The U.S. wanted to bog down their Soviet imperialist rivals. The U.S. was looking to fund and arm forces who would fight the Soviet Union, while precisely *not* opposing imperialism and traditional Afghani feudalism in any fundamental way. Brzezinski and Carter dreamed that an anti-Soviet *jihad* in Afghanistan could be spread across the border among the Muslim peoples of the USSR's Central Asian republics.

Bin Laden comes to Afghanistan

This U.S. takeover of the Afghan resistance was done with great secrecy. Millions of dollars were funneled through the intensely conservative monarchy of Saudi Arabia. The training of the Afghan Mujahadeen was carried out largely from bases along the Pakistani-Afghan border by the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI)—under the close supervision of the CIA's "covert war" experts. The weapons they provided in the beginning were Soviet- and Chinese-

made—so the U.S. backing would not be obvious.

Osama bin Laden came to this region in 1980 as a "Checkbook Mujahadeen." He spent two years bringing funds from the Saudi ruling class to reactionary forces within the Afghan resistance. He is the son of a construction capitalist whose close ties to the Saudi monarchy made him a billionaire.

When the CIA and Pakistan's ISI decided to train tens of thousands of Muslims from around the world to fight in Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden was one of the key organizers of the effort.

Ahmed Rashid, author of *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*, estimates that after 1982 more than 100,000 Muslims from dozens of countries received political or military training in the CIA-backed camps of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

According to Ahmed Rashid, Osama bin Laden helped build the Khost tunnel complex, a major arms storage depot, training facility and medical center built with CIA funds. Nearby, Bin Laden established a military camp for about 9,000 followers of Wahabbism, the Islamic creed promoted by the Saudi monarchy and Afghanistan's dominant Pashtun nationality. This Khost camp became the headquarters for al-Qaida [which means "military base"] and in 1998 was a target of Bill Clinton's cruise missile attack on Afghanistan.

The CIA's Ugly Army

Through the 1980s, a war-hardened army, with a quarter million fighters, took shape in Afghanistan under CIA guidance.

It has been widely reported how some of these forces burned down schools and slit the throats of schoolteachers for teaching boys and girls together in mixed classes. M.N. Cham recounts that in the desperate camps of refugees where they recruited fighters, the Mujahadeen severely punished and even killed anyone who questioned the dogmas and reac-



President Ronald Reagan hosting Afghan mujahadeen at White House during U.S.-funded war against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

The CIA and Osama bin Laden

tionary social norms of their Islam in any way.

These military operations were combined with massive drug smuggling. Alfred McCoy, a leading researcher into the global drug trade, writes that within two years of the CIA intervention in Afghanistan, "the Pakistan-Afghanistan borderlands became the world's top heroin producer, supplying 60 percent of U.S. demand." Cheap heroin flooded Pakistan, where the number of addicts went from near zero in 1979 to over 1 million by 1985. Charles Cogan, a CIA director of the Afghan operation, later said: "Our main mission was to do as much damage as possible to the Soviets. We didn't really have the resources or the time to devote to an investigation of the drug trade... I don't think that we need to apologize for this. Every situation has its fallout."

In a 1997 interview with Robert Fisk, Osama bin Laden claimed that he and his associates never saw "evidence of American help" in Afghanistan. This is hard to believe.

The U.S. hand was more and more impossible to miss—especially after March 1985, when President Reagan's National Security Decision Directive 166 authorized a massive escalation of U.S. funding and weapons supply. The Afghan war against Soviet forces was a multi-billion dollar operation—largely paid for by CIA and the Saudi ruling class. U.S. contributions exploded, from \$30 million in 1980 to over \$600 million per year after 1987. 65,000 tons of U.S.-made weapons and ammunition a year were entering the war by 1987—including the high-profile Stingers used against Soviet helicopters. By the end of the 1980s, Mujahadeen commanders were openly meeting with U.S. congressional leaders and with Ronald Reagan himself—they were part of a global network of such CIA-organized cutthroats that included the contras of Central America and UNITA in southern Africa. The U.S. media shamelessly called all these forces "freedom fighters."

It is inconvenient now, for both the U.S. government and for Osama bin Laden, to remember that Bin Laden was a key operative in the largest CIA covert war in history. His movement (and several other Islamist armed movements) emerged from the CIA training camps in Pakistan.

After the Soviet Defeat

On February 15, 1989, the last of the Soviet Union's troops left Afghanistan in defeat. The fighting continued as the various feudal warlords split into warring camps. The U.S. and Soviet Union left behind a collection of reactionary armies who combined and recombined in the years after Soviet withdrawal. And the masses of people continued to suffer terribly.

Determined to help forge a different future for the people of Afghanistan, in 1991 the Organization of Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan founded the Communist Party of Afghanistan (CPA), a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM).

M.N. Cham writes in *A World to Win* "The Taliban [which means "students of religion"] appeared on the political scene of Afghanistan soon after a trip by a high ranking Pakistani delegation to Turkmenistan to negotiate trade between the two countries which would go through Afghanistan. Supported by Pakistan, the Taliban emerged with the slogan of securing the roads and fighting piracy. The banner of anti-corruption was raised, religious schools were emptied as the 'students' joined the struggle, and it was not long before Taliban artillery were pounding the gates of Kabul, finally capturing it in September 1996. The Taliban have their roots in the pro-U.S. Muslim fundamentalist forces, are Wahabi Muslims (a sub-branch of Sunni) and represent Pashtun chauvinism."

An editorial in the *Kathmandu Post* (September 20) said, "When the Taliban...entered Kabul on 27 September 1996, the US state welcomed the development with the hope that the new rulers might bring stability to the region despite the fact that they are notoriously illiberal in social terms. The US media offered a muted and cliched sense of horror at the social decay of the Taliban, but without

any sense of the US hand in the manufacture of such theocratic fascists for its own hegemonic ends. In 30 years, Afghanistan has been reduced to a "concession" in which corporations and states vie for control over commodities and markets without concern for the dignity and destiny of the people of the region. Oil, guns, landmines and heroin are the coordinates for policy-makers, not the shadowy bodies that hang from the scaffolds like paper-flags of a nation without sovereignty."

The U.S. dreamed of an oil pipeline from Turkmenistan across Afghanistan into Pakistan. It was part of their plan for dismantling the former Soviet empire and linking Central Asia directly to Western corporations and markets. The Taliban was their hope for establishing some stability in Afghanistan's chaos. Robert Scheer documents that as recently as May 17, 2001, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell announced a \$43 million aid package to the Taliban which "in addition to other recent aid, makes the U.S. the main sponsor of the Taliban."

For the masses of people, this Taliban has a nightmare of extreme religious reaction and repression. M.N. Cham writes: "The rise of the Taliban was accompanied by savage attacks on women. Women are forced to wear dark veils covering them from head to toe; they are forbidden to work or go to school; they cannot walk in the streets, shop or seek care in hospitals unless accompanied by a *mahram* male (husband, brother or father), and even public baths are barred to them. Women are bought and sold, taken as war spoils, raped and killed."

A Turning Point in the Gulf

In December 1991, the USSR collapsed. This changed all kinds of alignments on a world scale. Thousands of war-hardened Islamist fighters were spreading out from Afghanistan throughout the Muslim world. Some 4,000 of them settled in the Saudi cities of Mecca and Medina alone.

Chossudovsky writes: "The CIA continued to support the Islamic 'jihad' out of Pakistan. New undercover initiatives were set in motion in Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Balkans. Pakistan's military and intelligence apparatus essentially 'served as a catalyst for the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the emergence of six new Muslim republics in Central Asia.'"

At the same time, these Islamist veterans of the Afghan war also came into intense conflict with pro-U.S. governments—and with larger U.S. interests—over the Persian Gulf war. A key turning point was when the U.S. brought 540,000 troops into the Persian Gulf in 1991 to attack Iraq's armed forces.

The *jihad* movement had been formed to wage war against foreign invasion in the Muslim world. And yet now, hundreds of thousands of non-Muslim U.S. troops were based in Saudi Arabia—the guardian of the holy sites of Mecca and Medina. Meanwhile, the U.S.-backed state of Israel was refusing to even discuss Palestinian control of another holy Muslim site in Jerusalem.

There were deep splits within the Saudi ruling class over the Gulf War. Prominent ruling class forces, including Osama bin Laden, considered it treason when Saudi King Fahd welcomed NATO forces into the Arab world. In their eyes, the U.S. client states like Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey were profoundly corrupt and traitorously anti-Islamic. The conflict deepened after the war, when the U.S. did not withdraw but instead built permanent bases in the Gulf.

Within Saudi Arabia, opposition was suppressed and, in 1992, Osama bin Laden fled Saudi Arabia for Sudan where he formed an alliance with Dr. Hassan Al Turabi, Chairman of the Sudan National Council. He was stripped of Saudi citizenship in 1994.

In 1996 Osama bin Laden moved back to Afghanistan. And in 1998, he reportedly participated in the creation of an "Islamic front for Jihad" to wage war against the U.S. The U.S. authorities claim that his role is (as it was in his days in the Afghan war) one of funneling money.

Many of the old networks funded and trained by the CIA now reassembled

themselves for a *jihad* against the U.S. and the Arab governments working with the U.S. The arms supplied by the CIA, the training camps, the religious schools, and the trained fighters all became the infrastructure of this force.

The demands of this movement include the end of Western military presence and cultural influence in Muslim countries—the dismantling of U.S. bases in the Gulf, an end to Western support for Israel, and the replacement of pro-Western Arab states with strict Muslim theocracies based on the *Sharia* (law drawn from the Koran's rules).

Blowback of the Empire

"Any resistance fighter is a terrorist if the Europeans don't like him. They call him a resistance fighter if they like him.... It is just the misconduct of American foreign policy, military policy that has changed the American image into the incarnation of the devil... Now they have developed Osama bin Laden as the champion, as the symbol of Islam for all young people in the whole Muslim world. Anyone who is a Muslim now, who is moved now to fight for Islam, to strike for Islam, the image is Osama bin Laden. If they kill him, strike him, oh, they will generate thousands of Bin Ladens."

Dr. Hassan Al Turabi, Chairman of Sudan National Council, October 1998

"Most Americans are probably unaware of how Washington exercises its global hegemony, since so much of this activity takes place either in relative secrecy or under comforting rubrics. Many may, as a start, find it hard to believe that our place in the world even adds up to an empire. But only when we come to see our country as both profiting from and trapped within the structures of an empire of its own making will it be possible for us to explain many elements of the world that otherwise perplex us.... The term 'blowback,' which officials of the Central Intelligence Agency first invented for their own internal use, is starting to circulate among students of international relations. It refers to the unintended consequences of policies that were kept secret from the American people. What the daily press reports as the malign acts of 'terrorists' or 'drug lords' or 'rogue states' or 'illegal arms merchants' often turn out to be blowback from earlier American operations."

Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback—The Costs and Consequences of American Empire*

"Who has put the masses in the U.S. in harms way? The U.S. power structure points the finger to the Middle East. But the answer lies on U.S. soil. These imperialists—who have perpetrated countless crimes and rained havoc on the people of the world through their relentless global exploitation and their military actions—have created a situation where millions of people all around the world hate the government of the United States."

"As the dust clears from our eyes, the people in the most powerful country in

the world find ourselves held hostage to the inevitable repercussions of the actions of this U.S. power structure and their bloody military machine. Now, besides the horrors that they have perpetuated against the people around the world—horrors that multiply the tears shed in NY and Washington a thousand times—these cold-hearted imperialists have called forth the same kind of devastation in the belly of their own beast.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, September 14, 2001

It is hard to know what Osama bin Laden's role has really been in the various attacks on the U.S. since the Gulf War. But it is clear that by targeting him as "Enemy Number One," the U.S. imperialists made him and his reactionary form of Islamism a symbol of resistance for even more people across the world.

On August 20, 1998, President Bill Clinton sent 75 cruise missiles pounding into rural Afghanistan—supposedly targeting Osama Bin Laden. The raid killed children gathered in a village school and left a local mosque in ruins. And after that, bin Laden's portrait appeared on even more walls, especially among Muslim youth who are bitterly disenchanted with a world dominated, perverted and robbed by the U.S.

As we go to press, the former "freedom fighters" of Ronald Reagan are now the "terrorists" of George W. Bush. And Pentagon generals are now consulting their former adversaries—the defeated generals of the Soviet Army—about how to fight in Afghanistan.

In the midst of all this intrigue, the people of the world cry out for an end to the brutal imperialist domination of the Middle East—and the rest of the planet.

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A Message to Troops, Would-be Troops, and Other Youth

by Jeff Paterson

The RW received the following message from Gulf war resister Jeff Paterson.

Know anyone in the military, or thinking about signing up soon? Pass this along to them. They may appreciate it, or not... but they deserve a heads up.

In August 1990 I was an active duty U.S. Marine Corps Corporal. I was ordered to the Middle East—the Gulf War was about to come. Four years prior—thinking I had nothing better to do with my life—I had walked into the Salinas, California recruiting station and told them to “put me where I was most needed.”

“What am I going to do with my life?” has always been a huge question for youth, and today, in the wake of the horror and tragedy of September 11th, this question has increased importance for millions of young people.

No one who has seen the images will ever forget. In a scene as unreal as the Matrix, a conflict reached into American reality in an unthinkable way. Copy clerks to admin assistants, restaurant workers to firefighters—thousands of lives ripped away from friends and family. Now the television shouts, “revenge,” “infinite justice,” and “something must be done!” Wave a red, white and blue flag to ease the sorrow, to declare, “We’re not going to take it.”

And, I might be like the youth who are going down to the recruiters now, if I hadn’t spent those four years in the Marine Corps. Most of the time my unit trained to fight a war against peasants who dared to struggle against “American interests” in their homelands—specifically Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala. I saw dire poverty in the Philippines; U.S. government-sanctioned prostitution rings to service the U.S. armed forces in South Korea; and unbridled racism towards the peoples of Okinawa and Japan—where the standard response to a child waving a “peace sign” at us with his fingers was “yaaa, ha ha, two bombs little gook.” I began to understand why billions of people around the world really do hate the United States—specifically its war machine, covert “contra” wars, and the whole system of economic globalization that replaces hope with 12-hour days locked in sweatshops producing “Designed in the USA” exports.

Faced with this reality, I began the process of becoming un-American—meaning that the interests of the people of the world began to weigh heavier than my self-interest.

When the U.S. launched the Gulf War, I realized that the world did not need or want another U.S. troop. Although they did not look much like me, I found I had more in common with the common peoples of the Middle East than I did with those who were ordering me to kill them. My Battalion Commander’s reassurance that “if anything goes wrong we’ll nuke the rag heads until they all glow” was not reassuring. Up against that, I publicly stated I would not be a pawn in America’s power plays for profits, oil, and domination of the Middle East. I pledged to resist, and I pledged that if I were dragged out into the Saudi desert, I would refuse to fight. A few weeks later, I sat down on the airstrip as hundreds of Marines—many of whom I had lived with for years—filed past me and boarded the plane. I fought the Gulf War from a military brig, and after worldwide anti-war protesters helped spring me, we fought the war in the streets.

But back then we failed to stop the war. Since 1990 over 1.5 million Iraqi people have died—not mainly from the massive U.S. bombing which continues from the sky, but from a decade of economic sanctions. All the while the U.S. government has coldly declared that these Iraqi deaths are “worth it” in order to achieve strategic regional objectives. So today, as the U.S. government demands the world mourn with us for our loss, we in turn are expected to ignore the suffering that this nation produces.

Every time the U.S. war machine is kicked into high gear, acknowledgements are made about past “mistakes”: Gulf War sickness, Agent Orange and napalm in Viet Nam, massacres of refugees in Korea, U.S. troops used as nuclear exposure guinea pigs after World War II, concentration camps for Japanese-Americans during World War II. And always: “Trust us, this time it will be different.” But it never is.

One need not be a pacifist, a communist, a Quaker, or a humanist to oppose this war. However, it certainly helps to be an *internationalist*—realizing that our collective future is bound up with the majority of humanity, and not with those who



Jeff Paterson refusing to board military plane in Hawaii heading to Saudi Arabia, August 7, 1990.

are taking this horrific opportunity to threaten war. For those woman and men now in uniform, you have a choice to make. Silence is what your “superiors” expect of you, but the interests of humanity require more. Think. Speak out. And if you make the choice to resist, there are hundreds of thousands who will support

you—many of whom have already taken to the streets to oppose this war.

Like his father before him, Bush Jr. has drawn a line in the sand: “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.” Simply put, the rulers of the U.S. see much unfinished business for their “New World Order.” While we grieve, they announce that “the normal rules no longer apply” (translation: now is the time to settle our scores), and we have “a blank check to act, the nation is united” (translation: dissent will be ignored, or suppressed as required). Now more than ever, the people of the world are not safe from the U.S., and the people in the U.S. are not safe from the U.S.

I will not wave the red, white and blue flag—instead I’ll wear a green ribbon in solidarity with immigrants and Arab Americans facing increasing racist attacks. Stop the War. Support the troops who refuse to fight.

Let’s dedicate our lives to changing this situation.

Jeff Paterson
September 22, 2001

On August 30, 1990, 22-year-old Marine Corporal Jeff Paterson refused to board a military plane in Hawaii heading to Saudi Arabia. He was the first active-duty military resister in the U.S.-led attack on Iraq. The photo of Jeff Paterson sitting on the airstrip, defying orders to go fight in the Gulf War, appeared on TV and in newspapers around the world. Later Jeff edited the Anti-WARrior newsletter of military resistance to the Gulf War. Jeff currently resides in the San Francisco Bay Area and is a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist (www.oz.net/~vvawai). He can be reached through VVAW-AI, or directly at “EMAILJP@post.com”.



Protesters against the U.S. war in Iraq take over a Seattle highway, January 1991.

Reporter's Notebook from New York

Resistance at Ground Zero



Memorial at Union Square.

RWOR photo



March from Union Square to Times Square, September 21.

RWOR photo

by Debbie Lang

September 11. We watched horrified from the city streets or on TV as two planes crashed into the World Trade Center and the buildings thundered to the ground. In an instant thousands of friends, lovers and co-workers were gone. And downtown Manhattan suddenly looked like Baghdad, Belgrade or the West Bank.

We all wondered if anyone we knew was inside. Frantic friends and relatives tried desperately to reach their loved ones, but circuits were busy or phone lines were dead. For days thousands of people of different nationalities and from many countries walked the streets with pictures of their family members—desperately hoping they would be found alive. Over 6,500 people lost their lives. Thousands more were suddenly without jobs because dozens of buildings in the area were damaged. People who lived near the site were forced to leave their homes. Electricity and phone service went out.

Millions of people have been shocked and jolted by all this. Events have forced people to ask big questions about what's happening in the world and why.

The following Reporter's Notebook is based on beginning investigation—interviews and stories gathered in the days after September 11 from some different areas of New York City.

Anti-War Resistance

People gathered at public parks and squares to erect memorials for the dead and to grieve together. The government announced plans to retaliate—possibly bombing whole countries—and called on people to pick up their flag “in honor of the victims” and as a “show of unity.” Suddenly American flags popped up all over the place—and attacks against immigrants spread like a wildfire. A new and dangerous situation developed. And progressive forces mobilized to oppose U.S. war preparations and racist attacks.

Hundreds of people met nearly every night to figure out how to respond—the majority of them middle class people in their 20s and 30s. Teach-ins were held at colleges, universities and meeting centers. People came to learn about the history of U.S. involvement in the Middle East and Afghanistan—information they are not getting from the government and the

media. On September 21, 5,000 people of different nationalities marched from Union Square to Times Square to oppose the U.S. going to war.

If you look downtown from the west side of Union Square you can see the gap between buildings where the World Trade Center used to stand. Thousands of people who fled the downtown area when the towers fell came to this park. Since then it has become a center of activity where tens of thousands of people have gone to grieve with others—and to debate the problem and the solution. Huge memorials cover almost every surface with pictures of the victims covered by thousands of candles, flowers and signs of every color, shape and size.

The Square is in a progressive middle class area of the city. Revolution Books is a few streets away. An RCP supporter wrote: “I go there almost daily to see all the groups of people—bands playing, people singing, people writing on banners and acres of paper their desires for resistance to the rumbling blind patriotic hate—for peace, for government restraint, for the need for a search for not “who” but “why.” You’ll see many expressions by level-headed and compassionate people. There are ugly expressions, too, of course. But the overall feeling I get is that it’s a place where people are searching for answers and contributing to a dialogue. When someone starts a conversation dozens or hundreds gather around to listen and debate.

“A woman playwright had just finished writing on one of these banners. She very deliberately placed her comments directly beneath the ugly scrawling of someone who had written ‘Kill ‘em all.’ In tears she asked, ‘Will people be able to act quickly enough and in enough numbers to stop this?’”

Some of the other messages read: “May love, justice, compassion, and peace prevail worldwide. Let us unite as humans!! God bless and protect ALL people!”; “Resist Revenge—Break the Cycle of Violence.”; “It is a responsibility as an American to stop and think for a moment... WHY would anyone do this to us? Maybe there is something we have done.”; “One World, One Future”; “ISLAM is not the enemy. WAR is not the Answer.”; “Our Grief is Not a Cry for War!”

Some family members of victims also spoke out against the U.S. going to war. Orlando and Phyllis Rodriguez lost their only son Gregory. Daily News reporter Juan Gonzalez wrote: “Not in my son’s name, you don’t,” Orlando Rodriguez told me yesterday.... ‘I know there is anger,’ he said. ‘I feel it myself. But I don’t want my son used as a pawn to justify the killing of others. I’m not willing to give our government carte blanche to take away our freedoms in the name of public safety.’” More than 5,000 people attended a prayer vigil in Wethersfield, Connecticut organized by Judy Keane, whose husband Richard was killed. AP reported that in a letter to President Bush she wrote: “The recent events have overwhelmed many in the country with emotions of anger and frustration. Retaliation against another country for this horrendous crime is not the answer. We cannot be responsible for the suffering of innocent families in America and abroad. We cannot send loved ones off to war.”

While TV news anchors cite polls that claim almost 90 percent back the government’s war plans, we’ve met many people who are determined to resist. Union Square has become the center of a developing movement against the war. People told me they come here to find others who oppose the mindless patriotism being pumped out by the media. One Asian youth described the scene: “I was really excited when I got there and saw all these signs that said ‘Arabs are not the enemy. War is not the answer.’ There’s this giant one that says ‘End the desperation that breeds terrorism’ and another one next to it, ‘Racism and war are not the answers.’ I saw one with a giant peace sign and over it was written ‘End U.S. Imperialism.’”

Taking to the Streets to Defend Immigrants

Not far from the charred remnants of what was the World Trade Center, cops are stationed at barricades along the streets. You can only walk in a certain direction. People are stopped randomly and asked where they are going. National Guard troops and armored personnel carriers line the streets. There is a stepped-up police presence in many neighborhoods. The New York Board of Education announced in a memo to teachers they would conduct “air raid” drills in the public schools.

The rulers have created a siege mentality in the city and across the country. Their calls for blind patriotism and national unity have sent a lying message that “foreigners” are the enemy and they are here “hidden” among us. Law enforcement officials have drawn up lists of “suspects” and arrested hundreds of people. Arab and Muslim people have become the object of intense racial profiling. Taking a cue from all this, racists have launched an unprecedented wave of attacks. Anybody who isn’t white has become a potential target. Several Arab people have been murdered. A Creek woman in Tulsa was run over by a car full of white men who told her, “go back to your own country.”

New York City and the surrounding area is home to millions of immigrants from all over the world who now find themselves a target in “America’s new war.”

The Arab-American Family Support Center in New York said: “We have kids scared to go to school, mothers scared to leave their homes to buy food for their families. People are being attacked. Arab children have reported this afternoon teachers who attacked them verbally.... Families are contacting us because they are so scared to talk to the American police.” Many immigrants have flown flags on their shops and cabs fearing they would be attacked if they didn’t.

An Asian youth said: “Some people of color are reverting to the flag for fear of what might happen to them if they don’t. I mean we’ve seen two lynchings [racist murders] so far and hundreds of hate crimes reported. It’s been really heavy. It’s not only that the racists are attacking people, it’s that the media and higher powers are testing the loyalty of Arab-Americans right now. And there was a similar dynamic during WWII with Japanese-Americans—who were then put in internment camps.”

People are angry that the media is downplaying the extent and severity of attacks. Immigrants of many nationalities have organized to defend themselves and set up hotlines to report racist attacks. There has been a tremendous outpouring of support and help from people of different nationalities—including many white people. I’ve spoken with many people who have made a point to check and make

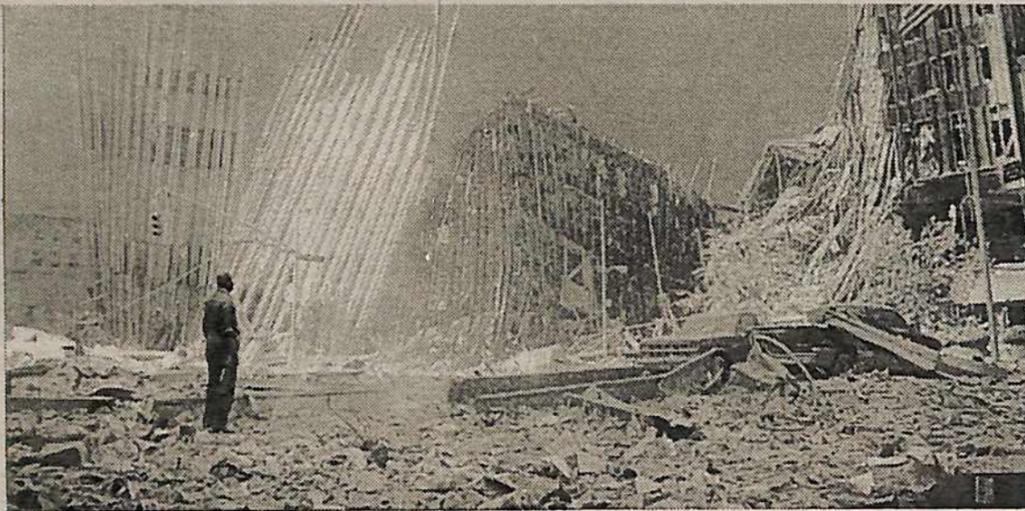
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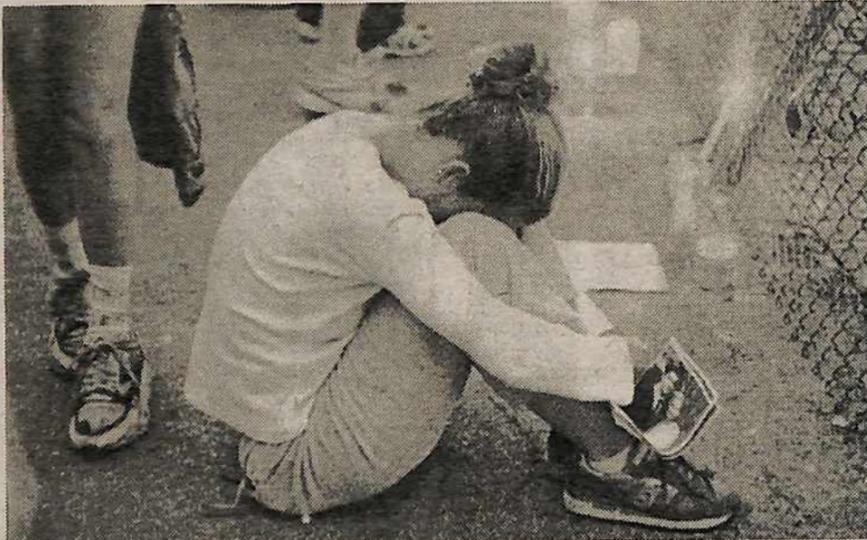
Panama City neighborhood destroyed during the U.S. invasion, 1989.



People in Iraq under attack from U.S. bombs, February 1991.



A rescue worker at the ruins of the World Trade Center.



Washington Square, New York City, September 13.



Palestinian girl at a tent near her family's destroyed home in a refugee camp in Gaza Strip, June 2001.



Survivors fleeing the firestorm after the U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima, August 6, 1945.



U.S. troops using gas to force villagers out of their air raid shelter during the Vietnam war.

The Horrors That Come From This Horrible System

September 11, 2001. USA. Shock. Mountains of steel and concrete falling, crushing. Loss. Lives shattered in a moment. Searching for loved ones buried under mountains of debris.

Horror from the sky.

A brown-skinned woman stands at the Red Cross line holding a picture of her missing husband. Her eyes scan the scene as if looking hard will bring him back. A young blue-eyed man waits nervously for news of his lover. Hope turns to the realization that partners, friends and colleagues are gone. Snatched away by a conflict that has brutally intruded into daily life from the heavens.

In an instant New York City reminds us of Baghdad, Belgrade, Sudan, the West Bank, Vietnam, Panama, Indonesia, Hiroshima, Vieques.

The images flood our minds. Mothers running through the streets of Baghdad with their children as U.S. bombs fall like rain. Iraqi women watching their children die because U.S. bombs and sanctions have deliberately poisoned the water they need to live. Families carrying the coffins of sons taken out by made-in-U.S.A. rockets on the West Bank. Workers at a medicine factory picking through the rubble in Sudan left by U.S. cruise missiles. Scrambling for cover in Belgrade as U.S. bombs strike from the air. Looking through the stadium in Chile where thousands of former lovers, sons, and daughters lay—stilled forever by a coup made in Washington. Gasping with horror as the firing squads of the Indonesian army, with CIA lists of political opponents in their pockets, massacre hundreds of thousands, filling the rivers with the dead.

Hiroshima, Vietnam, Baghdad. The war has come home. Even if the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were symbols of the financial and military power of U.S. imperialism, the reality is that many innocent people were killed as a result.

And who is responsible? Who has put the masses in the U.S. in harm's way?

The U.S. power structure points the finger to the Middle East. But the answer lies on U.S. soil. These imperialists—who have perpetrated countless crimes and rained havoc on the people of the world through their relentless global exploitation and their military actions—have created a situation where millions of people all around the world hate the government of the United States.

As the dust clears from our eyes, the people in the most powerful country in the world find ourselves held hostage to the inevitable repercussions of the actions of this U.S. power structure and their bloody military machine. Now, besides the horrors that they have perpetuated against the people around the world—horrors that multiply the tears shed in NY and Washington a thousand times—these cold-hearted imperialists have called forth the same kind of devastation in the belly of their own beast.

And now they call on the people to support their retribution. They speak of war and justice. No.

These hegemonic dominators do not have the right to continue on their warpath. They are the source of so much pain and suffering around the world. And their current moves to war and military actions—against named and unnamed countries and targets—must be actively opposed.

Through the shock we seek the truth: Global exploiters and mass murderers have no right to retribution and they can only bring more destruction and injustice. To join forces with them, to seek their protection, will only encourage them to commit more crimes against the people of our planet.

They show us pictures of Arab youth cheering in the streets of occupied territory and ask us to be horrified and seek revenge. But we need to ask *why* are people in the Middle East and other parts of the world celebrating the events of September 11: not because innocent lives were lost, but because an arrogant power that has been getting away with murder and boasting of its invincibility has been shown to be vulnerable.

The rulers capitalize on our pain and ask the people to pray with them. But as the people remember our dead, what is the power structure doing? Unleashing more war and police-state repression. Preying on the people of the world.

They talk of protecting the people but all the while they are drawing up lists of names, carrying out raids, and putting vast new Big Brother measures into place.

They talk of ending terror, through war, and ready their armed forces to bring about great horrors.

They want us to unite with them and wave their flag. No.

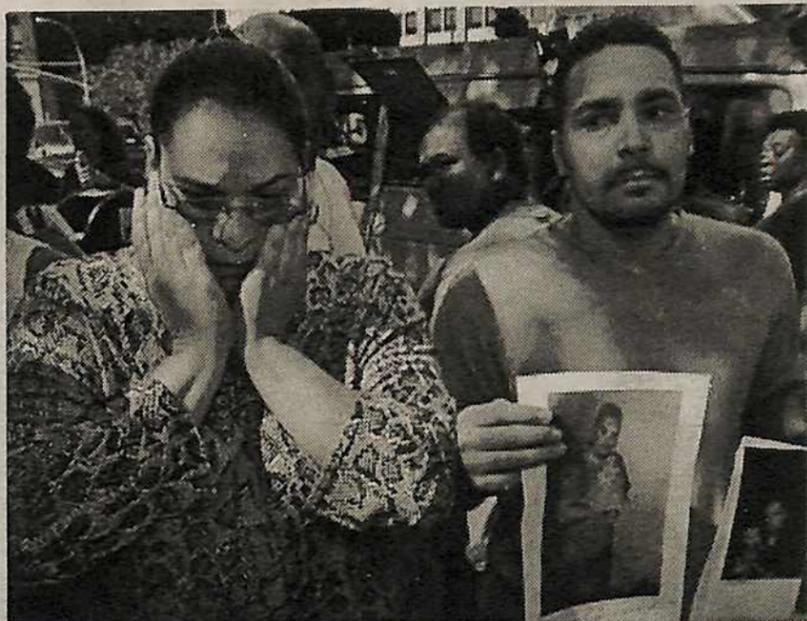
In the tension of the present, we remember the lessons of history. While they talk of another Pearl Harbor, we are reminded of how the U.S. government played on people's fear for their own safety to rally support for rounding up the Japanese-Americans, confiscating their property and putting them in concentration camps. We remember how they tried to paint anyone who opposed them as giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

And remembering these crimes strengthens our resolve to prevent such things from happening again. We cannot be intimidated by the official and unofficial pressure to line up behind their war moves and their flag. We can see the logic of this poison in the ugly threats and beatings coming down on Arab people.

As people mourn lost loved ones, as we put our arms around each other, all who seriously want justice need to reach out to the people of the world—to stand together against the crimes of this system, to strengthen our resistance against every act of war and repression.

And, as we build our resistance, we need to be crystal clear on the nature of these oppressors who are hurtling towards a new war: these arrogant lying creatures do not rule in the interests of the people of this country or the world. As long as they continue in power the horrors that come from their system will continue to rain from the sky.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
September 14, 2001



Looking for missing loved ones, New York City, September 13, 2001.



Baghdad, Iraq after U.S. bombing, 1991.



NATO air strikes, Yugoslavia, May 1999.



Palestinian boys, Israeli armored personnel carrier, Gaza Strip, September 14, 2001.

Eyewitness Report

What the U.S. Bombs Have

by Larry Everest

"I'm a member of the civil defense guard, and I went to the shelter the next day after the bombing. There was flesh all over the place, and you could hear children screaming in the rubble, but you couldn't get to them. I remember one woman with tears coming down her face, but making no sound, looking for her children. She found seven of them, but hadn't found her two-year-old. There were only charred bodies that she couldn't recognize. She was saying 'maybe it's him, maybe it isn't.' I'll never forget it. When I'm thinking or relaxing it plays over and over in my mind."

Dr. Ameer Hamid, Director,
Iraqi Red Crescent Society

In February 1991, 500 Iraqis were incinerated when an American cruise missile struck a civilian bomb shelter in the Amiriya neighborhood in northwest Baghdad. In mid-July of that year, when I drove through this quiet upper middle class area with its wide streets, comfortable two-story homes, and well-kept gardens behind brick walls, it was hard to imagine that anything so horrible could ever have happened here. And from the outside, even the massive half-block-square, two-story cement shelter looked relatively untouched.

"We should go to the roof," my taxi driver said, and up we went. At first glance, things looked okay, but then I could see a small protrusion of twisted steel rods jutting into the air near the middle of the building.

We walked over to those twisted rods, and I got the chills. I stood at the edge of a hole, maybe six feet across, blasted through four or five feet of concrete and steel. You look straight down into a dimly lit, blackened cavern. The odor of burnt flesh still hung faintly in the air, and you could visualize how, in a single moment, one bomb turned a place of safety into an inferno of death for hundreds of men, women and children—an inferno with heavy steel doors, thick concrete walls, and no way out.

In his September 20, 2001 speech to Congress, President Bush condemned those who are "threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists" and terrorists who kill and "make no distinctions among military and civilians."

He was pointing the finger at Afghanistan's Taliban rulers and militant Islamist networks in the Middle East, but other images came to my mind.

I thought about Iraqi civilians being incinerated in an air-raid shelter in Amiriya during the Gulf war, of Iraqi soldiers shot down on the highway as they retreated at the war's end, and of Iraqi mothers watching their children waste away for lack of clean water and medicines.

Before the Persian Gulf war, George Bush, Sr. said, "We have no argument with the people of Iraq, indeed, we have only friendship for the people there." Now George II tells the cameras, "The United States respects the people of Afghanistan...but we condemn the Taliban regime..... The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends. It is not our many Arab friends."

But no country has been responsible for the deaths of more innocent civilians than U.S. imperialism. And my travels in Iraq in 1991, several months after the official end of the 1991 Persian Gulf war, were an eye-opening journey into how the people in countries around the world experience U.S. freedom and democracy.

SMART BOMBS AND DUMB BOMBS

"We are in the intensive care unit of Basra Teaching Hospital and you can see that the unit has been severely damaged and almost destroyed by the air raid which occurred on the 26th of January."



The wreckage of the civilian bomb shelter in the Amiriya neighborhood in Baghdad where 500 Iraqis were incinerated when the U.S. cruise missile struck in February 1991.

The raid took place about half past 7, and it was probably meant to destroy a civilian bridge across the river, which was used to get to the other side of Basra. One of the bombs was actually dropped on the hospital grounds and you can see the crater of the bomb there. As a result of the explosion and blast, the structure of the building was damaged and there are many holes; the windows broke and many window frames buckled from their places. Three patients died in this unit as a result of the air raid because the central oxygen supply was destroyed and the ceiling fell on them."

Dr. Walid al-Rawi, Director of
Basra's Teaching Hospital

During the Gulf war U.S. media coverage focused on high-tech "smart" bombs—guided missiles and bombs which supposedly never missed their military targets and minimized "collateral damage." The Pentagon claimed that few civilians were harmed, thanks to "careful targeting and expert use of technology." In reality, such weapons made up only 7% of the 88,500 tons of bombs dropped on Iraq. The rest were old-fashioned gravity bombs which missed their targets three times out of four.

In Baghdad, I visited some workers living in a building on a small side street in the downtown area. A bomb or missile had hit their neighborhood—totally destroying a half dozen nearby apartment buildings, collapsing one section of their roof and damaging a nearby church.

In Basra, workers showed me where bullets had ripped down through their roofs. In one neighborhood, across a highway from the port area, I saw a series of bomb craters, 10 to 15 feet across, marching straight toward a residential area. All that was left of the area was the burned-out shell of a 1963 Chevy Impala.

I drove by food warehouses that had been destroyed and a Pepsi warehouse that had been attacked. I later learned that 14 people were killed, 46 wounded and 128 homes damaged or destroyed in the Pepsi bombing.

Peasants in the village of Al Kuds (Jerusalem) just outside of the southern city of Amarah told me their school had been hit and that hundreds of bomb fragments had fallen on them. In Amarah alone, doctors at Saddam General Hospital recorded 82 deaths and 800 wounded during the Gulf war—80 to 90% civilians.



The destruction on the road from Kuwait to Basra, Iraq, where U.S. war planes massacred retreating Iraqi soldiers.

TERROR FROM THE SKY

"I have a son 5 years old. During the air raid he was shaking, shivering, saying 'Bush is coming, Bush is coming.' After the ceasefire American airplanes were flying over Baghdad, crossing the sound barrier, making this explosive sound, frightening the children, and writing with blue smoke, 'USA.' What was the purpose except frightening Iraqi children?"

Dr. Ameer Hamid, Director,
Iraq's Red Crescent Society

The people of Iraq endured 43 nights of continuous bombing by U.S.-led forces in 1991. Dr. Faiz Arabi, of Children's Welfare Hospital in Baghdad, described

what he experienced:

"When the bombing started we were stuck in the tunnel between our hospital and the Health Ministry for 10 days. No one would go out because three people who had walked around in the Medical Village were killed by bullets. The Defense Ministry is close by so there was a lot of bombing, shattering windows and shaking the walls, so we went into the underground tunnel. We only had 30 of our several hundred patients left; we had discharged the rest of them. Those left were mostly malignancy patients, and all but 10 died from lack of food and water." "It was horrible—impossible to describe. There were 1,000 people stuck

Done to the People of Iraq

in this tunnel, which is a couple of hundred meters long. We slept like horses, standing up. Finally after about 10 days we went up to the other floors to use the bathroom, to wash and to look around. We ate what little food had been in the hospital and what we could bring from home."

"A lot of women died during the war because they couldn't get to the hospital to deliver their children. I heard of three pregnant women who died at home because their cars were out of gas and they couldn't get to the hospital. Even if they had gotten to the hospital, they may not have survived. It's very difficult to deliver babies without electricity or sterilized

Sometimes they were buried all together."

"We have a health center in a small village 30 kilometers east of Amarah called Khahala. Once Dr. Salem and I went there, and we found 504 casualties; from 7 o'clock in the morning until the ceasefire 13 hours later, there were 504 casualties."

"I'm not telling you things I didn't see, I'm telling you a personal experience. I have seen this with my own eyes."

Shortly after I returned from Iraq, it was revealed that U.S. armed forces had buried 6,000 to 8,000 Iraqi soldiers alive in their trenches, and on March 2—after the February 27 cease-fire—the Army's 24th Mechanized Infantry Division killed thousands of retreating Iraqi soldiers—including

enough clean water, and sewage goes untreated. Contaminated water and raw sewage has led to sharp and continuing increases in death and disease. The contamination of Iraq's water supply, coupled with shortages of food and medicine, has led to sharp increases in disease, starvation, and death across Iraq.

Iraq's children are trapped in a vicious cycle of food shortages and contaminated water. Food shortages make children more susceptible to disease; meanwhile diarrhea from bad water, now four times as prevalent as in 1990, makes it impossible to absorb the food they do consume.

STARVATION IN THE FERTILE CRESCENT

At the Children's Welfare Hospital in Baghdad, Satenya Naser was trying to comfort her emaciated, one-and-a-half-year-old son Hamid, but he cried at the slightest touch. When I met Satenya, she was in her mid-30s. Her look was direct, steady. Since January she had only been able to feed Hamid rice water. "Milk isn't available," Satenya explained, "but even if it was available it is too expensive for me."

Hamid's diet and the contamination of Baghdad's water supply after the U.S. bombing combined to give him a severe case of diarrhea beginning in January 1992. It lasted four months, and Hamid lost half his body weight—he was down to 15 pounds and looked half his age—before he was admitted to the Hospital two months ago. He had the blotchy skin and distended belly characteristic of kwashiorkor, severe protein deficiency due to malnutrition. Hamid was so weak he couldn't even lift his bony arm.

I saw mothers like Satenya and children like Hamid in ward after ward in hospitals in Baghdad, Amara and Basra. At that time, I didn't, however, see a single American, British, French or Soviet TV crew filming them. America's media was far too busy discussing whether Iraq possessed "weapons of mass destruction."

"We doctors used to only see malnutrition in textbooks or pictures from Africa," Dr. Faiz Arabi, Hamid's pediatrician explained. "Our teachers told us that the last case of kwashiorkor in Iraq was in Baghdad in 1959. Now we've started to see kwashiorkor cases here in 1991."

Satenya lived with her husband and nine children in a two-room house on the outskirts of Baghdad. Her husband, an unskilled laborer, made 120 dinars a month. A tin of powdered milk, which cost 3 dinars before the war, had risen to 35—over \$100 at the official exchange rate. "How can I buy milk for my children?" she asked.

At Saddam Pediatric in Baghdad, 50 to

100 patients were admitted each day; fully half were suffering from malnutrition. In Amarah the pediatric ward was doubled from 35 to 70 beds, but the flood of starving children was so great they had to be discharged after six days to make room for new ones. These children faced food shortages as soon as they left the hospital—and 30% ended up coming right back.

Doctors also described an enormous range of psychological traumas caused by the war—from increased bed wetting to severe phobias. Some infants were brought to the hospital after eating dirt in an unconscious effort to compensate for their iron and calcium deficiencies. In Baghdad, down the hall from Hamid, lay a 10-year-old boy from Kurdistan who stopped eating and talking when his neighborhood was bombed. "He looked like a ghost when he first came to the hospital," Dr. Arabi said, "He's kept alive by intravenous fluids, but still won't speak."

By 1997 the UN reported that over 1.2 million Iraqis had died since the Gulf war as a result of medical shortages, including 750,000 children below the age of five. In 1999, UNICEF, a UN organization focusing on children, reported that Iraqi kids under five were dying at twice the rate they were before the sanctions began, now estimated to be 5,000 per month.

All told, the U.S. and its allies are responsible for murdering anywhere from 500,000 to 1,500,000 Iraqis, perhaps more, over the last 10 years. They killed between 100,000 and 200,000 during the Gulf war. And they've killed hundreds of thousands more since then with sanctions that prevent Iraq from importing needed food, medicines and equipment to rebuild its devastated economy and social infrastructure.

PREPARING TO ATTACK IRAQ—AGAIN

I read in the *New York Times* that there is once again talk of attacking Iraq—even though government officials admit they have no proof of any Iraqi involvement in the September 11 events. It is hard to imagine how such an attack would be worse than the constant bombing runs by U.S. and Britain that have pounded Iraq since the Gulf war ended. In the last ten years, U.S. planes have flown over 280,000 sorties in Iraq. For much of 1998 and 1999, U.S. and British planes struck Iraq every single day. In the last two years, hundreds of Iraqis have lost their lives in the bombing.

When asked in a press conference about U.S. bombing runs in Iraq following September 11, Attorney General Ashcroft shrugged and said that this was not part of the new war—just routine.

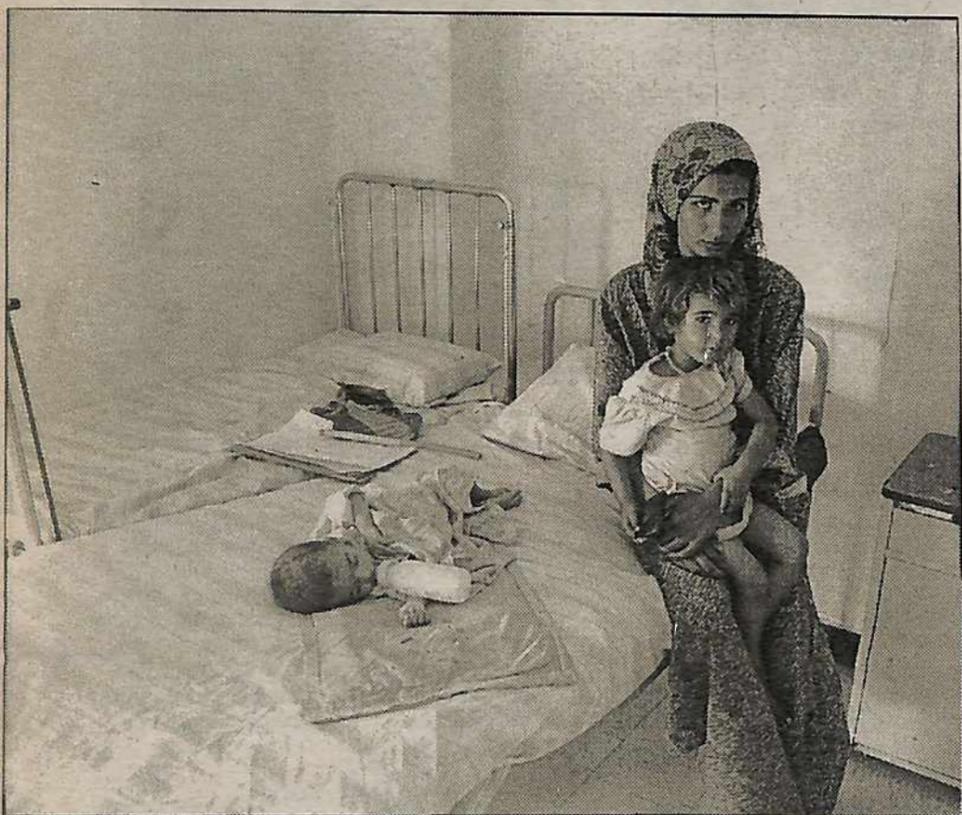


Photo: Larry Everest

A woman and her malnourished children in a hospital in Basra, Iraq in the aftermath of the Gulf war.

instruments."

U.S. Air Force Lt. General Charles A. Horner, who had overall command of the air campaign, called such psychological terror a "side benefit" of U.S. bombing. "The message is loud and clear that they are involved in a war and it's not going well."

SLAUGHTERING RETREATING SOLDIERS

Driving from Basra to the southern city of Nasiriyah, I saw burnt-out wreckage of every type of vehicle imaginable—from tanks to school buses—along the sides of the road.

In Amarah, Drs. Jabbo and Salem Mohammed al Saedi, the regional health director, told me that retreating Iraqi soldiers had been slaughtered 100 miles from the fighting in southern Iraq and some 140 miles north of Kuwait:

"They [the U.S.] bombed the soldiers when they were retreating, and that was a tragedy I saw in front of my own eyes. We're 186 kilometers from Basra and it's 40 kilometers from Basra to Sufwan [Iraq's border with Kuwait], and they attacked soldiers who were retreating on foot. Personally speaking, I don't think that was war, because we officially retreated from Kuwait. Everybody was retreating toward the north, from Basra to Amarah; a lot of them came walking because everything was collapsing at that time. But on the roads they were attacked by airplanes all the time until the ceasefire [some 3 days later]."

"You know that a tired soldier has thrown away his gun, thrown away his helmet, taken off his shoes, and is just trying to walk to safety. There were thousands of these soldiers. And the airplanes just attacked. The number of soldiers killed was in the hundreds. Everybody was running—sometimes they were even run over by cars or other vehicles.

ing by firing into a crowd of 350 disarmed prisoners.

THE DESTRUCTION OF IRAQ'S CIVILIAN INFRASTRUCTURE

"Since the war Iraqi children have been exposed to biological warfare, massive biological warfare. When you destroy the infrastructure of a country, sewage with all its germs will flow into the streets; you stop pure water from reaching the children; you give them malnutrition; you prevent medicines from reaching the country. So it's an excellent environment for death and disease."

Iraqi relief official

During the Iraq war, U.S.-led forces totally destroyed 11 of Iraq's 20 power generating stations, and damaged another six. While the war was raging, U.S. officials claimed that this massive destruction was aimed at shortening the war and saving American lives. But in the July 8-14, 1991 issue of the *Washington Post Weekly*, Col. John A. Warden II, deputy director of strategy, doctrine and plans for the Air Force, admitted the strategy was designed to tighten the U.S. stranglehold over Iraq: "Saddam Hussein cannot restore his own electricity. He needs help. If there are political objectives that the UN coalition has, it can say, 'Saddam, when you agree to do these things, we will allow people to come in and fix your electricity.' It gives us long term leverage."

Since then, U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency documents have surfaced showing that the U.S. deliberately destroyed Iraq's water system by bombing dams and water and sewage facilities and then prevented Iraq from rebuilding it through punitive sanctions that prohibit the import of needed equipment and chemicals.

Without electrical power Iraqis cannot

Iraq: War Against the People

The Hidden Story of the Gulf War
narrated by Larry Everest

VHS video cassette (total running time 29 minutes)

This powerful video documents the effects of the U.S. military assault in the Gulf. Traveling through Iraq in the Summer of 1991, *RW* correspondent Larry Everest interviewed Iraqi people about the war, the bombings and their life afterwards. This video brings us those voices, along with the sights from Iraqi hospitals, refugee camps and bombed cities.

"The rough-cut, 30-minute video is hard to watch. It dwells on images of children killed in our bombings.... It goes inside Iraq's prostrate hospitals where doomed, birdlike infants keen while doctors gesture helplessly before the cameras. Such images have been in scant evidence on mainstream television, which once cheered our generals."

James Ricci, Detroit Free Press

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Big Brother and the Ministry of Homeland Security

Within hours after the September 11 airliner attacks in New York and DC, top figures in the U.S. power structure were announcing that life "will never be the same."

Leading Republican Senator Trent Lott, former White House national security chief Brent Scowcroft and the influential former Senator Sam Nunn all announced on TV that the U.S. would, from now on, have to restrict civil liberties in the name of national security.

In the days that followed, all kinds of proposals were made for increasing police powers, for more closely tracking and surveilling the population, for eliminating internet privacy and anonymity, further tightening border controls, and for using federal troops and CIA resources in new ways within U.S. borders. A climate of mutual suspicion, racial profiling and government informing was encouraged among the population.

And meanwhile, in an unprecedented manhunt across the U.S., the authorities took hundreds of people into custody, installed spying machinery on Internet companies, and confiscated all kinds of records, emails, files and computers.

When Bush went on TV on September 20 he announced the creation of a new cabinet level post, "The Office of Homeland Security"—a name that evokes Orwellian and fascist imagery. Even NBC newscaster Tom Brokaw commented that to some people the title "might sound like something out of a totalitarian state but..."

The full scope of this position is not completely clear. But what has been said so far is that it will be charged with centralizing and concentrating the work of 40 different government agencies, from the Coast Guard to the Treasury Department, on issues of domestic security. The person appointed to head it, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge, indicates the brutal nature of its mandate. One man writing to the *Pittsburgh-Post Gazette* said, "When Ridge became governor, he proposed legislation to make the warrant process automatic and nondiscretionary. Since then, he has signed more than 190 warrants of death [now up to 214] and has never spared anyone. He has put three mentally ill men to death and did not listen to Aldona DeVetsco, the mother of Keith Zettlemoyer's victim, who asked Ridge to spare Zettlemoyer."

Before the creation of this new post, U.S. Attorney General Ashcroft spearheaded a number of new repressive initiatives. On September 18, Ashcroft announced he had created an anti-terrorism task force with representatives from every U.S. attorney's office in the coun-



People going to work on Wall Street getting their IDs checked at a National Guard checkpoint, September 17.

try—a major centralization of the U.S. investigative and prosecutorial apparatus. Ashcroft also announced a major expansion of the covert Federal Air Marshal program, where undercover federal agents are put on domestic flights. This is a program that was started in 1968 and wasn't even made public until the early 1970s.

At the same time Ashcroft announced that existing INS rules, that a detained person must be formally charged within 24 hours or released, have been changed. On September 18, INS Commissioner James Zigler signed the order authorizing that the detention period for legal immigrants can now be extended during emergencies to 48 hours or "for a period of time considered reasonable." In other words, indefinitely. INS rules already allow the indefinite detention of "illegal" immigrants.

As of this writing, in the wake of the attack on the World Trade Center, 80 people have already been put in detention—people who have been charged with no crimes. And the FBI has a list of more than 190 people it wants to "question." Among these are at least six people who have been arrested as material witnesses. They are being held under the utmost secrecy. According to the *San Francisco*

Chronicle, "FBI Director Robert Mueller said that the identity of those being held, their arrest warrants and affidavits to the court supporting them are secret or sealed while the investigation continues." Meanwhile a federal grand jury has been convened in White Plains, N.Y., to hear evidence in the investigation.

There are measures in the works to quickly take this further. The Justice Department is preparing legislation that will allow the U.S. attorney general to jail immigrants who the government says are terrorist suspects and order them deported without presenting any evidence.

Together with the clampdown being instituted in the U.S., there are major moves by governments in Europe to centralize and gather information that will be shared with the U.S. London's *Daily Telegraph* reported that the British spy agencies M15 and M16 will now be required to share information "related to terrorism" with the European Police Office, Europol. The paper reported that, "Officials from the British clandestine services will join a special anti-terrorist squad at Europol's headquarters in The Hague." And, "For the first time, Europol has been told to share information with the FBI and other U.S. federal agencies."

Electronic Lockdown

Last year when it was revealed that the FBI had developed a hardware/software technology called Carnivore to monitor and retrieve virtually any e-mail or internet traffic, there was loud outrage from privacy groups, civil libertarian, political activists and individuals. With the World Trade Center tragedy the FBI immediately has stepped up its efforts to dispatch Carnivore, which it has now renamed DCS1000.

Less than 24 hours after the incidents in DC and New York, FBI agents went to talk to executives at the Atlanta headquarters of Earthlink, a major internet service provider (ISP). The agents brought with them subpoenas to install Carnivore. Earthlink did not allow that, but did retrieve the records the FBI was looking for in what it calls a more "precise" method than scanning all internet traffic.

Meanwhile the FBI is all over the internet, following anything they consider provocative. The *New York Times* reported an online posting from Aug. 30 that had as its subject "911," and warned "Something is going to happen tomorrow... REPENT!" When the user then posted that he had predicted what happened, the FBI was all over it sending agents to the ISP that serviced the user. FBI and anti-terrorism investigators in 10 cities started calling the offices of O1.com, the Sacramento

company that sells internet access to smaller internet service providers that this message was carried on. The FBI also says that some of the people they are investigating used public libraries to send e-mails—so libraries, too, are coming under the FBI's scrutiny.

On top of this, new laws are being drafted to widen the reach of electronic surveillance so that law enforcement has the power to eavesdrop not just on a particular phone or computer but on any communication device a person they are spying on uses.

New York

In New York State, Governor Pataki immediately went to work to push through new laws that have the potential for broader uses. The laws created a new state crime of "terrorism" with a maximum penalty of life in prison. The laws also make it a crime to make a terrorist threat, to falsely report a bomb, or to place a fake bomb in a public building, and carry up to a seven-year sentence. Along with this, it is now a state crime to give more than \$1,000 to a terrorist organization—a crime that carries a penalty of up to 15 years in prison. The statutes also allow the death penalty for anyone who commits murder during an act of terrorism. It is not clear of this writing just how the state defines "terrorism," but the potential implications could be far-reaching.

A heavy clampdown remains in many places in New York City. There are checkpoints in different areas, with NYC-based police from federal and state agencies and outlying counties seemingly everywhere. It has become routine to see National Guard "humvees" cruising the city's streets, to say nothing of National Guard troops themselves stationed at some checkpoints. And it is becoming standard for businesses and institutions throughout the city to require identification before allowing people to enter buildings.

The *New York Times* reported that five men associated with the Black Hebrew Israelites, whose main public activity consists of standing on the street corners sparking contentious debates, were arrested for "inciting to riot" because they had been making "anti-American" remarks.

As the imperialists prepare to unleash new horror in the far reaches of the world, they are feverishly putting into place new and extreme repressive measures—and are trying to whip up a patriotic, unquestioning fervor to support such moves. These are the ugly moves of a brutal bourgeois dictatorship. This is a time for resistance to Big Brother and all the moves by the government to clamp down on the people.

Music Censors

On September 19, the *New York Times* reported that: "Clear Channel Communications, the Texas-based company that owns about 1,170 stations nationwide, has circulated a list of 150 songs and asked its stations to avoid playing them because of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon."

The no-play list is supposedly voluntary. But DJ's have informed the RW that many DJ's around the country follow the guidelines of Clear Channel.

The list is wide ranging—including "Imagine" by John Lennon; "Bridge Over Troubled Water," by Paul Simon, and "Peace Train" by Cat Stevens,

Every song ever done by Rage Against the Machine is on this list. And if ever there were a time when the people needed to hear the music of Rage, this is it!

Tom Morello, lead guitarist for Rage, told the *Times*, "If our songs are 'questionable' in any way, it is that they encourage people to question the kind of ignorance that breeds intolerance—intolerance that can lead to the kind of violence we witnessed last week."

Boots Riley and his Oakland-based rap group The Coup are under attack. Overnight the cover art on their new album "Party Music"—which featured a computer generated pic of Boots with a detonator in front of the World Trade Center—became all too real, and Boots found himself in the midst of heated controversy.

On the "Hard Knock Radio" show hosted by Davey D., Boots, explained: "I wanna say that off that bat, that last Tuesday's tragic act is not something The Coup endorses." "When we originally made that picture, it was in May and June. It was supposed to be a metaphor to symbolize us destroying capitalism. What The Coup talks about is what I think it takes to make a revolution... My way in which I think this is going to happen is through hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of people moving, organizing and making something happen. I do think in the end it will be a violent revolution, but I don't think it's something that will happen by the act of a few people."

"Not in Our Name": Resistance and Protest in the U.S.



Sproul Plaza, UC Berkeley, September 20.

The following are brief reports on protests and other developments in the wake of the attacks of September 11.

DC Protests Are Still On

The movement against imperialist globalization has been organizing for many months to protest the September 29-30 meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in Washington, D.C. Following the events of September 11, the IMF and World Bank, in consultation with U.S. authorities, cancelled their meeting. Unfortunately, one of the main coalitions involved in organizing the protests called off their plans for demonstrations. But others are continuing their mobilization in D.C.—with a new and urgent focus on opposing the U.S. moves toward war.

Two main protests are planned for Saturday, September 29. The latest call to action from the Anti-Capitalist Convergence states: "We are calling for a march against the growing capitalist war on Saturday morning September 29 and invite all those interested in creating a world free from terror, hate, racism, poverty and war to demonstrate our unity and vision for a better world.... There is no justice to be found in retribution, war, racism, corporate globalization or capitalism itself. We condemn any and all retaliation and religious persecution of Arab, Arab American and Muslim people and we oppose any attack on our constitutional rights."

The International Action Center and others in the International ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and Racism) coalition are calling for a national protest at the White House on September 29 as well as protests on the West Coast and around the world. Their call states: "Unless we stop President Bush and NATO from carrying out a new, wider war in the Middle East, the number of innocent victims will grow from the thousands and possibly more. A new, wider U.S. and NATO war in the Middle East can only lead to an escalating cycle of violence. War is not the answer. We must also act against racism."

Other protests and forums include the following: The People's Repo—sponsored by DC Homes Not Jails—is organizing for protests from Sept. 21 to 24 focusing on homelessness, gentrification, and urban squatting. The Washington DC Peace Center, American Friends Service Committee and others are holding a peace

event on Sept. 30. The National Mobilization on Colombia will be holding educational events on Sept. 27-28. On Sept 27-29, 50 Years Is Enough, Essential Action, Global Exchange and the World Bank Bonds Boycott are holding teach-ins on "Ending Global Apartheid." On the 28th the Kensington Welfare Rights Union and others are sponsoring a Poor People's Forum, highlighting the "increasingly urgent need for the poor to come together for peace and economic justice."

Anti-War Marches and Rallies

In response to the loud drumbeats of war from the U.S. government and military, thousands around the country have been in the streets to oppose war, the repressive offensive on people's rights, and racist attacks on Arab people and others.

Over 3,000 marched in Portland, Oregon, on Sunday, September 16. On the same day 2,000 people gathered in San Francisco for an anti-war concert featuring Michael Franti of Spearhead. In Seattle, 5,000 took part in a "healing and peace" march organized by the Church Council of Greater Seattle. On September 21, 4,500 marched through the streets of New York City. These are only some of the many actions reported in cities in all parts of the country.

An activist in Fresno, California, wrote: "We had over 400 people show up at the anti-war demonstration yesterday (9/16). I was really pleased with the turnout (one of the biggest demonstrations in Fresno of the last 10 years) and with the clarity of the message—UNITY with the Muslim and Arab community and NO WAR. I was hesitant at first to go because I thought it could be just 10 or 20 of us on the march. I was really excited to see the HUGE crowd and clear anti-war message." A correspondent from Los Angeles, where 300 rallied downtown on September 20, wrote: "A college student had hand-painted his T-shirt with a beautiful globe and the warning: 'Don't touch Afghanistan! Remember El Salvador, Vietnam, Chile, Iraq, Croatia, Panama, Cuba, Lebanon, Nicaragua'...and a dozen more indictments of U.S. imperialist war crimes fell down the front of his shirt."

Thursday, September 20 was a national day of action on university campuses. *San Jose Mercury* reported, "140 campuses across the country...held noon rallies



Union Square, New York City, September 22.

Thursday to express opposition to the national anti-Arab and anti-Muslim backlash and to call for a diplomatic, rather than military, response." The largest rally was at UC Berkeley, where over 3,500 gathered at Sproul Plaza.

Families of Those Who Died Speak Out Against War

The power structure is trying to seize on the grief of those who lost family members in the September 11 attacks to mobilize people into supporting U.S. war moves. But some family members have spoken out against U.S. military action.

Phyllis and Orlando Rodriguez's son Greg was one of the thousands who died at the World Trade Center. Greg was an activist against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. A statement from Greg's parents has been circulating on the internet which says in part: "We see our hurt and anger reflected among everybody we meet. We cannot pay attention to the daily flow of news about this disaster. But we read enough of the news to sense that our government is heading in the direction of violent revenge, with the prospect of sons, daughters, parents, friends in distant lands dying, suffering, and nursing further grievances against us. It is not the way to go. It will not avenge our son's death. Not in our son's name."

Judy Keane's husband, Richard, also died in the World Trade Center. She said, "The World Trade Center was in retaliation for something else, and that was retaliation for something else. Are we going to continue this in perpetuity? We have to say at some point, okay, let's find another way of doing this."

UC-Berkeley senior Yes Duffy lost his aunt, Renee Newell, who was on one of the planes that crashed into the World Trade Center. Speaking at a campus anti-war rally, Duffy said, "Terrorists killed my aunt. But then I turn on the TV and all I see is 'America at War.' My little cousin no longer has a mom. But I don't want people in other countries to say 'America killed my mom, or my dad.' If my aunt were alive today, she would be here with us."

"Our Grief Is Not a Cry for War!"

From the Refuse & Resist! Artists Network:

"At 12 noon Saturday, September 22, over 100 artists all wearing black filed onto Union Square at 14th Street in New York City where many people have been gathering for the last 10 days to grieve and to try to make sense of what happened on September 11. A hush fell over the crowd at Union Square as the artists took their places in a semi-circle. For one hour they stood in silence wearing face masks and placards silk-screened with 'OUR GRIEF IS NOT A CRY FOR WAR.' The response to this performance was electric, many people coming up to take stickers, find out

who these people were, and thank them. Some were in tears.

"Hundreds of photographs were taken of this performance by people who saw it, including two by an AP photographer which landed on the yahoo.com home page at 8:30 Saturday night. Within an hour one of the pictures became the 'most popular' photo on the site, having been sent to other people over 400 times.

"The group who organized the performance were artists in film, video, visual art, theater, dance, spoken word. They do not want their grief to be used as a justification for war, attacks on Arabs and Muslims, and new repressive laws or clampdowns. More artworks and performances are being planned.

For more information, go to artistsnetwork.org, the website of the Artists Network of Refuse & Resist!"

Attacks on Arab and Other People—and Resistance

The ugly wave of racist attacks on Arab and Muslim people—and other people of color—continues. In every part of the U.S., there have been numerous incidents of threats, harassment, and physical assaults against Arab people, businesses, mosques and organizations. Racists are also targeting people who they think are Muslims—like Sikh men from India who wear turbans.

A number of people have been killed in racist attacks. On September 14, Balbir Singh Sodhi, an immigrant from Yemen, was gunned down at his gas station in Mesa, Arizona. The man who killed Sodhi also fired at a Lebanese clerk at another gas station and a home of an Afghan family. Ali Almansoor, from Yemen, who worked as a cook in the Detroit area, was another victim of a racist killing following September 11. Several other killings are suspected to be the work of racists, including Waqar Hasan, a Pakistani man shot in his grocery store in Dallas, and Kimberly Lowe, a 21-year-old Creek woman in Tulsa, Oklahoma, killed by white men who reportedly yelled at her, "Go back to your country."

This racist offensive has been met with outrage, protest, and expressions of solidarity with the people under attack. One such solidarity action took place on September 21 in southwest Chicago, where crowds of reactionaries waving U.S. and Confederate flags have been threatening a local mosque. A correspondent reported: "In response to a call by the Southwest Organizing Project, people came from both the neighborhood and from around the city and suburbs to make a clear statement that the racist attacks on Muslim and Arab people going on across the country and in Chicago will not be tolerated. Those present included a Palestinian activist, a Latino woman from the community, a dread-locked African American, nuns and priests from the local parish, and Jewish individuals opposed to Israeli aggression."

Resistance at Ground Zero

Continued from page 7

sure their Arab neighbors and friends are okay. A Dominican woman told me she goes to the store for Muslim women in her building who are terrified to leave their homes.

Hundreds marched through Brooklyn's Arab community in an action called by Arab and Islamic groups. Over half who came were white—including a number of Jewish people. They carried signs with slogans like "Mourn the Victims—Stand for Peace" and "Islam Is Not the Enemy—War Is Not the Answer." As they passed by, Arab store owners came out of their shops to thank them for their support. The march ended with a prayer service for the victims in Arabic and Hebrew.

At a press conference in Union Square, South Asian and Afghani women's groups joined with Imam Talib Abdu-Rashid from a mosque in Harlem, as well as Jews Against the Occupation, the Palestinian Right to Return Coalition, and Jews for Racial and Economic Justice to denounce racist attacks against immigrants.

A member of the Refuse & Resist! Youth Network read a statement at the press conference that said in part: "This anti-Arab sentiment has been unleashed by the holy war that Republicans and Democrats alike want to rain down on the Mideast and is fueled by radio jocks like Howard Stern and other rantings in the media. All attacks on Arab and Muslim people must be opposed... We need to oppose new repressive powers and laws. All of this we pledge to refuse and resist. With great love and compassion for those who have suffered personal losses, we call on all people to act and accept responsibility for building a different future."

The October 22nd Coalition Against Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation issued a statement, which said in part, "Blatant racial profiling, revoking of immigrant rights, increasing legislation (being passed at an alarming rate) that rob us of our civil rights—we must not allow the powers-that-be to exploit our emotions to legitimize the growing repressive measures."

Entering the Debate

"As people mourn lost loved ones, as we put our arms around each other, all who seriously want justice need to reach out to the people of the world—to stand together against the crimes of this system, to strengthen our resistance against every act of war and repression.

"And, as we build our resistance, we need to be crystal clear on the nature of these oppressors who are hurtling towards a new war: these arrogant lying creatures do not rule in the interests of the people of this country or the world. As long as they continue in power the

horrors that come from their system will continue to rain from the sky."

From the RCP Statement, "The Horror That Comes From This Horrible System" (see centerfold)

A staffperson at Revolution Books spoke with two men from a rural area in upstate New York who said they were opposed to war but had an American flag on their truck: "One guy said, 'It's just our way of saying we are grieving for what's going on. It's a statement that everybody is together and we are sad about what happened and that's the symbol for that.' I talked to them about what that flag really does symbolize. That's the flag that was on the planes that dropped bombs on the people of Iraq. That's the flag of the country that manufactured the weapons that are terrorizing the people of Palestine. That's the flag under which they are mobilizing people to support their moves towards war—which is going to bring even more terrible suffering for people here and in other countries. As we were talking they took the flag down."

RCP supporters went among the people with the Party's statement. An *RW* seller told me about two white tourists in their 30s he met at Union Square: "They had flags around their waist, flags on their head. On their back it said 'Ohio Cares, Support America.' They stood there and read the entire leaflet [with the RCP statement]. The guy's first comment was, 'Wow, if what this leaflet says is true, then the government is really lying to us a lot.' The woman was really concerned about racism and the attacks that are going on. The leaflet shook them up."

I interviewed some people with American flags or wearing red, white and blue ribbons. Most said they wanted the U.S. to retaliate but are opposed to a war in which innocent people are killed—and they didn't believe the government would do this—or said they hoped and prayed they wouldn't. When I asked them what they would do if that *did* happen most stood in stunned silence. Some said they would find ways to protest such a war. Most took the party's statement to read.

A 45-year-old white guy read the statement all the way through, folded it very carefully end-to-end, tip-to-tip, put it in his pocket and said, "I've been listening to the media. I can't find out why this happened. There's nothing coming across the screen that is explaining to me why they did this down at the World Trade Center. I'm going to take this leaflet and I'm going to investigate what's being said in here because I need to learn more about it. I'm finding nothing is telling me why this happened to us."

I read parts of the statement to a professional dancer who responded: "The U.S. government has done things. The story did

not start with that one incident. And the government is of course playing up that the story begins from this point forward, but it doesn't. It begins farther back. And the U.S. government can be implicated in attitudes or policy or war tactics that have brought this upon the innocent people of the United States."

A revolutionary youth I spoke with said, "Now more than ever it's time to rely on our principles and be bold. We have to learn from history that our voices can't be soft. We can't coalesce in the shadows of the voices that are out there calling for war. Look at Hiroshima and Nagasaki—look what they can do if we don't resist—not just repression domestically, but unbelievable devastation abroad."

A lot of people I've talked with in the past two weeks are more afraid of what's going to happen next than what's already happened. An R&R! activist told me about a discussion he had with a coworker who's a film producer: "I saw an American flag and said under my breath if I see one more American flag.... And then the person next to me jumped up and said, 'Oh my god, I've been waiting for someone to say that for a week. I'm so sick of this! It reminds me of Hitler's Germany and it scares me to death.'"

The words to John Lennon's song "Imagine" have been sung and written in many places. And at the vigils and protests many have expressed their desire to live in a different world. A middle-aged woman in Union Square told me: "If we had a world where there was a great deal of caring and a great deal of awareness of other people's needs and a desire to meet other people's needs in the way that we might wish our own needs to be met then these

kinds of things wouldn't happen."

A Latino proletarian who has been a revolutionary since the '60s said, "My daughter the other day told me papi, I was thinking of getting an American flag and putting it up. My daughter! And I let her talk for a while. She said the reason for the flag is because we have some freedoms here. I told my coworkers and I told my daughter, we live relatively good here because people all over the world are exploited and dying. This is a global economy. This is imperialism. By its definition and by its necessity it's a global thing. She's not going to put up the American flag. She wants to study more history now."

"This statement from the RCP is clear. This is to the point. This is what the people need to know. We are not going to support these monsters. They kill people all over the world." We talked about what happened at his job. He works at a construction site with immigrants who do back-breaking labor and are paid \$60 a day. "Some people started out talking about how these guys are terrorists and that we should retaliate and that innocent people died. I told them all the innocent people that have died throughout the world because of U.S. imperialism. We talked about Panama, Iraq, the Philippines, Chile. Talk about terrorists! Or mercenaries like Ollie North and his gang—every time the U.S. government gets groups of mercenaries together to kill, to blow up places, thousands of people die. For a while they didn't want to speak to me. I sat alone in a corner. I've sat alone many times, many places. I don't care because I know I'm right and I understand this system very well. And I know sooner or later people will see it—and they did."



March from Union Square to Times Square, September 21.



Looking at pictures of the missing, New York City, September 18.

From the National Office of the October 22nd Coalition for a National Day of Protest to Stop Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation:

On a September 18th conference call involving many October 22nd local area representatives, we discussed the recent events at the World Trade Center and what impact it would have on the October 22nd protests. As a coalition, we unanimously affirmed that there was even greater need than ever to hold the October 22nd National Day of Protest. Police brutality has not stopped or disappeared. Repression has already been on the rise in the wake of these events, with stepped up checkpoints, legalized restrictions, racial profiling of Arab Americans, and more, all in the name of "national security". And they are soon about to criminalize even more people—broadening the definition of suspicious behavior to justify their stepped up repression. For all these reasons and more, we ask you to endorse this Call for October 22nd, help distribute it, help build and come out to the October 22nd events in your area.

CALL for October 22nd, 2001!

The 6th National Day of Protest to STOP POLICE BRUTALITY, Repression, and the Criminalization of a Generation

On October 22, 2001, people of all races and many different backgrounds will take to the streets across the country to say in one loud voice: STOP POLICE BRUTALITY! Last year on October 22nd, in more than 70 areas across the country over 12,000 people—youth, lawyers, teachers, clergy, musicians and other artists—took to the streets in rallies, cultural events and other forms of protest. People protested in cities, large and small, on reservations and college campuses. This year we must organize even stronger protests. We must take up the spirit of the people of Cincinnati who took to the streets when local cops murdered Timothy Thomas for unpaid traffic tickets. The people refused to be worn down or turned around by either repression or lies. WE CALL ON YOU TO JOIN US in putting the authorities on notice that we will not be silent while police brutalize and murder people.

We must resist to STOP the escalating nationwide epidemic of police brutality. New York City: The U.S. in-Justice department refused to prosecute the cops who murdered Amadou Diallo and the NYPD refused to fire them. Los Angeles: "The Ramparts scandal" has brought out into the open the existence of units of the LAPD that specialized in brutalizing and even murdering youth, planting drugs and weapons on them, and then railroading them to prison, or deportation. Only 2 cops have been jailed for these crimes, and the media is allowing this scandal to fade from public view. Detroit: In addition to having the most law enforcement killings per capita in the U.S., police there routinely arrest witnesses of their killings to pressure them into giving false evidence. Chicago: The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs has documented a wave of gay bashing attacks by Chicago police; in one case, police jammed a billy club in Frederick Mason Jr.'s rectum during an interrogation. Charleston, SC: 5 dock-workers protesting union busting face felony charges, 4 of them have been under house arrest after being attacked by cops in full riot gear.

The peoples' resistance to police murder, brutality, racial profiling, and repression has been rising despite government attacks. October 22, 2001, the 6th annual National Day of Protest to Stop Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation (NDP 2001) IS A DAY TO MOUNT EVEN MORE POWERFUL RESISTANCE. It's a day for the youth of Cincinnati. It's a day for the survivors of those killed by police. A day to express outrage at cops firing "rubber bullets" at anti-police brutality protesters in Los Angeles on October 22, 2000; at the racial profiling that occurs on highways, city streets, and at every step of the way in the legal system; at the brutality directed at immigrant communities by the INS, sheriffs, cops and vigilantes. It's a day for thousands of people and hundreds of organizations to take to the streets and stand together in this important fight for justice. You must be a part of this resistance because:

- The book *Stolen Lives: Killed by Law Enforcement* documented over 2,000 cases of people killed by law enforcement in the 1990's. Since its publication, hundreds more have been killed by police. These are only the cases grassroots activists have been able to document!
- In Black and Latino communities cops stop and frisk, beat up, jail or even murder youth for nothing more than being young and dressed in the style popular among urban youth. This brutality also spills over into the suburbs where police harass youth who don't fit in. BEING YOUNG AND NOT GOING ALONG WITH THE STATUS QUO IS NOT A CRIME!
- The authorities continue to allow police to get away with brutality and murder. In

Cincinnati, the cop who killed Timothy Thomas was charged with a misdemeanor, while dozens of people arrested for protesting Timothy's murder have been hit with felony charges!

- Mumia Abu Jamal, revolutionary and award winning journalist, is still facing execution because of his outspoken opposition to police brutality and other injustices. He was convicted in a trial during which witnesses were bribed or coerced to testify against him and his basic rights were violated. Leonard Peltier, Sundiata Acoli and Mutulu Shakur, Assata Shakur, and many others remain in prison and exile for the crime of fighting injustice.

- George Bush, as Texas governor, signed the death order for Gary Graham (Shaka Sankofa) despite a mountain of evidence pointing to his innocence. More than 3,000 people are on death row. More than 90 people sentenced to death have been found to be innocent! Some came within days of execution.

- INS agents, sheriffs and vigilantes brutalize and murder immigrants on the Mexico-US border. Hundreds more immigrants die trying to cross the border because it has been so militarized. Latinos, whether immigrant or native born, are harassed and forced to show proof of legal status.

- More than 2 million people, many of them young, fill U.S. prisons. Most of them are people of color and most of them are in jail for non-violent or petty offenses. And many of them were convicted in trials that were travesties of justice.

- Law Enforcement has met anti-globalization protests in DC, Detroit, Quebec, San Diego, Seattle and elsewhere, with beatings, "plastic" bullets, bean bags, tear gas and pepper spray. People are arrested before protests even begin and are often brutalized and denied decent treatment after arrest. False charges, denial of bail and hiding the location of people arrested has become common.

- Family members of those murdered by law enforcement have been victimized 3 times. First, when police murder their loved ones, second when their murdered loved ones are portrayed as criminals who deserved to be killed, and again when some of them are targeted by the authorities for harassment, arrest and even prosecution for daring to stand up and fight police brutality.

On October 22, 2001, YOU MUST JOIN THE PEOPLE WHO FACE POLICE BRUTALITY EVERY DAY, AND JOIN PEOPLE FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE STANDING TOGETHER DEMANDING JUSTICE AND AN END TO THESE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS! Only our resistance will end police abuses and violence. Wear black as a sign of solidarity with the protests in memory of those lives stolen from us by those sworn to protect and serve, and in support of their survivors and the struggle to end law enforcement violence. These victims can no longer speak for themselves, we must speak and act for them. Present! The October 22nd Coalition also asks you to wear blue triangles in solidarity with immigrants targeted by the border patrol. Be out there on October 22nd fighting for a future where it is no longer acceptable for police to brutalize and murder people for being in the wrong neighborhood, speaking the wrong language or being the wrong color. Where people aren't blown away for pulling out their wallet or a cell phone. Where youth have decent education and meaningful work, not years in prison. Where people can protest without being spied on, shut down and beaten by police. We must stand together and say in a loud, powerful voice:

STOP POLICE BRUTALITY, REPRESSION and the CRIMINALIZATION of a GENERATION! OCTOBER 22nd—NO MORE STOLEN LIVES! WEAR BLACK! FIGHT BACK!

Endorsements of the Call for a National Day of Protest, October 22nd, 2001 (as of Sept. 20, 2001)

All signatures need to be on file at the National Office. We can't accept endorsements sent by email unaccompanied by a signature. Minimum contribution is \$15. Endorsements can be faxed (212 477 8015) or mailed (October 22nd, PO Box 2627, NY, NY 10009).

Parents/Families of People Killed by Law Enforcement Agents:

Ophelia Ealy, mother of Michael Ealy, Seattle, Washington
Cornelius Hall, the family of Jerrold Hall, Union City, CA
Nicholas Heyward Sr., father of Nicholas Heyward Jr., killed by housing police NYC
Arnetta Grable, Detroit Coalition Against Police Brutality, Detroit
Mother Keaton, Minneapolis
Sheila Olvera, wife of Rigoberto Olvera, killed in Hendersonville, N.C.
Hienberto Saldana, brother of Juna Saldana, killed by Rampart police, LA
Gloria Santos, mother of Julio Costillo, 16 years old, killed by Sheriffs, Lynwood, California
Brian Smith, brother of Danny Ray Smith, beat to death by Sheriffs at Twin Towers Jail, LA
Calvert Stewart, father of Gilbert Barber, killed in Highpoint, N.C.
Alvin G Walker, brother of David J. Walker, murdered by Seattle police
Harvard C. Walker, brother of David Walker, murdered by Seattle police
Juanita Young, mother of Malcolm Ferguson, killed by NYPD

Individuals and Organizations:

Alliance against Police Brutality to Hispanics, Chicago
Martin Atliano, Alliance Against Police Brutality to Hispanics, Chicago
Evelyn Ruth Bernard, New York

California Coalition for Women Prisoners, San Diego
Chicago Anti-Bashing Network, Chicago
Comite Exigimos Justicia, Chicago
Omowale Clay, December 12th Movement, NY
Jessica Crenshaw, First A.M.E. Church Social Concerns Committee, Los Angeles
Tim Crowley, activist, Seattle
Paula Daniels, Sankofa Community Outreach and Restoration, Chicago
Daniel M. Dileva, Seattle
Day Laborers Program, San Francisco
Earl Debnam, activist, Seattle
Carl Dix, Revolutionary Communist Party
King Downing, Newark, NJ
Professor Bernardo Garcia-Pandavenes, Laney College, San Francisco
Haitian Coalition for Justice, NY
Deborah Hejka, Woodbridge IL
Fred Ho, musician, NY
Human Action Community Organization, Harvey IL
Illinois Peace Action, Chicago
Indio, Street News, NY
Van Jones, Ella Baker Center for Human Rights/Bay Area Police Watch
Joey Johnson, notorious flagburner, supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party, LA
Justice Coalition of Greater Chicago
Krishna Copy, Berkeley
Jim Lafferty, Executive Director, National Lawyers Guild, Los Angeles Chapter
Jose S. Landaverde, Union Latina, Chicago
La Raza Centro Legal, San Francisco
La Voz de los de Abajo, Chicago
John Martinez, Atzlan Media Collective, Los Angeles
Mr. David L. Meyerhof, Burbank, CA
Calvin S. Morris, Community Renewal Society, Chicago
National Lawyers Guild, Los Angeles Chapter
National Coalition to Free the Angola 3

Stan Nishimura, Vietnam Veterans Against the War - Anti-Imperialist, New Haven, CT.
Michael Novik, People Against Racism, Los Angeles
Efia Nwagaza, Malcolm X Grassroots Collective, Greenville, S.C.
Peace and Freedom Party, San Diego Chapter
Peoples Coalition for Justice, Seattle
Phoenix Copwatch, Arizona
Shel Plotkin, LA Moratorium Now To Stop the Death Penalty
Political Prisoners of War Coalition, Chicago
Anthony Rayson, South Chicago ABC Zine Distro
Raza Rights, San Diego
Ed Rumbaugh, Sebastopol CA
Pastor Andrew Robinson-Gaither, Faith United Methodist Community Church, LA
Robert Rockwell, National Secretary, Refuse and Resist!
Anthony Rayson, Political/ Prisoners of War Coalition, IL
Seattle Peace Heathens



Mr. Fred Sequeira, Brooklyn, New York
Ayodele Shaihi, African-American Committee to Free Mumia Abu Jamal, Chicago
Callie Shanaflet, community organizer, Seattle
Justin J. Smith, Turtle-Fin Productions, Chicago
Allen Strasburger, Red Bank, NJ
Students for FAIR TRADE, Seattle Central Community College
Union Latina, Chicago
Donna Warren, Green Party candidate for Congress, LA
Washington Hemp Education Network
Rev. S. Michael Yasutake, Interfaith Prisoners of Conscience Project, Chicago
Jim Yarbrough, Newbury Park, CA

ENDORSEMENT/CONTRIBUTION FORM The list of endorsing organizations and individuals will be published and distributed widely. To be listed, we must have your signature on file at the national office (endorsements are not accepted by e-mail... faxes are acceptable) and a minimum \$15 contribution.

I endorse this call AND enclose \$15 or more \$_____ towards bringing this day into being.

I would like to contribute towards the Day: \$500 \$250 \$100 \$75 \$50 \$25 \$15 other: \$_____

Check if this is an organizational endorsement only (your name will not appear on published listing)

Signature: _____
Name (print): _____
Address: _____
Organization: _____
Phone: _____ Fax: _____ Email: _____

For more information, call 1-888-NO-BRUTALITY or 212-477-8062, Office@October22.ORG
http://October22.ORG Donations are tax-deductible. Make checks payable to "IFCO/Oct 22".
Mail this form and donation to Oct.22, P.O. Box 2627, New York, NY 10009

Cut out and post



*This planet does NOT need
another unjust war...*

*El planeta NO necesita
otra guerra injusta...*

Córtalo y pégalo