

REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

No. 1121

(Vol. 23, No. 22)

October 7, 2001

Editions in English and Spanish published weekly

\$1.00

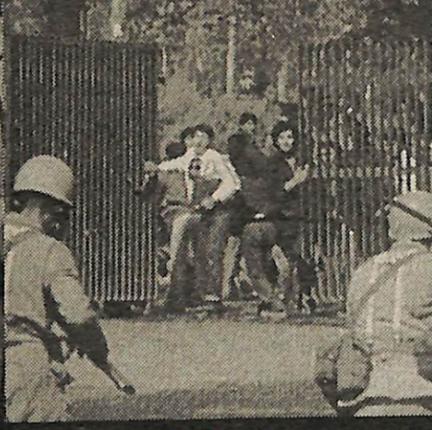
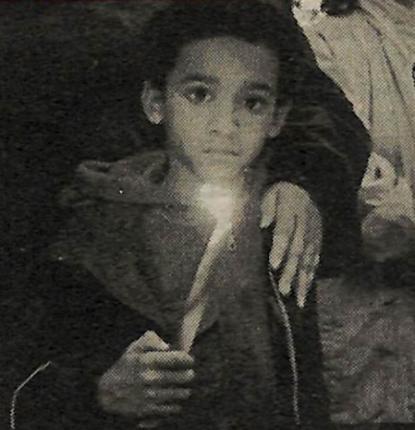
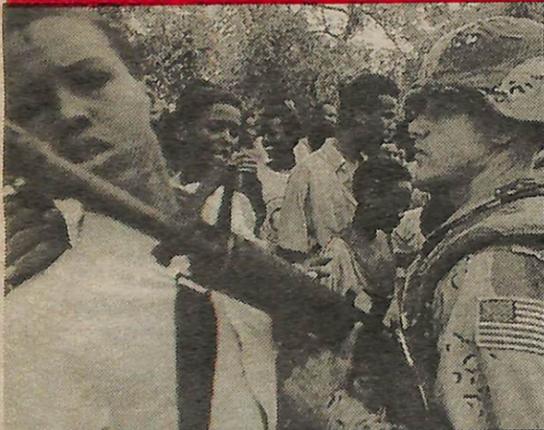
**Thousands
take the streets
in
Washington, D.C.**

DEFYING U.S. WAR MOVES

See page 3

Washington, D.C., September 29

Photo: gar/MC



4

**CORIM:
Oppose Bush's
"Anti-Terrorist"
Crusade Against
the
World's People!**

6

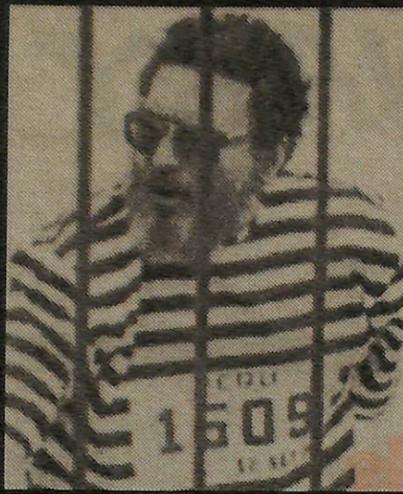
**Soul Searching
and Resistance
on the Streets
of New York**

8

**The
Consequences
of Empire**

11

**Alabama Mine
Explosion:
13 Dead at
Blue Creek No. 5**



As of September 30, 2001 Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzmán) has been held in isolation for

8 Years, 333 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!**



Now from Revolutionary Worker Online

Complete text of the new Draft Programme of the RCP,USA

Available on rwor.org
in both HTML and PDF formats

including the complete appendices of Part 2

1. The Party and the Masses
2. Revolution Means Waging People's War
3. Create Public Opinion, Seize Power! Prepare Minds and Organize Forces for Revolution. The Central Task of the RCP,USA
4. The United Front Under the Leadership of the Proletariat Part 1: Why and How the Proletariat Builds and Leads the United Front
5. United Front Under the Leadership of the Proletariat Part 2: Who Are Our Friends, Who Are Our Enemies? A Brief Presentation of Classes in U.S. Society
6. The Party Under Socialism, and the Transition to Communism
7. Consolidating the New Proletarian Power, Developing Radically New Institutions
8. Proletarian Dictatorship, Democracy and the Rights of the People
9. Internationalism and International Relations
10. Uprooting National Oppression and White Supremacy
11. Ending Discrimination Against Immigrants
12. The Proletarian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women
13. Art, Science, Education, Sports, and the Challenge of Creating a Whole New Superstructure in Socialist Society
14. The New Socialist Economy Part 1: Grasp Revolution, Promote Production
15. The New Socialist Economy Part 2: Agriculture, City and Countryside, Ecology, and Planning
16. Proletarian Morality—A Radical Rupture With Tradition's Chains

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.

GET THIS ISSUE OF THE RW OUT TO THE PEOPLE! To order bundles, contact the RCP Publications Public Relations Office

This office provides a coordinating and organizing center that assists in expanding and giving more national prominence to key fronts of the Revolutionary Communist Party's work and promotion. You should contact this office:

- To arrange a radio or TV interview or a public appearance with one of the RCP Publications national spokespeople.
- To order copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* or other RCP Publications literature for distribution.

RCP Publications Public Relations Office, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654
Phone: (773) 227-4066 FAX: (773) 227-4497

MUCH MONEY IS NEEDED NOW

TO STEP UP RW COVERAGE, DISTRIBUTION AND THE WORK OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE

Send checks or money order marked for "RW Reporters Emergency Travel Fund" or "RCP Publications Public Relations."

- To send clippings or reports about significant struggles, national conferences, and other developments in your area. We encourage people to contact us about the overall battle against repression and against legal and political attacks on the RCP.
- To arrange to contact an RW correspondent.
- To volunteer to assist with the office's activities, including media work, literature promotion and distribution, the Prisoners' Revolutionary Literature Fund, Spanish translation, and the design and production of materials.

I would like to subscribe to the

Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario:

- 3 months – \$12
 One year – \$40
 1 year, U.S. institution – \$52

Indicate which language edition:

- English
 Spanish

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

For office use only: Date rec'd _____ Amt rec'd _____ Expires _____

I want to distribute the Revolutionary Worker. Please send me information on bulk rates. I would like to receive _____ copies per week.

Write to: Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654. Send inquiries regarding international rates c/o RCP Publications, to the above address.

Contact the Revolutionary Worker Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 In your area call or write:

California:

Los Angeles: c/o Libros Revolución, 312 W. 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90014 213/488-1303

Berkeley: c/o Revolution Books, 2425C Channing Way, Berkeley, CA 94704 510/848-1196

Georgia: c/o Revolution Books Outlet, P.O. Box 5333, Atlanta, GA 31107 404/577-4656

Hawaii: c/o Revolution Books, 1019 University Ave. (Puck's Alley), Honolulu, HI 96828 808/944-3106.
(Send mail to: P.O. Box 11228, Honolulu, HI 96828)

Illinois: c/o Revolution Books, 1103 N. Ashland, Chicago, IL 60622 773/489-0930

Massachusetts: c/o Revolution Books, 1156 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138
617/492-5443

Michigan: c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 406 West Willis, Detroit, MI 48201 313/833-7310
(Send mail to: P.O. Box 0083, Detroit, MI 48231)

New York & New Jersey: c/o Revolution Books-NYC, 9 West 19th St., NY, NY 10011 212/691-3345;
FAX 212/645-1952

Ohio: c/o Revolution Books, 2804 Mayfield Rd., Cleveland Heights, OH 44118 216/932-2543

Oregon: P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208

Pennsylvania: Revolutionary Worker, P.O. Box 44024, Philadelphia, PA 19144 215/552-8584

Texas: P.O. Box 230112, Houston, TX 77223 713/684-4701

Washington State: c/o Revolution Books, 1833 Nagle Pl., Seattle, WA 98122 206/325-7415

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly, except for the last week of March, the 1st week of July, the 1st week of September and the 4th week of December by RCP Publications, 1103 N. Ashland, Chicago, IL 60622. Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes, or correspondence regarding subscription problems, can be mailed to RCP Publications, Attention Central Circulation, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654, or phoned in to (773) 227-4188. Subscriptions are \$40 a year, \$12 for 3 months in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico (\$52 for institutions). The *Revolutionary Worker* reserves the right to print all or part of any correspondence sent to it, unless the authors of the correspondence specifically request otherwise.

Postmaster: Send all changes of address to Revolutionary Worker, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

07/29/01

Defying U.S. War Moves



Protesters confront riot police near the IMF/World Bank, Washington, D.C., September 29.

Thousands take the streets in Washington, D.C.

by Orpheus

Greetings from the frontlines of resistance in Washington, D.C.! Today, September 29, at least 10,000 people took to the streets in defiance against the war preparations of the U.S. government and military and the global oppression of capitalism. The protests went up against police riot squad mobilization, and scored an important beginning victory in what is sure to be an escalating struggle.

The plans for the D.C. protests took shape months ago to oppose the meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank scheduled for the 29th and 30th. Following the September 11 events, the IMF and World Bank canceled their meeting. One mainstream group then canceled street protests—but others continued and mobilized to meet the situation by putting a new focus on opposing the U.S. war moves.

At a time when the media and government are pumping out that 90% of the population in the U.S. is for war, the D.C. actions sent a very different message. The protests in D.C. were the first manifestation of national scope against war since Sept. 11. It built on other protests that have taken place in New York, Seattle, Portland, the S.F. Bay Area and elsewhere. There were S29 support demonstrations in other cities around the country—including 7,000 to 10,000 people in San Francisco, 2,000 in Los Angeles and 1,000 in Denver.

The September 29 D.C. protests drew people of all different nationalities from around the country, as well as people from Indonesia, Palestine, Africa, Afghanistan, India, Colombia, Honduras, the Philippines, and other countries.

Students from dozens of college campuses—from Washington State to California, Alabama to Vermont—represented on the microphone. Three hundred students came from Oberlin College in Ohio, out of a student body of 2,500. One Oberlin student who had been mobilizing on the campus to protest the IMF/World Bank told the *RW* that after Sept. 11 even more students wanted to come to D.C. to protest the war threats.

The day started at 9 a.m., as hundreds gathered near Union Station in an action against capitalist war and globalization

called by the Anti-Capitalist Convergence. Black-clad anarchists mixed with pacifist direct actionists carrying puppets, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, youth carrying Palestinian flags, and others. One banner said, "Destroy Imperialism Not Afghanistan." A giant banner declared, "To Stop Terrorism, Stop Terrorizing."

From all directions, robo cops in body armor unloaded off of buses, moved into the streets and the park, and surrounded the people. After a stand-off, the youth broke out in a fast-paced march, heading toward the IMF and World Bank.

Riot cops flanked the youth on both sides of the street. Black and red flags waved. At certain points, the marchers broke out in a running charge, making the cops go double time to keep up. At one intersection, police cars and a van tried to drive into the crowd. Cops opened their windows and pepper-sprayed people. Other cops moved in from the front and began hitting people in the chest with batons. But the youth stood their ground and pushed back. The march went forward.

When the youth tried to break off to the left near the White House, riot cops swarmed in to block them. But despite other attacks and some beatings, the marchers succeeded in rallying at the IMF and World Bank. In the plaza in front of these global institutions of misery, hundreds of riot police penned in the youth on all sides. The media were pushed out of the immediate area. People chanted "let us go" and were joined by others outside the lines. One young woman yelled at the cops, "So this is the 'freedom' you want us to fight for?"

Finally the cops marched the anti-capitalists down to where thousands were gathered at a rally against war and racism, called by the coalition ANSWER—Act Now to Stop the War and End Racism. The rally of 10,000 plus started on 14th and Pennsylvania. People then marched to the Capitol. Beautiful manifestations of solidarity with the people of Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, and elsewhere came alive.

From many angles and perspectives, the crimes of the U.S. against the world were exposed. One affinity group carried



Marching down Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C., September 29.

coffins—written on them were the numbers of people killed by U.S. war and sanctions in East Timor, Kosovo, Colombia, Iraq, Panama, Somalia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Lebanon and Rwanda. Speaking at the capitol, a Native American woman said, "Native people have been terrorized for 500 years!"

Activists involved in various issues—such as police brutality, Mumia Abu-Jamal, sweatshops—along with Refuse and Resist!, religious people, peace activists, Filipino anti-imperialists, and many others connected their struggles to the movement vs. war and repression. A drum corps led an affinity group of the Bread and Puppet Theater. Dozens of people carrying silhouettes representing the Afghani people did a call and response: "Food and Medicine for the People of Afghanistan, Now! Or Innocent Millions Will Die." People's signs and voices spoke strongly about standing together with Arab and Middle Eastern brothers and sisters in the U.S. and internationally.

Thousands of copies of the RCP's statement, "The Horror that Comes from This Horrible System," were distributed. Many students expressed the view that they had come to D.C. to break out of the isolation they felt, and many said they were strengthened by coming together in our thousands.

Throughout the week before the 29th, educational events involved hundreds of people digging into how IMF and World Bank policies are exploiting the poor, the connections between poor people struggling in the U.S. and Latin America, the intensification of the repression of the masses in the wake of September 11, and the way forward for the movements of resistance. On Sunday, September 30, over 1,500 people joined together in a rally and march organized by the Washington Peace Center and American Friends Service Committee.

The D.C. protests were a significant victory in beginning to break through against the flag-waving, people-hating, police-state atmosphere the power structure is trying to generate. In the D.C. streets two sharply opposing futures were posed. On one side, the cold and hateful riot police for U.S. capitalism, with their pepper spray and batons, took to the streets against the masses and in protection of the government and capitalist institutions. On the other were the youth and others shouting out for a world where people can live together without the constant war and misery the U.S. brings. The protests gave voice to the love and determination of many people to reach out and create a different future, together with the people of the world.



Washington, D.C., September 29.



Philippine activists, Washington, D.C., September 29.

Photo: han/IMC



U.S. military in Vietnam during the 1960s.

From the Committee of the Revolutionary

After September 11

Oppose Bush's "Anti-Against the



Looking for a missing loved one, New York City, September 27.



Palestinian youth with posters of an 18-year-old protester killed by Israeli troops, Ramallah, September 28.



U.S. troops in downtown Panama City during the 1989 invasion.

From the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (CoRIM):

On September 11, thousands of innocent people were killed on United States soil. In the murky waters of terrorism and the intelligence services, where intrigue and double-dealing are the currency, it may never be possible to know exactly who organised the attack or their motives. But two things are clear: first, the victims in New York join the millions of direct and indirect victims of the policies and actions of the U.S. ruling class. Second, even greater crimes are in preparation.

The U.S. has declared a "war against terrorism". With this, they are declaring their right to attack any and all forces and governments in a wide arc stretching from the Middle East through South Asia. Targets will be determined by how well and how quickly one bows to U.S. dictates—a lack of democracy or a regime's use of terror against their own people or others need not exclude them from being an honoured U.S. accomplice, as we can see in Pakistan's sudden transformation from potential victim to a U.S. staging-ground. This war will be met with a storm of resistance not only in those countries designated as targets but throughout the whole world, including in the U.S. and other aggressor countries themselves. It is a reflection of the conflict that pits world imperialism led by the U.S. against the oppressed peoples and nations, the principal contradiction in the world today.

It is not surprising that many people moved by fear, ignorance or selfishness have been taken in by the attempts to march "Western civilisation" off to yet another bloodthirsty crusade. But even now, as the situation is just beginning to unfold, a growing number of people feel that the rulers are trying to hijack their sorrow at the loss of innocent lives to win support for a criminal war.

Why doesn't the U.S. tell the victims that America's designated "number one suspect", Osama bin Laden and his movement, were sponsored by the U.S. government: financed, armed and nurtured for a decade by the CIA, the United Kingdom's MI6 and their partners in the Saudi Arabian secret services, for use by the Western bloc against their Soviet rivals? Why don't they tell the world that the U.S. also had the thoroughly reactionary Taliban recruited and trained in a subservient Pakistan and sent Pakistani troops into Afghanistan to put them in power? And now the same powers that inflicted the Taliban on the Afghani people want to unleash even more punishment!

Bush originally called the U.S.' "new war" "Operation Infinite Justice", but it is infinitely unjust. After all, he represents a country that used the first atom bomb against the people of Japan in order to consolidate their empire at the close of World War 2 in a monstrous crime against humanity. It was U.S. bombs and soldiers that killed well over a million Vietnamese and 600,000 Cambodians, and it was the CIA that stood behind the massacre of as many as a million people when Sukarno was overthrown in Indonesia in 1965. The very day of 11 September was already carved into the hearts of the people of Chile and the world as the horrifying moment in 1973 when the CIA toppled Salvador Allende and applauded whilst Pinochet proceeded to slaughter 30,000 opponents in that small country. The U.S. government also backed the military and death squads who hacked and shot 150,000 people to death during the last four decades in Guatemala and provided lifelines for the infamous *Contras* in neighbouring Nicaragua and for the El Salvadoran regime's death squads in the 1980s. During the Gulf War it was U.S. planes that rained "death from above" on tens of thousands—perhaps as many as 200,000—Iraqis, including surrendering soldiers. The U.S.-led blockade as well as the systematic, planned destruction of the Iraqi economy has caused the death of at least half a million children according to UN statistics. Israel is the U.S.' well-fed guard dog in the Middle East; the U.S. has provided weapons and backing for each and every Zionist crime from the founding of the state of Israel on the land of others to the mowing down of Palestinian youth today and "smart" bombing of political leaders. Bush represents a country whose police wage a merciless war on its own minority nationalities, one that sends helicopters to patrol its own ghettos and even bomb its own people (the MOVE commune in Philadelphia in 1985, killing 11 men, women and children). It has 3,500 people on death row, including some of the world's best-known political prisoners. U.S. "democracy" has responded to the September 11th events by proposing laws to allow the indefinite detention of any non-citizen. Abortion doctors are murdered there, and the most fundamentalist religious fanatics have the ear of the president.

Why don't Bush, Blair, Chirac, Schroeder, Berlusconi and the rest of them tell us that this war will not be for justice but for empire? What is going on is not a "clash of civilisations" but the efforts of these barbarous rulers flying the banner of "Western civilisation" to consolidate their control and contend among themselves for regions of strategic importance and for world domination. Other imperialist

Internationalist Movement (CORIM)

Terrorist" Crusade World's People!

powers are supporting the U.S. war moves while sometimes grumbling over the U.S.' heavy hand toward even its partners-in-crime—these are two sides of the same effort to protect their own place at the imperialist banquet table, where the labour and lives of human beings is the first, last and only course, washed down with the planet's natural resources.

In the last decade the basic tendencies of the world imperialist system have been intensified under the signboard of globalisation. The powers are exploiting every corner of the globe more deeply than ever before—and this has inflicted unbearable violence everywhere through both force of arms and the grinding out of profit in daily life. If this has brought some prosperity for some of the people some of the time in the imperialist countries, the decent lives and happiness they promised their own middle classes in return for silence have proved to be an illusion. In the oppressed countries, electronic gadgets and a taste of the worst of Western culture have been offered to a minority in hopes of purchasing their acquiescence, whilst the masses of workers and peasants are driven further into poverty and the dignity of nations is trampled into the dust.

The U.S.' towering crimes and its swaggering domination of the world made many people around the world glad that a big blow had been delivered at the heart of its empire. But those who want out from under the heel of the U.S. boot and not just a fleeting and degrading revenge must look to history when the masses of people were able to take on and defeat even the mightiest of enemies. Most important to remember today is the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, which defeated the American army in the context of a worldwide revolutionary upsurge centred in Maoist China that not only rocked all the colonialist and imperialist powers but also saw unprecedented militant opposition and revolutionary mass movements in the rich countries themselves, including the U.S. That is a history lesson few dare talk about lately. But it is not just history. Maoist-led people's wars—wars that rely on the people and embody the whole new kind of society they aim to bring into being, without oppressive relations—are being waged today in Peru, Nepal and other countries.

While support for an attack on peoples of the oppressed countries is one goal of today's war fever, the other is a widespread suspension of many rights and freedoms within the imperialist democracies themselves, along with a sweeping crackdown against all opposition to imperialism in the countries run by their lackeys—all under the banner of suppressing terrorism. In some countries the authorities are proclaiming that they will no longer tolerate the kind of opposition they have so far been unable to squelch by more indirect means. Cowardly attacks on Muslims and foreigners are being unleashed in the U.S. and across Europe in an effort to create a generalised climate of fear.

Whether the resistance to the announced "crusade" advances as part of the worldwide battle to rid the earth of imperialism, or whether the struggle is hijacked by reactionaries, depends ultimately on what programme and vision lead the people's struggle. We can never allow people to be presented a false choice between exploitation and oppression in its modern, imperialist form and packaged as Western-style "democracy" or an impossible return to an oppressive medieval form of existence under the signboard of Islam or other religious movements. In the last two decades, history has proven again and again in Iran, Algeria, Afghanistan itself and elsewhere that Islamic movements will never liberate the people or defeat imperialism. On the contrary, history has shown that it is only when the masses have political power in their own hands, in socialist states or new-democratic republics led by the working class and its communist vanguard, that it is really possible to shape a new future.

The need for the communist vision of a world society based on the free and voluntary association of all human beings—no longer divided by classes and into oppressed and oppressor nations, no longer marked by the subjugation of women to men—cries out as never before. Even as we unite in struggle with masses who still embrace other ideologies, our scientific vision provides the backbone to stand firm in the crosscurrents of a tumultuous world and gives strength and courage to rally the people to meet the trials of the moment, to rise to the occasion.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon the people of all countries to unite in their millions to oppose and resist every act of U.S. aggression. Reject the hypocrisy of the imperialist enemies. Aim high and fight for genuine liberation. Remember that the darkest hour comes right before the dawn.

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, 24 September 2001

(For more information, write: BCM RIM / London WC1N 3XX / UK or contact a RIM participating organisation)



Devastation caused by U.S. bombs, Baghdad, Iraq, 1991.



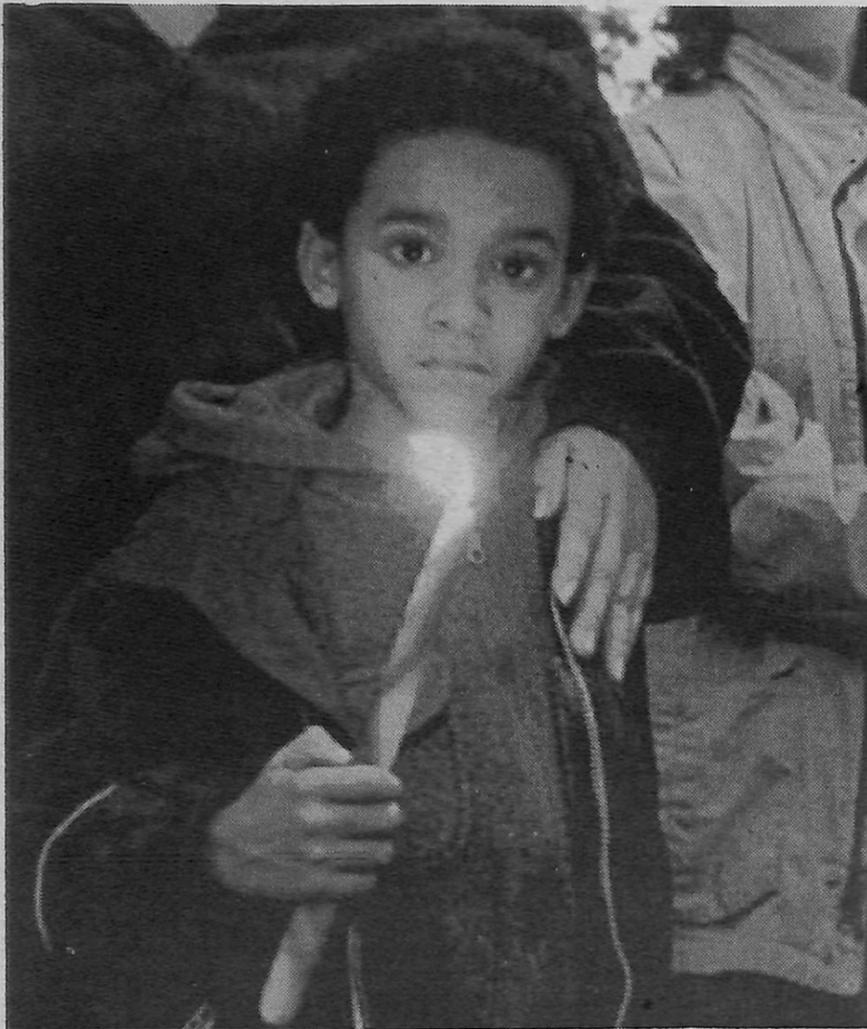
A street in Hiroshima, Japan after the U.S. atomic bombing, 1945.



U.S. occupiers in Mogadishu, Somalia, 1992.



Serbian man in front of a house destroyed by NATO missiles, Aleksinac, Yugoslavia, 1999.



New York.

In New York City widespread discussion and debate continues about what happened on September 11th. The RW bureau has collected stories about people's experience taking out the RCP's statement "The Horrors That Come From This Horrible System" (See RW #1119 and #1120). And this week we also interviewed people in two of the city's Black neighborhoods, Harlem and Crown Heights. The following reporter's notebook is drawn from these experiences.

Crown Heights is home to hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the Caribbean. At a corner building opposite a subway station tomatoes, corn, peppers, okra and beans thrive in a small garden. Hundreds of people are on the streets shopping on Saturday afternoon. Restaurants, vegetable and fruit vendors are busy. Familiar smells of ginger, plantain and curried goat spice the air. The workings of U.S. imperialism have forced many here from their impoverished homelands and many have direct experience with the horrors caused by this horrible system.

People went out with giant posters of the RCP statement and the RW centerfold featuring photos of destruction caused by U.S. aggression around the world. These posters were donated by an immigrant from the Middle East.

As he looked at the pictures one man said: "Something like this was bound to happen here because the U.S. government have gone and damaged other people's countries. They bombed Iraq for no reason. I'm not saying I'm glad it happened—two wrongs don't make a right. But by attacking other people they brought it over here."

A Trinidadian woman said: "It's America's foreign policy that's responsible. I'm referring to the different countries that they send their troops to... I call them a strong-arm bully. Take Grenada—they sent their troops to dominate and bomb. They do this to smaller countries. When they do this it's innocent people that die.... I'm not in support of the U.S. sending young people to lose their lives. It will be destruction everywhere for the Afghans."

Harlem is known as "the capital of Black America." African Americans from different classes live here, along with some immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean. As in most neighborhoods where oppressed and proletarian people live, we noticed far less American flags than downtown Manhattan. A few vendors had flag T-shirts or red, white and blue scarves. The chain stores had the most obvious displays of U.S. flags.

A student pointed to the RCP statement and said, "I realize what they are saying is true. It's not them people in the Middle East's fault. It's the United States' fault.... Why do they hate the United States? Why do they want to get back at the United States or kill so many innocent people? You have to go back in time. It didn't just start now. The United States has always been in other people's back yard. They're always minding somebody else's business. And this is what you get as a result. I'm sorry so many innocent people died. I feel the pain, you know what I'm saying? And it's only because of the government. That's why these people died. And a lot of the people don't know the truth—it was the government here in the United States that caused all of this because of greed."

A street vendor said: "The United States is minding everybody's business, trying to institute their policies and imperialism across the world. It's not right. What we went through on September 11 is a horrible thing. Other countries go through that every day because of the United States."

A Puerto Rican minister in the Bronx put the RW centerfold on the altar while Spanish copies of the statement were passed out among the congregation.

A Contradictory Situation

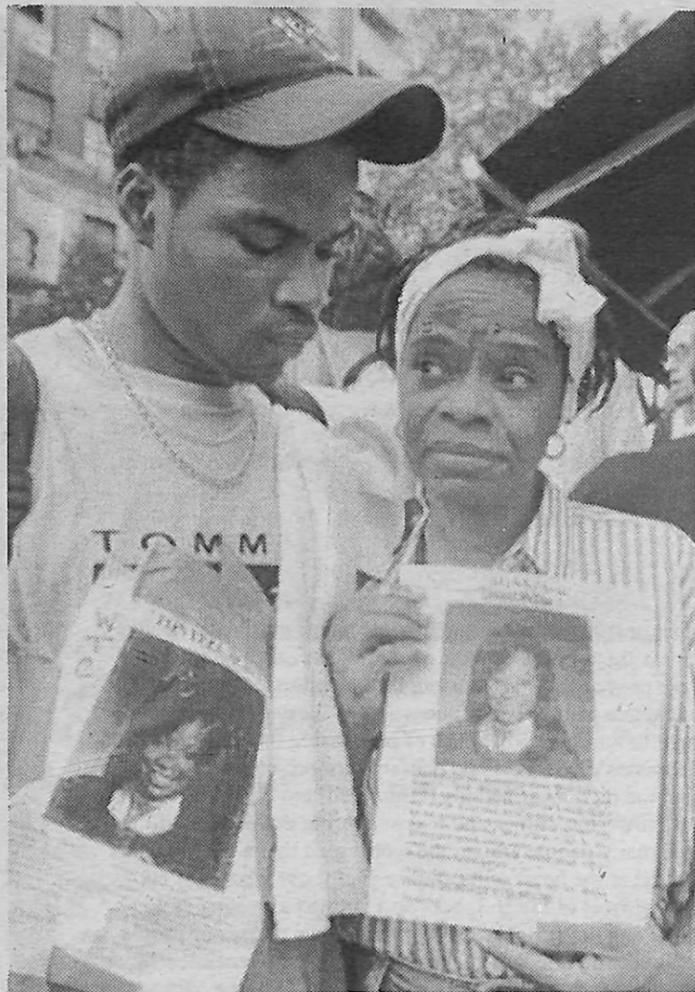
While there are less flags in Harlem, some people here have been influenced by the government's argument that "We should unite as Americans to respond to this attack." And some people told us that they support displaying the U.S. flag as a way of "honoring the victims" and "showing the terrorists that America is united." Many are scared there could be another attack—possibly with biological or chemical weapons. One woman said she can't sleep because she's worried more innocent people could die—maybe people she loves or herself. Quite a few we talked to said they support U.S. government "retaliation against those responsible." And many, even among those who believe the U.S. government is responsible for what happened, believe that some kind of retaliation by the U.S. is necessary "to prevent future attacks."

A few African Americans we met in Harlem made a point of referring to themselves as "Americans" and were wearing red, white and blue ribbons or pins. A few said things like, we should "get all the immigrants out of here" and other ugly chauvinist remarks about Arab and Muslim people. And some immigrants said things like "America is the land of opportunity" and "we need to protect our nation."

In the face of this many people who

Reporter's Notebook

Soul Searching on the Streets



Holding pictures of missing loved ones, New York, September 13.

oppose the government's plans for war told us they feel isolated and afraid to speak out. A Black woman told us about a conversation she had with a Jewish coworker: "She said the most frightening thing about what's going on is that it's like what happened with Hitler. Hitler was able to kill millions and millions of Jews because the whole world was silent. She said many Americans do not want war but they're afraid."

I met a young African American woman with a red, white and blue ribbon on her bag. When I said the government wants people to wave the flag in a show of patriotism to support their plans for war she interrupted: "We're representing America. We're showing people that we love America and we love our people. That's why we're holding our flags. We not saying go kill nobody. No!" She looked at the poster in the RW and was shocked: "I didn't know that America bombed all them countries right there. A lot of innocent people died here. But a lot of innocent people died in other countries, too." She walked away with a copy of the RW and the party's statement.

One of the things we found was that it is possible to change the terms of debate. Many people wanted to talk—even people who had big disagreements with us. Overnight people have been jolted out of their daily routine and are agonizing over heavy ideological and political questions. When revolutionaries have gone into the midst of this situation and argued for the truth it has had a dramatic effect on the discussion.

In Harlem we met an African American computer professional who worked on the 102nd floor of the World Trade Center at Cantor Fitzgerald—where everyone who was at work that day died. He's alive because he wasn't at work that day. He said he was angry when he first saw the RCP's statement, but then came back and told us: "My initial reaction was although they make sense why would they not want action taken considering the losses? I have a personal stake in this because I worked in the building. My friends and family also worked in the building.... I've kind of joined, maybe blindly and ignorantly,

America's march towards 'let's get 'em...' This information that you've published and listening to you has helped me view this from another perspective as opposed to just blindly marching to the sound of war or the acts of war, just blindly marching forward with that intention—which is really just fueling my anger and my pain. This has at least, if nothing else, enabled me to stop and think. This to me is like an invitation to think. And that's probably what I need right now."

People who we argued and debated with, including those who really disagreed with us, thanked us for being out there. Almost everyone took the RCP statement to read. And a number bought the RW to read the articles about protests against war and other information that the mainstream media has lied about or censored. One Black youth who bought the paper said, "They don't tell us what's going on. They only tell us what they want us to know."

The response in Harlem reminded me of the kind of mass debates that went on in Union Square. In the days after September 11, Union Square became a central place where thousands of people came together to grieve and discuss what caused this horrible tragedy. Thousands of pictures of missing family members, candles, bouquets of flowers and signs covered every surface. Teams of people took the RCP statement and the large centerfold poster out here and many hundreds of people got into debate about the party's statement.

Vietnam veteran and RCP supporter Joe Urgo told me one story that gives a flavor of what this was like: "I was handing out leaflets. I'd say: 'The horror that comes from this horrible system—read the leaflet—look at the photo display—mourn the dead but stand with the people of the world.' Every 10 or 15 minutes somebody would get into an argument with me. This skinny Vietnam vet covered with his medals got in my face. I understood that as bad as this guy was, he is not the enemy. I worked my way around him and kept leafleting. My voice started to get louder. I talked about how the United States bombs and kills people all over the world and how millions of people around the world hate the U.S. and now they've

Global oppressors can't deliver justice!

and Resistance of New York

by Debbie Lang

brought that madness down on this country. The guy followed me around: 'If you don't love it, why don't you leave it!' I said, 'You know, I used to say that before I went to Vietnam.'

"He leaves and 40 minutes later he comes back with a huge Vietnam vet three times his size. This guy walks up to me, pulls off his bag and gets right up to my chest. I looked at him and said you're not my enemy, I'm not going to fight you. I turned around and started leafleting people again. Now there's such a big crowd he's arguing with a whole bunch of other people of different nationalities. Now you've got groups of people yelling and debating." This kind of thing happened to everyone who went out with the statement in Union Square.

On Thursday, September 20, in the middle of the night—in a profound show of disrespect for the people who died and their families—the city removed ALL the messages, artwork, banners, candles, flowers and prayer cards left by surviving family members and others in Union Square. All the informational leaflets posted by relief agencies and peace and justice groups are gone—ripped down, swept up, bagged and trashed. Spray-painted messages were removed with high-powered steam equipment.

It's Not Our War

Black people have been the targets of intense police brutality and racial profiling in this country. Most people we met in Harlem and Crown Heights were angry about how Arabs and Muslims were now on the receiving end of the same kind of racist attacks Black people suffer in America. One Black man said, "Right now in the United States the Arabs are the new n*ggers, you know? They got off our neck for a little while and then they got somebody else to do it to."

Most people said they don't support the war the U.S. government is planning. Even people who said they support some kind of "U.S. retaliation" don't want to see a war in which thousands more innocent people are killed. One man in Harlem said: "I feel sorry because I lost my best friend in the World Trade Center. I guess Bush is figuring he can use our grief as revenge. They're trying to get us to go to war for something that is not really our fault and basically we had no business being over there in the first place. They sending all our people out there to fight for a war that's not even ours."

Many of the people we met in Harlem have relatives in the military. One woman told me: "They say we America. But guess who's on the front lines? Minorities. My brothers are over there in the Middle East. And I don't think that's right. This country is [nothing but] a bunch of racism.... Afghanistan is a poor country. They don't know what it is to have drinking water, to

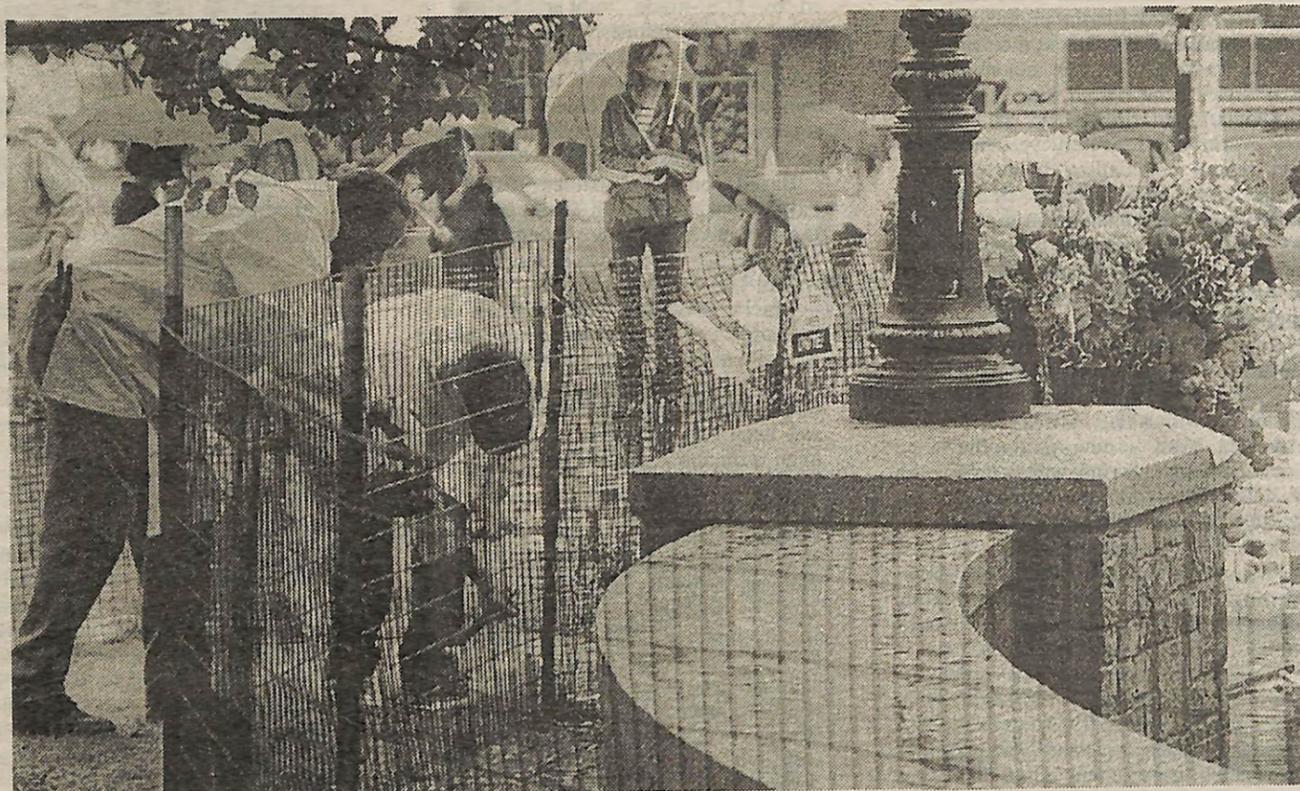
have the freedom to go shop, to wear shoes. For us to bomb them would be totally wrong. If you listen to the voices of the people, a lot of us don't want war."

Across the city thousands have continued to organize and speak out against "America's New War." Over 3,000 people packed a peace program at Riverside Church. Hundreds have met to organize protests against war, repressive government measures and racist attacks against immigrants and people of color. On Friday, September 21, 5,000 marched from Union Square to Times Square. And on Saturday, September 29, even though many activists in New York had gone to Washington, DC to demonstrate against the war and racism, 500 people marched in Manhattan. Activists have begun to spread the word—demonstrate at Times Square at 5:00 p.m. the day after any U.S. military action, noon if it falls on Saturday or Sunday.

In the midst of all this, and in neighborhoods all over the city, over 25,000 copies of the RCP statement "The Horrors That Come From This Horrible System" have been distributed. Revolution Books has a window display with a huge copy of the *RW* centerfold, the RCP statement and a large candle in honor of the victims. One day a woman stood and read the statement. A staff member went out and handed her a leaflet. She said "thank you" and then turned, tears pouring down her face, and said, "This is the best memorial I have ever seen."



Memorial at Union Square before it was cleared out and fenced off by the city.



Fences at Union Square.

Anti-War Encounters at the Hollywood Farmers' Market

We received the following correspondence from an *RW* seller in Los Angeles:

For many years, people have been selling the *Revolutionary Worker* at the Sunday morning Hollywood Farmers' Market—where farmers and artisans sell everything from organic produce to beautiful art and handcrafts. Most of the thousands who come to the Market are middle class people, including entertainment industry folks, progressive artists, youth and students, activists from a variety of social movements, and some Middle

Eastern and European immigrants. Some proletarian immigrants from Latin America also come here to buy and sell. It's a great mix of people and there are many regular readers of the *RW*—some who have been reading the paper for years. People at the Market have supported important initiatives like the Stolen Lives Project, the National Day of Protest Against Police Brutality and the battle to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. And several folks at the Market have gotten the RCP's new *Draft Programme*. Market regulars—conservative and progressive

alike—know that when something happens in the world, they can come to the Market on Sunday and find out what the revolutionaries have to say about it.

The Sunday after September 11, when we arrived at the Farmers' Market, several regular readers were waiting for us. We had hundreds of copies of the Party's statement and a big sign that said: "The people of Afghanistan and the Middle East are NOT our enemies. They are our brothers and sisters! No to U.S. wars of conquest!" One woman warmly greeted us and said, "I knew you'd come! I just knew

I could count on you!" Another woman said, "I knew I had to come out here today. By being out here, I'm going to help save lives." She stayed with us throughout the day, selling papers and passing out leaflets. All morning, people came by to share their grief, support each other, and talk about what the future holds and how the people should respond.

Many people said they specifically came to the Market to find us, wanting to hear the Party's analysis. After reading the RCP's statement some people said:

Continued on page 14

International bullies can't protect the people!

The Consequences of Empire

A history of war and intrigue in the Middle East

by Larry Everest

This morning, as I was writing, CNN reported that U.S. troops have landed in Afghanistan and British troops in Pakistan. "America's New War" is underway.

"Americans are asking, 'Why do they hate us?'" President Bush stated in his nationally televised call to war. His answer was that "they hate our freedoms; our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom of vote and assemble and disagree with each other."

As a correspondent for the *Revolutionary Worker* I've covered the Middle East for more than 20 years—travelling to Iran, Palestine, and Iraq to investigate, first-hand, the impact that U.S. actions have had on the peoples in the region. And I came away with a totally different understanding than this myth of "freedoms" told by George Bush.

Most people I met, and this included people from many different political trends, didn't hate "us"—they made a distinction between the U.S. government and people living in the U.S. But they did not view the United States as a place of "freedom." To them, the United States was an arrogant, cold-blooded, and hegemonic power—which has wrecked havoc with lives of the people in this region.

The early years: replacing rivals and waging war on national liberation

Beneath the earth, the vast oilfields of the Middle East and the Caspian Sea lie in an area of the planet that stretches from Algeria and Libya in the West to Afghanistan and Pakistan in the east, from Kazakhstan and Russia in the north to Saudi Arabia and Yemen in the south.

Before World War 2, Britain and France had divided the region into "spheres of influence" and ruled them as colonies. But World War 2 severely weakened these old school colonialists, while the U.S. imperialists—who had deliberately maneuvered to come out on top of rivals and allies alike—emerged from the war ready to pick up the pieces of empire.

In the mid 1950s and early '60s, the ambitions of the U.S. imperialists confronted a world where struggles for self-determination and national independence were sweeping the formerly colonized countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. And a new rival—the once socialist Soviet Union—was mounting the stage and also seeking to expand into the Middle East region.

The U.S. government dealt with these challenges ruthlessly: sometimes intervening directly, sometimes mounting covert operations to overthrow pro-Soviet or nationalist regimes.

One of the most notorious actions by the U.S. government in the Middle East took place in Iran in 1953, when the CIA organized the coup that overthrew the Mossadeq government after Mossadeq nationalized British holdings in the huge oilfields of Iran. With Mossadeq out of the way, the U.S. put the Shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, on the throne, and backed his regime as a gendarme in the region and a military outpost on the Soviet Union's southern flank.

Under the rule of Reza Shah, the U.S. imperialists intensified their economic

and political domination in Iran. And for 25 years, this Shah ruled as an absolute monarch, torturing, killing and imprisoning his opponents—especially the radical and revolutionary-minded students.

Iran was not the only target of U.S. intrigue. In 1949 the CIA backed a military coup which overthrew the elected government of Syria. It aided the Egyptian government in hunting down pro-Soviet Egyptian communists, and in 1963 supplied Iraq's Ba'ath party (soon to be headed by Saddam Hussein) with names of communists, who the Iraqi regime then imprisoned or murdered.

Israel: America's Gendarme in the Region

"Even small children know that Israel is nothing without America. And here American means F-16, M-16, Apache helicopters, the tools Israelis use to kill us and destroy our homes,"

Palestinian interviewed in the *Christian Science Monitor*, 9/27/01, "Why do they hate us?"

Arming and supporting Israel—today to the tune of \$3 billion a year—was another pillar of U.S. strategy in the region.

Created through violent dispossession of Palestinian people, the state of Israel was quickly recognized in 1948 by the United States—which had coldly refused to accept large numbers of Jewish refugees after World War II.

I traveled to Palestine during the first "intifada" in 1988 and saw youth wounded by U.S.-made "rubber" bullets in Palestinian hospitals, while U.S.-made tear gas canisters littered the ground outside. Today the Israelis are using live ammunition and U.S.-made attack helicopters against the Palestinian people's second "intifada."

Based on land stolen from the Palestinians, the Israeli state became the U.S.'s gendarme in the region, ready to strike out against regimes that stood in the way of U.S. "strategic interests."

Israel's 1967 and 1973 wars not only expanded Israeli territory but were aimed at weakening surrounding Arab regimes, particularly Egypt—which was the heart of the Arab world under Nasser. The U.S. was keen to threaten and bribe Egypt to align with the U.S.—and not the Soviet Union.

In 1976 and again, in 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon—killing more than 20,000 Lebanese and Palestinians, seizing southern Lebanon and holding it until 2000. In 1983 the U.S., which had invaded Lebanon in 1958, once again sent troops—supposedly as part of a multinational "peace-keeping" operation, but in reality to protect U.S. interests, including Israel's occupation forces. U.S. troops were withdrawn after a suicide bomber destroyed a U.S. Marine barracks.

Flames in the Gulf: the Collapse of the Shah and the Invasion of Afghanistan

In 1979, U.S. imperialism was jolted on two fronts in the Persian Gulf region. Jimmy Carter had declared Iran "an

island of stability" in a sea of trouble. But in December 1978, more than 10 million people—a third of the population of Iran—took to the streets of Iran to demand an end to the rule of the Shah. Amidst a sea of opposition to the Shah, the conservative Shi-ite Islamists led by Ayatollah Khomeini got the upper hand.

The Iranian revolution revealed to the world the deep and broad hatred of the U.S. and its allies in the Middle East. The 1980 seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran—held for 444 days by Islamic students with the support of Iran's Khomeini regime—humiliated the United States and brought the end of Jimmy Carter's presidential career.

Then, in 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan—which the U.S. rulers considered a "buffer state" between the Soviet Union to the north and the strategically important states of Iran and Pakistan to the south. The Soviets' immediate goal was propping up a friendly regime in Kabul, but the invasion significantly increased Soviet military presence in the region. For the U.S. rulers, the fertile crescent had become the "crescent of crisis."

These were severe shocks to U.S. power in the region, and the U.S. responded by intensifying their rivalry with the Soviet Union—including by preparing for nuclear world war. This was Ronald Reagan's "resurgent America."

A key element of maintaining U.S. global power was maintaining its grip on the Persian Gulf and the world's oil supply—including keeping other Western imperialist rivals under the U.S. "nuclear umbrella." In 1979 U.S. President Jimmy Carter designated the Persian Gulf a vital U.S. interest, and declared the U.S. would go to war to ensure the flow of oil.

At one point, when the U.S. feared a Soviet move into Iran during the turmoil following the revolution, Carter secretly put U.S. forces on nuclear alert and warned the Soviets they would be used if Soviet forces intervened in Iran. Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to Carter, called the elevation of the Persian Gulf to a "vital" U.S. interest a "strategic revolution in America's global position." And Brzezinski told the U.S. security council: *if we lose the Persian Gulf, we'll lose Europe.*

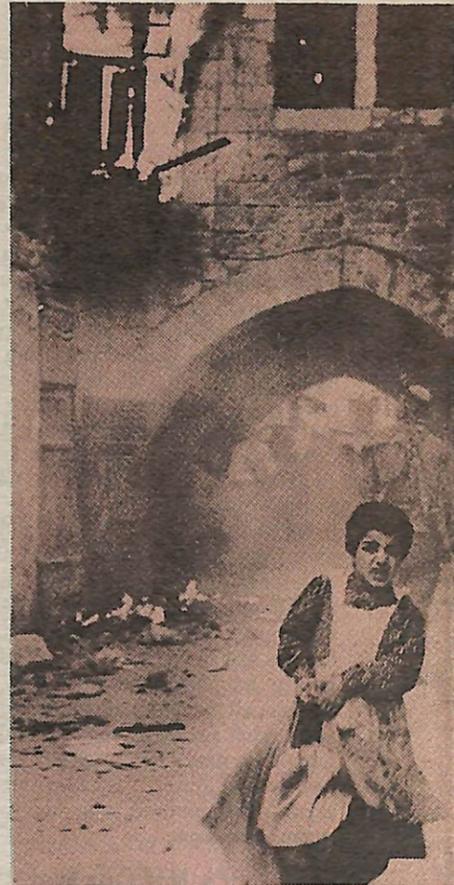
War and Intrigue in the Persian Gulf

The U.S. attempted to deal with the new, more nationalist and anti-U.S. Islamic regime in Tehran with both carrots and sticks. It was even revealed that while the U.S. personnel were being held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, representatives of soon-to-be President Ronald Reagan were negotiating with the Khomeini regime to delay the release of the U.S. "hostages" to better Reagan's chances in the 1980 election.

But the main U.S. gambit was to encourage Iraq to launch its 1980 invasion into southern Iran, which turned into a bloody eight-year war. Henry Kissinger summed up the imperialists' cold-blooded attitude: "too bad they can't both lose." Over 1 million people were killed in the war, but it served U.S. purposes: it weakened both Iran and Iraq, and prevented them from causing the U.S. trouble elsewhere, especially in the nearby Gulf states.

The U.S. opposed UN action against the invasion, removed Iraq from its list of nations supporting terrorism, allowed U.S. arms to be transferred to Iraq, provided Iraq with intelligence aid, economic aid and political support (the U.S. restored diplomatic relations in the late 1980s), encouraged its Gulf allies to lend Iraq over \$30 billion for its war effort then, and looked the other way as Hussein gassed the Kurds at Halabja and other towns. All the better to weaken Iran's Islamic Republic, as well as draw Iraq away from the Soviet Union and closer to the U.S.

But for the U.S., Iran remained the bigger "strategic prize," so privately the Reagan government encouraged Israel to



Jerusalem, 1948—during the time when hundreds of people were driven out of their homes with the establishment of Israel.



U.S. President Ronald Reagan hosting Afghan mujahideen leader during U.S.-funded war against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.



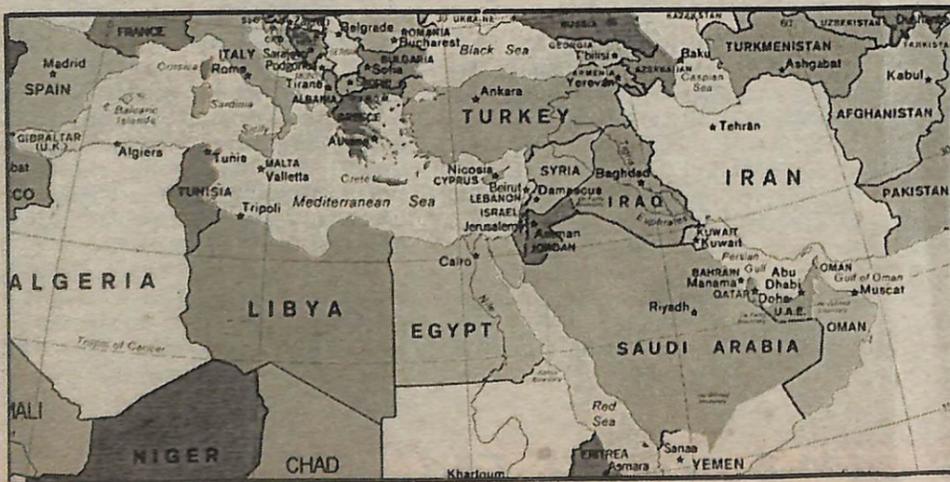
Family digs a bomb shelter behind their house in Kabul during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

provide arms to Iran and then in 1985 secretly began shipping missiles to Iran itself. The missiles were supposedly a trade for U.S. hostages in Lebanon, but the bigger trade was for increased U.S. leverage in Iran. This secret plot collapse when it was publicly revealed during the "Iran-Contra" scandal of the mid-1980s.

Covert War in Afghanistan

While the U.S. was trying to bully and intimidate Iran's new Islamic rulers, in next-door Afghanistan the U.S. was arming and organizing the Islamic fundamentalists—who had religious ties to the conservative Sunni Moslems of the Saudi Arabian ruling class. Within weeks of the Soviet invasion, the U.S. began a program of covert support to anti-Soviet Islamic Mujahideen fighters. And in 1980, Osama bin Laden arrived in Afghanistan, bringing funds from the reactionary Saudi Arabian ruling class to the Mujahideen.

Over the next decade, the U.S. provided





Damage from U.S. bombing, Baghdad, 1991.

Photo: Larry Everest

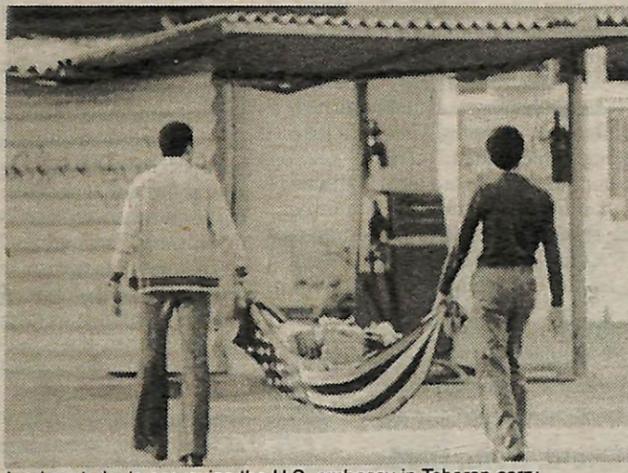


Student protesters at Tehran University, fighting against troops of the U.S.-backed Shah regime in Iran.

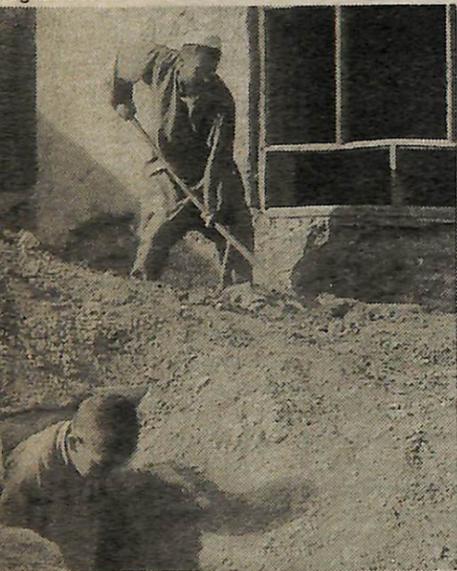
Thousands of Palestinian...
ishment of the State of



...hadeen at the White House
Afghanistan.



Iranian students occupying the U.S. embassy in Tehran carry out the garbage, 1979.



...oul, Afghanistan.

more than \$3 billion in arms and aid to the Mujahideen—much of it financed through funding from Saudi Arabia and the rapidly growing heroin trade on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. By 1987, 65,000 tons of U.S.-made weapons and ammunition a year were entering the war. Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote: "We now have the opportunity to give the Soviet Union *its* Vietnam."

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.

The U.S. was lashing out at other states as well. In 1981 and again in 1986, the

U.S. held military maneuvers off the coast of Libya in order to provoke a response from the Qaddafi regime. In 1981, when a Libyan plane fired a missile at U.S. planes penetrating Libyan airspace, two Libyan planes were shot down. In 1986, after a bomb killed two Americans in a Berlin nightclub, the U.S. charged that Qaddafi was behind it and conducted major air strikes against Libya, killing dozens of civilians, including Qaddafi's daughter.

In the Persian Gulf, the U.S. stepped up its direct military presence—organizing a "Rapid Deployment Force," increasing its naval presence, and pre-positioning equipment and supplies in the region. In 1987 the U.S. Navy was dispatched to the Persian Gulf to prevent Iran from cutting off Iraq's oil shipments. During these patrols, a U.S. ship shot down an Iranian civilian airliner, killing all 290 passengers.

The Cruel CIA Manipulation of the Kurdish People

Today, the U.S. poses as the protector of the Kurdish people against Sadaam Hussein, but the history of U.S. treatment of the Kurdish—an oppressed nation of some 25 million living in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria—typifies the imperialist's contempt for self-determination.

From 1973 to 1975, the U.S. supported Kurdish rebels in Iraq in order to strengthen Iran and weaken the then-pro-Soviet Iraqi regime. But as soon as Iran and Iraq cut a deal, the U.S. withdrew support, denied the Kurds refuge in Iran, and stood by while the Iraqi government murdered them. Henry Kissinger, the U.S. National Security Adviser at the time, explained, "covert action should not be confused with missionary work."

Iran's Kurdish population rose up with millions of other Iranians to overthrow the hated Shah in 1979, but when they demanded their national rights, the U.S. government publicly supported the Khomeini regime's efforts to crush them and maintain Iranian domination of Kurdistan.

This reality was brought home to me one night in the spring of 1980, as I was traveling in Kurdistan with revolutionary forces there. We heard U.S.-made Phantom jets—then flown by the armed forces of Iran—streak overhead firing on Kurdish positions.

In 1988, the Iraqi regime launched mass poison-gas attacks on Kurds, killing thousands and bulldozing many villages (whose stone ruins were still evident when I traveled to Iraqi Kurdistan in 1991). But during that time, the U.S. increased their support for the Iraqi regime.

Operation Desert Storm

The carnage and destruction of the Iran-Iraq war paved the way for the next war in the Persian Gulf—the U.S.-led "Operation Desert Storm."

Iraq was severely weakened after the eight year war, and the Iraqi government felt its Arab neighbors owed them something—after all, they'd been fighting to protect Saudi Arabia and Kuwait from the militant mullahs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who were posing as the true defenders of Islam against Western influence and denouncing the pro-U.S. monarchies of the Gulf states. Instead, Iraq discovered that Kuwait was overproducing its oil quota, undercutting Iraqi oil revenues and also slant drilling for oil into Iraqi territory. After warning the U.S. Ambassador that the situation was intolerable and that Iraq would take action—and after hearing from the U.S. Ambassador that this would pose *no problem* for U.S. interests—Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990.

The U.S. quickly condemned Iraq's invasion, fearing it threatened loyal clients in the Gulf and using the occasion to send a message to the planet.

On January 16, 1991, the U.S. launched "Operation Desert Storm" against Iraq and its people. For the next 42 days, the military might of the main imperialist power on the planet, joined by its allies, was unleashed on a poor Third World country. U.S. and allied planes pounded Iraq. By the time the war was over, they had dropped 88,000 tons of bombs. Then on February 22, 1991, the U.S. launched its 100-hour ground war. Heavily armed U.S. units drove deep into southern Iraq, leav-

ing a trail of death and destruction in their wake.

100,000 to 200,000 Iraqis were killed during the war. But that was just the beginning. The bombing of Iraq has never stopped. And since 1991, another 500,000 to 1,500,000 Iraqis have been killed by disease and malnutrition caused by U.S. sanctions. During my trip to Iraq in the summer of 1991, I saw the impact of these sanctions—ward after hospital ward filled with emaciated, dying infants, their mothers watching helplessly by their sides.

New Millennium: New Rivalries, New Intrigues

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the dawning of a new millennium has only intensified U.S. designs to dominate the Middle East and Southwest Asia.

Two factors are key: the ever-growing dependence of the U.S. and its European and Japanese allies on foreign oil and the fact that most of the world's oil reserves are in this region.

The National Energy Policy Report estimates that U.S. oil consumption will rise 32% from 19.5 million barrels a day in 2000 to 25.8 million in 2020, yet domestic production will remain flat at 9 million barrels a day. This means that imports will have to rise 61% from 10 to 16.5 million barrels a day.

Where will this oil come from? The *San Francisco Chronicle* (9/26/01) reports that, according to the Statistical Review of World Energy, the Persian Gulf/Caspian Sea region accounts for more than 65% of world oil and natural gas production, and by 2050 it will account for more than 80%. The region's reserves are estimated to be 800 billion barrels of oil and an equal amount in natural gas. Meanwhile, energy reserves in the Americas and Europe are less than 160 billion and will be exhausted in the next 25 years.

A new element in this equation is the opening up of vast new oil reserves—estimated at 200 billion barrels of oil and 600 billion cubic meters of natural gas—in and around the Caspian Sea, bordered by Iran to the south, Russia to the north and west, and the newly independent republics of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan to the east. This region used to be part of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet collapse has spawned new rivalries and intrigues over who will end up with control of these energy resources.

Some capitalists in the U.S. are maneuvering for a pipeline from Azerbaijan through Georgia to Turkey. Others in the U.S. ruling class dream of a pipeline from Turkmenistan across Afghanistan into Pakistan in order to link Central Asia directly to Western corporations and markets. The U.S. ruling class hoped Afghanistan's Taliban reactionary government could establish some stability in Afghanistan and allow these plans to proceed.

When the Soviet Union collapsed, many in the U.S. hoped for a cut in U.S. military spending and a "peace dividend." Today the U.S. military budget stands at \$343.2 billion a year—23 times as much as the combined spending of the countries the U.S. calls its "likely adversaries" in the region.

Significant amounts of this spending are for forces aimed at the Middle East/Southwest Asian region, where the U.S. now has permanent military bases.

In October 1999, the U.S. Department of Defense shifted command of U.S. forces in Central Asia from the Pacific Command to the Central Command. Writing in *Foreign Affairs* ("The New Geography of Conflict," May/June 2001), Michael Klare notes, "The region, which stretches from the Ural Mountains to China's western border, has now become a major strategic prize, because of the vast reserves of oil and natural gas thought to lie under and around the Caspian Sea. Since the Central Command already controls the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf region, its assumption of control over Central Asia means that this area will now receive close attention from the people whose primary task is to protect the flow of oil to the United States and its allies."

George Bush warned the U.S. was preparing to "bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies." But justice is one thing the U.S. has never delivered in the Middle East. For the people of the Middle East, U.S. "justice" has meant shallow graves and shattered lives.

This planet does not need another unjust war!

Cincinnati Rebels Denounce Killer Cop Verdict

"Officer Roach, you're free to go."

Judge Ralph E. Winkler, Cincinnati, September 26

"He killed my son. All the rest is smoke and mirrors."

Angela Leisure, mother of Timothy Thomas

It was 2 a.m., April 7, when a dozen cops chased Timothy Thomas into an alley in Cincinnati. Timothy, 19 years old, had just stepped out to pick up some things at a corner store. And then he was dead, over nothing, shot in the heart by Officer Stephen Roach. Timothy was alone and unarmed.

After Timothy died, people rose up in Cincinnati for three days, in the most powerful rebellion since L.A.'s 1992 uprising over police brutality.

Now comes a new injustice. The system has examined this case. The system's judge, Winkler, has heard the evidence. And the verdict of this judge and the legal system, is very clear: The cop did nothing wrong!

A Black teenager lies dead, and the judge tells the packed courtroom, "Police Officer Roach's action was reasonable."

A Green Light for Police Murder

The charges brought against Roach were themselves an outrage. The state did not charge him with murder—but only with two misdemeanors—"negligent homicide" and "obstructing official business." These charges carried a maximum sentence of only nine months in prison.

Roach was given the choice between a judge-only process and a jury trial. And like all cops do, he picked the judge. And the judge he got found Roach's deadly

shooting to be "reasonable"—and essentially, found Timothy guilty of his own death. All that Officer Roach now faces are "departmental administrative proceedings" from his police superiors.

Judge Winkler simply announced that the shooting was "not a culpable criminal act." Why not? Judge Winkler said, "The reasonableness of an officer's action should be judged from the officers on the scene perspective of the facts.... If an officer mistakenly believed that a suspect was likely to fight back, the officer might be justified in using more force than was actually necessary. In such situations, an officer's action should not be subjected to 20/20 hindsight or Monday morning quarterbacking."

Further, Judge Winkler blamed Timothy, not Roach, for the shooting. Winkler said to the packed courtroom: "This shooting was a split-second reaction to a very dangerous situation created by Timothy Thomas."

What exactly had Timothy supposedly done to "create" this situation? First, he was a young Black man in a poor Black community. Winkler specifically described the Over-the-Rhine neighborhood as an "especially dangerous section of Cincinnati"—which can only mean that he thinks it is especially reasonable for cops to shoot people here.

Second, Timothy ran away from the cops. (Does anyone looking at this shooting and this verdict wonder why a young Black man would run from the cops?)

Then, when Timothy had stopped running, he reached down to pull up his baggy sweatpants which were slipping off. Even Stephen Roach himself could not decide what, exactly, was deadly and dangerous about pulling up your pants. First Roach told investigators that he

thought Thomas had a gun. Then, he abandoned that story. His new story was that Thomas had come around a corner, startling him and causing his finger to jerk on the trigger. During the trial police homicide investigator Charles Beaver testified that he didn't believe Roach's story.

In Winkler's courtroom, the details of all this didn't matter. The fact that Roach lied and then rewrote his lies didn't matter. The fact that the other cops said they saw no reason to draw their weapons didn't matter.

In his decision Judge Winkler said that "any different statements attributed to Officer Roach were not substantial and the statements did not hamper or impede the police investigation of the incident in any way."

Winkler twice suggested that Timothy was somehow a menace to society. He said: "Timothy Thomas was not unknown to the Cincinnati police. He had 14 open warrants." These "open warrants" were, in fact, all for misdemeanors—mainly traffic violations and two citations for running from police. In a country where young Black and Latino men are routinely harassed, busted and given a police record for nothing but hanging out or driving on the streets—this judge suggests that being "not unknown" to the police justifies a 9 mm bullet in the heart.

Judge Winkler dared say: "Police Officer Roach's history was unblemished until this incident. Timothy Thomas's history was not unblemished."

In the end, these facts are clear: Officer Roach committed murder; Timothy Thomas committed traffic violations. Officer Roach is back on the job, running a police lot for impounded cars; Timothy Thomas is dead and deeply missed. And the system has ruled, again, that police must have the right to shoot unarmed people, and no one should have the right to second-guess such shootings.

Hard, Hard, Hard

"Who's going to be next? Police officers are judge, jury and executioner all at the same time."

Howard Duncan, Black man outside the Hamilton County courthouse

"I'm scared to go up to police and ask the time. I might catch a bullet in the head."

Nicole Zanders, 18-year-old whose cousin was killed by a cop

"All this talk about peace and healing has been just that, all talk.... I don't know why I expected more."

Reverend Damon Lynch.

"Justice means 'just us.' I wanted my son to be the last—but he won't be the last."

This situation will happen again unless something changes."

Angela Leisure

"Wait till tonight!"

A youth yelling at cops outside the courthouse

People in Cincinnati had braced themselves for this verdict. Thomas was the 15th Black man killed in encounters with Cincinnati police since 1995. No cop has ever been charged before in these killings.

But no matter how little people expect from this system, such a heartless verdict still hits hard. Your lives, your loves, your sorrows, your hopes—mean nothing in that courtroom, as the judge pats the killer cop and sends him back to work.

People packed in the courtroom let out a low moan as Winkler released Roach. Timothy's mother, Angela Leisure, slumped for a moment, then gathered her strength and dignity to denounce the verdict to reporters. Anger and shock rippled through the crowd.

A homeless activist said, "People were angry but not surprised. Some were crying and others frustrated... Someone mentioned that with events of September 11 there is all this talk of national unity, but don't pretend there is unity in Cincinnati."

Much had been done to suppress any fresh outbreak of rebellion. The city authorities had carefully planned a full-bore clampdown. Riot police were mobilized around the courthouse in large numbers armed with heavy flashlight clubs and shotguns. The city was shut down early, businesses and workplaces shut down early, bars and restaurants closed.

That night an area-wide curfew made it illegal to be outdoors. Anyone on the street was subject to immediate arrest.

Meanwhile, the spokespeople of the city's Black middle class had been mobilized to argue against street rebellion. Black preachers and lawyers were on the air and in the streets urging patience and non-confrontation. There was, they insisted, a "correct way to protest"—peaceful vigils and votes. There was a chance of getting a Black mayor in the November elections and any rebellion would damage that hope, they said.

There were angry rallies held outside the courthouse and at City Hall after Judge Winkler's shameful verdict. Hundreds of people protested in Over-the-Rhine. People gathered on the streets, shouted at the cops, talked and debated.

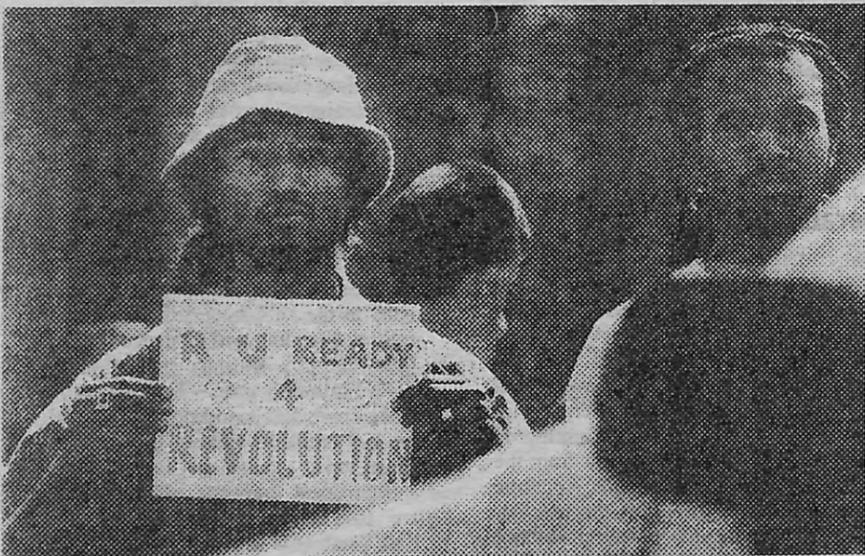
As night came, a state of emergency was declared. As one reporter wrote: "Demonstrating was no longer a right." In defiance of all the police threats, groups of youth went into the streets. The city's top cop growled that his police were seeking out those who "are renegades and just not going to adhere to any type of law enforcement."

Much of what happened that night is still not known outside of Cincinnati. There were reports of shots being fired in several areas and a car set on fire. Vehicles of the hated news media were targeted with rocks and bottles. It was reported that groups of 50 to 100 youth took the streets throughout the night. At least 30 fires were put out, mainly in garbage cans. About 40 people were arrested over the next two days—mostly in Over-the-Rhine.

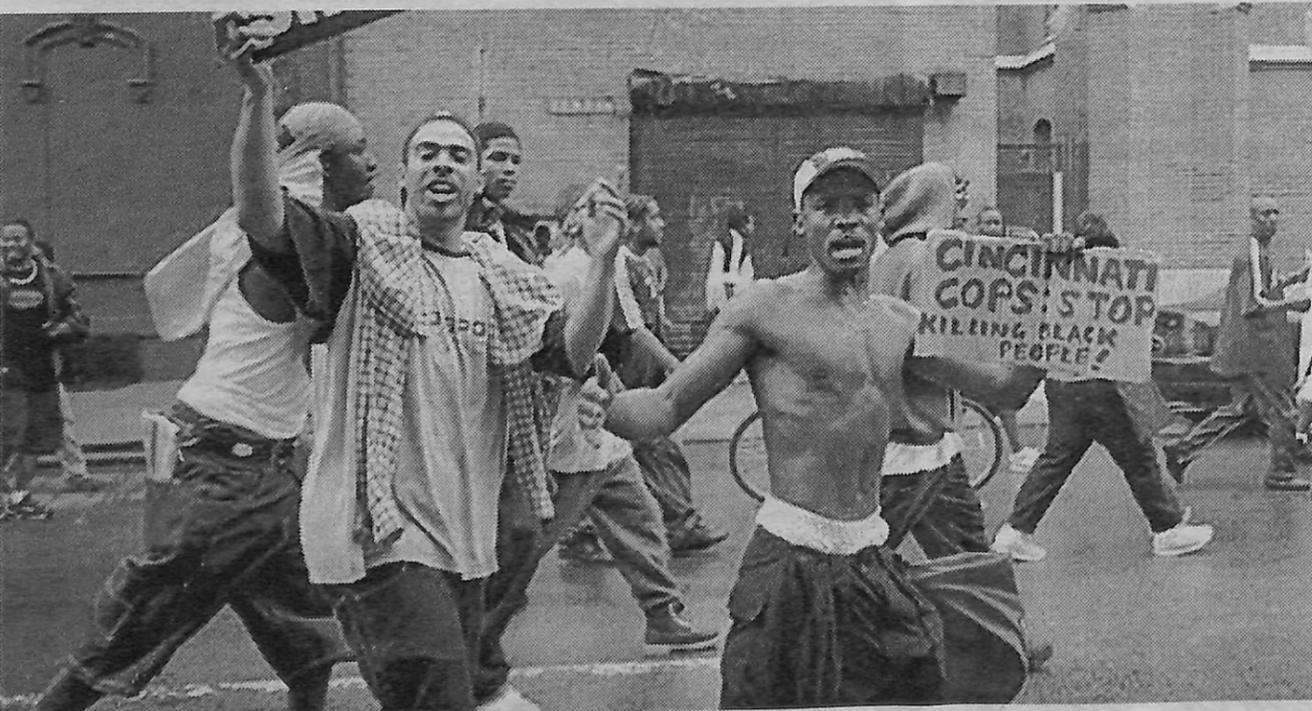
Cincinnati's Mayor Charlie Luken was filled with self-congratulation. The court had released Roach, and there had not been a full-scale rebellion. Luken took a page from President Bush—he went on WLW radio and told the city, "Go out and go to dinner, watch a movie, go to a play. Go have fun."

Timothy Thomas lies dead. His murder at the hands of Officer Roach is declared "justifiable homicide." Riot police clamp down on the Black community and dismiss the people's outrage.

And some mother's son is gonna be dying in Afghanistan to defend this "way of life."



Cincinnati rebellion after the police killing of Timothy Thomas, April 2001.



Cincinnati rebellion after the police killing of Timothy Thomas, April 2001.

Alabama Mine Explosion

Thirteen Dead at Blue Creek No. 5

by Mike Ely

The miners knew there was something wrong at Blue Creek No. 5, as they showed up for work every day and were lowered—down, down, down into the dark shaft of the mine.

This Alabama mine, about 40 miles west of Birmingham, is one of the deepest in the U.S.—2,140 feet below the surface. In deep mines like this, methane gas is always a special danger. If the miners turn off their machinery for a moment, and just listen, they can hear the methane hissing and bubbling out as it escapes from the coal face.

Methane is lighter than air and explosive. It drifts up to the ceiling of the coal seam and gathers in pockets and cracks in the rock. If the miners are going to survive, methane must be dispersed and blown out by a continuous vigorous flow of air throughout the mine.

But this summer, over and over, there had been “pops”—mini-explosions—at Blue Creek No. 5. Pockets of gas ignited, flared, but then burned the available methane and died out.

During the years I worked in the mines, I was in a “pop” like that once. The ripper heads of the continuous miner ground deep into the coal seam, and suddenly cut into a chamber on the other side. There was methane there. A brilliant flash lit the work area—like a strobe chasing away the darkness, the steam and the dust. Flames licked back over the equipment towards us, picking up flecks of coal, igniting them in a rush of fire. Heat like an oven flashed on our faces, illuminated our stunned expressions, pressed against us... and then, suddenly, was gone. Death had touched us, and then drawn away. The darkness was back, a few embers glowed on the steel plates of our equipment, and, as we looked at each other in silence, we caught our breaths.

I thought of this moment when I heard terrible news from Brookwood, Alabama. This is what the miners there had experienced, over and over this summer. There had been at least three such pops in Blue Creek No. 5. The memory of those pops kept the miners of No. 5 awake at night. They spoke of their fears to their families.

Every one of those 300 miners in No. 5 mine knew they were in danger. They knew something was wrong with the ventilation. And so did the company.

Shirley Hycbe, a miner for 20 years at the Blue Creek, said that when the underground air went off “it was like a little bomb.”

The miners had demanded that the owners, Jim Walter Resources, do something. Shirley said: “They wouldn’t listen. They didn’t do anything.”

It says something about working class life, about capitalism, that the miners returned anyway, day after day, to be lowered into that shaft to dig the coal.

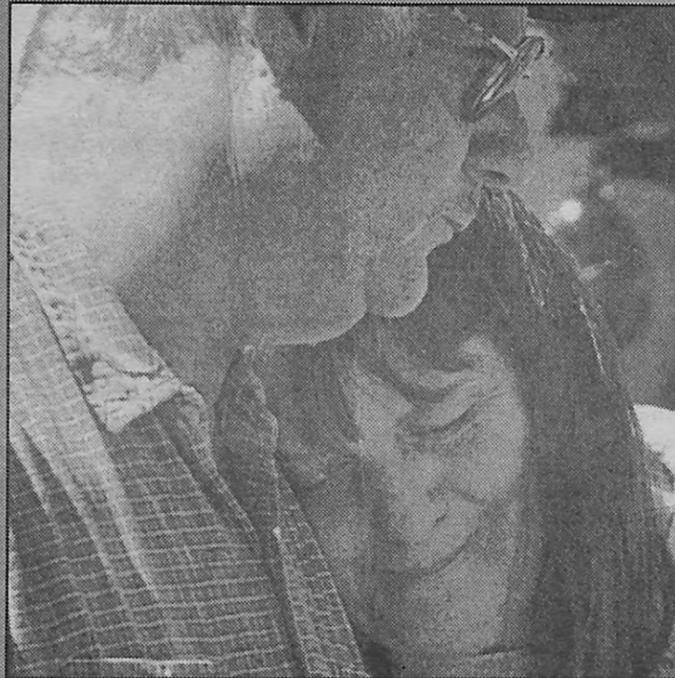
Many of the workers had traveled far to find work here at Brookwood. Groups of them had moved from the southern tip of West Virginia, from MacDowell County, where the huge complex of U.S. Steel mines shut down in 1986. Many came because they were in their 50s, and needed to work several more years in the mines to get their pensions. They would lose those pensions if they took other kinds of jobs. These workers were trapped, forced to work—despite the danger.

Each one knew that if they quit it would be hard to find another mine that would hire them.

Just a Spark

“There is never a mine blown
skyward now,
But we’re buried alive for you.”

From the revolutionary song
“We have fed you all for 1000 years”



Betty Rhoten, whose brother Wendell Johnson was one of the 13 miners killed.

On Sunday evening, September 23, 32 people were in Blue Creek No. 5. There is no production on Sundays. Only skeleton crews go underground—to man the water pumps, check ventilation, test for gas buildups, to do maintenance on the equipment and the rails. Suddenly, an explosion ripped loose, expanding in a wave of superheated air, rock, and flame.

The company says a rock fall landed on a large battery charger and ignited the gas. But there is no reason to believe any details the company offers about such events. And there are many reasons for them to lie.

This much is known: a spark went off underground in air filled with methane. There were six miners in the area—all were injured by the flame and rock. Three of them made it out of the mine when everyone evacuated.

Immediately, the miners outside discovered that three of their brothers were left below. A rescue team quickly organized. Ten miners climbed into the elevator cage and were lowered down the shaft—risking everything.

The three injured men were in an area more than three miles from the foot of the

main shaft—a huge distance to travel on foot under such dangerous conditions. Explosions leave behind carbon monoxide—which is invisible and deadly.

One badly injured miner, Ray Ashworth, was found and successfully brought to the surface.

Then, 45 minutes after the first explosion, a second, even larger explosion ripped through Blue Creek No. 5. It was strong enough to lift dust and lumps of coal up into the air and ignite them—so a fire that started in methane spread to the walls of the mine itself.

The mine tunnels turned into a raging blast furnace. The temperatures underground quickly rose to above 2,500 degrees Fahrenheit. The passages filled with flames and poisonous gases. The first rescue team never came out of the mine.

New rescue teams went in after them. But after ten hours, the rescue teams were withdrawn. They had recovered only three bodies.

The company flooded the affected areas with 35 million gallons of water on Tuesday, September 25, hoping to suffocate the fires.

The twelve miners trapped below are

dead. Ray Ashworth died later in the hospital of his burns.

Across the world, working people face these terrible conditions and disasters—when they enter the earth to enrich the owners. This same week, on September 26, 20 workers, including nine women miners, were crushed in a massive cave-in in eastern India. Little news made it out of the remote tribal district of Jharkhand state—other than the report that rains had weakened the mine roof and caused the inadequate supports to collapse. Last month, on August 8, a methane explosion killed at least 14 miners in western Romania. On July 17, water rushed through a tin mine in Guangxi, China, killing more than 70 miners. And earlier this year, a methane explosion killed nine workers in Ukraine’s Donetsk coal fields.

A Known Danger

As they gathered in the union hall of UMWA Local 2368, people spoke bitterly of how the coal company ignored the danger. Relatives cornered reporters to tell the world how the workers had lived in fear of explosion.

Mike Boyd lost his brother, Clarence “Bit” Boyd, in the explosion. He said that for a month, workers had been pointing out the high levels of methane gathering underground. Mike works on methane control at Blue Creek No. 5—using vacuum hoses to remove especially dense concentrations of the gas. He said that during a meeting between union workers and the company, “I told them they were operating on a shoe thread and they were going to get someone blown up down there.”

Jackie Carroll said her brother, Junior Adams, had told his daughter that he thought something was going to happen. Junior is among the dead underground.

Even a former mine boss, Jim Layne, came to the miners’ union hall to grieve and tell what he knew. Layne retired in 1989, but even back then, he said, “I was told not to pay attention to methane levels.”

The No. 5 mine had a major blast in 1993, when four workers were badly burned. The mine was closed temporarily in 1995 because of recurring “hot spots”—dangerous pockets of methane.

The United Mine Workers Union observed a mourning day on Tuesday, September 25, for their lost brothers.

Meanwhile, the company spokesmen have refused to make any comment on the disaster. They have said publicly, however, that they plan to reopen Blue Creek No. 5.



Blue Creek No. 5

Statements of Resistance

"America's New War"

The following are excerpts from some of the statements by various individuals and organizations following September 11.

Howard Zinn, historian

We need to think about the resentment all over the world felt by people who have been the victims of American military action. In Vietnam, where we carried out terrorizing bombing attacks, using napalm and cluster bombs, on peasant villages. In Latin America, where we supported dictators and death squads in Chile and El Salvador and other countries. In Iraq, where a million people have died as a result of our economic sanctions. And, perhaps most important for understanding the current situation, in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza, where a million and more Palestinians live under a cruel military occupation, while our government supplies Israel with high-tech weapons.

We need to imagine that the awful scenes of death and suffering we are now witnessing on our television screens have been going on in other parts of the world for a long time, and only now can we begin to know what people have gone through, often as a result of our policies. We need to understand how some of those people will go beyond quiet anger to acts of terrorism.

Eve Ensler, playwright

I have been thinking about violence. I have been thinking about an airplane full of terrified women and men and children smashing into a tower full of unexpected women and men who were just sipping their morning coffee. I have been thinking of the burning people jumping from the 100th floor, jumping for their lives. I have been thinking about the hundreds of firemen and policemen who were lost, crushed under a collapsing tower. I have been thinking about a husband waiting in his office for 14 hours for his wife who worked on the 104th floor who had not called who was probably never-going to call and yet he was still waiting. I was thinking of the man who called his mother from the hijacked plane to tell her he loved her, to remember he loved her.

I have been thinking about the debris and the dust on New Yorkers' shoes and how shocked we are here in America, how protected we have been. I have been thinking about all the war-torn countries I have been to, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and the dust on the people's shoes and the debris.

I have been thinking about the people who were driven to hijack airplanes with knives and box cutters and fly them through buildings, who were ready, eager to lose their lives to hurt other people. I have been thinking about why, what would make people want to do that.

I have been thinking about the words retaliation and punishment and act of war. I have been thinking about violence, what it feels like to be nothing to someone else, what it feels like to be a consequence of someone else's disassociated rage, disconnected fury. I have been thinking about the cycle of hurt for hurt, nation against nation, tit for tat.

I have been thinking about how deeply something else is required. I have been thinking about the courage it requires to think about something other than violence as a response to violence. I am thinking about the complexity of this and the loneliness of this and the helplessness and the sorrow that would be felt in the space where violence was once and the grief.

I have been thinking that for those of us who are living on the planet right here, right now, nothing less will do if we are to go on as a species. That we must live in this dangerous space, allowing the helplessness, the grief, the sorrow to create new wisdom that can and will and must free us from this terrible world of violence. I urge you, each one of you—fall into this space, weep, be lost, let go, dive into the grief—on the other side it will be revealed.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist

The media, military, politicians and pundits are shoving so-called patriotism down our throats. They are busily trying to convince people the only way to properly respect those victims and to unite is to go to war. They want us to be blindly patriotic. As vets we must bear witness to the truth of what imperialist war means.

The U.S. has been murdering, brutalizing, bombing, and terrorizing people around the world for centuries. And with their globalization efforts they have ratcheted up the stakes considerably. Most government fingers are pointing at bin Ladin. Truth be told, the United States has been at war with the Middle East for decades. The fact that the U.S. has so many enemies who would act against us is telling. We have to ask the question why? Was this gruesome act in retaliation for one of many atrocities the U.S. has committed around the world?...

To those GIs who are being called to join any military attack, we call on you to resist and will support your right to refuse and will honor you as the Real Heroes—the anti-warriors.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, political prisoner

From a column dated September 17:

The airplane bombing of the World Trade Center towers and of the Pentagon didn't begin on Sept. 11, 2001. Nor are they, as some politicians glibly suggest, 'A war against civilization.' But it ain't the job of politicians to inform you....

The suicide flights over New York, Washington and Pennsylvania had their beginnings in the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan, in the 10-year guerrilla war against the former Soviet Union. That war was supported and facilitated by the U.S. CIA, which pumped billions into the anti-Soviet insurgency.... When the Soviets were whipped, and the war ended, the insurgents looked around and saw, not Soviet, but U.S. dominance in the region. They saw the U.S. military presence in the Islamic holy places in Saudi Arabia, its backing of anti-democratic client states, its ravaging of Iraq, and its one-sided support of Israel at the expense of the nation,



San Francisco, September 29.

*Defend the rights of the people!
Down with repressive laws!*

beleaguered Palestinians, and as they examine the U.S., they see the imperial similarities to the Soviets.

Afghanistan, one of the poorest, most rugged places on earth, has a population with a male life expectancy of 46 (45 for females!). It has a literacy rate of 29%. It looks at the swollen opulence of the Americans, the global reach of the American empire, and bristles.

This nationalist, cultural, religious and class distance fuels a deep and abiding hatred of American dominance.

Tom Morello, Rage Against the Machine

Our deepest sympathy and condolences go out to all the people and their families affected by the attacks on Tuesday. The loss of innocent life is just terrible, and our thoughts go out to all of you who personally have had friends or family killed or injured in the tragedy. The pain felt across the country demonstrates the lesson of Tuesday's events: that the taking of innocent life is devastating to a society and terribly wrong.

On Tuesday, the victims were American. But the horrible scenes that we've witnessed on TV this week are regular occurrences in other places around the globe. And too often, violence like this has been meted out by our own country and its client states. We should stand together against this type of violence in all its forms, whenever it happens, whether it's done in the name of religious fanaticism, or in the name of our own domestic elite. Our best wishes go out to all of you. Take care of yourselves, and each other. Peace.

Refuse & Resist!

Vengeance, War, and Punishment... This is the mantra and plan of the whole power structure in Washington—from Bush to Congress... Our response must be: The U.S. government's call for revenge and war needs to be opposed.

Today, people of Arab and Muslim descent fear for their lives and safety as scores of racist, pogromist attacks have been recorded... Congress has only just begun enacting dangerous new police powers saying that we must re-adjust the equation between "freedom and safety"....

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.

Robin Morgan, author

Ground Zero is a huge mass grave. And I think: Bosnia. Uganda. More than 6,300 people are missing and

presumed dead (not even counting the Washington and Pennsylvania deaths). The TV anchors choke up: civilians, they say, my god, civilians. And I see ghosts. Hiroshima. Nagasaki. Dresden. Vietnam.

I watch the mask-covered mouths and noses on the street turn into the faces of Tokyo citizens who wear such masks every day against toxic pollution. I watch the scared eyes become the fearful eyes of women forced to wear the hajib or chador or burka against their will.

I stare at the missing posters' photos and think of the Mothers of the Disappeared, circling the plazas in Argentina. And I see the ghosts of other faces. In photographs on the walls of the Holocaust museums. In newspaper clippings from Haiti. In chronicles from Cambodia.

I worry for the people who've lost their homes near the site, though I see how superbly social-service agencies are trying to meet their immediate and longer-term needs. But I see ghosts: the perpetually homeless who sleep on city streets, whose needs are never addressed....

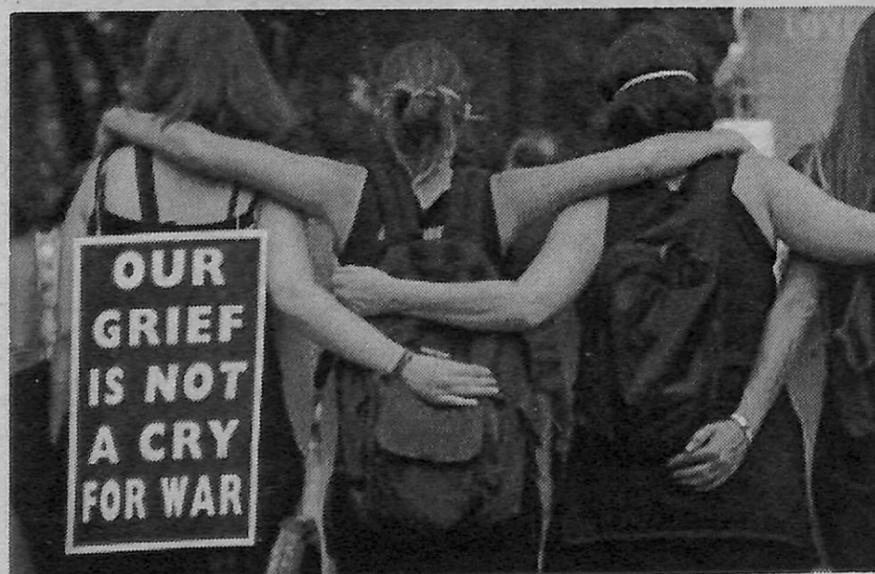
Rhodesa Jones, performance artist and director

I have never seen anything like this in my lifetime, but I put it up there with Attica. My brother Stephen was in Attica when it was firebombed. And when Colin Powell did not go Durban for that conference on racism, I knew we were in trouble. I said to myself, "This is connected to the awesome hand of God." The United States plays some really nasty politics on the international scene, and in some ways this really is chickens coming home to roost.

Robert Jensen, professor of journalism at University of Texas in Austin

From an Op-Ed piece titled "Why I Will Not Rally Around the President" in the September 13 issue of the Houston Chronicle:

When we speak out against war in public, we will find support, but we also should expect hostility. We should expect the question posed by one of the people who wrote to condemn me: "Whose side are you on?" The answers to that are simple: I am on the side of the people — no matter where they live—who will suffer the violence, not the leaders — no matter where they live—who will plan it. I am on the side of peace, not war. I am on the side of justice, not vengeance. And most important, I am on the side of hope, not despair. We do not have the luxury of despair right now. There is too much at



Union Square, New York City, September 22.

to

Stop the official and unofficial attacks on Arab people and all immigrants!

stake for too many people.

Vieques Support Campaign

Under the guise of security, civil liberties are under attack, and such a dangerous assault on our freedom must be stopped. The Vieques Support Campaign asks everyone to stand up to such an assault on civil rights and liberties, to demand that the U.S. government stop its retaliatory war drive and stop encouraging racist hate crimes against Arabs and all people of color. We stand with the people of Vieques.

From the TV Show Politically Incorrect

Remarks by Holland Taylor (Emmy-winning actor) and Michael Eric Dyson (author and professor at DePaul University) during ABC TV's Politically Incorrect which aired on September 24:

Taylor: Can I say something on the "hate America" theme?... The thing that I find myself thinking again and again since the 11th is that a lot of us say...it's a new world, it's a different world. The fact is, it's a new America. It's a different America. It's the same old world. And what I find, in terms of everyone hating us...generally I find the world has been kind to us and tolerant. Because we are like a prodigal bad child who has all the goodies and our face smeared with candy and our pockets stuffed with dollar bills and our tricycles and our guns and our six-shooters. And we've been having a whale of a time over here on our continent, and nothing has happened to us. And something has happened to us. The scale of it was so spectacular that it stopped the world. But really, nations around the globe could have said, "Grow up, wake up. So now...you understand what the world is really like." Because they live with the potential of this kind of thing all the time. It's just the scale of it was like—it was like a child that was whipped in an unseemly way. So the world is now saying, "That was a hell of a beating that young nation had to get to wake up, to grow up and enter the world which already was there."

Dyson: What's interesting, too, is that this is not the first Wall Street to burn. You remember back in the 1920s when, in Oklahoma City with upwardly mobile black people, there was an act of such utter horror when they bombed those people out of their communities.... In Oklahoma, an all-Black community was historically established. They had their own banks, their own systems of delivery of goods and services. Highly educated Black people. And because of the collective resentment of the white folks who were there against the Black folk, they went out and looted their stores, burned their homes and killed these people in massive numbers.... I don't romanticize bin Laden...he doesn't have solidarity with people of color. The reality, however, is that African American people in particular, but others as well, understand that low-grade terrorism is what we confront in this nation every day. You tell me about arbitrary violence. My son, who lives in Atlanta, will he go out today and, reaching for his wallet, some policeman mistake it for a gun and then murder him? I tell you, that's terroristic to me. Now, it's low grade, it's not on the spectacular scale about which you spoke. But it is an insidious every day factor that robs us of a sense of security in this nation. And that's what I think we all feel. That's why I say we're all Black now. Everybody understands what it means to be Black right now in America.



Demonstrator chanting anti-U.S. imperialist slogans detained by riot police during a protest in Istanbul, Turkey, September 29.

Worldwide Resistance to U.S. War Moves

Since September 11, thousands have demonstrated against war, racism, attacks on immigrants and Arab people, and repression in New York, Berkeley, Chicago, Seattle, Portland, Washington DC and other cities across the U.S.

Anti-war protests have been held at over 150 college campuses. There have been protests in Germany, Australia, Italy, Canada, Austria, India, Japan, Mexico, Spain and powerful protests throughout the Arab and Muslim world including Pakistan.

Marchers came from a wide range of political, ideological and religious currents—often condemning the Sept. 11 attacks, while sharply opposing U.S. government attempts to carry out new international military attacks.

The following notes, though partial, give a sense of the resistance that is starting. (See last week's RW #1120 for earlier coverage of protests).

New York, Sept. 21: 5,000 marched from Union Square to Times Square. On **Sept. 29**, even though many activists had gone to D.C. to demonstrate, 500 people held another anti-war protest. **Los Angeles, Sept. 29:** Over 2,000 marched through Westwood Village, next to the campus of UCLA. People on the sidewalks joined in as the march ended in a rally at the Westside Federal Building. **Chicago, on Sept. 24 and again on Sept. 29:** More than 400 people marched through downtown. People chanted: "No war, in our name—Islam, is not to blame." One protester said: "The road to hell is paved with American intentions." **Seattle Washington, Sept. 22:** Over 1,000 people gathered in Westlake Park. **Albuquerque, New Mexico, Sept. 22:** The march of 1,000 people—a "Procession for Peace"—has been called "the largest protest Albuquerque has ever seen." Other anti-war actions were held in **Honolulu, Hawaii** and **San Diego, California**. Activists in **Carbondale, southern Illinois** have proudly reported they held two marches and a sit-in in their small bible-belt town.

Naples, Italy, Sept. 27: Over 20,000 anti-war demonstrators marched to protest U.S. war threats and the build-up of NATO military forces in Italy. Naples had been scheduled for a major NATO conference—but it was moved.

Athens, Greece, Sept. 27: Over 8,000 people marched through the streets demanding that the Greek government not give any political or technical support to U.S. war moves. They condemned U.S. war threats, "anti-terrorist hysteria" and racist attacks against Muslims.

London, England, Sept. 22: 4,000 rallied against war, while 1,000 marched in Glasgow. Actions were also held in **Reading, Nottingham, Portsmouth, Leeds, Manchester, Dublin, Bradford, Birmingham, Brighton, Oxford, and Cardiff**. Fashion designer Katherin Hamnett wore a T-shirt on a BBC news programme that read "No War" and "Stop and Think."

Montreal, Canada, Sept. 23: Over 1,000 people started from the statue of Norman Bethune marching through the downtown against U.S. imperialism's war plans and racism. Actions have also taken place in **Hamilton and Victoria**.

Mexico City, Mexico, Sept. 28: Marchers protested outside the U.S. embassy against threats of U.S. attacks.

Calcutta, India, Sept. 24: Associated Press reports India's Maoist movement organized a major demonstration. One sign read: "Down, Down U.S. imperialism—U.S. the creator of terrorists world over and the killer of innocent people of Iraq, Korea and Vietnam." It was reported that some marchers were also critical of religious fundamentalist forces.

Jakarta, Indonesia, Sept. 28: Thousands marched against U.S. threatened attacks—prominently burning U.S. flags and dollars. There have reportedly been daily protests in other Indonesian cities.

Johannesburg, South Africa, Sept. 27: Students from the University of Witwatersrand organized a large march protesting "war talk" from the U.S. government, and expressing strong support for the Palestinian struggle against Israel. Banners denounced Zionism as ethnic cleansing, and described Israeli Prime Minister Sharon as a war criminal.

Baghdad, Iraq, Sept. 27: People rallied outside the offices of the United Nations Development Program to protest U.S., Israeli and British attacks on the Arab world, and to mark the first anniversary of the current Palestinian intifada uprising.

Manila, Philippines, Sept. 28: Marchers denounced U.S. threats against Afghanistan, and denounced Philippine president Arroyo's vocal support for the threatened U.S. strikes.

Istanbul, Turkey, Sept. 29: Riot police arrested 38 people during large actions against U.S. threats against Middle East countries. The protest came one day after Turkey's government expressed its support for the U.S. war plans.

Dhaka, Bangladesh, Sept. 28: Muslim forces marched against expected U.S. attacks.

Bhopal, India, Sept. 26: Members of the Bhopal Gas Victims Women's Organization marched in a large march opposing U.S. threats on Afghanistan. Mass poisoning by the U.S. chemical corporation Union Carbide killed thousands in Bhopal during 1985.

Tokyo, Japan, Sept. 27: A protest was held against threatened U.S. attacks outside the Parliament building. Many anti-retaliation rallies have taken place all over Japan, opposing the Japanese government's plans to provide logistical support to U.S. attacks.



Protest outside U.S. embassy in Manila, Philippines, September 28.

Hollywood Farmers' Market

Continued from page 7

"Thank you." "This is exactly what I feel." "This is what I've been wanting to say but I've been too scared to say it." A number of people gave us clenched-fist salutes and flashed us peace signs. One older woman went up to our sign and stabbing at the words with her fist yelled, "Bigger! Bolder! Put it in Big Red Letters: 'The Afghani people are NOT our enemy! They are our SISTERS AND BROTHERS!'"

Our experience at the Farmers' Market is that because the scene here is overwhelmingly progressive, reactionaries here don't feel like they have a lot of freedom to jump out with their shit. A couple of times, when people confronted us with patriotic arguments about how the "U.S. has to defend itself against terrorism," others joined us in taking this on, talking about the crimes of U.S. imperialism around the world, and struggling with people to read the leaflet with an open mind.

One older Russian immigrant, a Sunday regular, has always been aghast at the presence of communists in the Market. On many occasions, he's tried to provoke an argument and prevent others from buying the paper or talking with us. We braced ourselves when we saw him coming. But on this day he came up to us and said, "Bush planned the whole thing. How do we stop them?" Then he pulled out a dollar and bought the *RW*.

One woman wept openly as she told the story of her son, an organizer for indigenous rights in Colombia, who she said had been murdered by U.S. government or oil company agents two years ago. She said she knew *exactly* what the leaflet was talking about.

Most people we talked to said they were really worried about war, including the possibility of nuclear weapons being used. There was a lot of anti-war sentiment expressed. Some people had a pacifist view, other said they were against *this kind of war*—a war of U.S. aggression.

A young white man told us, "Everybody's talking about it, everywhere I go. I was in the video store last night, and all these strangers were talking to each other about it. People are exchanging their opinions a lot more. It's generating a lot more thought. And that's a good thing. I know that for me and all my friends, we mostly feel bitterness towards the government that misrepresents the people, being that they're showing an image of brutal retaliation. I don't think that's shared by

the people... I think it's the government that's the problem, not the people."

A young woman who is an activist in various social movements said, "It's such a heavy weight ever since the World Trade Center was bombed. It's like, 'whew! I can't breathe.' I'm so stressed out! I've got a sty in my eye, I can't sleep at night—what's gonna happen? I went to an anti-war rally, and it felt good to be with other people against what the government is doing. And a lot of the people there didn't look like activists—they're just normal people. Like I was talking with this one woman and she was talking about quilting and entering her quilt in the County Fair. And she was covered with all this patriotic stuff, like a little flag pin and a red, white and blue neckerchief. And she was, 'Yeah, I support America and this is my country. And I think that what George Bush is doing is crazy! We don't want to go to war, we don't want to fight those poor people over there. I want to have peace.' And she told me that now she signs

Los Angeles. Squads of people have been taking the RCP's statement, "The Horror That Comes From This Horrible System" (see *RW* #1119 and #1120) at street festivals and demonstrations, among middle class people and in proletarian neighborhoods, at churches, mosques and parks.

- A young Black man near Watts jumped up and down and pumped his fist in the air when he saw a dozen activists of all ages and nationalities leafleting at a shopping center. He said he had been waiting for someone to resist all the patriotic bullshit he was hearing.
- Most people selling U.S. flags on the corners of L.A. are immigrants. Many who have been denied the opportunity to become legal residents and are now being asked to wave the U.S. flag. In the Central American barrio of Pico Union, a woman vendor asked a squad if they wanted a flag sticker for their car. After getting a leaflet she poured out her heart—about how her husband was killed in the civil war in El Salvador, how she brought her two sons to the U.S. to look for a better life, and how they are now in the military and may now be called on to go to war.
- A woman got a stack of leaflets at her mosque, and immediately went up and down the street passing out leaflets and trying to convince vendors not to sell U.S. flags.
- In Compton, a city just south of South Central, a Salvadoran man got a leaflet in his car and read the headline, and then shouted out the window, "They killed 10,000 people in my country. This is right!"
- At a laundromat filled with Black and Latino people, a veteran of the '60s grabbed up leaflets and copies of the *RW* saying, "I know exactly what you're talking about. I was a Black Panther...I guarantee you, this paper is going to get passed to everybody I know."
- A squad was stopped by a homeless Black man pushing a shopping cart in the Crenshaw area. He asked them where he could get more copies of a leaflet he had found a week before on a bench in Leimert Park. He pulled out a copy of "The Horrors." As he took a bundle to distribute, he told people he'd been knowing the Party for a while and said, "The thing about the RCP is you are so deeply analytical about every question that comes up."

off on all her emails with 'imagine—dot, dot, dot.' It made me feel really strong."

Many people wanted to talk about how sad they felt about all the people who had been killed on September 11. But they

also wanted to clarify that their sadness did not make them thirsty for revenge.

One man who has been reading the *RW* for a while said, "In a nutshell, I think that if we buy into Bush's 'crusade,' we ignore the facts or dismiss the idea that maybe people are mad that 5,000 kids die every month in Iraq... None of the so-called Christians who run this country has said that *that* is not acceptable. No. They say, 'We're Christian America, we're righteous and *they* are evildoers'... The things they've done! Like bombing the pharmaceutical factory in the Sudan—how many people died as a result of that? Half of the pharmaceuticals for all of Africa—like Africa could really afford that! What sort of damage was done? Shouldn't they apologize for that? Shouldn't they make amends for that? They call themselves a great Christian nation. Well, what would Jesus say about all this? He'd say, 'You guys are fucking criminals!'"

Two young African-American women talked about all the patriotism being promoted now: "It's not that I don't feel sympathy for the people in New York. It's just that I can't get behind this government after everything they've done all over the world. If I did, I'd be a hypocrite. What? Should I forget Vietnam ever happened? Should I forget about the Contras? Should I forget about slavery?"

"I feel the same way," her friend said, "and that's why I can't stand behind the government now. And about this backlash against Muslims and Middle Easterners—what about Timothy McVeigh? There wasn't any big backlash against young white men from the Midwest after the Oklahoma City bombing. After World War 2, they put all the Japanese Americans in concentration camps. I don't want that to happen again... Another thing is that bin Laden was trained by the CIA. Now, conveniently, there's not a big threat, the Soviet threat is gone, so it's 'who can we use now?' If you really think about all that, then you can't really put a flag up on your car."

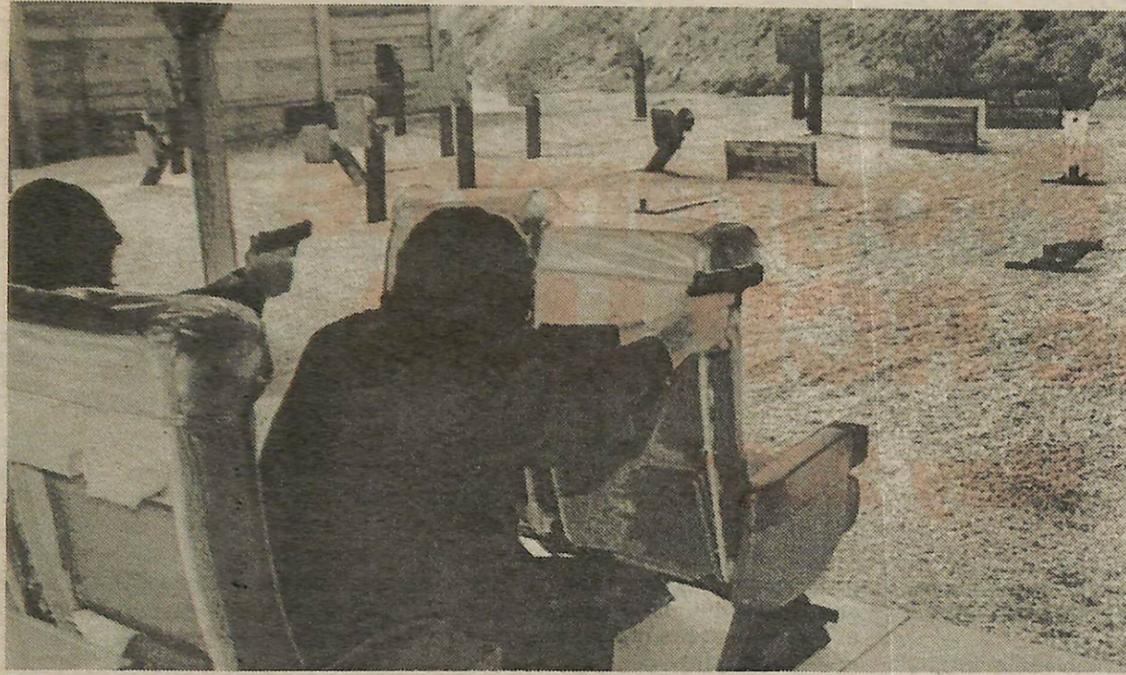
A young Chicana spoke from the heart, saying, "A lot of treaties have been broken by this government, a lot of people's civil rights are being violated. We don't confess what the United States does to other countries and how so many countries are going through devastation and poverty and hunger and how the United States has a part in that. I mean, this country making coups and going into Central America and the importation of crack cocaine into our inner cities—people are getting hurt, especially people of color. And now they're going to call us to go fight this war. I mean, how many times do we have to go through history to learn our lesson on how people need to stand up to our government and say, 'Enough is enough!' We're at a point where we need to revolutionize and speak against our government... And the red, white and blue, it just represents discrimination, it represents the genocide, the hunger, the pain, the sadness—everything that's been inflicted on so many people to build the United States. It doesn't represent anything to be proud of."



Union Square, New York City.



Adding to the political commentary at New York's Union Square: "You may say I'm a dreamer, but I'm not the only one..." ("Imagine" by John Lennon)



Federal air marshals simulating the firing of their guns inside a passenger plane at a training center in New Jersey, September 26.

Fear of Flying

In a major effort to boost up the floundering airline industry, U.S. President Bush flew into Chicago's O'Hare airport on September 27 and spoke at a "pep rally." Bush had a message for air travelers: "Get on board. Do your business around the country."

On the same day, the front page of the Chicago *Sun-Times* featured a big photo of a federal air marshal pointing an automatic weapon at the head of a passenger during a hijack drill inside a jet liner. Bush announced that up to 5,000 National Guard troops will be positioned at airports around the country. And there were reports that mid-level Air Force generals can now order the shooting down of passenger jets that are considered hijacked and a threat to cities, without clearance from higher officials.

Welcome to the surreal world of air travel in America 2001—where airports have been turned into military checkpoints and passenger jets are potential targets of F-16s, while the president tells people, "Fly and enjoy America's great destination spots—get down to Disney World."

The power structure is continuing to expand the boundaries of its repressive agenda in the aftermath of September 11. As the U.S. government and military make war moves in other parts of the world, they are "securing the homefront" by attacking the rights of the people in new and dangerous ways. An indication of the seriousness of what the ruling class is up to is the statement by U.S. Senator Lieberman, during a hearing on the new Office of Homeland Security: "It is clear we crossed a bridge on September 11."

Martial Law in the Name of National Security

In 1999 two former U.S. senators, Warren Rudman and Gary Hart, prepared a report on "National Security in the 21st Century." That report—commissioned by both Republicans and Democrats—was the first major review of the U.S. national security apparatus since 1947. Among its proposals were the creation of a cabinet-level post with the fascistic title of "Homeland Security."

This post has now been created by Bush. The man appointed to head it up is Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge, known as a death-penalty zealot.

The day after Bush announced the creation of this office, Rudman and Hart appeared before Congress to elaborate on their vision of this agency. The picture they painted is of a powerful government body with a heavy military component, responsible for overseeing massive clamp-downs within U.S. borders.

The Office of Homeland Security will coordinate the work of various agencies (40 in all)—especially those dealing with borders, such as Customs, Coast Guard, and the Border Patrol. According to Hart the new agency "should be the central coordinating mechanism for anticipating, preventing and responding to attacks" on the U.S.

According to Rudman, the nucleus of the new office would be the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). FEMA has figured prominently in the government's repressive planning in previous decades. In 1984 FEMA conducted



Armed state troopers at Boston's Logan Airport.

an "exercise" known as Rex-84. The war-game scenario included the roundup of up to 400,000 immigrants coming across the U.S.-Mexico border during a regional crisis. (This was at a time when the U.S. was actively working to overthrow the government of Nicaragua and carrying out other imperialist intervention in Central America.) The idea was to imprison immigrants—as well as domestic anti-government forces—in military and detention camps around the country.

Bush's new cabinet-level office will make the military a permanent feature of "homeland security." Rudman recommended that Bush make "homeland security a primary mission of the National Guard." Bush has already proposed that the Department of Defense name an "assistant secretary for homeland security." Rudman suggested Bush take things further by enlarging and strengthening the Joint Forces Command and Joint Task Force for Civil Support to deal with security within the U.S.

Much about the powers of the Office of Homeland Security is still in rough outline. But the overall thinking behind its creation makes clear that the rulers see this as a key body geared toward confronting crisis and challenges to their system—including, as a key element, the deployment of National Guard and Army troops to maintain control within the U.S. borders.

The Secret Roundups

As the government has been getting the Office of Homeland Security in motion, the police have been rounding up and detaining hundreds of people. In the third week of September, the Justice Department said 80 people had been detained in connection with the September 11 attacks. A week later Attorney General Ashcroft revealed that U.S. law enforcement has taken 352 people into custody and was looking for nearly 400 more.

The authorities refused to identify the 352 people or reveal the charges, claiming they didn't want to compromise the secrecy surrounding the investigation. Ninety-eight of those held were being held by the

immigration and Naturalization Service for alleged "immigration violations"—even though some reportedly have legal visas. When Ashcroft appeared before Congress on September 17, he said that government agents had already conducted 324 searches and issued 3,410 subpoenas.

The full scope of the wide dragnet is unclear. There are 7,000 FBI agents going around questioning people around the country, and more and more people are being detained—some on immigration violations, some as "material witnesses," others on undisclosed charges. Aside from those detained, many thousands more are being questioned by FBI and other police agencies.

The power structure has set in motion a climate of fear and suspicion; and the FBI and other police agencies are operating within this to detain and intimidate people and to encourage others to become informers.

Broadening Police Powers

The Bush administration and other ruling class forces are also pushing hard to quickly pass laws giving the police expanded powers. These laws will allow the government much greater ability to tap people's phones, detain people, and collect information from other governments.

Attorney General Ashcroft has drafted something called the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001. The Milwaukee *Journal Sentinel* reported on one aspect of the proposed law: "A court order to monitor the phone numbers that a suspect calls or the e-mail addresses that he or she sends messages to would apply not just in the jurisdiction in which it is granted but also nationally. An order granted by one judge would be valid across the country." Ashcroft's proposals would also allow the police to seize recorded voice mail.

Ashcroft also wants to expand the ability of U.S. police agencies to use the work of police from other governments which don't face the same kind of legal restrictions that currently exist in the U.S. In other words, U.S. police agencies would be able to openly receive information gathered by Europol (European Police

Office), Mossad (Israeli political police), or others through certain kinds of telephone and electronic surveillance officially prohibited under current U.S. laws.

Yet another police-state proposal from Ashcroft is to give the government the ability to indefinitely detain immigrants suspected of "terrorism" and deport them without presenting any evidence.

Ashcroft also wants to expand the government's ability to seize the financial assets of organizations that the government brands as "terrorist" or accuses of "supporting terrorists." Ashcroft made his proposal the day after Bush announced that the U.S. had frozen the assets of a number of such groups.

Police-State Measures at Airports

Some of the most extreme police measures are being implemented at airports and in relation to air travel. In a sense, these measures are "setting the bar" on the kind of repressive measures that the authorities want to make acceptable or "normal" in other spheres.

First, there is the legitimizing of racial profiling. People from the Middle East, or who look like they are from that region, or who have certain kind of names are being stopped and searched repeatedly at airports. In many cases, people "fitting the description" have been ordered off airplanes or prevented from boarding—even after passing through many layers of security checkpoints.

The government is moving to greatly increase the presence of armed personnel at airports and in passenger planes. Bush said he wanted as many as 5,000 National Guard troops deployed at 420 U.S. airports. And he wants Congress to authorize the hiring of thousands of armed air marshals to fly undercover on passenger flights. The prospect of federal agents firing guns inside crowded jetliners can hardly be comforting to air travelers. And the fears of travelers weren't eased by U.S. Defense Secretary Rumsfeld's announcement that mid-level Air Force generals can shoot down suspected hijacked commercial planes without higher approval.

There is active work to install "biometric" face-scanning technology at airports. Using this technology, police can use computers to compare people's faces taken through video surveillance cameras with a government database of "wanted" people. *USA Today* reported that "federal officials have told biometrics firms 'to get cracking.'"

In the air terminals, passengers are already being subject to incredible levels of intrusion. People must repeatedly produce their IDs and allow bags to be searched. All metal items are being seized before passengers board—from penknives to tweezers. The Baltimore-Washington International Airport has even removed all the knives from its restaurants, including plastic ones.

Capitalizing on the pain that people are feeling after September 11, the rulers are asking—and forcing—people to back the system's war moves and to accept increased police-state repression. The actions of these rulers are not in the interests of the people—and they must be opposed.

**Looking for a plan to change the world?
It's here...**

Draft Programme of the RCP, USA

May 2001

In the fall of 1999, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA announced plans to forge a new Party Programme. The first phase of this great project is now complete.

On May 1st, the *Draft Programme of the RCP, USA* was released in English and Spanish.

Here in the "belly of the beast," our party has produced what we believe is a powerful document...that breathes the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the fire and the hope of revolution...that speaks with clarity to the basic problems of this society and world—and to their solution.

As the authors of the original Communist Manifesto said, our new *Draft Programme* "disdains to conceal its views." It explains that the world capitalist system of exploitation and oppression is outmoded and unnecessary...that a radically different world is possible...and that there is a path to overthrowing the U.S. ruling class.

What is the path to revolution in this country? What about the revolutionary potential of the proletariat here? Does a revolutionary MLM

programme truly speak to the basic problems of this society and the world and their solution? What will the new society be like? What are the needs of different sections of the people and how will they be met through this revolution? How can we win?

JOIN A COAST-TO-COAST, BORDER TO BORDER, REVOLUTIONARY CONVERSATION

This *Draft Programme*, and what it has to say about creating a new society, connects with the concerns of millions of people.

The RCP is serious about learning from the ideas, suggestions, and criticisms of others about this Draft.

So if you refuse to accept this as the "best of all possible worlds"—if you are searching for a plan to change the world—we invite you to explore our new *Draft Programme* and take it to the people.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



Order Your Copy Now of the RCP Draft Programme

Price: \$4 plus \$1.50 for shipping and handling of mail orders.

You can place your order with the Revolution Books store or outlet in your local area. You can contact your local *Revolutionary Worker/Obrero Revolucionario* distributor. Or you can order from RCP Publications at:

RCP Publications, Box 3486,
Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

A Collective Approach to Buying the Draft Programme

The new Draft Programme has been priced for the masses, and we are calling on people to help raise the funds to pay for all the programmes and to make sure that everyone who wants a programme can have one. We urge people to develop collective fundraisers in your neighborhood and school to assist people who cannot afford the full price and raise the necessary funds to pay for the programmes.

Complete text of the New Draft Programme now available online at rwor.org
in both HTML and PDF formats