Who's To Blame for the Bloodshed

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Facing Life As It Is
In Order To Radically Change It

By Bob Avakian

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

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

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

Some people who believe in religion say that we communists lack a "spiritual side" because our ideology rejects belief in god. Well, we communists definitely have spirit, in our own way. Our spirit comes from our beliefs—the same as those people who believe in religion. But the difference is that our beliefs are grounded in reality—they are based on taking life as it actually is. Religious beliefs are not grounded in reality—they are based on fantasy, on the belief in things which in reality do not exist. But it is more than that. As I have said before, "Religion is the doctrine of submission—blind obedience. Marxism is the doctrine of rebellion—ever more conscious rebellion." (Bulletin, p. 209) MLM is an all-conquering ideology; it shows how the masses of people, through struggle, can consciously understand reality and change reality—and how people can consciously change themselves in the process of changing the world. For this reason, MLM is the only way in which facing life as it really is, and on that basis grasping how it can be changed and moving to change it.

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

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

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

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

Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP,USA

What do we in the Revolutionary Communist Party try to do in this and in all our other activities and revolution 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, strengthened and brought to something that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning. 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.

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For a week the people of the world watched in horror as the U.S. president torpedoed a possible settlement of the Gulf war. Then on Saturday, February 23, the U.S. launched a massive air-land assault on Iraqi forces in Kuwait and southern Iraq. On the day of the invasion, a man in Chicago walked out of his house, pulled his American flag off the porch and threw it in the bushes. The events of the last days had taught him a harsh lesson.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Big resistance is demanded. From the streets and campuses of the United States to the bazaars of Amman and Cairo—the people must speak and act against this U.S. war of aggression. BOLDLY, NOW! We must support all of resistance.

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

Every day of the last week showed that this ground war could have been avoided. The Iraqi government agreed to a Soviet proposal for withdrawal from Kuwait. So why

Who's to Blame for the Bloodshed

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

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

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

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

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

And now those same powers have thrown these U.S. troops into a battle that could have been avoided. The U.S. rulers are making a big power move, but at the same time they are in deep trouble. The way this offensive came down has left the powers and their die-hard supporters even more exposed. The truth is there to see—they are bankrupt liars and killers. Their cause is unjust.

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

U.S. Troops Out of the Gulf—Now!

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

The Arab People Are Not Our Enemy!

They Are Our Sisters and Brothers!

FLASH!

As we go to press, the Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network reports that "day after" demonstrations protesting the start of the ground war are taking place in Los Angeles, Seattle, San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, Houston, New York and other cities. The Police of Resistance has called for a blockade of the San Francisco Federal building on Tuesday, Feb. 26. The Action Network has called for a "People's Blockade" at the Oakland Army Base for Wednesday, Feb. 27. See next week's coverage.
When it looked like Iraq might respond to the Soviet proposal, the Pentagon knew that the U.S. powers were furious. They created new, humiliating and even impossible demands that would have stayed in place.

- Top Pentagon brass let it be known that they created new, humiliating and even impossible demands that would have stayed in place.

- Bush demanded they agree to withdraw within seven days. Meanwhile, Western and even some Eastern European experts were calculating that it was literally impossible to withdraw more than 20 percent of Iraqi forces within seven days.

- Bush demanded they start the withdrawal without pre-arranged ceasefire in the massive air bombardment—knowing full well that it would be suicidal for any Iraqi troops in Kuwait to emerge from their bunkers under those conditions.

- Top Pentagon brass let it be known that they did not want Iraqis to withdraw with their armored equipment and supplies. They said the U.S. military could not accept anything less than an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and any other Gulf country—leaving most of their tanks and munitions behind. One said, “If the Iraqis want to withdraw, let them fight their way out of Kuwait.”

- The Soviets announced they had reached an agreement with the Iraqis that met all important requirements of UN resolutions. The U.S. response was to officially ignore these possible agreements and cast Soviet leader Gorbachev as an insignificant “side player.” On television, Henry Kissinger reminded the world that the United States had a veto in the Security Council and that the proposal to end the war could be vetoed, leaving previous pro-war UN resolutions intact.

- As Bush’s Saturday “deadline” closed in, there remained a chance that the Iraqis might simply comply with it. In preparation, the United States started fabricating last-minute charges about Iraqis systematically destroying the Kuwaiti oil industry and undocumented new “evidence” against Kuwaiti civilians. Under questioning, the U.S. war command’s spokesman Neal admitted that all these charges were nothing but “an area of speculation”—there was no proof of any of these charges. In fact, any burning Kuwaiti oil wells had actually been fought in the middle of the most intense U.S. aerial bombardment stateside—and included the use of napalm incendiary weapons. But such questions were not raised in the U.S. media—everywhere anchors and reporters echoed the official line about “Iraqi scorched earth policies.”

- Once the media got the message, there were no more interviews with Ole eager to avoid fighting. Suddenly all you got to see were grim officers’ wives stateside—making remarks like—“I want my husband home, but I think we need to finish the job so we don’t have to go back in a few years.” In other words, soldiers had to die to “save lives of U.S. troops” of “some future generation.” This “save U.S. lives” slogan can truly be stretched to justify any slaughter.

- No matter what the Iraqis did, the United States powers were making sure they would have an excuse to invade. Tens of thousands of civilian casualties, close to a hundred thousand Iraqi military casualties and the total destruction of Iraqi life from the air were not enough. The Iraqi army and government had to be completely crushed. And U.S. troops had to forcibly conquer Kuwait and southern Iraq. Nothing less would satisfy Washington.

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

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

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

When a major Soviet diplomat first tried to be heard, to open discussions, the U.S. military would not even promise to allow commuting his plane down. He went by train.

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

The whole development infuriated the U.S. military. The whole affair greatly weakened the U.S. aerial bombardment stateside—and included the use of napalm incendiary weapons. But such questions were not raised in the U.S. media—everywhere anchors and reporters echoed the official line about “Iraqi scorched earth policies.”

- Once the media got the message, there were no more interviews with Ole eager to avoid fighting. Suddenly all you got to see were grim officers’ wives stateside—making remarks like—“I want my husband home, but I think we need to finish the job so we don’t have to go back in a few years.” In other words, soldiers had to die to “save lives of U.S. troops” of “some future generation.” This “save U.S. lives” slogan can truly be stretched to justify any slaughter.

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**The Soviet Switcheroo**

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

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

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


- Over 30 years ago, the Egyptian nationalist leader Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which had been controlled by the British imperialists. Britain and France imposed the U.S. imperialism intervened. They said that Nasser was not the “Hitter” that Britain claimed, and argued that he was unlikely to be a big problem in the future. The U.S. held back on alliances against him. The whole affair greatly weakened British control of the region and enhanced the U.S. position. It boosted the U.S. to the position of number one power there. Another reason for the parallel is today. This is an important reason. Nasser wanted to control the canal and British Prime Minister Eden dispatched troops to prevent him from taking it. Sly and crafty politicians don’t often stir up crises like this. But right now Eden, confused in mind, made a mistake. The result is as if the Middle East comes over to the U.S. The greatest contradiction is with the U.S. not with Nasser. The U.S. is trying to maneuver Britain out of the Middle East, for it harbors the London design of taking over the Middle East.
Warning: The Slogan of Support For the Troops Is A Deadly Trap!

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

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

Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist January 1991

Now that the warmakers have launched their ground war, the call to "support the troops" has grown even louder. But the question must be asked: Support them in doing what? Carrying out the war the government is ordering them to carry out? The answer must be definitely NO.

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

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

- Anyone with a sense of justice must simply and firmly state that they do not support these troops in carrying out this war.

- The line of "support the troops" has been used to justify the savage bombing of Iraq. The bombing at the Amiriya shelter shows what crimes people are lending support to if they don't get off this "support the troops" line. It is racist to say "now that the ground war has started I feel sympathy for the soldiers and their families." Are the lives of American soldiers worth more than the lives of Iraqi people?

- It is the responsibility of people who see that this war is wrong to tell the soldiers the truth. If you had a relative who was going to join a criminal gang, would you just say, "Well, okay if it supports you?" Or would you say, "Don't do it—it's wrong!"? And if they went ahead and joined such a gang and participated in its murderous activities, would you then say, "Well, that's okay, I support you."

- The U.S. soldiers are part of a criminal gang which has brought about death and destruction from Vietnam to Panama to Iraq—the U.S. armed forces. Talking about support for the troops will not help them to do the right thing and will not give you the kind of support they really need—support in resisting the war.

There is only one way for the people to stop the war, and that is to OPPOSE THE WAR. That was the lesson of the Vietnam War. The antiwar movement in Vietnam clearly targeted the government and the system as the enemy. Wherever and whenever soldiers broke with the ruling class it was the antiwar movement that gave them support. And it was reactionary "support our troops" types who turned on these soldiers with a vengeance.

Support All GI Resistance!

Oil Slick Lies

New evidence dispels American propaganda on the massive oil slick now moving south through the Persian Gulf. Buried deep within the pages of the Washington Post, February 20, was the following sentence: "After weeks of allied condemnation of Iraq for causing what was labeled the largest oil spill in history, Saudi officials yesterday said the Persian Gulf slick is much smaller than originally feared and is probably at least partly the fault of allied bombings." Weeks ago a massive oil slick started spreading southwest from a Kuwaiti pumping station. The United States immediately denied that Iraq was pumping oil out of major oil pipelines. They declared the act had no rational military purpose. One more proof, they said, that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was a "madman," Bush personally accused Hussein of "environmental terrorism."

During this storm of condemnation, Iraq claimed that the oil slick had been caused by the U.S.-led bombing campaign. They claimed that from the oil slick stranded near Kuwait City by the war, had been hit by bombs of the United States or one of its allies. The United States spokespeople ridiculed this version of events. U.S. experts and satellite pictures documented an oil slick of many millions of barrels. This was evidence from outer space, they said, that Iraqis were deliberately "pumping oil out into the Gulf from oil pipelines."

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Saudi princes suddenly became eco-experts. Saudis officials claimed the slick contained 11 million barrels, leading U.S. propagandists to repeat over and over that this slick was 50 times bigger than the Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska. Now the Associated Press reports that the most recent satellite photography shows that 1.5 million barrels of crude oil entered the Gulf since the war began—5.5 million barrels short of their earlier reports. The source is Abdulham Dabagh, director of research at the University of Petroleum and Minerals in Saudi Arabia. U.S. experts say they are "surprised" by this new assessment. How could original U.S. Saudi estimates have been so far off? Two possible explanations:

The first explanation comes from Dabagh, who says that sonobuoys and plankton fields shown in satellite imagery of the Gulf's shallow waters were mistaken for oil. This is hard to believe. The second explanation was that the U.S. and Saudi Arabia conducted a cynical campaign of disinformation: after their own bombs polluted the Gulf, they fabricated false numbers to fan public opinion against Iraq.

In any case, the fact is that the massive campaign of outrage launched against Iraq was a lie, based on false evidence. Not surprisingly, the emerging truth about this incident is being buried under mountains of new lies. And the old lies, useful to the U.S. war effort, are not being publicly challenged.

This oil spill is still a major disaster for the planet. But evidence increasingly suggests that it was the U.S. war makers and not the Iraqis who are responsible. This is not only the ecological disaster that has been caused by the U.S.-led bombing campaign people in Iraq face poisoning from both nuclear and chemical poisons—released on them by U.S. bombing of industrial and military facilities in Iraq. Who are the real environmental destroyers? And how many lies will they get away with before people just stop believing them?

Anti-war demonstration in Boston.
Feb. 21: “This War Is Against the Interests of Black People”

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

New York

Over 300 people rallied at the Harlem Sun Office Building in response to a call put out by the December 12th Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement. Among those that joined the action were people that issued and supported the “Stop the War—Our Fight Is Here” call, initiated by RCP spokesperson Carl Dix and others and signed by many well-known Black activists, appeared in the PW last week.

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

Emberton Kelly announced that the march was heading to the Audubon Ballroom, where Malcolm X was assassinated. But when the march got near Columbia University, people all of a sudden ran high speed for the gates of the campus. Columbia University is in Harlem, but it is fenced in from the rest of the community and surrounded by iron gates guarded by cops who check all who enter. The university especially wants to keep Black youth from the neighborhood on campus. But on this day the marchers rushed through the gates and onto the steps of the library to hold a rally. About 200 Columbia students immediately gathered around to listen. Someone announced that at the same time the rally was being held a group of people had taken over an office in Columbia to protest the university’s plans to tear down the Audubon Ballroom and build a lab.

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

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

Al-Kamal, from the Black Consciousness Movement; the youth group of the December 12th Movement, talked about the Black people’s fight is against oppression here, not the war in the Persian Gulf. He said the problem was capitalism and imperialism and ridiculed Black politicians who want to push the system.

Carl Dix’s speech got much applause and shouts from the people. There was a big response when he said, “This call “Stop the War—Our Fight Is Here” went all across the country. People in many different cities, Black people and other people of color and others mobilized to take this fight... I’m gonna tell you to, sisters and brothers. We gotta fight this war, but more than that we gotta fight the system that’s responsible for the war in the Persian Gulf and the war on Black people here. And we not only gotta fight it, we gotta get out of it. Every day that we take ‘em on we’ll get our selves ready, preparing politically—getting into position for the last stage when we can roll up and do this whole bloodbathing system in once and for all. You can’t reform it, you can’t vote it out, no way. You gotta overthrow it. And that means revolution.” Carl Dix ended with the slogan, “Fuck the U.S. and All It’s Might! Revolutionary War Is the One We’ll Fight!”

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

San Francisco Bay Area

One hundred people answered the “Stop the War—Our Fight Is Here” call with a rally in a downtown Oakland park. Speakers included Berkeley High and Oakland High students; a junior high junior; Shonron Johnson, a Black woman whose son was deployed to Saudi Arabia; Tahar Jowie, a Black printer; a Black member of VVAW; the Ragamuffin Posse rap group; a junior college student from Roots Against War and spokesperson from the RCP Bay Area Branch. The messages from the speakers went over the busy downtown area. When two women who had been participating in a weekly protest called by Panthers Against War tried to cross the street to join the rally, police arrested them for jaywalking. The MC from the adhoc Committee for Righous Resistance that organized the demo called out for people to stop the arrest, exposing it as an attempt to prevent Black youth and middle class people from coming together to oppose the war. About 20 more people from Parents Against War crossed the street to protest the arrest and join the rally.

Sharon Johnson recalled that when her non-fumiled 17 year old had come home from his fights with lies and false promises. She said that at the time she and her son thought the military was the only way out from life on the streets of Oakland. She urged high school youth to file for conscientious objector or seek other alternatives to military.

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

The RCP spokesperson pointed out that Malcolm X said to Black people had any cause to fight for this system but every cause to fight against it. He called on Black people to take the fight against the war higher as part of getting ready for all-day-revolution.

The high school years later led a march to the nearby recruiting center. A UC Berkeley student took the bullhorn to tell people, “Just say no to this motherfucker bash.” After he was done, an old man with glasses was calling, “You don’t believe that bullshit. They’re lying just like they have been, and they have been doing it for the last 40 years.”

Malcolm: “That Wasn’t Us, That Was Somewhere Else”

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

“I was talking to a brother from the Congo, who was very angry... He was very angry because he said that most of the paratroopers, the American soldiers that were guarding these transports that Tshombe was using, were American Negroes. And so I sat down to let him know that all of us don’t feel that way. That this had all gone over all the United States with a microscope and find that many Negroes dumb enough to let themselves be sent to the Congo—imagine, a Negro that lets himself be sent to the Congo against people who look just like he does. Why should he be shot. So I let him know that that was something that was somebody else.”


PIG of the WEEK: General Tom Kelly

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

During the Panama Invasion, General Kelly was director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff (the Pentagon’s top command). At that time, Kelly said: “It took us about ten days to clear Detroit when we had a functioning government and an army that didn’t just lay there and do nothing.”

To him, the military invasion of Detroit during the Black uprising of 1967 was just another experience in putting down opposition people to be studied and discussed for the lessons it contains. For pigs like this, the killing of Black people in Panama in 1989, and now the Gulf War of 1991 are just different episodes in their long and bloody careers—lives spent defending the power of Imperialist Amer-
Students Hold National Day of Actions to Stop the War

Students around the country demonstrated and held teach-ins on stops in a week-long series of protest against the Gulf war. The call for the protests came from the National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, a coalition of many different student groups. The date was chosen to mark the anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. According to the organizers, the protests involved about 230 colleges and high schools in 52 states and the District of Columbia. The actions were held under the same sign: "Stop the War! Troops Home Now!", "No Peace! No Legal Draft!", "Racism! End the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza!" and "Develop a Sustainable and Renewable Energy Policy!".

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

Chicago: Over 1,000 college and high school students held an action in the Wall Street area. Many were from CUNY (City University of New York). After rallying at the federal building the students marched through the Wall Street area to City Hall. A group of people tried to storm the doors of the American Stock Exchange. Some windows were broken, garbage was thrown and the police tried to clear the area by "waving" gas. Several people were arrested.

New York: Over 1,000 college and high school students demonstrated in the Loop area. The protest was no business as usual—traffic was disrupted for hours. Protesters chose not to join the army in order to join the army just to get an education. Don't believe that we should have to fight for imperialist America in order to get an education. We have a right to an education. That's our right. And if the government doesn't want to respect our right to an education, then we just have to overthrow the government.

Atlanta: As rush hour started, traffic all over the Loop (downtown) was disrupted in 500 students took to the streets. A fast-moving march took off from the federal building. The first stop was the offices of Pan Am Airways to protest their racist policy against Arab people. Next stop, the Iowa Dam, where the demand was raised to "End the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip!"

The protest was a massive outpouring of opposition from the schools, workplaces, and communities. There must be teach-ins, walk-outs, demonstrations, and more. Feminists and organizations who have mobilized around reproductive rights, against rape and assault, for women's equality, for lesbians; women anti-war activists; women whose loved ones have been sent to the Persian Gulf; women from churches, synagogues and mosques; students, authors, artists, musicians—along with men who support this Call—all must join together on this day in powerful action. A number of activities are already planned, and there may be many different events in one area. But in each city let us arrive to have one gathering in common to focus our strength.

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

For more information or to sign this call, contact: (212) 965-0592

CORRECTION

There were two typographical errors in the "endorser" list for "Stop the War—Our Rights!": Apparent errors were in the names of the endorsers. These errors were corrected.

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

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

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

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

I Speak Zulu

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

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

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

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

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

“I am in the process of mobilizing people into the movement myself. I want to fight the revolution and I will only go with those who also do this. I have been involved in the struggle from way back. I can’t really remember but I think it has been at least 12 years. Since then I have been involved in the most of that time I have not been in structures. We would have meetings to discuss the situation and to make our plans but we had no organization. We would always toyi-toyi from the meetings and toyi-toyi from the meetings. Sometimes we would even have the hands of the ANC because that is all we know and system said we could not raise that banner so we said that we must raise it. Is it only now I am coming to know of Mao, only since meeting these comrades here.”
As we drove back from the conference the comrades who had taken me there were eager to talk about what had gone on and some of the people who had shown up. As the discussions wound down into joking and making plans for dinner, the comrades who had us as their host went back to the youth from Zululand began to speak, “That young guy, he really took me back. What he said made me think of myself but I don’t know why.”

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

The comrades continued with their story, “I come from a white farm area. I was born and raised on a white farm. We are seven in the family and I am the second oldest after my sister. My parents were from Class 1 and from there we went to a Roman Catholic school until Class 4. Then in Class 5 we organized a group of our students around Black Consciousness. We organized them into the Azanian Students Movement and while this was going on my father was working on a white-owned farm near my home.”

“Basically I come from a rural and peasant type background and not much about the type of life the people in our area have lived on the white farms. I count myself as one of the lucky's because if you want to go to school beyond the Standard 2 of llic farm school you had to leave the farm. There are very few who can actually do this, out of the guys from our area 67% of them were expelled at the end of the year, 9% of us were expelled. I then went and finished my high school in a city near my home. “

“This is really a well-planned system because it makes the children on the white farms not go as far as they could in education. You can't even be able to leave the white farms and deprive the white farmers of the labor power that they need. The minimum education you get is only for the benefit of the white farmer, so they use very primitive tools to do the planting and this. They use this to keep the white workers in the form of a prison. They would start work at six in the morning and finish at nine at night. In those days, 1983 he as a "breadwinner" would get 43 Rand a month and be given 25 Ibs of mealie meal (cornmeal), 2.5 kilograms of beans, 2 kilograms of brown sugar and some salt, and this salt was grain salt that the farmer also uses for his cattle. As for milk, we never tasted real milk. We would milk the cows and then we would also take the milk and churn it to make butter and whatever remained of the skim milk after the butter was made we would sometimes be able to share it among all of the farm labors. We would only get one meal a day and a that was at Christmas time. They would slaughter one cow to be shared amongst all of the farmhands. Our house was three rooms with a fireplace for the seven of us. “

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

“Most of the farms in the area it was nothing for a white farmer to just kill a black person. I myself know of cases where a black man from one farm was shot dead as a trespasser for simply taking a short cut across another white-owned farm or killed for running good animal grass by walking on it. And dogs—whew! In this country there are black dogs and white dogs. The white dogs, man I’m telling you they will just bite and rip apart any black person and they don’t care how many times I’ve had to run for my life from one of the white man’s dogs. And some of these farmers, they don’t want to live themselves or use other means so they just tell these dogs to attack some black person and the dogs will do it. The dogs will just rip you to pieces. And nothing happens to the white, nothing at all. “

“You know, for me, when I left the farm I saw that the whole country was just a bigger plantation. And everything I had learned about life from the farm was just the bigger plantation too. I started to read to try to understand. I read Black and Black Consciousness. Ihcy give you is only for the benefit of the white farmer, so I went and finished my high school in a city near my home. “

“I came to comrades in the township and we would discuss all of the issues in the paper and try to get other revolutionary literature to read and discuss amongst ourselves. We used to try to learn Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The PW, the policy and the information it gave to me, was just something that spoke to me, that appealed to me. And all of this helped to mold me to be the revolutionary I am today.”
From the Gestapo Police Dept.

The powers are trying to deal with anti-war protesters in two ways. One is to use their media to black out or play down the opposition while putting the spotlight on the pro-war forces. The other is to use violent police suppression against those who refuse to go along with the brainstorming. The following are three recent examples of outrageous police intimidation and attacks against anti-war protesters.

John Schuhabard was arrested for making a statement against the war at a February 17 church service in Amherst, Mass., backed by President Bush. Reverend Patricia Adams had invited people to speak and voice their prayers for those who were ill. Schuhabard stood up and said, "I have a concern. The 30 million people of Iraq, half are children under the age of 15. There are children, just like the children sitting here. He called the war against Iraq a "vicious imperial attack" and said, "We must think of it because it means to be brushed by more than 2,000 planes every day." "Trying to drown him out, the congregation rose and sang "God Bless America." Later, when Schuhabard tried to speak again, the police moved in to arrest him. When he went limp, the police dragged him out of the church as he shouted, "I am the voice of the voiceless."

A woman was arrested for trying to place a wreath on the body of a man who set himself on fire and died. When a crowd began to gather at the Amherst common, the police used squad cars to block people from the sight. In a gestapo-like move, the police arrested one woman for disorderly conduct and for resisting. Then they ran through the blockade and lay a wreath on the body.

Police have assaulted protesters beating on drums in Lafayette Park, across from the White House. Last month Bush had to admit that the protesters' drums were keeping him awake at night. The police have set a limit of 60 decibels on the noise that can be made in the park—which would make even crows and seagulls illegal. The police have also physically attacked the drummers. One witness reported: "On February 9 I spotted the afternoon in Peace [Lafayette] Park. I saw several incidents where the police would try to confiscate personal property or grab a drum because the drummer was moving or had forgotten to keep his drum off the ground. At one point I observed several police entering the park out of a time and standing separately at various distances. Then one policeman came in and lunged at one of the drummers, trying to take his drum away. The drummer refused. He was thrown to the ground by the police hand by hand. One drum is no. Another drum was then thrown to the ground because he had tried to view the situation. The crowd responded by standing and trying to calm a very tense situation. We, the drummers, kept drumming and more or less 'walking' the police back to the gate to Pennsylvania Avenue. As I was standing there I was elbowed quite violently from behind and as I turned to respond to

What I thought would be an apology a policeman said: "Don't step in my path again. There wasn't much time for surprise because I think all these things we are doing is wrong. They want us to hate the'legs, but at least I wanna let you know what I think about our enemy, they are our sisters and brothers."“

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Letters From GIs

"The Biggest Mistake I Ever Made"

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

Jan. 14th 91

Demonstrate! Do it. The people must get the message across. Although I will do my best—I will do something if you people have broken with war. I have some dumb kid sitting by me who is a case where a black kid fighting for a place in an army's all-black unit, straight out of school. He said, "I want to go to war so I can get the combat Infantry Badge." This is the kind of stupid bastard that is getting to fight the war in America. Bush, Mitterand, Major, Saddam Hussein and all the others are going to destroy so many lives that it makes my heart sick to see them. I hope God has his way with them and sees them all into the deepest pit of hell for what they have done.

How are you and the children doing? Please let them know that daddy loves you and that you know why the recruiting vultures had to come on with a lot of slick talk and sweet sounding bribes to sucker you in.

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

Pan Am Forced to Back Down from Racist Policy

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

In response to pressure from its anti-war groups, Pan Am agreed to sell tickets to people with Iraqi ties. Pan Am's policy was designed to stop Arab passengers from flying on the airline. To take a stand, Pan Am's administration had to face opposition from its own passengers. Pan Am's policy was designed to stop Arab passengers from flying on the airline. To take a stand, Pan Am's administration had to face opposition from its own passengers.
Stop the War/Just Say No Brigade

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What is Saddam Hussein After?

The interests and objectives of the Iraqi side—like those of the U.S.—are pretty clear and straightforward way by Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz after his Jan. 9 meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Baker a week before the war started. Referring to Bush’s “new world order,” Aziz said, “I have no problem with that order. And we would love to be partners in that order. But that order has to be implemented justly.” He also complained, “The U.S. government has covered the Iraqi position, protected it politically at the Security Council, and that’s very well known to everybody. And the U.S. has to consult with Iraq with military and financial means to stick to its intransigence.” Aziz said that if this situation was allowed to remain—U.S. and Iraq will be removed.

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

What is the U.S. After?

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

This is why the U.S. and its allies moved to bomb in Saddam Hussein after the end of the Iran-Iraq war. Hussein had built up a strong military machine during the war with Iran with the help of the U.S. and all the great powers. But with Iran defeated, Hussein was becoming too powerful and the U.S. acted to “cut him down to size.” Even before Iraq’s takeover of Kuwait, the U.S. government was denying exports of weapons, technology, machinery and food to Iraq. With U.S. backing, Kuwait produced more oil than the OPEC quota allowed and drove down oil prices, seriously hurting Iraqi economy. Hussein also pumped oil from an oil field that ran under Iraqi territory. At the very least, the U.S. created a situation where Hussein felt he was being squeezed and undercut and had to do something to deal with this. There is evidence that the U.S. even encouraged or “entrained” Hussein to move into Kuwait in order to set up a justification for ganging up on Iraq. For example, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq met Saddam Hussein three days before the Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait, when Iraq already had moved a large military force to the border. But the ambassador did not issue any warnings and even said that the U.S. government had, “no opinion” on Iraq’s dispute with Kuwait.

It is important to remember that right after moving his military into Kuwait, Saddam Hussein indicated he was willing to work out a settlement if Iraq’s grievances against Kuwait were dealt with. Such a settlement probably would have involved Iraq’s withdrawal from Kuwait. In several interviews, King Hussein of Jordan revealed that he had received this basic commitment from Saddam Hussein and that an “Arab settlement” was basically worked out in early August. But such an agreement was blown out of the water by the sudden massive deployment of U.S. forces to the region.

Bush’s “New World Order” and Iraq

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

Poll of the Week

The latest CNN cellular phone poll shows that:

• 107% believe that civilians bombed by the allies in the war are really mummies stolen by Saddam Hussein from pyramids in Egypt.

• 11% believe they are really Iraqi civilians that have been killed in the allied air raids.

• 48% are not sure where Iraq is or what civilians are.

(Right) Chicago, Feb. 16—In a demonstration called by the Pledge of Resistance, 900 people denounced the media’s pro-war coverage and censorship of popular protests in the U.S. and around the world. The protesters also called for support for oil resistation and Nation of Islam’s leadership, for all black people and Arab peoples. Some demonstrators were cardboard TV’s on their heads with letters that read: “Stay tuned, more pro-war news to come.” After marching to the Israeli consulate and the Chicago Tribune building, the protesters headed to the busy Lake Shore Drive where hundreds took to the streets.
imperialist chieftains. They want to reconstruct the American Century" that they proclaimed coming out of World War 2 but which has been badly shaken and battered since then. They seized on the current world situation where the open and sharp U.S.-Soviet confrontation of the 70s has given way to more collusion. And they seized on the Persian Gulf/Middle East as a place where they saw both the necessity and opportunity in terms of imposing this "new world order." Necessity, because the U.S. could not let Iraq upset the basic power relations in this very important region. Opportunity, because the U.S. imperialists saw a chance to move in with big military force and declare themselves cops of the world.

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

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

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

Hussein's goals and class nature shape the way Iraq has fought the war. The Iraqi leadership's outlook and program is that of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, in the overall imperialist-dominated relation of forces in the region. The fight between the U.S. (and its "alliance") and Iraq is a fight between big dogs attacking one of the dogs that has been considered "out of order" with themselves at the top, the U.S. powers have unleashed massive destruction on the oppressed people of Iraq in order to prevent the Hussein regime from upsetting the existing power relations in the region. The U.S. seized the opportunity to resist its leading role among the great powers of the world and to threaten people around the world with a five-section display of its weapons of high-tech genocide. The understanding about what's behind this war needs to be considered closely including among those who are confused about what stand to take or have been fraudulently persuading on the war. And these questions need to be widely raised: Are these interests and aims of the U.S. worthy of support? Do they justify the death of masses of people in Iraq and the Middle East and destruction of the region by all the U.S. as well, in their tens of thousands and perhaps even millions if war continues and spreads?

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

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

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

This shameful crime cannot and will not be left unanswered. Throughout the world, workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and all who oppose imperialist bullying and aggression support their sisters and brothers in Iraq and throughout the region in fighting back against the aggressors. In the imperialist countries themselves, despite an unprecedented propaganda barrage of lies and distortion by the ruling classes of these countries to justify their gangsterism, a large section of the masses have already recognized that this war of aggression is not in their interests, and outpourings of resistance to the imperialist war have taken place in all of the aggressor countries. We hail this resistance and call upon the masses in these countries to step up and intensify their struggle against this barbaric war.

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

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

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

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

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, 17th January 1991

(Released by the Information Bureau of the RIM: BCM RIM, 27 Old Gloucester St, London WC1N 3XX, U.K.)
Battle Cry at Pine Ridge: Wounded Knee 1973

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

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

Eighty-three years ago this week, hundreds of Indian people and their supporters held off an army of federal, state and local police forces at the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. They had gone to the village to demand that the U.S. government recognize Indian sovereignty (self-government) and honor the treaties it had signed, and to fight against the growing attacks coming from on the tribally governed land, racism and the police. The day after their army surrendered, their symbolic actions, the Indians were surrounded by an army of over 300 government forces from the FBI, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Marshall and Justice Department. They were joined by state and local police forces as well as Dick Wilson, the tribal chief at Pine Ridge, and a "snoop" squad who had set up illegally using tribal money.

The II dispute referred to until their demands were met. The government siege on Wounded Knee lasted 71 days. At least two Indian men were murdered by the government forces—Frank Clearwater, an Apache; and Buddie Lamonl, a Sioux. Scores of people inside the village of Wounded Knee were wounded. The events at Wounded Knee showed how important the oppression of Indian people is to the powers in the United States and their allies, particularly businesses that want to push land. Without the support of the Native peoples against this oppression can be the difference between this whole system down. The battle cry from Wounded Knee is still very relevant today, and the war by the powers against the Indian peoples continues, as the recent siege of the Mohawk people in the U.S. and Canada shows.

Part 1 of this article will go into the developments that led to the siege at Wounded Knee. Part 2 will tell what happened at the Pine Ridge battleground. The main sources for this article are: Voices From Wounded Knee: The People Are Standing Up, published by Akwesasne Notes; In the Spirit of Crazy Horse, by Peter Matthiessen, and Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panthers Party and the American Indian Movement, by Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall.

A History of Massacres and Broken Treaties

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

In 1876 the U.S. broke the treaty and stole over three-fourths of Sioux land, including the Black Hills. Later on the U.S. claimed that the symbol of its subjugation of the Indian peoples by carving faces of U.S. presidents into the side of Mt. Rushmore. In 1890 the U.S. government finally succeeded in forcing the last of the Indian peoples off their reservations after U.S. government troops brutally massacred over 500 Minnesota Sioux Indian women, including five of Dick Wilson's family, at Wounded Knee. (See KW #580.) They were forced onto the worst land. Most of the “reservations” were unable to grow enough food to even feed themselves. And the white settlers and government railroads had wiped out all the buffalo and most of the other game. Many people were forced to rely on government or the BIA bureaucracy. One half of the people worked in tribal government agencies and 10 percent worked in survival schools and police patrols to help Indian people struggle against racist treatment by the pigs and cops.

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

Native Americans are among the poorest people in the country. Those on the reservation face even worse poverty than those in the cities. The conditions of life at Pine Ridge and Wounded Knee at the time of the siege of Wounded Knee shed some light on this situation. By the 1970s unemployment on the reservation had reached 54 percent. One half of the people worked in tribal government or the BIA bureaucracy. One third depended on welfare or pensions from the government. 71 percent of Sioux under 18 in South Dakota were Indian, but Native people received almost half the state's ADC (Aid To Dependent Children). Most of the businesses were owned by whites and their allies. In 1973, according to the federal government, 95 percent of all wage-earners in Indian businesses would often take the whole government check and never divide a black dime. The unemployment rate was 46 years. Alcoholism and suicide were epidemic. Out of the over 300 acres on the reservation only 1.5 million acres were still owned by Indians. Eighty-three percent of the Indians who owned land were forced to lease all or part of their lands to those with the only people with enough money to rent it.

Murder of Yellow Thunder

The area where Pine Ridge is located is one of the most racist areas of the country. Attacks on Indian people by whites and the police have been continuous since 1868. In February 1972 a Sioux named Yellow Thunder wanted to study and began by two white men in Gordon, Nebraska. They took him to an American Legion hall dance. His point of view is that he was thrown in the middle of the dance floor where whites kicked and bent him over and over again. His battered body was found two days later. Yellow Thunder’s murderers were charged with murder, but the judge and his lawyers refused to pass judgment on the case. Local authorities refused to help the family get justice for Raymond. They turned to AIM. AIM led a caravan of 200 cars to Gordon, Nebraska. They forced the local police to file serious charges against the murderers, to dismiss the local police and to agree to meetings to discuss racism in Gordon.

Seventeen year old described how many people from the reservation in the Black Hills are still talking about Yellow Thunder and what happened. "I was there when AIM came in and helped the family look into the death, that made the older people that are living out on the reservation, out in the country—they kind of lifted up their heads, and we started speaking out. And they were talking against the local laws and order system, the reservation government, the non-Indians living on the reservation and being abusive Indians. We were 17 years old and it finally happened. Because AIM chapters formed all over the reservation, the powers were scared. We learned about the growing influence of AIM among Native peoples in Pine Ridge.

The Government Mobilizes Against AIM

AIM's growing influence on the reservation was a serious threat to the powers. Huge corporations make billions of dollars in mining, logging, farming, natural gas and other operations on Indian land. In particular, the Black Hills and the Pine Ridge reservation contain large deposits of uranium, a form that is very easy to mine. Uranium is crucial in the development of nuclear weapons, and the U.S. government desperately needed the uranium in the Black Hills to develop their stockpile of nuclear weapons. The authors of Agents of Repression pointed out: "Overall, the plans for all uranium mines in the Black Hills. They include a gigantic park featuring numerous scenes of mining. Germany coal-fired plants, a dozen nuclear reactors, huge coal-power plants (designed to use milli of tons of water each year), 15 major uranium mines." During the 1960s and 1970s, over 5 million tons of radioactive waste was dumped on the banks of the Cot toned Creek from a uranium mine in Elephant Butte, located in the Black Hills. Hundreds of tons washed into the creek and into the Pine Ridge water table, exposing thousands of Indian residents to poten ially deadly radiation.

AIM's influence on the reservation threatened to jeopardize the mining in the
Black Hills. The powers also had similar operations on other Indian lands across the country. So the government moved to create AIM. In the spring of 1972, through the BIA, they hacked into the election of Dick Wilson as tribal chief. Wilson was a reactionary who was very patriotic to the U.S. and who especially hated AIM. He was given a huge amount of money by whites to run his campaign. In return, he promised them liquor and construction contracts on the reservation. Wilson used tribal money to give high paying jobs to his relatives and to hire people to back him up. He began a reign of terror on the reservation against AIM and its supporters. Hundreds of people were threatened, harangued, beaten, shot at, had family members injured or their homes burned down by Wilson and a group of thugs he hired with tribal funds called the "GOONS" ("Guardians of the Oglala Nation").

In late November Wilson banned AIM from the reservation. The Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization led angry residents of the reservation in an attempt to impeach Wilson. They also demanded the removal of the Pine Ridge BIA Superintendent Stanley Leeman. In response, Wilson called in BIA police and the FBI to back him up. The BIA gave Wilson $60,000 to hire more police officers.

On January 24, 1973 an Oglala man named Wesley Bad Heart Bull was murdered at Buffalo Gap, South Dakota by a white man. His murderer was only charged with involuntary manslaughter. Sarah Bad Heart Bull, Wesley's mother, asked AIM for help in getting justice for her son. On February 6 AIM organized a demonstration at the town of Custer to demand that the charges be upgraded to murder. It was later revealed that the authorities set AIM up for a confrontation. Hundreds of police in riot gear were called in. FBI observers were on the scene. Police pushed Sarah Bad Heart Bull down the stairs. AIM members and police fought for hours, and two police cars were overturned and burned. Police tear-gas canisters burned two buildings to the ground. Sarah Bad Heart Bull did five months' time while her son's killer never saw a day in jail. The AIM action forced the mayor of towns in the area to meet with them and hear a set of Indian demands.

A week after the Custer confrontation the impeachment hearings went cold. With backing from the FBI, BIA and the GOONS, Wilson controlled the hearings and forced a vote that reinstated him as tribal chief. To prevent people from organizing against him, the same day he announced a ban on all public meetings and demonstrations on the reservation. From February 30 on, the Justice Department turned the FBI, U.S. Marshals, BIA and state police into a paramilitary force equipped with the Pentagon to try and make it appear it was helping local authorities, not putting down a popular revolt. They began monitoring every movement of AIM and OSCRO members on the reservation and big confrontation was brewing. Still to come—Part 2: Siege at Wounded Knee

"A Native American Concept of War"

The following is an excerpt from an editorial in the February issue of The Circle, an Indian newspaper published in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Although the writer is not writing from a Maoist perspective, he raises important points about the relationship of Native American peoples to the land in which they live, in their country. How many people of color or women are in the military? Why do they use weapons that are so evil? I wonder what kind of minds would think of creating such diabolical machines. So much time, energy and money goes into the making of these weapons. War is definitely not an honorable way of creating goods to live on. The weapons of today are so evil. I wonder what this country is doing. I am not going to support the death of white supremacy. I am not going to support the murder of Native Americans. I would gladly give up my car if it would mean saving a life.

The concept of war presented by Native Americans is a tragic story and should send a powerful message to us as Native people and our role in this country's wars. It was one of the Marines in the famous picture on top of Iwo Jima helping to raise the United States flag. He was given top honors by the military, and to become an instant hero on his return from the war, yet he wept back home. A Native American concept of war is a foreign concept. Wars were fought and outcomes were made between tribes in this country, but there was more honor given a warrior when they could share their enemy by hitting them with a stick than killing him with a gun. It was honorable to die fighting for protecting your people. It was only one hundred years ago when our people were fighting the United States Army. We are still feeling the effects of these wars and we are still fighting wars here in this country—the wars of poverty, drugs, alcoholism, oppression, and racism. Why are so many of our people fighting the United States when our rights live in our own country the way in which our ancestors lived and not being honored? Who is going to gain in this war? Certainly not the Indian people, our economic status is not going to change if the United States wins or loses. The story of the Haynes

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

to live on his reservation in the southwest, nothing changed for his people. He died drunk, lying at his own vomit. I am not going to support the idea of white supremacy. I am not going to support the murder of Native Americans. I would gladly give up my car if it would mean saving a life.
Deeply Angry About the War in the Persian Gulf—Does This Sound Like You?

Then You Should Support the Revolutionary Communist Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There are a thousand deeds crying out to be done: financial contributions and fundraising for the party; subscribe and introduce others to the valuable analysis and exposure found only in the Revolutionary Worker newspapers; circulate and post leaflets; help answer a phone or send out a mailing; help oppose the government's repression against the party and others stepping out against the war. There are many other creative ways that you can do something which will really make a difference.

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