

## Military Resistance 8H15



**“I’m Ready To Get Out Of Here. I’m Tired Of Picking Up Body Parts”**  
**“After Months Of Deadly And Often Demoralizing Fighting, The Americans In This Army Company Are Asking Themselves If It Had Been Worth It”**

**“The Taliban Met The American Forces With A Well-Planned Strike That Quickly Ravaged The American Forces, Said Soldiers Who Took Part In The Fight”**

**“A Battle Some Charlie Company Soldiers Called The Arghandab Alamo”**

**“‘They Weren’t Prepared Physically, Mentally And Tactically,’ Gerhart Said”**



Soldiers of the 82nd Airborne Division ford a stream on patrol

**“I’m not saying you can’t win a COIN fight, but it’s not going to work in Afghanistan, and it’s not going to work during the fighting season,” said one Charlie Company soldier who asked not to be identified to avoid being disciplined for his candor.**

Aug 14 Dion Nissenbaum, McClatchy Newspapers [Excerpts]

ARGHANDAB, Afghanistan — Setting out on one of their final patrols in Afghanistan, the U.S. Army and Afghan soldiers waded through waist-deep streams, scampered over crumbling 9-foot-tall mud walls and were closing in on a suspected bomb-making factory when their mission came to an unexpected halt.

Fifty yards short of their target, an Afghan soldier had been stung in the head by a bee. Now he wanted to abort the mission and head back to base.

American soldiers from the 82nd Airborne Division rolled their eyes as they told the pained Afghan fighter that scrapping their mission wasn't an option.

After months of deadly and often demoralizing fighting alongside mediocre Afghan forces in one of the Taliban's most intractable strongholds outside Kandahar city, the Americans in this Army company are asking themselves if it had been worth it.

"I'm ready to get out of here," said Sgt. Joshua Middlebrook, 25, of Sanford, N.C., as the patrol made its way back to base after coming up dry in the search. "I'm tired of picking up body parts."

American forces have been dying in record numbers this summer.

In the sweltering Arghandab valley, U.S. soldiers have fumed in silence as Afghan fighters got high on drugs before setting off on military operations.

They've questioned Afghan police commanders suspected of cutting private protection deals with Taliban insurgents.

Problems with the Afghan police in Arghandab probably reached their nadir this summer when a teenage police officer accused an older officer of sexually abusing him on a U.S.-Afghan base. The accused officer was expelled.

"Some days I feel like we've made a difference," Middlebrook said. "Other days, not so much. Maybe it won't last and the Taliban will move back in. I don't know."

**Over the past year, Charlie Company — of the 2nd Battalion, 508th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 4th Brigade Combat Team with the 82nd Airborne Division — has been hit especially hard.**

**Charlie Company squad leaders said that four of their soldiers were killed and 15 more seriously wounded as they battled Taliban fighters and grappled with an endless supply of well-hidden roadside bombs, said soldiers with the 82nd Airborne, based in Fort Bragg, N.C.**

**The company's deaths accounted for more than a fifth of the 27 soldiers from the 82nd Airborne Division killed this year in Afghanistan, according to the iCasualties website.**

Charlie Company spent much of this year in a part of Arghandab that some soldiers call the "Westside ghetto," a chain of desolate villages and dense orchards running along the west side of the river that's provided often impenetrable shelter for fighters over the centuries.

Like the Soviets before them, American forces have found the Arghandab River valley to be an especially punishing battlefield. Progress has been halting.

Many village elders from Taliban-controlled areas long ago sought refuge in nearby Kandahar city, and with Taliban insurgents routinely killing Afghans who work with U.S. forces, some village leaders are wary of American assurances that they'll be safe if they come back.

"We had a greater flow of insurgents than I originally anticipated," said Lt. Col. Guy Jones, the commander of the 82nd Airborne forces in Arghandab.

**The intensified fighting soured some of the soldiers on the fundamental tenets of a U.S. counterinsurgency strategy — also known as COIN — that relies as much on wooing the population with political and economic progress as it does on routing enemy forces.**

**"I'm not saying you can't win a COIN fight, but it's not going to work in Afghanistan, and it's not going to work during the fighting season," said one Charlie Company soldier who asked not to be identified to avoid being disciplined for his candor.**

"It's hard to go to hugs and kisses when you still close your eyes at night and see your friends' body parts."

**The frustrations within Charlie Company were compounded this summer by a challenging transfer of control to 101st Airborne Division artillery forces who had little of the infantry experience needed for the grueling fighting in Arghandab.**

**In their first few weeks in Arghandab, the 101st Airborne took extensive casualties. At least four soldiers were killed and two dozen more were seriously injured, according to soldiers in Arghandab.**

**"They weren't prepared physically, mentally and tactically," Gerhart said.**

**Some Charlie Company soldiers blamed the 101st Airborne Division's inexperience for the death of Sgt. Edwardo Loredó of Houston, who was killed by a roadside bomb one day before his 35th birthday in late June.**

The problems came to a head in mid-July as the 82nd Airborne was preparing to cede control to the 101st and the joint forces got pinned down in a battle that some Charlie Company soldiers called the Arghandab Alamo.

The forces set out to fight the Taliban at one of the most contested canals in an area dubbed the "devil's playground."

The Taliban met the American forces with a well-planned strike that quickly ravaged the American forces, said soldiers who took part in the fight.

"If it wasn't for the 82nd guys, we'd be dead by now," said Private George Miller, a 19-year-old Redlands, Calif., native who's now in Arghandab with the 101st Airborne

**Lt. Col. David Flynn, the head of the 101st Airborne in Arghandab, took it as a kind of personal mission to seize the “devil’s playground” and set up a new military base to throw the Taliban off-balance.**

**“I told the guys I would not let Sgt. Loredó die in vain,” Flynn said.**

**At significant cost, the new soldiers fought to establish Combat Outpost Stout, named after Sgt. Kyle Stout, of Texarkana, Texas, who was one of the first soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division to be killed in Arghandab this summer.**

**“They don’t need to be the best infantry, they just need to be better than the Taliban,” Flynn said of his soldiers. “And they are.”**

**In the past five months, 38 soldiers with the 101st Airborne Division have been killed in Afghanistan, according to iCasualties.**

**Five of them were killed in Kandahar province last month as the soldiers struggled to get their bearings.**

Although the Afghan forces sent to fight alongside American soldiers in Arghandab are supposed to be among the best the country has to offer, U.S. officers gave them mixed reviews.

Drug use among Afghan fighters remains pervasive.

One Afghan commander turned up on a recent military operation in Arghandab with bloodshot eyes, suggesting that he was high.

**U.S. soldiers at one Arghandab base refer to a particular guard tower as “the Hash Tower” because that’s where they say the Afghan soldiers go to get high.**

**“I trust them only as far as I can throw them,” Specialist Clayton Taylor, a 25-year-old Charlie Company soldier from Lake Wales, Fla., said while on patrol with the Afghan Army.**

**“They’re lazy. They don’t care. And half of them are crooked.”**

**The Afghan police are an even bigger problem.**

**Charlie Company soldiers said they long suspected that the Afghan police commander in their area had cut a deal with the Taliban to ensure that he wouldn’t be attacked.**

“You could tell he was playing both sides,” said Private Larry Nichols, a 21-year-old from St. Mary’s, Md. “He was doing what he did to stay alive.”

**On a recent evening, Gerhart and his squad sat outside their tent as they counted down the days to their departure and released months of pent-up frustrations while talking to a reporter.**

**“Has the war been worth it?” Gerhart asked while pacing back and forth in the dimming light. “I don’t know, because it’s not over yet.”**

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## **IRAQ WAR REPORTS**

# **Intelligence Soldier From JBLM Killed In Iraq Attack**

August 10, 2010 MATT MISTEREK; Staff writer; The Olympian

Spc. Faith R. Hinkley, 23, who came to Joint Base Lewis-McChord two years ago, died Saturday after insurgents attacked her unit in Iraq, the Department of Defense announced Monday.

Hinkley, who hailed from southwestern Colorado, died in Baghdad of wounds she suffered in Iskandariya, about 30 miles south of the Iraqi capital. She was on her first deployment.

Hinkley was assigned to the 502nd Military Intelligence Battalion, 201st Battlefield Surveillance Brigade. She is the first soldier from the surveillance brigade reported killed since it moved from Lewis-McChord to Iraq last fall.

The 1,000-member brigade’s move was one of the last major deployments in a surge of nearly 18,000 local soldiers who started serving yearlong combat tours in Iraq or Afghanistan in 2009.

Spread across more than 30 sites in Iraq, the brigade’s mission includes coordinating spying from human sources, intercepting cell phone and other electronic messages, doing counterintelligence activities, managing Arabic linguists, and monitoring and targeting enemy positions, among other duties.

Hinkley’s military occupational specialty was listed as human intelligence collector.

According to unit records, she enlisted in the Army in August 2007. After basic training followed by training in her occupational specialty, she reported to Lewis-McChord in August 2008.

Hinkley was a native of Monte Vista, Colo., and attended school in Colorado Springs after graduating from high school in 2006, according to the Colorado Springs Gazette.

“You couldn’t find a sweeter, gentler person than she was,” her grandmother, Leona Edwards, told the Gazette.

She is survived by her parents, David and Annavee Hinkley, a brother, Matthew, and a sister, Shannon.

Hinkley's death shows the continuing exposure of U.S. forces in Iraq, even as thousands of Lewis-McChord troops are in the final stages of returning from that country and as the Obama administration focuses U.S. military policy on Afghanistan.

It also shows that modern warfare knows no gender lines.

Hinkley is the eighth Lewis-McChord soldier reported to have died in Iraq this year. Three of those eight were women.

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## **AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORTS**

### **'He Lost His Life In That Beauty'**

In 2007, Shane Robert Martin decided to quit art school and join the Marine Corps.

He called from Afghanistan last week and asked his parents to send him some of his old art supplies. He said the stark beauty of the central Asian country had inspired him to draw again.

"The irony is, here you have a kid who was as tough as anything, who was a Reconnaissance Marine, but he could stop for a moment and see the beauty of the people and the land around him, and there's something so poignant about that," said his aunt, Amanda Brock. "You know, he lost his life in that beauty."

The 23-year-old Marine lance corporal from Spring died during combat operations in Afghanistan's Helmand province on Thursday. He was assigned to the 1st Light Armored Reconnaissance Battalion, based at Camp Pendleton, Calif.

Marine officials said Martin was driving a light armored vehicle on patrol when a roadside bomb exploded and the vehicle flipped. Martin died of head trauma.

"I know he went there with the idea of helping the Afghani people — I know that in my heart - but also to be a good and loyal and helpful Marine to his own team members," said his uncle, Robert Brock.

Martin was born in Durban, South Africa, and moved to the Houston area when he was 12.

He attended Spring's Klein Collins High School, where he was in the Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps.

"He was known at Klein Collins as the one who would stand up for people who were being bullied," said his mother, Debora Wallace. She remembered one of the school administrators pulling her aside during her son's senior year. "He said, 'When Shane

graduates from high school, what are we going to do?' He protected so many people at school, the small kids, and the underdogs."

Martin was fiercely protective by nature, but even-tempered and mature beyond his years, said his father, Kevin Wallace.

"He had a demeanor where he would never get angry at another person, no matter what they did to him," Wallace said. "He would just move on and keep it inside."

Martin met his future wife at an architectural graphics class at Klein Collins. The pair became best friends, and she invited him to senior prom because she had an extra ticket. Ten days later, they were officially dating.

"We would finish each other's sentences, literally," Lauren Martin said by telephone from California, where she lived with her husband. "We always knew what each other was thinking, and we had the same values. My grandmother told me true soulmates would complement each other, and we did."

After graduation from Klein Collins in 2005, Martin attended The Art Institute of Houston before deciding to follow his heart to the Marines. His father, grandfather and uncle had all served, and Martin had always been a military history buff.

"Shane only ever watched the History Channel, or the Military Channel," his mother recalled. "When we were in South Africa, it was black-and-white war movies."

She said her son had a knack for remembering birthdays and anniversaries by connecting them to dates of World War II battles.

"He really and truly would have liked to be a military history professor once his days of serving were done," she said.

On Leap Day in February 2008, Martin celebrated his graduation from Marine boot camp. A few months later, he proposed to Lauren when she came to visit at Pendleton.

"It was nothing fancy," Lauren said. "We had no money. We were in a hotel room, watching a Dane Cook DVD, and he said, 'I'll be right back,' and tripped over some clothes."

Then he gave her the ring.

"He told me that I was the moment, and that's why he did it right then," Lauren said. "That we were just sitting there together and that being there with me was all that he cared about, that I was the moment, and it couldn't be any better."

The couple married on July 4, 2008, in Lauren's backyard in Spring. In December of the same year, Martin deployed to Iraq for his first combat tour.

He earned his citizenship during that deployment. The naturalization ceremony was held at one of Saddam Hussein's former palaces.

"He was very, very proud of that," Martin's uncle said.



Before he deployed to Afghanistan in May, Martin visited Houston for two weeks in April to say goodbye to friends and family, including his brother, Kyle, 21, and sister, Diane, 14. They ate Chinese food and went shopping at the Galleria.

Diane said she was in the process of writing her big brother a three-page letter when her family learned of his death.

"I never finished it," she said. "It was telling him to be safe and everything, so everybody could sleep. And I never got to send the letter."

In addition to his wife, parents, brother and sister, Martin is survived by grandmothers Pamela Martin and Althea Wallace. Funeral arrangements are pending.

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## **U.S. Soldier Fires On Afghans Protesting Confiscation Of Their Land For An Occupation Military Base: 12 Year Old Wounded**

August 15, 2010 By Associated Press

A crowd of protesters set upon U.S. troops outside of Bagram Air Field — the main U.S. base in the country. A number of people were wounded at the demonstration in Pul-e-Sayad village.

The crowd of about 250 people gathered around the American troops to protest the building of an Afghan Army base on land owned by local villagers, said Abdullah Adil, an Interior Ministry official who works with NATO forces in the area.

A few villagers had first gone to the construction site in the morning to demand that work be stopped and when it wasn't, they returned with a crowd of people, he said.

Protesters threw baseball-size rocks at the troops as they escorted a contractor to the base, NATO said.

The rocks injured some service members and when they couldn't quell the riot, a soldier fired at the crowd, NATO said.

Three Afghans were wounded.

The troops offered to help the wounded, but the locals rejected the assistance, a statement said.

One 12-year-old boy was shot, but his wounds were not life-threatening, Adil said.

Construction has now been halted pending more discussion with the villagers, he added.

“The land dispute is clearly an Afghan government issue that must be settled in order to resolve the ongoing concern of Afghans from the village,” Col. William F. Roy said in the NATO statement.

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**THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO COMPREHENSIBLE REASON TO BE IN THIS EXTREMELY HIGH RISK LOCATION AT THIS TIME, EXCEPT THAT THE PACK OF TRAITORS THAT RUN THE GOVERNMENT IN D.C. WANT YOU THERE TO DEFEND THEIR IMPERIAL DREAMS:  
That is not a good enough reason.**



July 29, 2010: A U.S. helps a comrade to a medical evacuation helicopter after he was caught in the blast of an improvised mine near COP Nolen, Arghandab Valley, Kandahar, Afghanistan. (AP Photo/Rodrigo Abd)

**IF YOU DON'T LIKE THE RESISTANCE  
END THE OCCUPATION**

## **MILITARY NEWS**

**THIS IS HOW OBAMA BRINGS THE TROOPS HOME:  
HOME:  
BRING THEM ALL HOME NOW, ALIVE**



The coffin of Staff Sgt. Edwardo Loredo, at Arlington National Cemetery July 27, 2010. Loredo, 34, of Houston, Texas, died June 24 at Jelewar, Afghanistan, when insurgents attacked his unit with an improvised explosive device. He was assigned to 2nd Battalion, 508th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 4th Brigade Combat Team, 82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, N.C. (AP Photo/Manuel Balce Ceneta)

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**When The Army Uses Torture  
On An American Soldier:  
“He Sent Me Photos Of The  
Isolation Chamber. It Was The  
Size Of A Walk-In Closet”  
“Luther Was One Of Thousands  
Severely Wounded In Iraq And**

# **Afghanistan Now Facing A Lifetime Without Medical Care”**

## **“Military Doctors Step Forward And Talk About Being Pressured By Their Superiors To Purposely Misdiagnose Wounded Soldiers”**

[Here it is again. Same old story. Used up, thrown away, and the politicians couldn't care less. To repeat for the 3,548th time, there is no enemy in Iraq or Afghanistan. Their citizens and U.S. troops have a common enemy. That common enemy owns and operates the Imperial government in Washington DC for their own profit. That common enemy started these wars of conquest on a platform of lies, because they couldn't tell the truth: U.S. Imperial wars are about making money for them, and nothing else. Payback is overdue. T]

[Thanks to Clancy Sigal, who sent this in.]

**I was flooded with calls from soldiers who had fractured bones and been pierced by grenade shrapnel, only to be told that their wounds came from a problem with their personality.**

**As in the civilian world, where people can be locked out of the insurance system if they have a pre-existing condition, soldiers whose wounds can be attributed to a pre-existing illness can be denied disability benefits and long-term medical care.**

April 14, 2010 Joshua Kors, Huffingtonpost.com

I had been covering veterans' issues for several years and thought I'd developed a thick skin.

But the pain on the other end of the telephone line was difficult to stomach. Sergeant Chuck Luther, now back from Iraq, was describing his journey to hell and back.

The worst part, he said, wasn't battling insurgents or even the mortar blast that tossed him to the ground and slammed his head against the concrete — it was the way he was treated by the U.S. Army when he went to the aid station and sought medical help.

In gruesome detail, Luther described what happened to him at Camp Taji's aid station.

He thought he would receive medical care. Instead he was confined to an isolation chamber and held there for over a month, under enforced sleep deprivation, until he agreed to sign papers saying that he was ill before coming to Iraq and thus not eligible for disability and medical benefits.

“They wanted me to say I had a ‘personality disorder,’” Luther told me.

Luther’s call did not come out of the blue.

**For two years I had been investigating this personality disorder scandal: how military doctors were purposely misdiagnosing soldiers, wounded in combat, as having this pre-existing mental illness.**

**As in the civilian world, where people can be locked out of the insurance system if they have a pre-existing condition, soldiers whose wounds can be attributed to a pre-existing illness can be denied disability benefits and long-term medical care.**

**My reporting began with the case of Specialist Jon Town, who was wounded in Iraq, won a Purple Heart and was then denied disability and medical benefits.**

**Town’s doctor had concluded that his headaches and hearing loss were not caused by the 107-millimeter rocket that knocked him unconscious but by a pre-existing personality disorder.**

The spotlight on Town prompted military doctors to step forward and talk about being pressured by their superiors to purposely misdiagnose wounded soldiers.

**One doctor spoke of a soldier who returned from Iraq with a massive chunk missing from his right leg. The doctor quit after he was pressured to diagnose that soldier as having personality disorder.**

Since 2001 more than 22,600 soldiers have been discharged with personality disorder (PD), saving the military billions in disability and medical benefits.

My articles on the scandal sparked a Congressional hearing, a Law and Order episode, and before leaving office, President Bush signed a law requiring the Pentagon to investigate PD discharges.

**In the wake of those developments, I was flooded with calls from soldiers who had fractured bones and been pierced by grenade shrapnel, only to be told that their wounds came from a problem with their personality — a pre-existing illness that had somehow gone undetected with each military screening and only popped up now, after they returned wounded from combat.**

**Luther was one of thousands severely wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan now facing a lifetime without medical care.**

I had spoken to dozens of soldiers in his shoes. But his call haunted me. He sent me photos of the isolation chamber. It was the size of a walk-in closet and was crammed with cardboard boxes, a desk and a bedpan.

**Armed guards monitored him 24 hours a day.**

**Luther told me how they stopped him from sleeping, keeping the lights on and blasting heavy metal music at him all through the night: Megadeth, Saliva, Disturbed.**

When he rebelled, Luther was pinned down and injected with sleeping medication. “This was an aid station,” he said, “but it felt a lot more like enhanced interrogation than medical care.”

**After a month, Luther was willing to sign anything — and did.**

**Soon after he signed his name to a personality disorder discharge, he was whisked back to Fort Hood and informed about a PD discharge’s disastrous consequences.**

**No disability pay, no long-term medical care, and because he didn’t serve out his contract, he’d have to pay back a portion of his signing bonus. “They told me I now owed the Army \$1,500.”**

**I would spend the next two years investigating Luther’s case: reading the stacks of medical records written by Luther’s doctors, which document his confinement; talking with a fellow soldier who visited Luther during his month in the aid station; and interviewing his commander, who confirmed all the details.**

As word of his story and the larger personality disorder scandal spreads, my phone is ringing again, this time with people asking what they can do to help these soldiers. I tell them: Share the article with friends, family, colleagues, your representatives in Congress.

America needs to know what is happening to our soldiers.

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## **FORWARD OBSERVATIONS**



**“At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh had I the ability, and could reach the nation’s ear, I would, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke.**

**“For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder.**

**“We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake.”**

**Frederick Douglass, 1852**

**Hope for change doesn’t cut it when you’re still losing buddies.**

**-- J.D. Englehart, Iraq Veterans Against The War**

**One day while I was in a bunker in Vietnam, a sniper round went over my head. The person who fired that weapon was not a terrorist, a rebel, an extremist, or a so-called insurgent. The Vietnamese individual who tried to kill me was a citizen of Vietnam, who did not want me in his country. This truth escapes millions.**

**Mike Hastie**

**U.S. Army Medic**

**Vietnam 1970-71**

**December 13, 2004**

**“The Nixon administration claimed and received great credit for withdrawing the Army from Vietnam, but it was the rebellion of low-ranking GIs that forced the government to abandon a hopeless suicidal policy”**

**-- David Cortright; Soldiers In Revolt**

**It is a two class world and the wrong class is running it.**

**-- Larry Christensen, Soldiers Of Solidarity & United Auto Workers**

**Stupid Useless Elitist Shitheads To  
The Contrary, The American Public Is  
Highly Intelligent:  
Fewest --22% -- In 50 Years Trust The  
Government**

April 19, 2010 By Chris Cillizza, Washington Post [Excerpts]

A new Pew poll finds historic levels of unhappiness about the federal government and its role in the lives of average Americans, unrest that is at the foundation of what is shaping up to be a strongly anti-incumbent political year.

The current conditions in public opinion amount to a “perfect storm” of disgust/distrust toward government, according to Pew poll director Andy Kohut, who cites “a dismal economy, an unhappy public, bitter partisan-based backlash, and epic discontent with Congress and elected officials” as the critical factors in this building tempest.

**Roughly one in five voters (22 percent) said they can trust the government in Washington always or almost always, the lowest ebb on that question in 50 years.**

**Just 38 percent said the federal government has an overall positive effect on their daily lives while 43 percent see its impact as broadly negative.**

Those numbers mark a considerable reversal from an October 1997 Pew poll when 50 percent said the government had a positive effect on their lives while 31 percent said it had a negative one.

**Quit Whining And Pissing On Everybody In  
Sight With Your Condescending Bullshit  
About How Stupid & Apathetic Americans  
Are:**

**If You Don't Spend Time In The Real World Reaching  
Out To Real Troops, You Have Nothing Whatsoever To  
Sneer At Others About.**

**“The single largest failure of the anti-war movement at this point  
is the lack of outreach to the troops.” Tim Goodrich, Iraq  
Veterans Against The War**

## **DO YOU HAVE A FRIEND OR RELATIVE IN THE MILITARY?**

**Forward Military Resistance along, or send us the address if you wish and  
we'll send it regularly. Whether in Afghanistan, Iraq or stuck on a base in  
the USA, this is extra important for your service friend, too often cut off  
from access to encouraging news of growing resistance to the wars, inside  
the armed services and at home. Send email requests to address up top or  
write to: The Military Resistance, Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y.  
10025-5657. Phone: 888.711.2550**



# August 15, 1876: Historic Betrayal



Lakota Sioux watch as their Black Hills are invaded. Painting by Howard Terpning

Carl Bunin Peace History

**August 15, 1876:**

**Congress passed a law to remove the Lakota Sioux and their allies from the Black Hills country of South Dakota after gold was found there. Often referred to as the “starve or sell” bill, it provided that no further appropriations would be made for 1868 Treaty-guaranteed rations for the Sioux unless they gave up their sacred Black Hills, or Paha Sapa. That treaty had granted them the territory and hunting rights in exchange for peace.**

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[Excerpts]

STATEMENT OF MARIO GONZALEZ, ATTORNEY, CHEYENNE RIVER AND PINE RIDGE WOUNDED KNEE SURVIVORS' ASSOCIATIONS AND OGLALA SIOUX TRIBE, SUPPORTING PROPOSALS TO ESTABLISH A MEMORIAL AND HISTORIC SITE TO COMMEMORATE THE EVENTS SURROUNDING THE 1890 INDIAN MASSACRE AT WOUNDED KNEE CREEK, SOUTH DAKOTA, IN THE HEARING OF SEPTEMBER 25, 1990, BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS, U.S. SENATE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

[Excerpts]

Mr. Chairman, and honorable Members of the Committee, my name is Mario Gonzalez. I am an enrolled member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe and a descendant of Chief Lip's Band. I am appearing here today as the attorney for the Wounded Knee Survivors' Associations and the Oglala Sioux Tribe. I am honored to appear before the Committee to discuss events surrounding the December 29, 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre.

I am also related by blood to some of the victims and survivors of the massacre. Dewey Beard , the last survivor of the Battle of the Little Bighorn and an 1890 Massacre survivor, was a first cousin to my great-great-grandmother, Rattling Hawk. Dewey's real mother, Seen By Her Nation, and my great-great-grandmother, Jealous Of Her, were sisters.

One cannot understand what happened at Wounded Knee without understanding something about the Sioux people and their history.

The term "Sioux" should be distinguished from the word "Siouan," which refers to a linguistic stock that the Sioux are a part of. Other Siouan peoples include such Tribes as the Mandan, Omaha, Otoe, Winnebago and Osage. The Sioux refer to themselves as "Lakota," "Dakota," or "Nakota," depending on whether the "L," "D" or "N" dialect is used.

It is also important to understand that the term "Sioux Nation" has been used to refer to different entities at different times. According to the Indian Claims Commission, the Sioux people were divided into seven divisions:

- Mdewakantons
- Sissetons
- Wahpakootas
- Wahpetons
- Yanktonais
- Yanktons
- Tetons

The Mdewakantons, Sissetons, Wahpakootas, and Wahpetons, or eastern Sioux, are sometimes referred to as "Santee" or "Mississippi" Sioux and speak with the "D" dialect. The Yanktonais also speak with the "D" dialect. The Yanktons speak with the "N" dialect and the Tetons with the "L" dialect.

The Tetons, or the western Sioux, were sub-divided into seven bands:

- Blackfeet
- Brule
- Hunkpapa
- Minneconjou
- Oglala
- Saris Arc (No Bows)
- Two Kettle

The Teton Bands held aboriginal title to a vast territory west of the Missouri River in what are now the States of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Wyoming and Colorado. Much of this territory was held jointly with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Nations. The Big Horn Mountains were the western boundary. The Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers were the northern boundary. The Republican River was the southern boundary.

In 1874 the United States Army planned and undertook a military expedition into the Black Hills portion of the Great Sioux Reservation. The expedition was led by Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer, who sent out glowing reports of gold.

This led to an invasion of the Hills by white miners and settlers in violation of the 1868 Treaty and created intense pressure on Congress to open the Hills for settlement. The influx of miners and settlers into the Hills increased when President Grant refused to enforce the Treaty and remove these trespassers. In the winter of 1875 and 1876, most of the Sioux were residing on the Great Sioux Reservation, keeping the peace they promised to maintain under the 1868 Treaty.

Others were exercising their hunting rights with their Cheyenne and Arapahoe allies near the Big Horn Mountains. Contrary to the terms of the Treaty, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs sent instructions to the hunting parties that if they did not return to the Great Sioux Reservation by January 31, 1876, they would be declared "hostile." The Sioux were under no legal obligation to return and could not return because of the weather. They were attacked, but defeated General Crook at the Battle of Rosebud and annihilated Lt. Col. Custer at the Battle of the Little Bighorn on June 25, 1876.

The U.S. violated Articles 11 and 16 of the 1868 Treaty by attacking the Sioux while they were exercising their right to hunt near the Bighorn Mountains. Although some refer to the Battle of the Little Bighorn as a "massacre," it was clearly a battle in which the Indians were defending their families against an egocentric Indian fighter who planned to capitalize on the event and become President of the United States.

The United States Government resented its defeat at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. The Battle, therefore, marked the beginning of a course of dishonorable dealings by the federal government with the Sioux people to [get] revenge [for] Custer's defeat. This course has continued down to the present time.

**On August 15, 1876, Congress passed an appropriations bill, often referred to as the "starve or sell" bill, which provided that no further appropriations would be made for the subsistence of the Sioux under the 1868 Treaty unless they gave up the Black Hills and reached an accommodation with the United States that would enable them to become self-supporting.**

**To accomplish this cession, Congress requested the President to appoint a commission to negotiate an agreement with the Sioux to buy the Hills.**

**The 1876 Commission, however, could not obtain the requisite number of signatures required by Article 12 of the 1868 Treaty, so Congress took matters into its own hands and enacted the proposed "Agreement" into law on February 28, 1877. This enactment confiscated the Black Hills, the 1851 Treaty lands, and hunting rights recognized under the 1868 Treaty.**

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## **August 16, 1819: Horrible Anniversary: THE PETERLOO MASSACRE**

# “The Government’s Attitude Was Made Clear By Its Total Endorsement Of The Massacre”



[spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk]

**‘Rise, like lions after slumber.  
In unvanquishable number!  
Shake your chains to earth like dew,  
Which in sleep had fallen on you!  
Ye are many- they are few!’**

[Thanks to Max Watts, who sent this in.]

When all the contingents had arrived and assembled in the centre of Manchester, something like 12 per cent of the population of the county of Lancashire, and over half that of its industrial South East were present. It was the largest assembly England had ever seen.

As soon as all the contingents had filled St Peter’s Field, to the point where, according to a contemporary report, people were packed in so tightly that ‘their hats seemed to touch’, the area was ringed by 1,500 troops with cannon.

1981 By Graham Milner, Unpublished

**On August 16, 1819, mounted regular troops and yeomanry of the British army, acting on the instructions of Government officials, attacked without warning a mass meeting of over 100,000 people drawn from the industrial centres of Lancashire in the north-west of England.**

**The meeting, held on St Peter's Field in the centre of Manchester, the major industrial city of Lancashire, had been organised as part of a national campaign to win a radical reform of the British parliament and to redress the economic grievances of working people.**

**Over four hundred men, women and children were killed or seriously injured as a result of this 'action'.**

One of the cavalry units involved - the 11th Hussars - had been present at the Battle of Waterloo, which had occurred four years earlier. As soon as the massacre became known to the public, the savage sobriquet 'Peterloo' was universally adopted.

**The August 16 massacre in Manchester was one outcome of an extraordinarily powerful and determined agitation for social and political justice in England which at times approached pre-revolutionary proportions. The primary social force behind this mass agitation was the new working class.**

This new class, the industrial proletariat, emerged from the industrial revolution, a transformation of economic and social relations that began towards the end of the 18th century, primarily in parts of north-west England. The cradle of this revolution was in fact south-east Lancashire, and Manchester in particular.

Here, technological innovations developed in the latter third of the 18th century, such as the steam engine, the power loom and the spinning jenny, were applied to the previously-dispersed, domestic-based cotton industry then existing. The 'putting-out' system, whereby spinners and weavers worked at home at more or less their own pace, was replaced by vast factories employing hundreds or thousands of workers.

The new machine industry was concentrated in these factories. Raw materials and fuel for the machines came from the coal and iron extraction industries then emerging in other parts of England and Scotland. Around the factories grew up large industrial towns such as Rochdale, Stockport, Oldham and Blackburn, as well as the world's first industrial city - Manchester.

The previously-existing social order broke up in Lancashire and other emergent industrial districts, and was replaced by a new one.

Ties of dependence descended from feudalism - a deferential hierarchy linking 'masters' and 'men'; the static, rigid order overseen by landlord and parson; all this was burst asunder and replaced by the cut-throat world of capitalist competition.

In these regions the whole pattern of life was revolutionised.

By 1800, of English cities, Manchester was second only to London in size.

Near to the centre of Manchester, in large opulent houses, lived the new rich - the capitalist factory owners. Surrounding the factories lived the workers and their families. Many of these workers were ruined hand-loom weavers or hand spinners forced to seek work in factory towns like Manchester, as competition from cheap, machine-produced goods forced them out of their traditional occupations.

Many capitalists made quick fortunes raising jerry-built, back-to-back slums to house the workers. Almost without exception these slums were overcrowded, damp, ill-lit, without sanitation, and without running water or gardens.

Many who sought employment were denied it by the frequent slumps that punctuated the evolution of capitalist industry. Those who did find work were faced with ruthless exploitation and appalling working conditions.

**Long hours - fourteen hours per day was quite usual - abysmally low wages, child labour and dangerous, unguarded machinery were the norm. Sexual abuse of women by foremen and capitalists was rampant. Immigrant workers, especially those from Ireland, fared particularly badly.**

The new working class was by no means a 'dormant, passive mass' in the face of these conditions of life and work. It hit back at its oppressors in an increasingly intelligent, organised and effective way.

Working class radicalism in England was on the rise when the French Revolution broke out in 1789. Jacobin democratic clubs sprang up across the country during the 1790s, inspired by the Revolution in France, and by widely-circulated books such as Tom Paine's 'The Rights of Man'.

**The Government's repression of domestic radicalism, which it combined with a reactionary war against the French republic, was strongly and widely opposed by workers.**

**The historian Edward Thompson, in his book 'The Making of the English Working Class' reveals how the English workers fought back during the period of the French wars, by organising unions and secret societies in defiance of the Combination Acts, and by burning mills and smashing the machines that threatened their livelihoods.**

By 1815 the revolutionary ferment brewing underground burst forth in the mass radicalism that was to come to a head in 1819.

**At this time Manchester and its surrounding area was, among governing circles, considered to be the most 'turbulent and seditious' in the country. The mass movement as a national force directed itself towards achieving first political rights, and secondly social and economic justice.**

Political rights included first and foremost a democratic, representative parliament, and it included the sweeping away of 'Old Corruption'. Under that system bribery and patronage of electors were rife.

Old Sarum, which had been the parliamentary seat of William Pitt the Elder, consisted of a few tufts of grass, while Manchester, with its population of 200,000, went unrepresented. Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, under which religious minorities - Jews, Roman Catholics and Non-Conformists in particular - faced discrimination in public life, was another major issue.

Repeal of the anti-trade union Combination Acts, and the monopolistic Corn Laws also were major focuses of organised agitation.

The ongoing economic struggle for improved wages, shorter hours and better working conditions was made more imperative by the acute distress of the post-war years in England.

Industry and trade slumped.

**Unemployment rose and was swelled by the return of demobilized troops from Continental Europe.**

Wages fell. Actual starvation faced many working-class communities.

Joseph Johnson, a shareholder in the Radical newspaper the 'Manchester Observer', wrote of conditions in Manchester in 1819, the year of Peterloo: 'Everything is almost at a standstill, nothing but ruin and starvation stare one in the face. The state of the district is truly dreadful.'

The Government in power at this time, that of the Tory Prime Minister Lord Liverpool, has been described as one of the most reactionary and repressive in British history. It represented the interests of no more than a narrow ruling class of big landowners, City financiers and merchants.

Liverpool and his closest advisors were firmly convinced that England was on the brink of revolution.

**The Home Secretary, Sidmouth, who had control of the police, militia and army units stationed in England, had organised an elaborate network of spies to disrupt the radical movement.**

Castlereigh, another of Liverpool's ministers, had been instrumental in the suppression of the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and the subsequent terror campaign and forced Union of Ireland with Britain.

**Control of Manchester itself was in the hands of the descendants of the same local landed clique that had ruled this once small market town in pre-industrial times. Landowners and clergymen dominated the local magistracy - this body was to have direct responsibility for instigating the Peterloo massacre.**

**A local levy of merchants, manufacturers, publicans and shopkeepers, all rabid enemies of the working-class radical movement, formed the backbone of the 'Manchester and Salford Yeomanry Cavalry' - the body that charged into the assembly at St Peter's Field.**

Although one of the powerhouses of the mass movement for radical reform was centered in the industrial districts of Lancashire, by 1819 a coordinated national effort was well under way, based on mass mobilisations in all the major cities.

1817 had witnessed a huge meeting of workers, mainly spinners and weavers, assembling on St Peter's Field to see off the famous 'March of the Blanketeers' from Manchester to London. The march sought redress of economic grievances.

1818 had been a year of mass strikes aimed at restoring falling wage levels. These strikes showed a great capacity by workers for discipline and organisation, with meetings, marches and pickets in Manchester and Stockport.

A new feature of these actions was the increasing participation of women workers. Union Societies were founded to develop basic education in the working class and to circulate the ideas of radicalism in an organised way. Women had their own separate Union Societies.

The workers' press advanced the ideas of radicalism with imagination and tenacity. The most widely-read newspapers among radicals and radical sympathisers were William Cobbett's 'Political Register', as well as 'The Black Dwarf'.

A typical issue of the Radical 'Manchester Observer', founded in 1818, included alongside a demand for the impeachment of Sidmouth, coverage of the republican revolution in Venezuela.

Mass meetings for parliamentary reform and for the repeal of the hated Corn Laws, which artificially inflated the price of bread, took place in Stockport and Manchester in the first half of 1819.

**By July thousands of workers had begun drilling on the moors and in the fields outside working-class districts in Lancashire. The same thing occurred in other parts of the country. In July as many as 2000 workers paraded in semi-military formation along the High Rd from Manchester to Rochdale.**

These preparations were primarily aimed at improving organisation for the planned August mass meeting at St Peter's Field, to which contingents from surrounding towns were to march. The planned assembly in Manchester was part of a broader national effort for July-August 1819, which organised large meetings in Birmingham, Leeds and London.

**The reactionary oligarchy controlling the city of Manchester made preparations in league with Sidmouth and the national Government for what amounted to the waging of civil war on the workers expected to pour into Manchester to demand reform of parliament.**

In July the magistracy formed an 'Armed Association for the Preservation of the Peace' and enrolled special constables.

**Military units in the S.E. Lancashire areas were mobilised as part of a national military alert. As soon as instructions came through, the yeomanry sent its sabres to be sharpened.**



On the final weekend before the rally at St Peter's Field the city magistracy sat in almost continuous session to discuss ways and means of dealing with the mobilisation.

In the weeks before the St Peter's Field meeting, which as everyone expected would be the largest meeting ever seen in England, Manchester's streets and buildings were covered with posters and placards, and thousands of leaflets and fliers were distributed.

The publicising and organisation of the assembly was a major achievement of communication and organisation. Assembly points were announced from which people in the towns and districts surrounding Manchester could gather and from there march in disciplined contingents to the rally.

August 16 in Lancashire was a lovely summer day with a cloudless sky and a hot sun shining. There was a confident, cheerful and festive atmosphere as the contingents gathered and prepared to march.

Bands played, and the beautiful banners, woven and embroidered with great care, were unfurled. Oldham's banner was of pure white silk, emblazoned with the inscriptions 'Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments - Election by Ballot', and 'No Combination Acts: Oldham Union'.

Saddleworth's was jet black, with the inscription 'Equal Representation or Death' in white over two joined hands and a heart. One of the banners carried by the Stockport contingent read 'Success to the Female Reformers of Stockport'. Many red caps of liberty were carried.

**When all the contingents had arrived and assembled in the centre of Manchester, something like 12 per cent of the population of the county of Lancashire, and over half that of its industrial South East were present. It was the largest assembly England had ever seen.**

**As soon as all the contingents had filled St Peter's Field, to the point where, according to a contemporary report, people were packed in so tightly that 'their hats seemed to touch', the area was ringed by 1,500 troops with cannon.**

No-one in the crowd, least of all the organisers, suspected that an attempt to physically disperse the meeting was planned. Meetings such as this, even if smaller and without the same evident discipline and organisation, had been held many times before up and down the country.

The ensuing massacre was completely unexpected and unprovoked, and met with little organised resistance.

The city magistrates had even gone to the lengths in their preparations for the massacre of employing scavengers to remove every stone, brick or possible missile from the Field and surrounding streets, so that the meeting's participants were thus left entirely without defence.

Barely had Hentry Hunt, the main featured speaker, begun to address the meeting when mounted troopers of the yeomanry charged the hustings to arrest him and others on the platform.

At first the crowd, which had not been aware of the presence of the troops, did not panic and Hunt shouted: 'Stand firm, my friends: there are only a few soldiers, and we are a host against them'.

But as the yeomanry, many of whom were drunk, charged with sabres drawn, slashing and cutting their way through the crowd and trampling and crushing many people, chaos and panic gripped the field.

**According to witnesses cited in Joyce Marlow's account 'The Peterloo Massacre', the yeomanry, having tasted blood, went berserk. They dragged the speakers and organisers from the hustings and would have killed Hunt had he not been quickly whisked away to jail. The yeomanry continued to slash and cut indiscriminately at men, women and children alike, while smashing wagons and platforms, and tearing the banners and the caps of liberty. The regular cavalry then moved onto the field to complete the work. Hundreds more people suffered serious injuries from the slashing sabres and flying hooves, or were smothered under piles of falling bodies.**

Ten minutes from the first charge it was all over. Samuel Bamford, the Lancashire poet, described the scene:

'...the field was an open and almost deserted space. The hustings remained, with a few broken and hewed flagstaves erect, and a torn and gashed banner or two drooping; whilst over the whole field were strewn the caps, bonnets, hats, shawls and shoes and other parts of male and female dress; trampled, torn and bloody. The yeomanry had dismounted - some were easing their horse's girths and some were wiping their sabres'

**Many more people were killed and maimed as the troops continued to 'disperse' the crowd through surrounding streets.**

That night one person was shot dead and several injured in clashes between soldiers and crowds of angry workers.

**The Government's attitude was made clear by its total endorsement of the massacre.**

The Prince Regent, then disporting himself on his yacht, made it known, through Sidmouth, what great satisfaction he had derived from the magistrate's 'prompt, decisive and efficient measure for the preservation of public tranquility'. Despite repeated and widely-voiced demands for one, there was never an official inquiry into the Peterloo Massacre.

**An immense wave of anger swept across England in the wake of the massacre.**

**The mass movement for reform was not appreciably set back by the Peterloo massacre. A huge crowd estimated by the conservative 'Times' at 300,000 lined the streets of London to greet Hunt after his release from jail.**

Meetings were spurred all over England by the events at St Peter's Field, especially in the North East counties, where over 50,000 miners marched into Newcastle from surrounding districts.

Loyalist forces in this area began arming, and the pitmen took up arms to defend themselves. In the months of October and November, according to Edward Thompson, workers across the country stocked pikes and other weapons to defend themselves and their meetings.

Drilling and armed demonstrations were reported in Newcastle, Wolverhampton, Wigan, Bolton and Blackburn.

Divisions within the Radical movement's leadership between constitutionalists and revolutionaries were not resolved, and this crisis of leadership, combined with renewed Government repression and an economic upturn brought this early phase of mass working class struggle to a close.

The events in Manchester on August 16, 1819 however, will remain forever inscribed in the collective memory of the international working class.

Shelley's poem 'The Masque of Anarchy' was written just after Peterloo, and its final stanza carries the fighting sentiments of thousands of workers:

**'Rise, like lions after slumber.  
In unvanquishable number!  
Shake your chains to earth like dew,  
Which in sleep had fallen on you!  
Ye are many- they are few!'**

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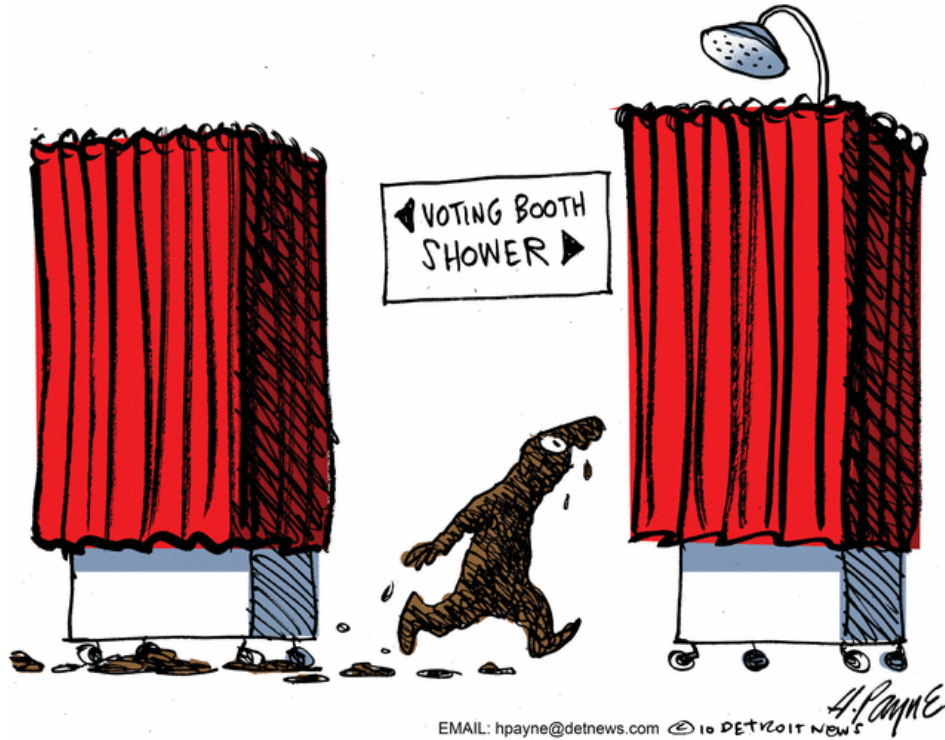
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## DANGER: POLITICIANS AT WORK



**POLITICIANS CAN'T BE COUNTED ON TO  
HALT THE BLOODSHED**

**THE TROOPS HAVE THE POWER TO STOP  
THE WARS**

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