

Bitter Lessons in Kurdistan

Lesson No. I: **HEver Trust the U.S.**

See page 3

Kurdish refugees from Iraq in a camp on the Turkish border.



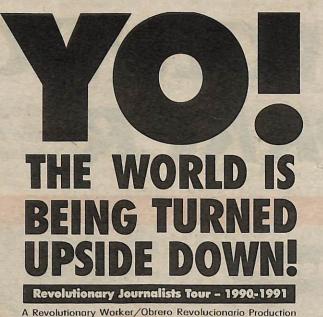
UH Students vs. Yellow Ribbon Republicans

Dear RW

The Vietnam syndrome Bush claims to have "kicked" once and for all is alive and well at the University of Houston. Since the early days of the Gulf War, organized reactionaries began tying yellow ribbons to trees at the Satellite Hill. But what these reactionaries didn't count on was no matter how many times they posted their yellow ribbons their cheap symbolism kept failing, and keeps failing. Ribbons have been ripped from trees and torn to shreds and thrown onto the desk of the College Republicans. Despite intense police surveillance, the ribbon-stealers made headline news in the Daily Cougar, the University newspaper. Then two members of the UH committee to promote the Yo! Tour smeared the ribbons with symbolic Iraqi "blood" during the lunch hour rush.

Appalled by the sight of the desecration of their symbol, the College Republicans were forced to rip their own ribbons from the trees. In revenge the College Republicans pressed charges against the two activists, Victoria and Roy, who were taken to the University jail where they were interrogated for three hours. Later "clean" ribbons went back up, and again they came down.

The Yo! Tour Committee challenged the College Republicans to a debate. Meanwhile, the battle leapt onto the pages of the letter section of the Daily Cougar. A female student wrote: "The College Republicans, for a while, cornered the market on dishing out one-sided propaganda that I was forced to look at daily as I walked to class. What Roy Casagranda and Victoria Bouroncle tried to give us was an objective viewpoint so necessary for an institute of higher education. So what happens to those that promote objectivity? They are arrested! For painting a few cheap strips of cloth! Give me a break! College Republicans might consider a name change that better describes their attitude-the College Fascists. Bravo to Casagranda and Bouroncle!" Another student suggested that the College Republicans "should hang their ribbons



FEATURED SPEAKERS:

Michael State-Just back from his second investigative trip to Azania (South Africa), Slate brings powerful messages from those who will ultimately decide the future of southern Africa: the new revolutionary generation of fearless "young comrades." Hear what the basic people are saying in the streets of black townships, in the intense meetings where revolutionary strategies are debated, in the often forgotten rural areas which are so important for a future revolutionary war to liberate Azania. Author of the forthcoming book War Stories.

Heriberto Ocasio—After beating Iraq, the rulers of the U.S. brag that no one can stand against them. They say their high-tech killing machine will save the haves from the have-nots in the New World Order. Heriberto Ocasio has a cold answer to that: Peru 1991! The people of Peru are winning a revolutionary armed struggle against a heavily armed government. They are fighting a people's war, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru (sometimes called Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path). If you want to understand how Maoism enables peasants to beat government troops on the battlefield—then come hear Heriberto Ocasio, the foremost expert in the U.S. on the people's war in Peru. He is deeply knowledgeable on the strategy, ideology, and development of this remarkable Maoist revolution. Ocasio is the national spokesperson for the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru. He is a veteran of the movement against the war in Viet-nam and the Puerto Rican revolutionary struggles led by the Young Lords in the '60s. In 1982 he traveled to Beirut and served as a medical volunteer in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila

Jack Gardener-No one concerned about the war in the Persian Gulf can afford to miss this talk. At a time when everyone is ordered to "celebrate" conquest and massacre, Gardener will cut through lies and hypocrisy to reveal what really happened in the Gulf and why. With firsthand knowledge, Gardener lays out how the mainstream media uses lies and censorship to cover for the U.S. war machine. After the U.S. invasion of Panama, Gardener traveled to Panama City and exposed hidden evidence of U.S. atrocities. Gardener has written extensively on Nicaragua and El Salvador. Based in Los Angeles, he has deep experience with the struggles of immigrants from Mexico and Central America.

Li Onesto- Onesto speaks on revolutionary journalism: What is it? What role does it play in changing the world? How can students get involved in this exciting work? Onesto speaks with ten years' experience as a writer for the Revolutionary Worker. In that time she has covered innumerable topics, with a special focus on women's liberation and the attacks on abortion rights in the U.S. She has written on many aspects of the Maoist Cultural Revolution in China, including the strides taken in women's liberation during this most radical social movement in human history.

Thursday, April 11

University of Houston Cougar Den, University Center, 7 PM

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Bats Hall, Room 7, 7 PM

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around something more personal-like their conservative necks."

One of the thousand students and faculty members who took leaflets that called for opposition to the celebration of this war of shame said, "This is Fascism. I wasn't actively opposing the war, but this is disgusting. The victory celebrations are ugly. There's nothing to celebrate." Pointing to a yellow ribbon on a car, another woman said, "I'd like to rip that thing off right now!" What this action on UH campus shows is

that the imperialist paper tiger can be burnt. This is a great situation for the Yo! Tour to go into. Let's turn the campus upside down! UH Yo! Tour Committee

Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian Chairman of the RCP,USA

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

1) The whole system we now live under is based on exploitation-here and all over the world. It is completely worthless and no basic change for the better can come about until

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

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

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

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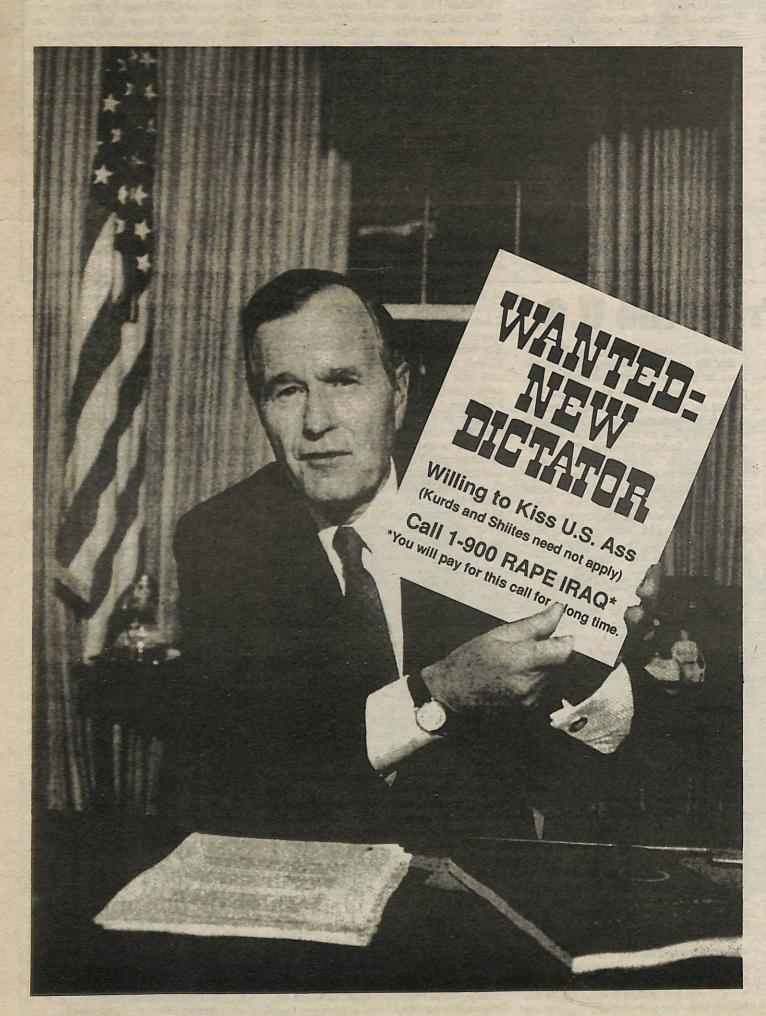
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Bitter Lessons in Kurdistan

Lesson No. I: Don't Ever Trust the U.S.

The bloody handprints of the United States are everywhere in Iraq. The U.S. government may have declared the war "over"—but millions of people in Iraq are still being cruelly victimized by the unjust war and backstabbing moves of the U.S. powers. And U.S. troops continue to occupy a large section of southern Iraq.



Turmoil in Kurdistan

In the northern mountain regions of Iraq, hundreds of thousands of Kurds are fleeing in panic to the borders of Turkey and Iran. The Kurds are an oppressed nation who live in areas of Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. In each of those countries they are looked down on and harshly repressed by the ruling reactionary government. The leaders of Kurdish resistance groups in Iraq had put their faith in George Bush's false promises of U.S. help if they rose up against Saddam Hussein. But once the Kurdish forces captured major cities in northern Iraq and possibilities of establishing political power arose, they were abandoned by the United States. The White House made clear that the U.S. would not stop Hussein from at-tacking the Kurds with helicopter gunships and heavy artillery.

Trying to escape from the attacks of Hussein's troops, Kurdish refugees are forming solid columns stretching for tens of miles. Some are able to pack themselves and their families into cars, trucks, tractors and mule-driven carts. Many others trudge on foot, with whatever possessions they manage to carry on their backs. Those who are barefoot, especially the children and the old folk, are getting severe frostbite going across the snow-covered mountains between Iraq and Turkey.

There are reports that Hussein's helicopter gunships are attacking the columns of refugees, including with phosphorous bombs. The media in the U.S. express hypocritical outrage. But it was only a few weeks ago that U.S. fighter-bombers attacked a seven-mile stretch of highway north from Kuwait City and massacred thousands of Iraqi soldiers who had jammed the road as they fled in panic. Where was the outrage then?

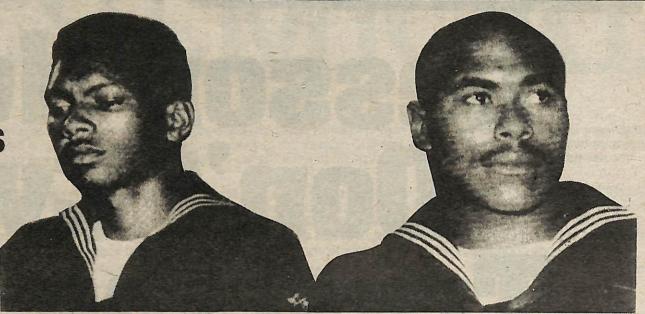
The Kurds who survive the ordeal and manage to reach the Turkish border are coming face-to-face with another threatthe Turkish government has closed the border. From time to time Turkish troops fire at the refugees to stop them from coming across the border. Again, the Western governments and media pretend they are shocked and outraged. But the Turkish regime is a member of NATO and firmly backed by the Western powers. The U.S. and other governments have never taken any measures against Turkey for its genocidal oppression of the Kurds in that country. The Turkish rulers do not even recognize the Kurds as a people and call them "mountain Turks." In southern Iraq, tens of thousands of Shiite refugees are also fleeing from the helicopter gunships and heavy artillery of Saddam Hussein's army. Like the Kurds, the Shiite leaders in this area of Iraq put their trust in Bush and hoped for U.S. backing. (They also received encouragement from the Shiite regime in Iran.) The Iraqi Shiite groups led rebellions against the Baghdad government but suffered heavy defeats when the U.S. backing they counted on never materialized. Now large groups of refugees are stuck in the barren desert.

Near-Apocalyptic Destruction from U.S. Bombs

And all over Iraq—from cities like Baghdad and Basra to the countryside—the people are suffering from devastation of the Continued on page 4

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Navy Charges **Black Sailors** with Mutiny



Abdul Shaheed and James Moss are two Black sailors who were aboard U.S.S. Ranger in the Persian Gulf when Bush ordered bombing of Iraq to begin on January 16. The Ranger was one of the main U.S. carriers in the war-planes taking off from its decks made many bombing runs against the people of Iraq. Moss had filed for conscientious objector status. Shaheed said that he "prayed for a peaceful solution to the war.'

On January 19 the Navy charged Shaheed and Moss with "urging disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty" for allegedly sabotaging the carrier's catapult launch system and engineering equipment and planning to kidnap the skipper. Shaheed (a.k.a. Kevin E. Brothers) is from Saint George, South Carolina and Moss is from Columbus, Ohio. Both are Muslims. The Navy claimed the two sailors were acting in support of Saddam Hussein's call to rise up against the United States. The two were immediately sent to the U.S. Navy base at Subic Bay in the Philippines. The Ranger is still in the Persian Gulf.

The U.S. Navy has completed an investigation, which was done on the carrier where there probably was heavy pressure on other sailors not to come to the defense of the accused. The Navy claims they found sufficient evidence to support their allegations, and a court-martial is scheduled for

May or June at Subic, where they will be isolated from other sailors on the Ranger and their family and friends in the United States. If convicted, the brothers face a maximum penalty of 10 years in jail, dishonorable discharge and forfeiture of pay.

A Navy officer admitted that "there was no overt act involved, no destruction of any equipment." The officer said, "Essentially they're being charged with making disloyal statements." The military is trying to rail-road the brothers for not being completely obedient killers for the U.S. war machine!

Shaheed and Moss spoke at an April 1 press conference at Subic Naval base and denied all the charges against them. The Stop the U.S. War Machine Action Network in Honolulu, Hawaii told the RW that they spoke with a contact from the Manila media who was at the press conference. Shaheed and Moss do not have civilian attorneys. The two sailors read written statements but could answer no questions. The contact felt that the Navy's story was full of holes-as far as he could tell, the charges against Shaheed and Moss were based on the accusations of another sailor on the Ranger who "had a dream that the ship was going to sink" and accused the two of planning sabotage.

In his prepared statement Shaheed said, "I am a victim of incredible exaggeration,

hysteria and paranoia.... I believe that all of this is happening to me simply because I am a Muslim." According to the Honolulu Action Network, their Filipino contact said he thought the Navy would deal with Moss especially severely because he had filed for CO. According to the War Resisters League, GIs who filed for CO are receiving harsher punishment for charges like AWOL and resisting orders than GIs who didn't file for CO.

The Ranger, which is homeported in San Diego, came in to Subic Bay around Christmas last year and stayed through New Year's Day. A resident of Olongapo, a base town near Subic, told the Action Network that the sailors from Ranger had "blown out" during their stay at Subicspending their time with heavy partying before going off to the Middle East. The Action Network's Filipino media contact said he thought the Ranger probably had a "rough ride" to the Persian Gulf-the morale of the crew was very low, and some became resisters. The carrier arrived in the Gulf just as the war was beginning.

There is a long history of resistance aboard the Ranger. In 1973, near the end of the Vietnam War, a sailor was charged with sabotage. A heavy wrench had been thrown into the engine. This was one of hundreds of acts of sabotage against the Ranger during the Vietnam War. When the sailor

was charged, other sailors stepped forward to claim responsibility. They did not deny that sabotage had taken place-they put the Vietnam War itself on trial. The sailor was acquitted.

Abdul Hakeem Shaheed, left, and James Moss

The U.S. rulers lie that there was little resistance in the military during this most recent war. But the truth is that there were thousands in the military who resisted in various ways. The government and the military are going after GI resisters. But the real criminals are the U.S. government and military that waged a genocidal war against the Iraqi people. The Ranger was one of the major bases for carrying out U.S. war crimes. The fighter-bombers of the Ranger were responsible for the atrocity on the highway from Kuwait to Iraq. The planes attacked a seven-mile column of defenseless Iraqi soldiers who were fleeing out of Kuwait City and massacred thousands.

The full story of what happened aboard the Ranger has not yet been uncovered. But the railroad of Shaheed and Moss must be stopped!

SUPPORT GI RESISTERS! DEFEND ABDUL SHAHEED AND JAMES MOSS!

Don't Ever Trust the

Continued from page 3

massive U.S. bombing campaign. Nobody knows how many Iraqis were killed by the U.S.—there are estimates of at least 100,000 to many more. A UN mission which visited Iraq after the temporary cease-fire reported that the war "wrought near-apocalyptic results upon the infrastructure" of the country.

People are facing starvation. According to the UN report: "All evidence indicates that flour is now at a critically low level, and that supplies of sugar, rice, tea, vegetable oil, powdered milk and pulses [legumes] are currently at critically low levels or have been exhausted." During the bombing campaign the U.S. destroyed Iraq's only powdered milk plant, claiming it was a factory making chemical weapons.

Kurds and Shiites. What they are afraid of is that the open backstabbing of the rebellions in Iraq will hurt overall U.S. imperialist interests in the Middle East and around the world. Some of them say that the U.S. military should have "finished the job" by driving to Baghdad and directly eliminating Saddam Hussein. They complain that Bush "wavered" and did not go 'all the way" to achieve U.S. goals.

But the real deal is that the U.S. backstabbing of the Kurdish and Shiite rebellions is a direct and logical extension of the unjust war the U.S. waged against Iraq. Both are based on the cold and cynical calculation of U.S. imperialism.

Bush's Cruel Calculations

at the table in Bush's New World Order. Hussein's use of his military to keep the Kurds and other domestic opposition down was perfectly alright with the big powers. But when Hussein turned his army on Kuwait and issued challenges against Is-rael, this threatened the U.S.-dominated setup in the region-and Bush moved to cut him down.

But from the start, the U.S. had no intention of thoroughly uprooting the reactionary order in Iraq and backing the liberation of the people. Their aim has been to force Saddam Hussein out and put in a different face in Baghdad-another lackey who would be more obedient. Why didn't the U.S. march into Baghdad to directly install a new regime? First, they were afraid that if the U.S. troops left the desert and moved into more populated areas they would face heavy resistance from the people. A Republican senator, who thinks the U.S. should have "gone all the way," said that Bush was "paranoid about getting sucked into another Vietnam." Second, the U.S. feared that a government openly installed by the U.S. would become an immediate target of people's hatred. Because of these fears the U.S. came up with double-dealing tactics in Iraq. On one hand Bush encouraged the Kurds and Shiites to rise up against the regime. CIA operatives gave them promises of U.S. backing and funded an opposition radio station. When the temporary cease-fire between the U.S. and Iraqi forces was reached, Gen. Schwarzkopf said that Iraqi military planes or helicopter gunships would be shot down if they flew. Bush and his gang figured that these uprisings and the destruction from the war would eventually move elements of the ruling Baathist Party and the military to throw Hussein out in a coup. But at the same time the U.S., other imperialist powers, and Arab regimes which joined the U.S. war do not want Iraq to break up into pieces. The Turkish rulers fear that a powerful Kurdish movement for self-determination in northern Iraq could spread over to the Kurds in eastern Turkey. Saudi Arabia and other Gulf oil states do not want to see the Shiites in southern Iraq

gain power, because that would increase the strength and influence of the Iranian regime. The U.S. powers share these worries. There may have been a secret pre-war agreement within the U.S. alliance that Iraq would be kept whole and not "frag-mented." When the Kurdish and Shiite rebellions seemed to be gaining initiative, the rug was pulled out from under them.

The harsh UN cease-fire terms imposed on Iraq are part of this double game in Iraq. Among other things the terms demand that Iraq allow the destruction of all its chemical and biological weapons and Scud missiles and pay billions of dollars in reparations to Kuwait. If Iraq carries out the demands, the embargo on oil exports and other economic sanctions will be lifted. The cease-fire terms say nothing about the Iraqi regime's treatment of Kurds and Shiites. The underlying message is clear: If the Iraqi rulers cooperate (including by eventually remov-

The UN report describes a dangerous situation with sanitation: "Iraqi rivers are heavily polluted with raw sewage, and water levels are unusually low. All sewage treatment and pumping plants have been brought to a virtual standstill by the lack of power supply and the lack of spare parts. Pools of sewage lie in the streets and villages. Health hazards will build in weeks to come." There is a real threat of epidemics of deadly diseases like typhoid and cholera. At the same time hospitals are facing severe shortages of medicine and staff. They are already swamped with more patients than they can handle and are turning away severely injured or sick people.

Cowardice and Betrayal

The U.S. war against Iraq was marked with viciousness and cowardice. They fought the way they like to fight-massacres from high in the air with high-tech weapons. Now the world is seeing the terrible results of cold-hearted U.S. betrayal of the Kurds and Shiites.

Some ruling class critics of Bush complain that the U.S. government is "throwing away the moral high ground it seized in the war with Iraq" by not backing the

Why did the U.S. make war on Saddam Hussein in the first place? Not because Hussein is a reactionary tyrant who exploits and oppresses the people. Not because Bush was on the side of the Iraqi people who have much just cause to rise up against the Hussein regime.

The U.S. imperialists keep a stinking stable of local dictators like Saddam Hussein all over the world to help run and protect their empire. Hussein himself received U.S. backing for many years. The U.S. supported Iraq's war on Iran in order to weaken the Islamic regime. The Western countries sent Iraq loads of armaments, including chemical weapons. When Hussein turned these weapons on the people, including the use of chemical bombs against the Kurds, the U.S. made no move to stop him. Hussein was a useful lackey, his criminal activity served bigger imperialist interests, and the U.S. propped him up. For the oppressed, this was what's wrong with Saddam Hussein.

From the point of the U.S. rulers, what was wrong with Hussein was that his ambitions for greater power in the region began to threaten U.S. interests. Hussein did not want to end imperialist domination of the Middle East-he just wanted a bigger place ing Saddam Hussein as the top leader), they will be welcomed back into the "international community" of oppressors.

U.S. War Crimes

There is a bitter lesson in the betrayal of the Kurdish and Shiite people in Iraq. Never, never rely on the U.S .- or any other imperialists and reactionaries-to help a real struggle for liberation and freedom from oppression. The U.S. rulers are nothing but global gangsters, and anybody who puts any trust in them will only end up with a bullet or knife in the back.

George Bush has tried to justify the U.S. moves in Iraq by saying that the U.S. was "not there to intervene." This is the com-mander-in-chief who is responsible for murderous bombing attacks on Iraqi cities, massive ground invasion of Iraqi territory, cowardly attacks on defenseless Iraqi conscripts and military occupation of southern Iraq! There was no justification for the U.S. war on Iraq, and there is no justification for the dirty-ass back-stabbing game that the U.S. is running now in Iraq. These are all major war crimes in the eyes of the people.

U.S. Troops Out of the Persian Gulf Now!

Harlem Hospital: Critical Condition

Any way you measure it, Black people are still catching hell in America, and equality is nowhere to be found. Racist attacks on Black people are mounting, from the streets to the campuses, and the situation of the masses of Black people is growing more and more desperate.

> from "Cold Truth, Liberating Truth: How This System Has Always Oppressed Black People, And How All Oppression Can Finally Be Ended"

In January the government put Harlem Hospital on notice: unless drastic changes took place the hospital would have its accreditation taken away, forcing it to close down. A report issued by the JCAHO (Joint Commission on Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations), an agency that in-spects hospitals for the federal government, pointed to many serious problems at the hospital, including a critical shortage of nurses; overcrowding, with many patients waiting for treatment having to stand for hours; a lack of beds; dangerous, flammable chemicals lying around; a shortage of working fire extinguishers and other conditions that make the risk of a fire very large; and garbage and dirt in operating rooms and other treatment areas. The hospital was given a deadline sometime during the late spring.

The terrible conditions at Harlem Hospital are the result of the criminal neglect by those in power in this society for the health of poor and oppressed people. Now these conditions are being used to threaten the *only* public hospital in all of Harlem!

A look at the situation at Harlem Hospital shows how systemic and deep-rooted the oppression of Black people and other people of color is in this society. It also exposes that the healthcare system itself mirrors the morality of this society overall: everything the powers promote and do is motivated by profit and greed. And Harlem Hospital is a concentrated example of the conditions in most city hospitals across the country.

According to federal government figures, 82 percent of the people in Harlem face a shortage of doctors and nurses. According to the *Village Voice*, Harlem Hospital serves 125,000 people. It is severely overcrowded—filled to more than 130 percent of its capacity. The obstetrical and neonatal units nearly doubled their admissions from 1984 to 1990 due to the growing number of premature infants.

The average income of Black people is just over half that of whites, while Black people are unemployed at a rate more than two times that for whites. Health care for Blacks is harder to get and of lower quality. Black people are hit harder by malnutrition and disease. Even AIDS hits Black people harder.

from "Cold Truth, Liberating Truth"

The crisis at Harlem Hospital is directly related to the growing poverty among the Black and Latino people who live in the community. In the past ten years the cost of living has risen dramatically. Unemployment has shot up, and the majority of Black youth are unable to find work. Many social service programs have been cut back.

A large percentage of the people in Harlem do not have access to a private or family doctor. In Central Harlem two-thirds of the mothers now receive Medicaid. Most of the rest do not have health insurance. Most private doctors are unable to see large numbers of Medicaid patients because Medicaid only pays doctors \$12 per visit. As a result, there are very few private physicians in the community, and people are forced to use community health centers, Harlem Hospital's outpatient clinics and, often, the emergency room at the hospital.

In the past ten years costs of health care have risen—and the Harlem Hospital's budget has not kept pace with these rising costs. The American Hospital Association says that nine out of ten hospitals lose money caring for Medicaid patients. Medicaid payments now only cover less then 78 percent of the costs of care, down from 90 percent in 1985. Budget cuts due to the economic crisis the powers are facing are cutting even more into the quality of care at the hospital. City, state and federal budget cuts are resulting in the firing of key employees, longer waits for care and even less adequate care.

The people in Harlem are living in worse conditions, and these conditions are directly affecting their health. Hundreds of children suffer from lead poisoning caused by lead paint in decaying apartment buildings. Serious, life-threatening diseases like TB are on the rise and reaching epidemic proportions. Some examples illustrate the overall trend:

- · Since 1984 the infant mortality rate in Harlem has risen 30 percent and is now more than three times the national average. Twenty-three out of every 100,000 babies die within the first year of their life. This rate is among the highest in the country and higher than in some Third World countries. Black children die in the first year after birth at a rate two times that for white children. Infant mortality is caused by low birth weight babies. Low birth weight can be caused by a number of factors, including lack of medical care during pregnancy, inadequate nutrition, stress, high blood pressure, infection, and drug and alcohol abuse. One physician at Harlem Hospital estimated that between 10 and 20 percent of the women who have their babies there never even see a doctor at all during their pregnancy.
- · There are an alarming number of TB cases in Harlem. TB is a disease which had pretty much been eliminated by controlling the conditions which make people susceptible to it. But in Harlem and communities like it those conditions are once again becoming common. They include poor nutrition, which results in a poorly functioning immune system, leaving people more susceptible to the disease; and overcrowding, which makes it easier for people to pass the disease on to each other (including the growing number of people who are homeless who sleep in shelters and families who are "doubled up" in one apartment because of outrageously high rents).
- Congenital syphilis is 30 times more common at Harlem Hospital than 10 years

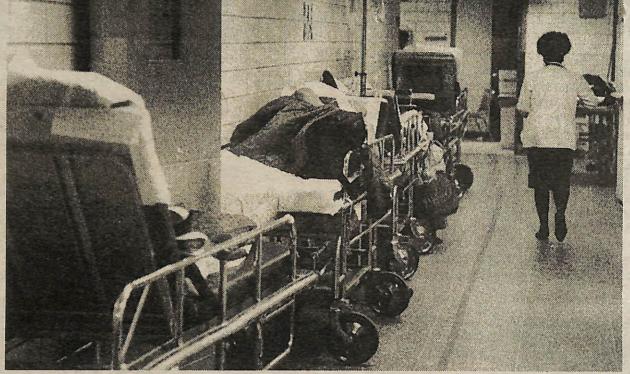
Patients being treated in the emergency room hallway due to overcrowding.

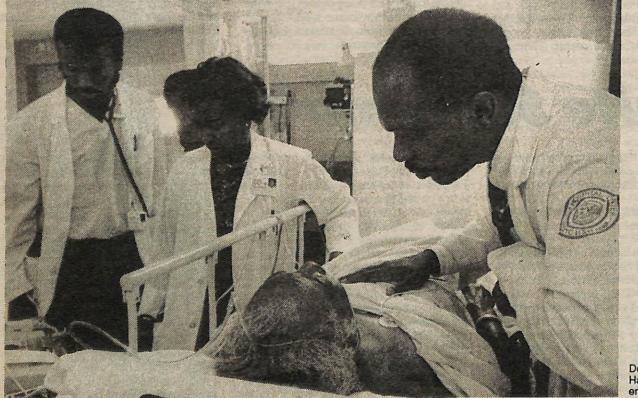
 City health officials estimate that between 170,000 and 226,800 city residents are infected with the AIDS virus. Harlem and the Bronx have the highest number of AIDS cases in the city.

ago.

The whole structure of the healthcare system works against the very people it is supposed to be "serving." Profit-seeking and corruption is widespread. This especially affects Black people:

- · Harlem Hospital had a budget this year of \$92 million. Of this \$42.5 million goes to Columbia University (Columbia is the teaching hospital affiliated with Harlem Hospital). Twenty-seven percent of the total budget goes to administration! It is common knowledge among people who work at or deal with the hospital that administration jobs are gotten based on who you know and what favors they owe you. One result of this is that the hospital has had four executive directors in the past year. One of the past executive directors was taken away from the hospital in handcuffs on corruption charges. One physician who works at the hospital told the RW: "There are too many administrators. What a hospital is supposed to do is take care of patients.'
- To this system money is worth more than the lives of the oppressed. One example: The New York City government refuses to fund mammograms among poor women and women of color. Mammograms are used to detect breast cancer. They find the cancer early and greatly increase women's chances of survival. The city considers it "cheaper" to let hundreds of women get breast cancer than to take steps to cure it early. So hundreds of poor women needlessly die.
- Harlem is located in a city which has six medical schools and 11 percent of all the medical students in the entire country.





But of the 7,859 residents in the city's hospitals, only 87 are in primary care or family practice. The rest are specialists who will treat those who can afford their services, which are mostly white people.

• While 52 cents of every tax dollar is spent on the military, only eight cents is spent on healthcare.

The powers cannot be allowed to close down Harlem Hospital. If they get away with this, there will be *no* healthcare at all for the thousands of Black people who live there. But it's also clear that the critical situation at Harlem Hospital comes from the nature of this whole rotten system which mistreats people as commodities to make profits off of then and dumps them when no longer needed.

(This article was based on information from "Cold Truth, Liberating Truth: How This System Has Always Oppressed Black People, And How All Oppression Can Finally Be Ended," published by the *RW*; a letter in the March 6, 1990 issue of New York *Newsday* written by Dr. David Bateman, Chief of Newborn Services at Harlem Hospital; and Marshall England, who is on the community board at Harlem Hospital.)

Doctors inside the Harlem Hospital emergency room.



The LAPD headquarters in downtown Los Angeles—the infamous "Glass House"—has been the scene of angry demonstrations ever since the videotaped police beating of Rodney King. The demonstrations have drawn many Black people, including middle class people who had never gone to demonstrations before, as well as youth and people of different nationalities, many from the anti-war and anti-intervention movements.

On Friday, March 29 Rev. Al Sharpton spoke at a rally of 400 on the steps of City Hall and led a march through the streets to the Glass House a block away. Youth pressed forward to the doors of the pig center/torture chamber, and chants went up: "Gates Must Go!", "Free L.A.!", "We Call Them Pigs!" Many protesters returned the next day for the weekly Saturday demo.

The RW talked to people at both the Friday and Saturday protests about the Rodney King beating and police brutality.



Two Black youth who were in the cops' faces at the Glass House

A: We have to fight them at their own game. B: No, *beat* them at their own game. Fuck the police. Fuck the police, comin' straight from the ghetto street soldiers—and you can print that.

Black man in his late 20s

I know that they was trying to get away from the pig reputation, but it's back again. I was speaking to that last night. It's funny, we was talking about now they back to pigs again. It went all the way around and back to pigs.

Black woman in her 30s and a Black man in his 40s

Man: My cousin, he was killed by the sheriffs last January. They said they was taking him to the County General Hospital, to get him medical help.... They didn't arrest him, they was taking him to the hospital, to get him some help. They got him up to the 13th floor where the jail ward is, and by the time they got him down to the operating room he was dead. His hands was all busted up, you know, like he was putting his hands up trying to defend himself. And they got away with it. And now they say this is an isolated incident.

I don't think [they can "clean up."] I think they have to clean up racism, and racism is based on white supremacy. Can you clean up white supremacy? You see, it's not just Gates. It's from the bottom to the top. It's not just the white officers, the Mexican officers, the Black officers, the Oriental officers. They all the same.

Woman: There's a sign that somebody's walking around with that has Daryl Gates on the front and on the back it's got a target. Now, when you look at the target, what does it have? It's got a white background with a black silhouette. So we wonder why cops shoot us in the back. They just enforcing what they've been taught, on the rifle range. That right there is racist. Why do they have to have a black silhouette?

Man: They want to make sure they hit their target.

Woman: That's what it is. That has a heavy

'em every day. In the streets, in the police station.

Woman: As far as I'm concerned, I think [the beating of Rodney King] was plotted, planned and executed. I think they said, "We're gonna go on a lynchin'," and that's what they did. And it was a "Welcome Home." It's a well-known fact that when the Black soldiers were coming back from World War 2, they lynched them in their uniforms. That's what they did to our brothers in World War 2. That just goes to show you what they think of us. We go over there and fight for them, but we can't fight for ourselves. We're gonna go over there in the name of the "land of the free and home of the brave"? We ain't free. And this is no land of the brave. Bunch of cowards.

Black man in his 30s

I know they're pigs. It's in their nature. It ain't unusual. It's been happening for 400 years, ever since they brung us to America, we've been getting beat down, have we not? It's been time to stop, and if it don't stop, this city is going to get tore down. That's for real.

I've lost respect towards the police department, for the fact of the matter that they beat me apprehending me—two Lynwood Sheriff's officers. They stated, "Nigger, we can kill you and dispose of your body and nobody will ever know." They beat me at will, handcuffed in the back seat of the car. This is on January 17. At will. This year, 1991.

Black homeless man in his 20s

When I seen it [videotape of King beating], man, I'm gonna tell you the truth, it's about time somebody caught on to the thing, because it's happened to me a few times. When I was arrested two weeks ago-I got arrested for walking down the street, me and my girlfriend were having an argument-and the police jumped out of the car and he hit me upside the head with his radio. And then, when I was on the ground, they kept kicking me in the back and kneeing me. Put my head on the ground. Then when I got to the police station, I seen the Sheriff's department take a dude out of the lineup, take him to a cell and just beat him up. The other day I was walking down the street, and this dude got arrested. The cop hit him with a forearm to the head, just because he wouldn't drop to his knees.

You ever been arrested? They'll hogtie you. You ever been hogtied? They'll do that in these jails up here. They hogtie you. They put your knees behind your back and leave you there. I don't think it's right. Why they gonna hogtie you? They scared of you?

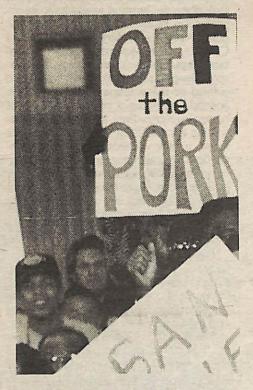
Young Asian woman involved in the anti-war movement

I'm concerned that it's tied up with this war that's *still* going on. It's male violence and patriarchy—the extreme of patriarchy. It's their yellow ribbons. It's the same thing that the military are doing over in Iraq right now, and elsewhere in the world like El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala and the southeast Asian countries.

Woman student and her mother

Daughter: I don't like the way the police have been treating people. I go to UC Santa Barbara, and they do the same thing to the students there. I've gone to a couple of clubs, and they've totally beat on students. After things were over and people were just standing around. The clubs that I go to, it's Black and white. They just got mad at everybody and started beating up everyone. So it's serious.

Mother: I've been here every Saturday since this thing has started. Something was stirred up inside me, and I was so outraged. I'm not an activist, but I feel so much like one. I'm a human being, and what I saw them do, I just couldn't tolerate it. I felt I had to do something. What I saw was just not right, and I feel like something had to be done.



Male graduate student active in a Black church

People had already been tired, but I think that for a number of reasons people have been moved to action. Part of it is because it's been validated that what we've been saying exists in our communities for so many years—has been validated by an actual image. People also have been moved to action because of the fact that now that the whole world knows, it shows that you're a coward if you're afraid to stand up.

One of the things which I think is most telling about this situation is that, true, maybe the City Charter says that they can't do anything [to fire Daryl Gates]. Even those dictatorships in Latin America have control over their police. I have a god brother and other friends who are in the Marine Corps. The first thing I thought about is that it could have been them, coming home. Perhaps just in a hurry to get to a celebration, and maybe going a few miles over the speed limit, and they get beat. The second thing is, in terms of the war, that I was born here, this home is where the

psychological message to it.

Man: This is nothing new. It's just that they got caught. They beat Black people, Mexicans, poor white people. They beat

Dept. of White Supremacy

The beating of Rodney King showed the whole world what the basic people in L.A. have always known—that the LAPD is racist through and through. More exposures about the L.A. white supremacist police department came out recently through testimony of members of the African American Peace Officers Association.

One woman cop said that she had a KKK calling card stuck under the windshield of her car, which was parked in a secure parking area at a police station. Clearly, the message was supposed to be that the KKK card came from a fellow cop. Since she is light-skinned, her friends advised her to "pass" and pretend she wasn't Black when she joined the police force. On her first day in a police car, her white partner didn't realize she was Black and called a person on the street a "tar buddy." He then spelled it out for her: "Tar buddy. You know, nigger." She said cops commonly used racist terms like "monkey hunt" and "Gorillas in the Mist."

Another Black cop said that LAPD cops in South Central, a neighborhood of Black and Latino people, openly displayed a South Africa medallion on a police car. The Black cop said he was disciplined for filing complaints about racial harassment.

The Daryl Gates supporters countered the exposures by trotting out the president of the house union for Black cops. This union has been a firm supporter of Gates. This certified tom told the *New York Times*: "Racism is not widespread throughout the department. However, I believe that there are individuals who have racist attitudes comparable to individuals in society as a whole." Number one—this is a lie, because the LAPD and other police departments are full of racists. Pigs—including the Black, Latino and Asian ones—are *trained* to look down on and abuse oppressed people. The police are a concentration of racism in society. Number two—a major role of the police in this society is to *enforce* national oppression and racism which are so essential for the powers-that-be.

The Black cops who came out with exposures of the LAPD were sickened by the undisguised racism in the department. But what did they think they were joining when they became cops?! Whatever their color, the cops are enforcers for the powers and their racist system.

The LAPD is taking steps to try to cover up some of their own dirt. A local TV news broadcast aired tape, which was made secretly, of a special police training session that happened just recently. The training officer warned that "paper trails" like the computer messages between police cars "are going to be scrutinized by people who are unfriendly to you." After the Rodney King beating, computer messages from the cops involved showed them typing things like, "I haven't beaten anybody this bad for a long time." The training officer sympathized with the cops on the beat but warned them to cool it a bit: "Just like I did when I got in the car in bad situations, and I'd type to a partner or a friend somewhere else, 'We kicked his ass and he deserved it.' That sounds real good to you and him, but it doesn't sound good out of context."

No matter how they try to cover it up, people know the truth: cops are pigs. \Box

the LAPD

hatred is. I was born in the '60s. I was born during the time when we didn't have the right to vote, where we couldn't live where we wanted to live. The war's right here, so I don't have to go anywhere else.

a denterner These standard

Woman in her late 40s

I've always been against human indignation. I used to work for the Coroner's Office, and they used to bring guys in there that were supposedly arrested by the police. Something happened to them and they died. There's been police brutality ever since I can remember. It's about time-we got something on tape now-it's about time they did something about it. There's been some times in the Coroner's Office when some of the guys have told me about the way that the police can get to a person, without any marks. They hit him somewhere in the stomach, and they can kill him, so nobody knows. You can't say any-thing. I think there's been a lot of police murders, but there's just nobody taking pictures of it.

The system is bad anyway, all the way from the top—the White House all the way around the world. South Africa, the same thing. It just really makes you so angry. And then to see the stupidity of them thinking that you're this darn stupid. Chief Gates is going to say this is an isolated incident. Give me more credit than that!

You know what used to worry me about my sons was not so much the gangs—I worry about that, too—but I worried more about the police. They could stop them for any reason, beat the hell out of them, and say, "He fell." There was one thing we heard on radio a long time ago. This guy was killed, and the Coroner's Office said he was shot in the back. So their excuse was, "Well, some of these gangs wear their Tshirts backwards." There has to be an end to it. We're very, very tired.

Young woman with a vicious cold

I'm out here and I should be in bed. Daryl Gates is in office and he should be out. So he won't get out of office—I can't stay in bed. I'm more fearing for my boyfriend and my father. They go out in the streets at night... I'm the only one in my office who was against the war, and of course they thought I was a traitor to my people, or un-American or something. Yeah, I am un-American. I'm an African, and I'll stay African until people like Rodney King don't get killed.

Older Black man

Q.: Was the Rodney King beating "unusual"?

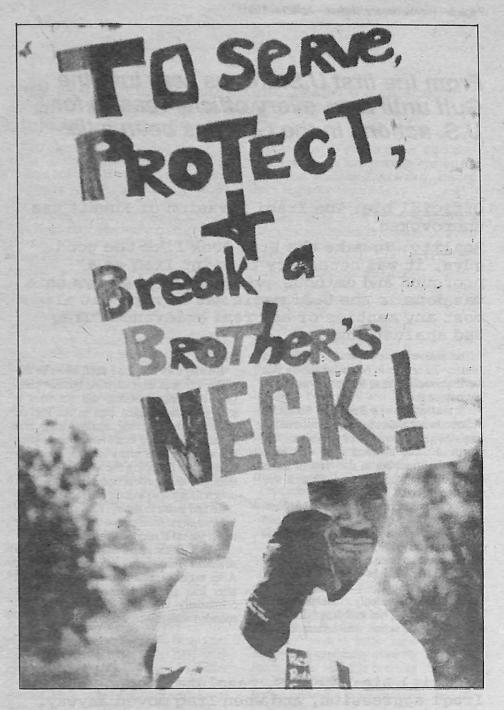
A: No. I know. Gates battering-rammed my apartment house. He came out himself and watched the battering ram tear it up. They didn't find anything—looking for drugs. The State Supreme Court found it unconstitutional and they threw it out of court. This happened in 1985.

Q: Is is just L.A.?

A: Shit, it's not here. It's all over the country. It's all over the country.

Q: Whey are the pigs so chickenshit? Why 20 to 1?

A: Why do you think? They're racists, for one thing. The people are a majority. You understand me? And the only way he can control the majority is to use physical violence against the majority.



LAPD Is Still Beating on Rodney King

The LAPD is still attacking Rodney Glen King. They have been telling more lies about him, and they may be trying to frame him and send him to prison.

The lies began March 3—the night Rodney King was beaten nearly to death by over 20 cops. The California Highway Patrol (CHP) claimed that the Hyundai he was driving was going 115. But recently released audio tapes of CHP communications the night of March 3 only contain the allegation that he did 60 on a surface street.

The pigs who tried to kill Rodney with their clubs charged him with "battery on an officer" and "resisting arrest." They claimed he was "high on PCP" and tried to fight them. But a dozen witnesses at the scene of the beating say that the police set upon Rodney the moment he got out of the car. And the doctor that examined him that night found him "very cooperative" and said firmly that there was "no clinical evidence" he was drunk or on drugs.

But three weeks after the beating, the

LAPD said they did some tests and supposedly found that King's blood alcohol level was over the legal limit of .08 percent when he was stopped. They claimed that this was evidence that King was untruthful when he said he only had one beer. This is just a smokescreen. Rodney was not beaten because of his blood alcohol level. He was almost killed because he was Black and was caught by racist white cops.

Gestapo Chief Daryl Gates and the media have played up Rodney's one conviction. He did a year in prison for taking \$200 from a convenience store when he was unemployed and desperate. He got out last December and has been working since, and he lives with his wife and two children. But Gates has continued to call him a "parolee" and paint him as a "criminal." When Gates supposedly "apologized" about the behavior of the cops caught on videotape, he said he hoped that the beating would "turn around" King's life. Even when he is trying to put up a front to try to fool people, he can't help but come out with racist, reactionary words!

The attacks on Rodney King took a new leap the week of March 25 when the LAPD announced they were "gathering evidence" to accuse him of an armed robbery in February. The California attorney general's office is taking up the investigation.

Rodney's aunt angrily denounced these allegations as more lies. She said that King was at work when the alleged robbery took place. A reporter from the local CBS radio station did his own investigation of the LAPD allegations. In just 20 minutes, he confirmed that Rodney was at work at the time of the alleged robbery. He was working for a construction subcontractor at Dodger Stadium.

The LAPD was caught in the latest of its many lies. But even if Rodney King had committed a robbery, what justification does it give the pigs to beat him? Absolutely none!

A protester who was at the March 29

demo at the LAPD headquarters said: "If they hadn't got caught with that film, Rodney King would be on his way to the penitentiary. They would have violated his parole, and say he 'assaulted some officers.' What they're appealing to is the masses of whites, cause if they can throw that doubt in, like he might have robbed somebody, then the masses of ordinary whites will say, 'Hey, he deserved what he got.' I don't care how bad the police beat him. That's what the media's gonna focus on."

The real criminals are those at the top who hold power in this country and their pig enforcers. The LAPD is trying to frame Rodney King and get him back in their clutches. They're still attacking him in their cowardly way. They must not be allowed to carry out some sort of sneaking revenge on Rodney King.



From the first U.S. troops sent into the Gulf until now, every official reason for U.S. actions in the Gulf has been a lie.

Official Lie: The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was unprovoked.

<u>Reality</u>: To make the U.S. look like the good guys, it was necessary to paint Iraq as a profound and ominous evil. One of the ways this was done in the U.S. media was to wipe out almost any mention of any real grievances *Iraq* had against Kuwait.

The following few paragraphs from a January 20 article in *Newsday* shows that the mainstream press knew the truth but suppressed it.

"President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker have often referred to Iraq's August 2 invasion of Kuwait as 'unprovoked." The invasion may well have been unjustified, but in the view of some administration Middle East analysts it was not unprovoked.

"For months prior to the invasion, Hussein and top Iraqi officials had publicly and privately complained to Kuwait that it was cheating on its OPEC oil quota, and therefore driving the price down as Iraq, deeply indebted after an eight-year war with Iran, was trying to rebuild.

"Hussein repeatedly charged that Kuwait's cheating had cost Iraq billions of dollars and the action was tantamount to war."

Kuwait and Iraq had been allies in the eight-year war against Iran, because they (like the United States) did not want a strong fundamentalist Iran in the region. Iraq did the fighting against Iran, and Kuwait bankrolled much of the cost. After the war, Iraq was many billions in debt to Kuwait. By dropping the world price of oil through over-production, Kuwait was undercutting Iraq's ability to repay.

To add insult to injury, Kuwait was *drilling into an oil field claimed by Iraq* in order to get the oil it needed to cut world prices.

This means Kuwait was trying to dominate Iraq, using economic warfare. After major negotiations got nowhere, and after Iraq protested loudly to the world community including the U.S., Iraq responded with military means.

Official Lie: The U.S. resolutely opposed Iraqi aggression, and when Iraq moved anyway, the U.S. had to act to protect its Kuwaiti ally.

<u>Reality</u>: On July 25, as Iraq was preparing to invade Kuwait, April Glaspie, U.S. ambassador to Iraq, met with Saddam Hussein. Transcripts released by Iraq show that Glaspie told Hussein, ''We have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait.'' When the transcripts were released by Iraq, the U.S. government did not deny them and even said they were ''essentially accurate.''

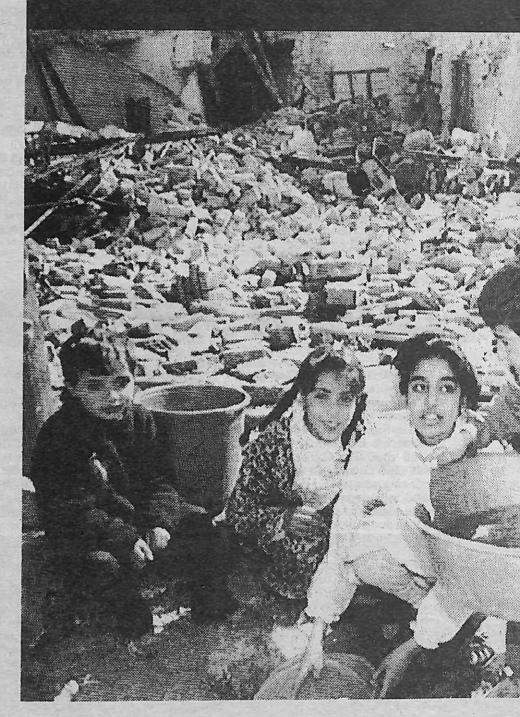
Many people believe this was a deliberate setup. The U.S. would appear disinterested in an Iraqi threat to invade Kuwait to get an excuse to set up a U.S. military presence in the area. But whatever the reasons—the facts show the U.S. gave Iraq a green light to invade.

These facts never reached the masses of people in the U.S.: In one poll, people were asked what the State Department had done in July 1990, when Iraq indicated they might use force against Kuwait 74 percent answered that the United States had threatened sanctions, 65 percent said the administration pledged to support Kuwait with the use of force, and only 13 percent gave the correct answer: that the United States had informed Hussein that it would take no actions.

This was enforced from above. During the war, U.S. press rarely mentioned these facts. The U.S. State Department helped keep the lid on this by forbidding Glaspie from speaking in public.

After the ground war, April Glaspie was given national attention when she reversed the government's previous statements and claimed that the transcripts were Iraqi disinformation.

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Official Lie: The U.S. had to send troops to the Gulf-because Iraq was moving its troops toward the Saudi border and preparing to invade the oil-rich eastern provinces of Saudi Arabia.

<u>Reality</u>: Evidence suggests that the Iraqis did not move their troops to that border until *after* U.S. troops started pouring into eastern Saudi Arabia.

Throughout the U.S. buildup in the fall of 1990, top U.S. officials said that this was "Desert Shield" a defensive operation to protect an ally, Saudi Arabia, from almost certain aggression. On September 11, 1990, George Bush told Congress that within three days of the August 2 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait "120,000 Iraqi troops with 850 tanks had poured into Kuwait and moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia. It was then I decided to check that aggression." On December 10 Defense Secretary Cheney said that had Bush not "moved aggressively as he did last August...Saddam Hussein would control not only Kuwait, but also my own firm conviction is, he'd also control the eastern province of Saudi Arabia." (Newsday, 1/20/91)

Evidence suggests that this is a complete fabrication and that the warmakers knew it was a fabrication.

On January 6 a reporter, Jean Heller, documented in the *St. Petersburg Times* of Florida that Soviet satellite photos of Kuwait taken the same day as Bush's speech to Congress showed no sign of a massive Iraqi troop buildup in Kuwait. This evidence had also been available to major U.S. TV networks who refused to report it.

Other evidence leaked out in *Newsday* (January 20) where reporter Knut Royce wrote: "'The CIA analyses, right at the early part of this thing, said that Iraq didn't intend to invade Saudi Arabia,' said an administration official familiar with the intelligence flow from the region." Official Lie: The United States decided to go to war after it had the backing of the world community, and after Saddam Hussein refused to listen to reason. In particular the U.S. claimed that the bombing of Iraq began because Iraq did not meet a UN security council deadline of January 15. The UN vote was taken at the end of November.

<u>Reality</u>: The White House and the Pentagon reached their war plans in secret in October-one month before the UN resolution.

On March 3, 1991 the New York Times finally revealed that all the diplomatic maneuvers and deadlines of December and January had really been smokescreens. The U.S. made its war plans early in the fall and had kept to their timetable. The Times wrote:

"According to a reconstruction of major internal deliberations and decisions by President Bush and his senior advisers during the seven-month Persian Gulf crisis, offensive military planning began in earnest in September, and on October 30, a week before Congressional elections, the President secretly approved a timetable for launching an air war against Iraq in mid January and a large-scale ground offensive in February that would strike deep into Iraqi territory to outflank and encircle President Saddam Hussein's Army....The only element of the plan made public was the announcement by Mr. Bush on Nov. 8 two days after the election that he had ordered a major reinforcement of American forces in the Persian Gulf to give them an offensive capability. That critical decision increased American troops from 130,000 to more than 500,000 and gave the allies the

n the mation OF LIES



Irani children collecting water because LLS, homes destroyed Baghdad's water and sewer system.

they saw anything that might lead to a peaceful Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait as ''the nightmare scenario.''

Iraqi offers were blacked out in the U.S. media—or denounced (in Bush's words) as "a cruel hoax." However, the heads of the U.S. media were well aware that it was the United States, not Iraq, that was rejecting negotiations. As early as August 22, New York Times chief diplomatic correspondent Thomas Friedman pointed out that the White House rejected "a diplomatic track" because it was afraid that negotiations might "defuse the crisis" at the cost of "a few token gains in Kuwait" for the Iraqis, like "a Kuwaiti island or minor border adjustments."

From the beginning, Iraq offered a basic compromise settlement that would resolve the key disputes: they would withdraw from Kuwait if they could be promised that Kuwait would no longer steal their oil from the Rumailah oil field, and if Iraq could be given one of the uninhabited gulf islands between Iraq and Kuwait—so that the country would no longer be landlocked.

These offers were made directly by Iraq, and they were also made through intermediaries like Algeria. Sometimes they included other suggestions—like the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the region and an international conference on other unresolved regional issues like the Palestinian question. But the basic underlying offer was always clear.

These offers started ten days after the invasion of Kuwait, on August 12. Iraq proposed a settlement that linked its withdrawal from Kuwait with withdrawal from other occupied lands: Syria and Israel from Lebanon and Israel from the 1967 territories. Two weeks later a second Iraqi offer was delivered to Brent Scowcroft on August 23. It called for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait in return for the lifting of sanctions, full Iraqi control of the Rumailah oil field (which extends two miles into disputed Kuwaiti territory), and guaranteed Iraqi access to the Gulf which involved the status of two uninhabited islands that had originally been assigned by Britain to Kuwait in the imperialist settlement that left Iraq virtually landlocked. There was no mention of U.S. troop withdrawal or other preconditions. Professor Chomsky of MIT says that the New York Times learned of this offer but suppressed the news.

Such offers were made repeatedly in the next months, including an important one on January 2-well before the famous "deadline" in the sand. U.S. officials later disclosed an Iraqi offer "to withdraw from Kuwait if the United States pledges not to attack as soldiers are pulled out, if foreign troops leave the region and if there is agreement on the Palestinian problem and on the banning of all weapons of mass destruction in the region." (Knut Royce, Newsday January 3) The same day, Arafat made it clear that neither he nor Saddam Hussein "insisted that the Palestinian problem be solved before Iraqi troops get out of Kuwait." (New York Times, January 3) This

was a signal to everyone that the Palestinian part of the Iraqi proposal was just for show and would be immediately dropped once negotiations started.

U.S. officials later said the proposal was a major change in Iraq's position because it dropped any claims to the islands in the Gulf and the Rumailah oil field. According to Knud Royce of *Newsday*, the U.S. "immediately dismissed the proposal." Neither the *New York Times* nor most other major news sources ever mentioned the details of this offer.

The media did quote a classic Bush lie everywhere when on January 4 he said he was "going that extra mile to achieve a peaceful solution."

And all during this period the press was repeating the official line that Hussein was refusing to back down because he was a madman. *Time* magazine said, for example, at the start of the war, "There is in Baghdad the feeling of a huge new Jonestown, with another demented preacher leading his flock to death."

Meanwhile, as the bombing intensified, Iraq was actually starting to offer to withdraw if only the U.S. would agree not to kill their retreating soldiers. There was no longer even a mention of the Palestinian question. Just a request for a cease-fire.

The U.S. response to this was that a request for a cease-fire in order to withdraw was a request for "preconditions." And they were demanding an "unconditional" withdrawal. It is, however, impossible to withdraw from a battle zone without a cease-fire—especially when the largest air force in the world is bombing the entire front. When the Soviets tried to negotiate such a cease-fire and withdrawal, the U.S. again refused.

All through this period the official U.S. media put forward the official U.S. line that any peace proposal was a hoax and a danger to U.S. interests. On February 21 PBS's McNeil-Lehrer News Hour called the Soviet peace proposal a "tragedy." NBC's Tom Brokaw called the proposals "a nightmare" and the "worst possible scenario." CNN's Wolf Blitzer called rumors of peace "a false alarm." Then, after Blitzer announced the start of "the long- awaited ground war," his CNN coreporter Jeanni Moss chimed in that this made any efforts for a peace plan "pointless."

The U.S. rejected *any* negotiations for six months. They denounced any peace proposals. They insulted any third parties like Algeria and the Soviet Union that tried to broker a peace.

And when, finally, the Iraqis started to withdraw without a negotiated cease-fire, U.S. ground and air forces systematically mowed them down in one of the most brutal wartime massacres ever. On the highway leading out of Kuwait City thousands of defenseless Iraqi soldiers and civilians were systematically killed from the air.

troop strength for the decisive flanking action carried out in February in the Iraqi desert."

In other words, the decision to go to war and virtually all important details of the war —the date for the start of the bombing of Iraq, the ground invasion, and even the tactical move of outflanking the Iraqis to the west—were decided practically at the beginning.

This shows several important truths: First, that the important decisions of the U.S. empire are made in secret, by the inner circles of the powerful. Elections have nothing to do with crucial decisions. The *RW* pointed out that in the month before the elections there was a deliberate attempt to downplay the Gulf crisis—to make sure that it was not a big issue in the elections. Second, it shows that the UN decision to give Saddam Hussein a deadline was just a cover for a bombing decision that the U.S. president had already made. Third, it reveals how the masses of people are deliberately kept in the dark—while they are offered a fairy-tale story about "going the last mile for peace." And it reveals what a crucial role the official media plays in both the blackout and the lies. The *Times*, for example, did not reveal their "reconstruction of major internal deliberations and decisions by President Bush and his senior advisers" until after Iraq had been defeated—when revealing this deceit would no longer have an explosive political impact.

Official Lie: The United States tried every means to reach a peaceful settlement. <u>Reality</u>: Iraq constantly offered compromises for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The U.S. refused any negotiations. It wanted war -and a chance to crush the Iraqi military. And Official Lie: President Bush said, ''America stands where it always has, against aggression, against those who would use force to replace the rule of law.''

<u>Reality</u>: When you look at the facts, it is clear that this was a naked imperialist power grab. Everything else is a lie.

It is also true that almost *nobody* in the media really believes the lie.

• On August 20, 1990, right as the confrontation started, *Time* magazine quoted a top Bush adviser saying: "Even a dolt understands the principle. We need the oil. It's nice to talk about standing up for freedom, but Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are not exactly democracies, and if their principal export were oranges, a midlevel State Department official would have issued a statement and we would have closed Washington down for August."

• On September 9 the financial editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, William Neikirk, wrote that the U.S. must use its "virtual monopoly in the security market...as a lever to gain funds and economic concessions" from Germany and Japan.

• On September 16 the editor of the London Sunday Telegraph wrote that the key challenge of the New World Order is "to help build and sustain a world order stable enough to allow the advanced economies of the world to function without constant interruption and threat from the Third World" —a task, he said, that would require "instant intervention from the advanced nations."

• On Jan. 13, right before the bombing started, a *Boston Globe* reporter wrote: "Perhaps most troublesome for Bush in his efforts to create a 'new world order," is the fact that "a surprising number of Europeans believe that the United States is in the Gulf not to free Kuwait or punish Saddam Hussein but to bolster its own influence and power."

Excerpts from A World To Win People's War in Peru: Fighting Our Way

The U.S. war against Iraq showed how the imperialists fight their way-massive bombing of civilian areas from high in the sky, massacring of defenseless and fleeing troops, use of napalm and fuel-air bombs. It was an unjust war fought for an unjust cause.

In Peru, the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) is showing how those on the bottom who have nothing to lose but their chains fight our way. This is a revolutionary war that relies on the strength of the oppressed masses and is being waged in the interests of the people.

The revolution in Peru faces a brutal enemy-the reactionary government of Peru which is backed up by the imperialist powers, especially the United States. But the people's war is making great advances and is inflicting important defeats on the government and its military. They have set up revolutionary political power in areas of the countryside that include a third of Peru's total population. The People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) carries out actions in every part of Peru, in the countryside and the cities. The PGA is on the threshold of a whole new level of fighting. They are shifting from waging mainly guerrilla warfare to waging mobile warfare-which means greater concentration and mobility of revolutionary troops and striving to seize heavier armaments, in order to attack columns of enemy forces and even wellfortified bases in large-scale battles. Now the PCP has issued the call to organize and prepare for the seizure of power countrywide, "in the service of world revolution."

Faced with the possibility of revolutionary victory in Peru, the U.S. is stepping up intervention in that country under the cover of their phony "war on drugs." The Com-mittee to Support the Revolution in Peru has initiated a year-long campaign to oppose the U.S. government's intervention in Peru and build political support for the people's war. The Committee is uniting with the slogans of an international campaign being called for by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement: "Yankee Go Home" and "1991-Year of International Solidarity With the People's War in Peru."

The following is an excerpt from the article "Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru," which has been prepared for publication in the revolutionary internationalist journal A World To Win. The article has been made available to the RW by the editors of AWTW. See RW #588 and #586 for more excerpts from this article.

departments. In the city of Cuzco, not previously notable for guerrilla activity, 10 soldiers were killed in an August 1990 ambush. The war has also developed in the northern departments, including the coastal cities as well as the northern highland regions where the PCP has also led largescale armed land seizures.

In the latter part of the decade the people's war began breaking through in the centre region, vital to Peru's economy because of its mining and large-scale commercial farming. The PGA has repeatedly sabotaged these facilities. In November 1989 it led powerful armed shutdowns with especially strong mass participation in Junín and Pasco. The people's war is also advancing up the river valleys leading from the coast into the mountains in the midnorth and mid-south regions. This has led to important work in coastal cities and an increasingly tight encirclement of Lima itself.

The Huallaga river valley is a key region. It has been chosen by the World Bank and other international imperialist agencies as a potential focus for major investment and development. It has witnessed a powerful upsurge in people's war since the middle of the 1980s. Although U.S. advisers, mercenaries and other forces have been involved in the war since its beginning in Ayacucho, it is in the Upper Huallaga where the Peruvian revolution and the U.S. have most come face to face.

Two spectacular battles in the Upper Huallaga Valley herald the changes occurring in the war on both sides.

This region is sometimes called the "eyebrow of the jungle" because here the fringes of the jungle climb the eastern foothills of the Andes. Due to the success of guerrilla ambushes against troop convoys in the last several years, the reactionary Armed Forces in this region seldom travel overland, but instead are dug into sandbagged "anti-subversive warfare" bases from which they launch land and air attacks.

In July 1989, "hundreds of guerrillas," according to press reports, surrounded and completely destroyed the Madre Mia Armed Forces base, the main reactionary bastion in that part of the department of Huanuco, which included a well-known concentration camp and torture, centre. Hundreds of peasants had been brought there, to emerge once again only as corpses or to "disappear." In a four-hour battle, half of the 150 soldiers stationed there fled, while most of the rest became casualties. This was an unprecedented blow. The PGA was able to confiscate a large amount of weapons and ammunition, making good on their policy of making the enemy serve as the main source of the revolution's armament. The Armed Forces took their revenge by murdering over 1500 peasants in the area in the following/months.

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April 1990 saw the attack on the U.S.commanded counter-revolutionary warfare base at Santa Lucía, in the heart of the Huallaga river valley.

The base was opened in February 1990, staffed by about 30 American military ad-visers and "civilian" helicopter pilots and mechanics under contract to the U.S. government, with 500 Peruvian troops at their disposal. A New York Times reporter wrote that it reminded him of U.S. firebases in Vietnam, its "perimeter bolstered by watchtowers, pillboxes, mine fields, barbed wire and waist-high piles of black plastic sandbags...safely accessible only by military air transport." Units of the People's Guerrilla Army surrounded the base and poured in automatic rifle fire and rifle-propelled grenades for several hours, damaging seven helicopters. This was the first large-scale combat directly opposing U.S. forces and the People's Guerrilla Army. It is not likely to be the last. In addition to reinforcing Santa Lucía after this attack, the U.S. began negotiations with the Peruvian government to open other bases in the region.... In all, the People's Guerrilla Army car-

ried out about 35,000 armed actions during the first six years of the people's war, over twice that many actions during the two and a half year period from December 1986 to May 1989, and 23,000 actions during the last four months of 1989 alone. These actions peaked during the Party's boycott of the November 1989 and May 1990 elections-and mounted once again in September and October 1990, alongside the mass upsurge that exploded in reaction to the measures taken by the new president.

Along with ambushes and assaults on the Armed Forces in most of the country, including Lima itself, the People's Guerrilla Army also carries out sabotage with the aim of damaging the economy that finances the



Foreign-owned Bayer chemical plant in flames near Lima.



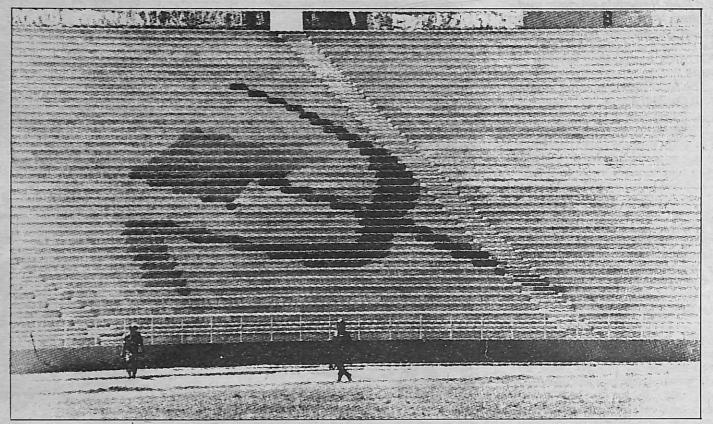
The people's war first arose in 1980 in the south-central Andes, in the department of Ayacucho and neighboring Huancavélica and Apurímac. Now there are extensive zones in these dry, cold and sparsely vegetated mountains where the Army rarely penetrates. In 1989 and again in mid-1990, the People's Guerrilla Army un-leashed a spectacular series of engagements that destroyed many rondero gangs there. The U.S. is reportedly planning to establish a firebase between the rivers Ene and Tambo, from which attacks can be launched directly against the area which continues to be a main battleground of the revolution.

In 1986, the revolution took a spectacular leap to Puno, a high plateau in southern Peru. Land invasions there involved tens of thousands of peasants. In this region the People's Guerrilla Army has several times taken over cities (including Azangaro, a provincial capital) and held mass meetings. In September 1990, the PGA wiped out a column of the elite anti-guerrilla Grude police sent in to mount an offensive against them. The commander and three sergeants were killed in a sevenhour fire-fight. Armed propaganda has been carried out in the adjoining southern

Guerrilla fighters of the Communist Party of Peru.

AYACUCHO: GIERRA DE GUERRA AS

counter-revolutionary war and undermining specific government projects. For instance, the state-owned mining industry in the centre of the country, upon which the government depends for much of its legal foreign exchange earnings, has been repeatedly attacked, and train lines that carry minerals to foreign buyers have been cut. Foreign-owned enterprises such as the giant Bayer chemical plant and domestic monopolies such as the Hogar department stores in Lima have been burned down. Explosions and sabotage of electrical pylons and powerlines they carry have completely blacked out whole cities and regions innumerable times, to the delight of the revolutionary masses and the consternation of the impotent government, which reveals still more its class nature as it scrambles to restore electricity to banks and industry while leaving the people in darkness. Tourist installations, such as the government-owned hotel at Machu Picchu, are sabotaged to wreck the tourist industry,



Graffiti on the stadium in Lima.



though it is not Party policy to destroy the ruins that represent the people's history or attack foreign tourists.

One of the first acts of the people's war was to hang a dead dog in front of the Chinese embassy in Lima, with a sign around its neck that read "Deng Hsiao ping." Since then the PCP has continued to publicise its foreign policy with quite a few attacks on various embassies-the Indian embassy, for instance, in solidarity with the Indian revolutionary movement, and the Israeli embassy. In October 1989, car-bombs went off in front of the U.S. consulate, and also the Soviet and Chinese embassies, to dramatise the PCP's opposition to what it calls "the world-wide revisionist offensive headed by Gorbachev and Deng" and the Peruvian revolution's stand with the Chinese people who rose up against the Deng regime. There has been the selective annihilation of well-known enemies of the people (Armed Forces officers, government officials, mayors of villages and towns who ignore the Party's invitations to resign. etc.), as well as the informers on whom the government depends to direct the murder of revolutionaries. In September 1990, in Lima, a top military counter-intelligence officer was shot, and a car-bomb exploded in front of the home of a U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency officer in a district inhabited by high Armed Forces officials. There are Europeans working as volunteers on various governmental projects in the rural areas; the fact that such schemes are

part of the efforts by the government and its imperialist backers to smother the revolution is explained to them, and they are warned to leave or risk the consequences.

Agitation and propaganda constitute a major part of the work of the People's



Dead dog, labeled Deng Hsiao-ping, hung outside Chinese embassy in Lima.

Guerrilla Army. This includes painting slogans on walls (or rocks, in the countryside); hanging Party banners (in June 1990, 70 red flags appeared simultaneously one morning at key intersections and other spots in Lima); setting huge fires in the shape of a hammer and sickle on the hillsides, especially during blackouts; launching swarms of red balloons carrying banners; putting up Party posters; giving out the pictorial leaflets that are important for reaching illiterate masses, as well as regular leaflets; distributing Party pamphlets (in quantities of as many as 100-200,000 each) and Party reprints of selections from the Marxist classics; agitating at illegal "lightning" demonstrations that appear and disappear on city streets without warning; holding mass meetings in the countryside; conducting people's schools (clandestine courses for political education in the outlook and line of the Party); and many other ways of creating the public opinion without which it is impossible to seize power.

The People's Guerrilla Army takes part in production (usually farming), so as not to be a burden on the people. Furthermore, it is mainly through the PGA that the Party conducts its mass work, including organising the new political power in the countryside and developing mass revolutionary or-

ganisations that serve the people's war. A journalist described the PGA as "a youth movement supported by their parents," since so many of its members are in their early and mid-teens or twenties at most. A large percentage of the fighters and commanders of this army encharged with carrying out the political tasks of the revolution under the leadership of the Party are women. The patriarchal ruling classes find this rather threatening. In fact, what most is throwing Peruvian reactionaries and their foreign bosses into a mortal panic is that the PGA represents the political awakening, organisation and arming of the masses of people themselves, especially the poor peasants.

Ayacucho

Life Under Operation

Last week the RW published excerpts from a fact sheet put out by the RCP, Los Angeles Branch to oppose the new gestapo program by the LAPD to put entire neighborhoods under total police control. The program is called Operation Cui-de-Sac—it should be called Operation Police State. The LAPD has picked a neighborhood in south central L.A. as the first site for the permanent barricades, snitch networks, and other Nazistyle features of this program.

The LAPD has already tried out this operation on a supposedly "temporary" basis in four "target" neighborhoods in L.A. It is being watched closely by officials nationwide because it is exactly the kind of repressive program they want to put into effect all over the country.

As the fact sheet put it: "What time is it? Right now is the time to bring the police-state plans out into the open and go straight up against them. It's the time to organize everyone you know and a lot of people you don't know yet to challenge the police and the politicians and their Nazi-style program and let them know that the people won't go out like that. It's time to Fight the Powers and DEFEAT THE POWERS, and all their fascist plans."

The following is another excerpt from the fact sheet.

According to the LAPD, "a scaled-down version of Operation Cul-de-Sac (that) has been applied in four areas of the City...is very popular with the residents." That's not what the people in the "target areas" have told the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

Chicano youth (about 12 years old) in "target area":

"Every time they come they be hitting us and shit like that, and hitting the people!... You can't even have visitors over here.... They just go after anybody, hammer you up, hit you, and make you say that you gang-bang and all that. Like if you say I don't gang-bang, they say, 'From now on you from the 4-deuce, you from the 4-trey, you from this, anything...."

Thirty-five-year-old Black

woman in "target area": "I seen the police stop too many of them (youth) and harass them for no reason, like me and you standing here.... You might have on the wrong color and you might look like you a gangbanger. They gonna ask you, they gonna harass you, they gonna call in and check you... I have my own sister call me and ask if it was okay for her to come here and visit. I don't think anybody have the right to change who you can associate with and not to."

A group of youth in the "target area" last summer:

"They (the police) make you hang out on the gates and, as hot as these cars are now, they make you spread over the hood." "Or sit on your knees, man, like for almost an hour. Your knees be hurting." "We can't stand out in front of our own house. That's why we're here (back of the driveway). If we stand out in the front, they pull us over. They think we all be gangbangers or selling dope or whatever." "The first thing they ask you" is-when was the last time you was arrested. What makes you think I was arrested?" "No, the first thing they ask you is what gang you from. If you ain't with no gang, they put you with one, they just put you with somebody." "The police is devils, man. They take you down to the station for nothing, and then they talk

shit. They talk crazy, then. They try to put you into a gang, they want you to get buck naked for them. So they can check your pants, your shoes." "And the first thing when they get you in the car is, "Where's the dope spots, take us to the dope spots." They want you to be a snitch. And then they come down on you if you won't do it."

Salvadoran man in Pico-Union (a barrio of mostly Central American immigrants):

"(We're) being captured by the authorities of this country. We're always beaten and tortured, our consciousness and our humanity is abused. We're thrown in jails by the police, and by the authorities of our country. We're put in captivity and we are beaten. We're brutally abused. We're mistreated every day.... They (the LAPD) always ask for my papers whenever I come out of the building. Sometimes they search me because I'm coming out late with my friends. They say, 'Hands up!' like I was a criminal or



Warsaw ghetto, 1943

RCYB Flaco Is Free

On April 2 the people won an important victory in the political trial of RCYB member Flaco. All charges against Flaco were dropped!

As the RW has reported, Flaco was arrested on September 1 during a demonstration against the war at the army recruiting station in a busy shopping area in the Bronx. The original charges against Flaco included "criminal anarchy." Part of the police complaint against him read: "The defendant struck police officer Norman Rodriguez causing him to suffer injury to his back and elbow that required medical attention and caused substantial pain and that said acts occurred while the defendant, with approximately twelve others, were distributing literature that advocated the violent overthrow of the government, to wit: the killing of elected government officials." These were outrageous lies made up by the pigs. The literature mentioned in the charges were RWs and RCYB material. They did not advocate "the killing of elected government officials." And Flaco and other demonstrators did not assault the police—the police assaulted the demonstrators.

Although the original "criminal anarchy" charge was dropped, the government kept up the pig lies about Flaco, the RCYB and the *RW*. The government clearly was trying to establish a legal precedent that could be used against the *RW* and the RCYB later. At the April 2 trial, the prosecution offered to drop all the charges against Flaco if he pleaded guilty to misdemeanor disorderly conduct. But the disorderly conduct charge still had the language used in the original "criminal anarchy" charge! Flaco refused the government "offer." The judge then threw out all the charges. She ruled that the police were politically biased when they approached Flaco and other demonstrators who were exercising their right to free speech.

The trial took place when the powers are planning big celebrations of their slaughter in the Persian Gulf. It also came up at a time when millions of people are outraged by the LAPD beating of Rodney King. And there is growing outrage in New York City over the police murders of three Black and Latino brothers in the last three months. To go for a conviction would have meant that more of the pigs' everyday brutality against the people would have been exposed. Flaco has been in the forefront of those exposing and hounding the enemy. He is well known and loved among the people in the South Bronx. In short, the powers backed down because they were afraid of the people's response to a guilty verdict.

A week before Flaco's trial, Shawn Eichman and Joe Urgo had been found guilty on the felony charge of attempted arson—for trying to burn the U.S. flag on top of the Times Square recruiting station in a protest against the war in the Persian Gulf. There was outrage over this conviction, and many people stepped forward to join the Committee to Defend Shawn and Joe. A few days before Flaco's trial, Shawn, Flaco and James Peterson, a Vietnam veteran from the War Resisters League, went on Bob Fass's talk show on WBAI. Many different people called in to support Shawn, Joe and Flaco. After the WBAI program some people called Revolution Books to find out what they could do. Flaco's trial was covered by WBAI and a reporter for *Downtown* newspaper.

The people's victory in Flaco's trial should be an encouragement to step up the struggle against the government's attempts to criminalize political opposition and to get over with their verdict on the war. They must not be allowed to get away with jailing anybody who opposed their vicious war! Hundreds of GI resisters are facing serious charges. Shawn and Joe are set to be sentenced on June 4-they could get as much as ten years in jail. And NYC authorities just announced that the tickertape parade to celebrate U.S. "victory" in the Persian Gulf will be held on June 11. All those who are angered by the war crimes of the U.S. must find the ways to oppose and defeat the powers' plans.

Police-State

murderer that they are grabbing Lots of people say they get put in jail on suspicion just because they live in this area."

Of course, these people might not be willing to express themselves in this way to cops armed with guns, batons, tasers, numchucks and computers-those who conducted LAPD's "special survey."

Are There Historical Precedents for Operation Cul-de-Sac?

We've seen operations similar to Cul-de-Sac before-operations where the authorities put people in "artificial communities" where they can be watched over and controlled. The U.S. called them "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam. In U.S.-backed Guatemala today they are called "model villages," and El Salvador's security forces/ death squads have their own version.

Perhaps the most notorious of all of them are the ghettos run by the German Nazi imperialists during World War 2. The Nazi ghettos were also "artificial communities," and the authorities drew the boundary lines where they wanted to isolate off and control the Jewish people, Gypsies, homosexuals and rebel elements. At the time a lot of people claimed they didn't know what the authorities were doing to the people behind those walls-they didn't know because they didn't want to know. The Nazis had declared war on Jews and anyone else that didn't fit or might rebel against their Aryan dream, and millions of "good Germans (or Poles or Czechs, etc.)" joined in the patriotic program or looked the other way.

The Nazis didn't only use their Gestapo and soldiers to accomplish their aims. Children were encouraged to turn in their parents if they helped the "criminal" Jews. Neighbors were encouraged to spy on each other. Youth groups were organized by the state, and so were gangs that were unleashed on the Jews and other "aliens."

The Nazis told the "community leaders" that the ghettos would help protect the Jews from the daily violence they were subject to. Those "leaders" and the Jewish police were then relied on to make their ghetto operations run smoothly. They were util-

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ized by the Nazis to get the people to go along with being herded into ghettos, paying taxes to build the walls that imprisoned them, and even for getting slave labor for the Nazis to use. In many instances, the "community leaders" organized life inside the ghettos to run orderly and almost "normally"; in at least one instance, they even organized regular concerts as if nothing were wrong.

These collaborators had "promises" from the Nazis that they would be able to "review" the repression and make sure that it was carried out "fairly." They worked to suppress anyone who opposed the Nazis or tried to organize resistance to the Nazi program. They called on people to go along with it and hope for the best, while they negotiated with the powers. They ended up negotiating the mass murder of thousands.

Hundreds of millions of people hate the Nazis for the mass murder and atrocities they carried out over forty years ago. But it is a fact not so well-known in this country, admitted to by the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, that the Nazis got the idea for the ghettos and concentration camps from similar programs that the U.S. had carried out against Native Americans.



Strategic hamlet in Vietnam, 1960s





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Federal police officers in Los Angeles killed Bill Gandall, an 82-year-old life-long political activist. Bill was beaten on the head, neck and stomach at a sit-in at the downtown L.A. Federal Building on January 16-the day the U.S. started bombing Iraq. He died on March 23.

In 1926, as a young Marine during the U.S. invasion of Nicaragua aimed at defeating the forces of Augusto Sandino, Bill witnessed the rape and pillage of a Third World country. After that he dedicated his life to struggling against imperialism. As a labor organizer during the ''30s and '40s, he and other veterans used their experience to organize workers' strike defense teams. In 1937 he joined the International Brigades that fought against fascist Generalissimo Franco in Spain and was wounded twice. In 1988, as part of the Veterans for Peace Convoy with Vietnam vet Brian Willson and others, Bill defied the U.S. government and returned to Nicaragua-this time in opposition to U.S. intervention.

When he came to L.A. in January, Bill

Anti-war demonstration, downtown L.A., January 15.

was on his way to the Kuwait Peace Camp. He spoke at rallies on January 15. On January 16 the Federal police in riot gear viciously attacked the nonviolent sit-in at the Federal Building and arrested 158. One pig rammed the end of his club into Bill's stomach. He was operated on at County-USC Hospital-the authorities claimed that the operation was for a duodenal ulcer. People who know Bill point out that he had no history of ulcers and have denounced his death as a police killing.

A memorial meeting is scheduled. Bill's friends say that during his final days he never lost his political convictions, and his spirits rose whenever he heard news of the continuing struggle in the streets against the war.

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CHEMICAL

Saddam Hussein's use of chemical weapons against the Kurdish people of Iraq was one of the major justifications used by the U.S. government to intervene massively in the Persian Gulf and wage a genocidal war against Iraq. But the U.S. stand on Hussein's chemical weapons and the situation of the Kurdish people has been nothing but lies and hypocrisy!

March 1988—during the Iran-Iraq war, the reactionary Hussein regime launches a chemical attack on the mountain Kurdish town of Halabja, which had just fallen to Iranian troops. Thousands of villagers are killed or horribly wounded by cyanide, mustard gas and nerve gas. August 1988—Saddam Hussein takes the opportunity of a cease-fire in the war with Iran to launch even more massive chemical attacks on the Kurdish areas in northern Iraq. More thousands die, and over 60,000 refugees flee to Turkey where they are thrown into barbed-wire compounds and city slums.

At the time of these attacks, the *Revolutionary Worker* closely followed the events, including through information directly from Kurdistan, and exposed the bloody hands of the U.S. and its lackeys in the region.

What the RW reported:

POISON GAS

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RW, Apr. 25, 1988

The latest series of poison gas attacks began on March 16 of this year when Iraqi planes dropped chemical bombs on Halabja, a town of 40,000 in northeastern Iraq. The attacks against Halabja and other surrounding villages in this area of Iraqi Kurdistan continued for nearly a week. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people were killed and injured.... Bodies of men, women and children, seized by instant death, lay helter-skelter in the streets, bloated animal carcasses rotted in the fields, and the injured suffered from agonies of chemical burns on skin, eyes, and lung tissue. Medical and chemical warfare experts have determined that the Iraqi military used a combination of mustard gas, cyanide, and nerve gas.

RW, Sept. 12, 1988

According to information reaching the RW from Kurdistan, the peshmergas (Kurdish guerrillas) in the Halabja area were caught between two reactionary armies—first surrounded and attacked by the Iranian forces and then subjected to Iraqi poison gas attack. One whole detachment of fighters from Komala of Iran was wiped out. In the following weeks, Iraqi forces dropped chemical bombs on other villages in the area and then razed them to the ground.

RW, Sept. 12, 1988

During the past two weeks the war machine of the reactionary Hussein regime of Iraq has waged a savage campaign against the Kurdish people. At least 60,000 Kurdish refugees have fled across the border with Turkey, bringing with them horrible stories about poison gas attacks against their villages by the Iraqi troops.

RW, Sept. 12, 1988

These events also give a bitter and important lesson: The only road to genuine liberation for the Kurdish people and other oppressed peoples is revolutionary war led by the class-conscious proletariat to overthrow the comprador bourgeois-feudal order and the imperialists backing it. And past history has shown that vicious national oppression against the Kurds by the big powers and their lackeys has only helped to bring into being a formidable enemy with a long history of waging armed struggle against oppression and enslavement, in all parts of Kurdistan.... The intrigues and repression against the Kurds by the imperialists and their lackeys show how afraid they are that advances in the Kurdish struggle, and especially the emergence of red political power in any part of Kurdistan, would rock their fortresses in this part of the world and beyond. "The best songs are sung to the tune of rifles," says one popular revolutionary song.



What the U.S. said:

New York Times, Sept. 9, 1988

Officials at the State Department and the White House, speaking privately, said there were technical ambiguities in international law regarding the use of such [chemical] weapons by a sovereign nation within its own borders. "There's nothing in international law that prohibits that," said an Administration official.... "There's not much we can do."

Los Angeles Times, Oct. 23, 1988

Legislation concerning sanctions against Iraq for its use of poison gas died early Saturday in the final hours of the 100th Congress.... The Reagan Administration has opposed any sanctions against Iraq on grounds that they would interfere with delicate diplomatic negotiations.... As Pell put it in his Senate speech, "Unfortunately, special interests got into the act."

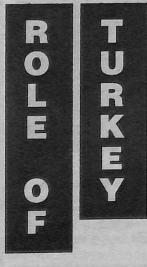
Los Angeles Times editorial, Sept. 12, 1988

Being an ethnic group does not make a nation. In the era of the large nation-state, it is impossible for every distinct ethnic group or region to achieve its own independence. The Civil War, America's bloodiest, was fought precisely over the issue of secession. Whether or not the struggle by the Kurdish people for independence and autonomy is legitimate is difficult to judge.

New York Times, June 22, 1988 State Department officials also say the credibility of Kurdish leaders has been tarnished by their practice of seizing foreigners in Kurdish-controlled areas and obtaining ransoms for their release.



Kurdish fighter.



RW, Sept. 12, 1988

The Turkish government claimed that it was letting the Kurdish refugees in for "humanitarian" reasons. But the Kurds were hardly "welcomed" by the Turkish rulers or offered a "safe haven." Kurdish refugees are being treated by Turkey as dangerous potential enemies. They were disarmed, kept under close guard, and forced into desperate living conditions.... Turkey has refused to give the Red Cross permission to help the refugees. The government has been particularly strict in forbidding the Kurds in Turkey from having any contact with the refugees. Thousands of Turkish Kurds have asked the government for permission to feed and house their relatives from Iraq—all such requests have been turned down.... Such behavior comes as no surprise. Turkey has a long record of brutal, often genocidal, suppression of Kurdish people within its own borders.... The U.S., along with other Western powers, has sent hundreds of millions of dollars worth of weapons to Turkey, a big part of which is used by the fascist regime to suppress the Turkish Kurds.

New York Times editorial, Sept. 20, 1988

Turkey took on the unaccustomed role of championing human rights when it opened its borders to 60,000 desperate Kurds...its chances for admission into the European Community will surely be improved. To be sure, Turkey has come a long way from its late 1970s lawlessness, its early 1980s military regime and repression that until recently kept Plato's Republic out of classrooms. Fragile democracy is growing steadier. HYPOCRISY

The U.S. government at the most put out a few token words of criticism of the Hussein regime for the use of chemical weapons against the Kurds and certainly took no action to help the Kurdish people. The U.S. supported Iraq in the war against Iran, and the U.S. rulers worried that even criticizing Hussein would hurt his war effort against Iran and harm the ties with his regime. Meanwhile, the U.S. and other Western countries were giving Hussein military advice and supplying his regime with large amounts of weapons, including chemical weapons.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, the U.S. government suddenly "discovered" that Saddam Hussein is "a war criminal," "a brutal dictator like Hitler" who "gassed his own people." Some officials talked about U.S. support for Kurdish "autonomy." This war hype was aimed at preparing public opinion for the carpet bombings and massive destruction that the U.S. unleashed on the Iraqi people. The hypocrisy and war crimes are still going on—the U.S. imperialists first encouraged rebellions against Saddam Hussein in the Kurdish and Shiite areas of Iraq, and now they are stabbing the rebels in the back in order to prevent the "fragmentation" of Iraq.

Current U.S. hypocrisy:

George Bush to U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, Nov. 25, 1990 [Saddam Hussein is] a dictator who has gassed his own people, innocent women and children, unleashing chemical weapons of mass destruction, weapons that were considered unthinkable in the civilized world for over 70 years.

Stephen Lodogar, chief U.S. arms negotiator, at a Geneva disarmament conference, Feb. 6, 1991

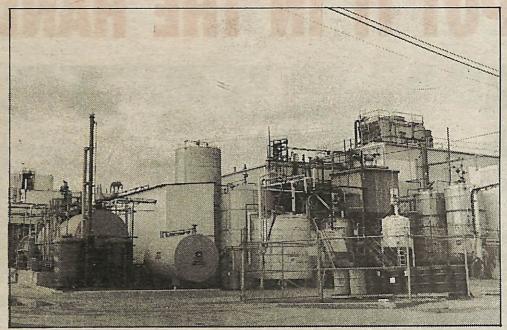
The U.S. position is that we will never be the first to use chemical weapons. On the other hand, if chemical weapons are first used on us, or on our immediate allies in a conflict, we reserve the right to retaliate with chemical weapons, and this applies in the Persian Gulf today.



Kurds killed in Halabja by Iraqi poison gas bombs.

New York Times, April 4, 1991

The [Bush] administration, which based its gulf military operations in part on upholding the principle of self-determination for Kuwait, appears determined now to put other considerations ahead of the question of selfdetermination for Iraqi religious and ethnic communities. "I feel frustrated any time innocent civilians are being slaughtered," President Bush said today. "But the United States and these other countries with us in this coalition did not go there to settle all the internal affairs of Iraq." Administration officials say the priority for them is to prevent Iraq from fragmenting and to speed the withdrawal of American troops from the region. They believe these ends can best be realized by not intervening in the Iraqi civil conflict.



Alcolac International chemical plant in Baltimore, Md. where chemicals needed to make mustard gas are made and sent around the world.





Detroit Free Press, Feb. 5, 1991

[Kurdish refugees in the U.S.] said they are puzzled by the U.S. government's apparent lack of interest in Iraq's Kurdish population, since Kurdish conscripts are believed to comprise about a fourth of Hussein's army.... The Kurds suspect the U.S. posture has something to do with the alliance between the U.S. and Turkey, which has military bases used to launch bombing raids on Iraq.



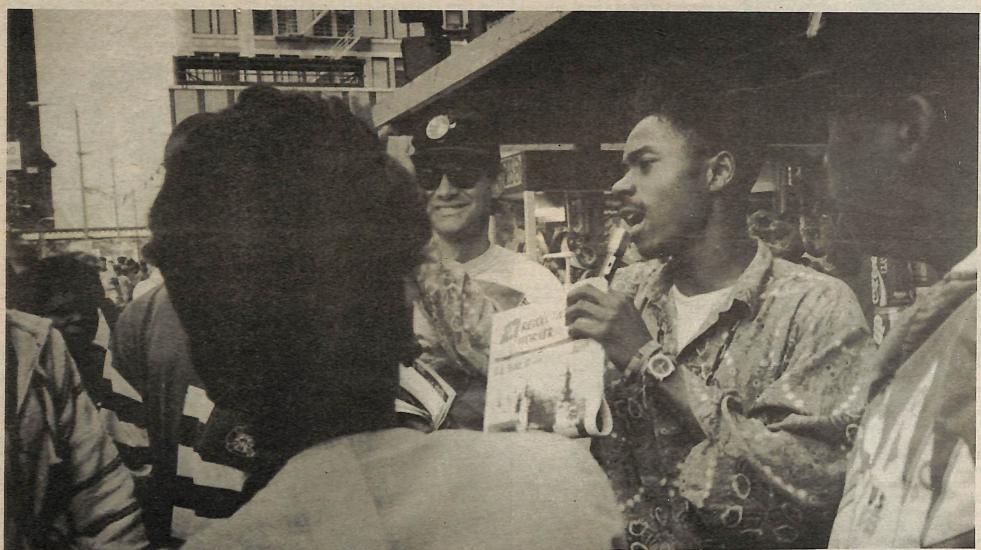
Police in Istanbul, Turkey attack a banned May Day demonstration, 1989.

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