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Enemy of the proletariat

San Diego next target for fascists

BORDER PATROL RANK AND FILE: EXPLOITERS AND ENEMIES OF THE PROLETARIAT **By HC116**

April 27

Minuteman Project co-founder and Civil Homeland Defense Corps leader Chris Simcox has reportedly set his sights on San Diego, where the u.\$.-Mexico border is already tightly controlled, and even the u.\$.-Kanadian border (Idaho. Michigan, North Dakota, and Vermont).(1) The Sacramento Bee reports that an organization called Friends of the Border Patrol has independently undertaken to "secure" the u.\$.-Mexico border in Kalifornia and plans to patrol the border this August.(2) On TV the other day, Friends of the Border Patrol chairpersyn Andy Ramirez, from Chino, called on "retired military, retired law enforcement, and citizens of the State [Kalifornia]" to patrol the border, like the Minuteman Project has done. The pigwannabes' focus on Kanada is ostensibly to stop terrorists from coming into the united \$tates, but the self-styled border patrollers are more likely to cite chauvinist economic reasons for strengthening u.\$. borders, at least in private when they aren't giving their canned statements to the media.(3)

The fascist activism going on at the

MIM PO Box 29670 Los Angeles, CA 90029 Return Service Requested u.\$.-Mexico border in different places has roots in u.\$. labor aristocracy pettybourgeois exploiter discontent. However, the ongoing "close, er, secure the border" movement is also based in extremely chauvinist and imperialist elements of finance capital. Chris Simcox himself has been scheduled to "testify" before Tom Tancredo's Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus.(4) Congress is currently considering an act, attached to an important supplemental spending bill for the wars against Afghanistan and Iraq among other things, prohibiting driver's licenses for undocumented persyns and making it legally easier to extend and build more fences on u.\$. borders, the Kalifornia-Baja border in particular. The

rapidly organizing upsurge of border vigilantism" expresses the awesome power of the labor aristocracy, and puts the lie to the opportunist line that fascism is organized from only the top-down. However, these grassroot fascists still work directly with the imperialists. The "vigilantes" also work in tandem with the official Border Patrol pigs. Border Patrol unions appreciate the vigilantes' assistance. The cooperation and mutual reinforcement of the vigilantes and patriotic Border Patrol unions is indicative of a fascist tendency.

There is a split within the imperialists. For example, New York Senator Hillary Clinton is in some ways more restrictive *Go to* 5...

FASCIST ACTIVISM SPREADS TO OTHER REGIONS **By HC116**

April 21

Minuteman Project leaders are spreading their activity to shut the Mexico border with vigilante action. Starting with Arizona, Minuteman Project has now spread to other \$tates. "James Gilchrist would be taking the Minuteman Project name and some volunteers to California to protest businesses that employ illegal immigrants. . . . Minuteman leaders say their organization is gaining momentum and will spread to more states, including those border states as well as Michigan and Idaho. . . . Reports have Minuteman volunteers on videotape talking about other volunteers with shotguns, which are disallowed by project organizers, and some border-watchers, disavowed by the Minuteman Project leaders were pictured detaining immigrants."(1) Other news stories report independent mobilization and fascist activism to secure the border in the interests of smaller exploiters:

The Minuteman Project border vigil, which has nearly shut down a 20-mile corridor of the U.S.-Mexico border to illegal aliens, has spawned the creation of similar civilian patrols from California to Texas. . . . Other new civilian patrols, not affiliated with the Minuteman Project, are preparing to be up and running over the next several months in California, New Mexico and Texas. Officials familiar with the California effort believe volunteers will be patrolling the border in San Ysidro, Calif., by June."(2)

There were vigilante groups in these States before the Minuteman Project, and Civil Homeland Defense Corps isn't the first group in Arizona to detain undocumented migrants while carrying firearms.

The Minuteman Project, which includes pilots and aircraft, has more people and resources than ninety-nine out of a hundred distinct anti-imperialist Go to 4

REAL ID Act imminent

By HC116 May 2

and

from

The u.\$. Senate is still considering a bill that would, among other things, prohibit undocumented persyns from receiving driver's licenses on pain of withholding federal funds from incompliant states.(1) The REAL ID Act also makes it easier to build fences on u.\$. borders, particularly the Kalifornia-Baja border, by allowing that "the Secretary of Homeland Security shall have the authority to waive, and shall waive, all laws such Secretary, in such Secretary's sole discretion, determines necessary to ensure expeditious You are not on a mailing list. You will not receive this paper again unless you take action. construction of

the barriers and PRESORTED STANDARD roads under this U.S. POSTAGE PAID section."(2) In PERMIT #56365 addition, The BOSTON.MA REAL ID Act would prohibit courts others ordering

"compensatory, declaratory, injunctive, equitable, or any other relief for damage alleged to arise from any such action or decision."(2)

H.R.418's cosponsors from the House include Tom Tancredo, John T. Doolittle, Lamar Smith, Scott Garrett, J. D. Hayworth (AZ-5), Phil Gingrey, Virgil Goode, and Walter Jones-all of whom are Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus members and all of whom recently spoke approvingly of the fascist Minuteman Project (3)(4) They joined J. Gresham Barrett and Tom Price in lavishing praise on the Minuteman Project Washington, D.C. H.R.418 in consponsors also include some Demokrats, Collin Peterson and Lincoln Davis

Appealing to the labor aristocracy, J. Gresham Barrett said: "I hope the Minutemen Project has raised awareness around the country for the need to reform our seriously flawed immigration system. Illegal immigration adversely impacts our Go to 4...

Ward Churchill speaks, MIM petitions at Pomona College

April 25 stay or

Ward Churchill spoke to a mostly-local student crowd at the Claremont Colleges tonight, after running a gauntlet of the tamest counter-demonstrators MIM has ever seen. Four or five protesters carried signs saying things like "If you don't love America: Why are you still here?" Which caused several people to wonder: does the "love it or leave it" crowd even understand what it means to be an indigenous persyn? A couple of Churchill supporters stopped to tell the Amerika Firsters: "Ward Churchill was here before you were." And MIM pointed out that part of the reality Churchill exposed is that anyone who doesn't think Amerikanstyle democracy is great can just wait till Amerika invades their country to prove how wonderful our "free society" is.

Churchill addressed the issue of First Nations sovereignty in his talk, saying that what the reactionaries don't realize is that he is a true "conservative" — an advocate for the rule of law. In this he includes the 430-some treaties the u \$ has signed with various First Nations since the first white settlers landed, which add up to jurisdiction covering well over 30 percent of the u.\$.-occupied land on this continent. This doesn't mean indigenous people are going to "start building water-wing factories" so the u.\$. people can swim back to wherever they came from: It just means the Amerikans are going to have to learn how to live under native jurisdiction if they want to

stay on here legally.

This issue of jurisdiction on "U.S. soil" is part of Churchill's larger point — the one that has all the "good Germans" in this country so pissed off — that the only way to provide security for the Amerikan people is to assure the world's people that they have nothing to fear from the united States. In other words: when Amerikans can comport themselves like citizens of the world, maybe the rest of the world's citizens will treat them as such. MIM agrees heartily with Churchill on this, and we argue that the only law that will matter in the quest for international peace is that imposed by the international proletariat on its current oppressors — the imperialists.

This is an important point for people here to reckon with. For example, one student told MIM that while Ward Churchill should be allowed to say what he wants as a private citizen, he "should not be trusted to teach." When questioned about what makes this a matter of "trust" when Ward Churchill has jumped through all the hoops necessary to become a tenured professor at a large university, s/ he said that he is not "objective" enough. When people say this, they mean that college students need to be protected from radically progressive ideas. We have two answers for this complaint:

First, an objective presentation of the facts does not stem from taking all alleged authorities and "splitting the difference." Reality is more one-sided than that. We

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MIM Notes

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MIM Notes is the bi-weekly newsletter of the Maoist Internationalist Movement. MIM Notes is the official Party voice; more complete statements are published in our journal, *MIM Theory*. Material in *MIM Notes* is the Party's position unless noted. *MIM Notes* accepts submissions and critiques from anyone. The editors reserve the right to edit submissions unless permission is specifically denied by the author; submissions are published anonymously unless authors insist on identification (prisoners are never identified by name). MIM is an underground party that does not publish the names of its comrades in order to avoid the state surveillance and repression that have historically been directed at communist parties and anti-imperialist movements. MCs, MIM comrades, are members of the Party. The Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist League (RAIL) is an anti-imperialist mass organization led by MIM (RCs are RAIL Comrades). MIM's ten-point program is available to anyone who sends in a SASE.

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live in a class society, and there is no humyn interaction unfettered by the oppression of some groups of people by others. The David Horowitzes of the world would have us describe this situation in polite, neutral terms. But find me a polite way of saying that Madeline Albright thought 500,000 Iraqi children's lives were an okay "price" to pay for enforcing an Amerikan agenda in the Persian Gulf. Tell me how to say, with complete neutrality, that generations of Palestinian children have grown up knowing no national territory other than a refugee camp. "Objectivity" in this case just means pretending that these relations are somehow consensual. We can talk about how there were sanctions, and how children died, but connecting these two things as cause and effect is not okay with these bigots because tracing that straight line relationship would be making a "judgment" that might be offensive. (Yes, that's right: to the people who want to shut Ward Churchill up, saying something mean is a worse crime than genocide.)

Second, there is a whole wide world outside of academia, and it does not stop while students study, even though in this country students have the exorbitant privilege of being able to believe that it does. Most of the world is subject daily to the effects of u.\$. militarism, and the people in this country are responsible for that. As Ward Churchill said at Pomona: "you are not exempt from the consequences of what you allow to be done in your name." There is no exempting yourself from hearing the truth about war-crimes perpetrated in your name. If you choose not to hear the shrieks of the dying, well that's your prerogative, until the next WTC attacks. But to try and shut up a persyn who is trying to stop that violence is downright criminal

MIM and an ally collected 117 signatures, and very few refusals, on the petition to Defend Ward Churchill. We noticed that publicity for the event was sparse (one email message, forwarded widely, as far as we could tell), that a lot of people knew about Churchill's case but had no idea the event was taking place, and that the event was not even announced on the college's own website (where all other events happening in the same auditorium were posted). The college seemed to be trying to walk the line between opening a forum for those who wanted to hear Ward Churchill out, and keeping the event very quiet so as not to attract too much controversy or violence.

Any negative political effects of this action can be laid at the feet of Colorado's Governor Owens, Chancellor DiStefano and hysterical propagandists like David Horowitz — all of whom have orchestrated this witch-hunt that has resulted in over 100 death threats to Ward Churchill. We have to give the Pomona College administration and security credit for not interfering with MIM's petitioning or with other peaceful demonstrators, but it is not a good sign that the state of Colorado has succeeded in shutting down Ward Churchill's message to this extent.

What is MIM?

The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) is the collection of existing or emerging Maoist internationalist parties in the English-speaking imperialist countries and their Englishspeaking internal semi-colonies, as well as the existing or emerging Maoist Internationalist parties in Belgium, France and Quebec and the existing or emerging Spanish-speaking Maoist Internationalist parties of Aztlan, Puerto Rico and other territories of the U.\$. Empire. MIM Notes is the newspaper of MIM. Notas Rojas is the newspaper of the Spanish-speaking parties or emerging parties of MIM. MIM upholds the revolutionary communist ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and is an internationalist organization that works from the vantage point of the Third World proletariat. MIM struggles to end the oppression of all groups over other groups: classes, genders, nations. MIM knows this is only possibly by building public opinion to seize power through armed struggle. Revolution is a reality for North America as the military becomes over-extended in the government's attempts to maintain world hegemony. MIM differs from other communist parties on three main questions: (1) MIM holds that after the proletariat seizes power in socialist revolution, the potential exists for capitalist restoration under the leadership of a new bourgeoisie within the communist party itself. In the case of the USSR, the bourgeoisie seized power after the death of Stalin in 1953; in China, it was after Mao's death and the overthrow of the "Gang of Four" in 1976. (2) MIM upholds the Chinese Cultural Revolution as the farthest advance of communism in humyn history. (3) As Marx, Engels and Lenin formulated and MIM has reiterated through materialist analysis, imperialism extracts super-profits from the Third World and in part uses this wealth to buy off whole populations of oppressor nation socalled workers. These so-called workers bought off by imperialism form a new pettybourgeoisie called the labor aristocracy. These classes are not the principal vehicles to advance Maoism within those countries because their standards of living depend on imperialism. At this time, imperialist super-profits create this situation in the Canada, Quebec, the United \$tates, England, France, Belgium, Germany, Japan, Italy, Switzerland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Israel, Sweden and Denmark. MIM accepts people as members who agree on these basic principles and accept democratic centralism, the system of majority rule, on other questions of party line.

"The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases, but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution." - Mao Zedong, Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 208.

City investigates alleged Churchill supporter

By an HC April 25

The City of Longmont in Colorado has been investigating one of its employees who allegedly defended Ward Churchill during an interview with KHOW radio talk show hosts Dan Caplis and Craig Silverman. Caplis and Silverman are the Denver radio duo who have distorted Churchill's essay "Some People Push Back" and other speeches, engaged in persynal attacks against Ward Churchill, and been instrumental in whipping up public opinion in favor of violating Churchill's civil rights. The Longmont employee's interview with the two radio hosts happened in early March. At least one City representative initially said that the City was investigating what the employee had said on the radio. "We did indicate there was an investigation started regarding the KHOW radio interview you participated in as well as any potential impact that interview had on the City of Longmont."(1) Later, the City said it was just investigating whether the employee's particular use of a City cell phone at work violated a rule—even though the City explicitly permits the use of both telephones and cellular phones for persynal use on the employee's own time (1)

Many workers, who use e-mail or the phone at work, use e-mail or the phone for persynal use even against company rules. The Longmont employee is right to say: "If I was on that radio show talking about nursery rhymes, I can assure you that there would be no investigation right now."(2) The City is taking advantage of a rarely enforced rule in workplaces to threaten Spagnuolo's job. Spagnuolo has already been suspended with pay on April 1. MIM itself doesn't put much stock in tailing the reactionary media to get on their shows, but the Caplis and Silverman show happens between 3 PM and 7 PM on weekdays. That's when many people work or are driving home. Spagnuolo stuck out his neck to talk on the Caplis and Silverman show, and now his employer is trying to take him down for it. As MIM has pointed out before, "free speech" in oppressive society is a myth in every sense

The idea that the ongoing witch-hunt against Ward Churchill is against all dissent or every single critic of Bu\$h is also a myth; although, the oppressors may choose to expand the kinds of dissent they single out for attack and commit other civil rights violations. The witch-hunt targets Ward Churchill for his particular ideas in an essay. Now, Longmont threatens Spagnuolo for making similar statements to "Some People Push Back." Spagnuolo is reportedly a pacifist—and MIM prefers consistent pacifists to pseudo-pacifist hypocrites who don't militantly oppose their own country's violence—but he tells it like it is when it comes to the pigs:

"In essence, Mr. Spagnuolo told Caplis and Silverman that in his opinion, when police officers act as oppressors in any given community, they get what they deserve from that community and can become targets of the oppressed. Mr. Spagnuolo was bated and badgered by Caplis and Silverman, but never advocated violence or death for any police officer. He simply stated, in essence when violence occurs against police officers, it is frequently a result of their own behavior."(1)

Spagnuolo, an activist who has worked on indigenous and other issues—and in so doing has drawn the wrath of reactionaries—is probably closer to the proletarian class position than the vast majority of Amerikans and even most Amerikans calling themselves "radical." The few Euro-Amerikans who do support Ward Churchill's right to speak the truth are proof that MIM is not being "too hard" on Amerikans when it tells them to take collective responsibility for imperialist militarism and genocide.

Last Friday, April 22nd, Spagnuolo's attorney tried to get the federal u.\$. district court in Colorado to grant a temporary restraining order against the City of Longmont's investigation. However, Judge "Figa found that the ongoing probe of Spagnuolo didn't have a chilling effect on the 34-year-old exercising his rights to free speech."(3) Judge Phillip Figa's idea of what is a "chilling effect" is peculiar and suggests that practices like the City of Longmont's are okay as long as they don't they completely devastate the witch-hunt targets emotionally: "'Finally, plaintiff is not intimidated by the city and therefore his free speech is not chilled,' said U.S. District Judge Phillip Figa. 'It is unclear whether the average person - or someone perhaps not as brave - would be so uninhibited.' "To a certain extent, "civil rights" are also a myth in the united \$tates to begin with, but to say that civil rights violations only exist in their subjective impact is both silly and dangerous. Spagnuolo's attorney in the complaint shows that the City took actions that effectively discouraged Spagnuolo's speech. The fact that the City also searched Spagnuolo's computer may also put Spagnuolo in a precarious position. Were it not for the City's actions, it seems Spagnuolo would have been able to continue speaking in the way that he was before the investigation.

The different defendants in the temporary restraining order hearing on Friday didn't even have their act together. According to attorney David Lane's submitted complaint, "[a]t the meeting on the 18th DEFENDANT WEST backtracked on her email indicating that his speech was being investigated and informed Mr. Spagnuolo that they were investigating whether he used his City cell phone to make the call to KHOW or was being paid by LONGMONT at the time of the interview."(1) But:

"[d]uring the hearing, Longmont supervisor Karen Roney said she was Ward Churchill is a tenured professor at the University of Colorado facing firing and extra scrutiny of his work for a speech he made about 9/ 11. The struggle for Ward Churchill is turning out to be longer than expected and this is good news. Get involved! For petitions, fliers, instructions and more information, including the original speech and links to other work by Churchill, visit http:// www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/mn/sept112001/



aware that Spagnuolo was allowed to use his city-issued phone for personal calls as long as he reimbursed the city for them, and that he had been off-duty when he placed the call. . . . Her concern, Roney said, was that Spagnuolo had negatively affected the city's relationship with the Police Department, although the chief of police had assured the city that he had not."(4)

The stupid municipal bureaucrats have over-extended themselves. The City suspended their employee for one thing, backpedaled, and came up with justifications after the fact, like Spagnuolo's allegedly attending a Ward Churchill rally during his own time. It's a pattern that Ward Churchill himself is familiar with. Now, a court has signified approval for the witch-hunt in the case of Spagnuolo, and effectively helped the City to prepare its defense against Spagnuolo's pending lawsuit against the City:

"Without ruling on the merits of the lawsuit, U.S. District Judge Phillip Figa denied Spagnuolo's request for a temporary restraining order to halt the investigation while the suit proceeds. . . . Spagnuolo's lawyer David Lane contended the investigation into whether Spagnuolo misused city resources was launched in bad faith. Testimony indicated city community services director Karen Roney knew Spagnuolo was off the clock when he did the radio interview; that city policy allowed Spagnuolo to make personal calls on a city cell phone; and that Spagnuolo was allowed to spend his lunch hour how he chose, including attending Churchill's 5-minute speech in Boulder, Lane argued."(5) Notes:

1. http://www.khow.com/img/spagnuolocomplaint.pdf

 Paul Johnson, "Longmont city employee investigated following comments he made on a radio talk show defending Ward Churchill," April 13, 2005, http://www.9news.com/ acm_news.aspx?OSGNAME=KUSA& IKOBJECTID=3a11990e-0abe-421a-0022-91ee40ad68b9& TEMPLATEID=0c76dce6ac1f-02d8-0047-c589c01ca7bf
 Charlie Brennan, "Judge denies Churchill backer : Longmont's probe of comments by staffer may go on," April 23, 2005, http:// rockymountainnews.com/drmn/local/article/ 0,1299,DRMN_15_3722967,00.html
 Amy Herdy, "Judge allows Longmont probe," April 23, 2005, http://www.denverpost.com/ Stories/0,1413,36~53~2831733,00.html 5. Catherine Tsai, "Judge: Longmont can continue investigation into city worker who commented on Churchill, police," Associated Press State & Local Wire, April 22, 2005. 6. George Merritt and Amy Herd, "E-mail: Longmont probes words, not deed," April 22, 2005, http://www.denverpost.com/Stories/ 0,1413,36~53~2829732,00.html

7. "Cell phones allow employees to work around the system," June 2002, http:// www.maritzresearch.com/

release.asp?rc=229&p=2&T=P "Report: Personal e-mail use threatens business productivity," February 15, 2005, http:// sanjose.bizjournals.com/sanjose/stories/2005/02/ 14/daily22.html

8. brubaker, "The Next Armstrong Williams: Caplis accepted 'payola' to attack Ward Churchill," February 6, 2005, http:// colorado.indymedia.org/feature/display/10164/ index.php

9. Howard Pankratz, "Cases dropped against Columbus parade protesters Prosecutors do an about-face after a third judge ends loitering charges against the defendants," Denver Post, January 25, 2005, B-03.

10. "Trial update-Day 2," January 19, 2005, http://www.coloradoaim.org/blog/2005/01/trialupdate-day-2.html

"Glenn Spagnuolo testified about his Italian heritage (his parents are from Italy) and how he learned about the history of indigenous peoples in this continent. He talked about a sense of shame when he found out that some Italians in Denver were celebrating Columbus and how he worked to approach the pro-Columbus Italians and was rebuffed."

11. "City of Longmont suspends Columbus Day activist," April 2, 2005, http:// www.am760.net/info/spagnuolo.pdf

" 'The Columbus Day case and Chivington Drive campaigns have sort of painted a target on my back,' said Spagnuolo. 'If you talk about history from the viewpoint of the oppressed instead of the oppressors, certain people get upset. This investigation is just the latest skirmish. First it was Glenn Morris, then Ward Churchill; now it's my turn.' "

12. "Longmont Citizens for Justice and Democracy Call to Action," April 9, 2005, http://www.mail-archive.com/

frostysamerindian@yahoogroups.com/ msg00410.html

13. Charles J. Muhl, "The law at work," http://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2000/04/tlaw.htm

Enemy of the proletariat

prganizations in the united \$tates. The MMP and similar organizations are collectively a movement of a reactionary class, the Euro-Amerikan labor aristocracy, and must be defeated. It is a movement allied with the most reactionary elements of finance capital, which through the Border Patrol has violently detained, beat and killed undocumented migrants. The labor aristocracy fascist movement to "close the border" / "seal the border" seeks to step up this repression. "Arizona has become a crossing point for hundreds of thousands of migrants annually, and the flood of undocumented people has drawn several armed civilian groups that act as self-appointed border watch organizations.... The groups have come under increasing scrutiny. One member of Texas-based Ranch Rescue was arrested near Douglas on suspicion of felony flight to avoid prosecution, accused with another person of unlawfully detaining and beating a Salvadoran couple in Texas."(3)

Previous MIM articles have pointed out that the Minuteman Project was led in large part by Chris Simcox's "militia," Civil Homeland Defense Corps. An Associated Press article recently implied ex-Marine, Kalifornian Jim Gilchrist led the Minuteman Project as its chief organizer.(4) Yet, the same article reveals that Civil Homeland Defense has always played a large leadership role in the Minuteman Project: since Jim Gilchrist was going to leave Arizona on Wednesday, "[v]olunteers [of the Minuteman Project] now in Arizona or coming through April 30 will fall under the auspices of Civil Homeland Defense, another illegal immigrant monitoring group that Simcox has operated in Arizona for years, Gilchrist said."(4) The Minuteman Project itself says on its Web site:

"The volunteers who have led the way are the good citizens who have joined the efforts of Civil Homeland Defense and who have succeeded in assisting the Border Patrol with locating over 5,000 people entering our country illegally.... Experienced volunteers of Civil Homeland Defense (CHD) will be mentoring groups of novice border watchers who are here for the first time. CHD volunteers will consult, guide and share experience with new volunteers. CHD volunteers will continue to work in every way possible that will support the mission' (http:// www.minutemanproject.com/SOP.html).

The Minuteman Project loss admitted that at least one of Chris Simcox's organizations, the newspaper Tombstone Tumbleweed, has materially supported the MMP by providing electronic equipment (http://www.minutemanproject.com/ Donations.html).

Minuteman Project organizers claim that the MMP has been a success: "Gilchrist pointed to a drop in Border Patrol apprehensions in the area as proof: The agency caught about 2,500 illegal immigrants in the Naco area during the first half of the month; agents apprehended nearly 7,700 during the same period last year."(5) Yet, the Border Patrol in Tucson "attributed the drop to U.S. agents and the increased presence of Mexican police and members of Grupo Beta, a Mexican government-sponsored organization that tries to discourage people from crossing illegally and aids those stranded in the desert."(2) MIM is not going to disagree with the Minuteman Project on that point. They have indeed successfully terrorized undocumented migrant proletarians from even stepping foot over the border. The proletariat of the oppressed nations will condemn the Minuteman Project as murderers for supporting the policing of the u.\$.-Mexico border, which already kills migrants, heightening the repression at the border. and forcing oppressed nationalities to delay crossing the border into the desert until the summer when the risk of heat stroke is even higher.

Like fascists do, Jim Gilchrist himself has paid lip service to anti-capitalist sentiments, but does not oppose the repression of undocumented migrant proletarians:

" 'I blame it on the corporate barons,' Gilchrist thunders. 'Not just the huge ones, but the smaller corporations who know they can get desperate workers to work for literal peanuts to do the same work American citizens would want twice the salary for. They laugh all the way to the bank. They're professional slave traders, just like in the Southern states back to the Civil War....I do not like these capitalistic pigs.' "(6)

The comparison OC Weekly makes between Gilchrist and so-called anticapitalist Leon Trotsky, as opposed to Stalin, is more apt than Gustavo Arellano realizes. Trotskyism, rife with opportunism and subjectivism, has the potential to degenerate into openly fascist politics. Gilchrist and Simcox are both "Trotskys." The media portrays undocumented migrants at the u.\$.-Mexico border as terrorists, but the labor aristocracy knows what's really going down. The socialdemocrats and social-imperialist theorists do the spade work of theory to protect the white so-called working class and the Minuteman Project is the practice.

Notes:

1. Mark Poepsel, "Minuteman Project Organizers Say Effort's Spreading Not Splitting," April 18, 2005, http:// w w w . k o l d . c o m / G l o b a l / story.asp?S=3227965

2. Jerry Seper, "Movement spreads for civilian patrols on U.S.-Mexico border," April 16, 2005, http://www.wpherald.com/ storyview.php?StoryID=20050416-103527-3721r

3. "Retired California man seeks volunteers for Arizona civilian patrol in April," Associated Press State & Local Wire, January 17, 2005.

4. Arthur H. Rotstein, "Minuteman founder leaving post at Mexico border early," April 18, 2005, http://www.whittierdailynews.com/Stories/0,1413,207~12026~2823695,00.html

5. Arthur H. Rotstein, "Organizers: Minuteman Project successful," April 21, 2005, http://www.timesleader.com/mld/ timesleader/11453317.htm

6. Gustavo Arellano, "The antiimmigrant movement's Trotsky," OC Weekly, February 11, 2005.

REAL ID

From 1...

job market, our education system and health care costs. Hard working American taxpayers are being forced to shoulder that burden placed on society. There is a right way to enter our country and a wrong way."(4) Unlike most of the "left" and the so-called labor movement in the united \$tates, MIM is not white nationalists. Whether undocumented migrants make Amerikans or the Amerikan worker wealthier or not is not a factor in MIM's opposing the repression of undocumented migrant proletarians. There must be reparations to oppressed nations anyway. However, J. Gresham Barrett ignores recent figures showing that undocumented migrant workers put more into the Social Security system than they will take out, up to \$7 billion a yeara big chunk of the Social Security surplus every year.(5)

The Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus members are not alone in supporting the Minuteman Project. An Opinion Dynamics / Fox News telephone poll (April 25-26) of registered voterscountry-wide, not just in Arizona ---------shows that 44% of Amerikans believed that the Minutemen were "concerned citizens doing what the government is not doing.' Only 34% said the Minuteman Project "are best described as vigilantes who should leave patrolling to professional law enforcement."(6) On top of that, 63% of all respondents agreed that "[i]f a government does not control its country's borders, then the government will eventually lose control of the country."(6) It is this reactionary chauvinist fear that propels fascist activism and action against undocumented and other migrants. Dozens of undocumented migrants dead each year from heatstroke and other hazards in the desert-and many more deaths and shorter lifespans because of the border in general, and violence against migrants and policing of migrants documented and undocumented-aren't enough for these reactionary parasites.

The heightening repression of undocumented migrants has to a great extent been a bottom-up movement of the reactionary exploiter Euro-Amerikan labor aristocracy working with the imperialists. The opportunists who see fascism as emanating from only the Bu\$h government have seriously miscalculated. Within the united \$tates, it is the oppressed-nation workers who will suffer the consequences of the opportunist "mistake."

The u.\$. white labor aristocracy and the imperialists are united against the proletariat in the united \$tates undocumented workers, prisoners, homeless persyns, and others. If the Senate passes the REAL ID Act, attached to a supplementary spending bill for war and other purposes, Bu\$h will probably sign it.(7)(8)

Senate Minority Leader (Demokrat) Harry Reid "said Democrats have decided they would not hold up passage of the Iraq war spending bill solely because it includes the Real ID Act."(7) The opportunists who have targeted only Bu\$h and a handful of other RepubliKKKans for criticism have contributed to this situation by going easy on the labor aristocracy and the

imperialists outside the Bu\$h clique. Many Demokrats and Republikans oppose the REAL ID Act for pragmatic imperialist reasons.(9) However, they realize that their constituencies don't care about the fine points anyway and will vote for the REAL ID Act to please the labor aristocracy and other smaller exploiters. For example, a March 4, 2005, Field Institute telephone poll of Kalifornians (field date: February 8-17, 2005) shows that 60% of "white non-Hispanic" respondents opposed "allowing undocumented workers who do not have legal status, to obtain a driver's license in California." Another 15% "oppose[d] somewhat." Only 28% combined responded favor somewhat or favor strongly. A March 22, 2005, CNN / USA Today / Gallup country-wide telephone poll suggests that the current move to restrict driver's licenses from undocumented persyns is also bound up with a hostility toward youth. 8% of Amerikans responded that the legal driving (driver's license) age should be 21 or older. 3% said 19-20 years old. 42%

San Diego next target for fascists

From 1...

than President Bu\$h on undocumented migrants; although, Bu\$h's "guest" worker proposal is itself an imperialist machination reminiscent of the old Bracero Program.(5)(6) Other Demokrats as well have Republikans have criticized Bu\$h's policies on undocumented migrants, but have offered no alternative that does not repress undocumented migrants. Yet, some people still lump KKKlinton together with Bu\$h and say that neither are tough enough on undocumented migrants.(9)(10) So, it is possible to speak of another split in the imperialists. There are fascists and crypto-fascists throughout these divisions. The Minuteman Project and its allied organizations are a concentration of incipient fascism. International considerations, rather than some mythical white proletariat, are what prevents widespread internal fascism in the united \$tates in addition to the lack of material conditions for fascism in the united \$tates, but if other nations' orientation toward internal fascism in the united \$tates changed enough, even more fascists would come out of the woodwork.

A recent poll shows that "57 percent of those interviewed [Arizonan registered voters] say they supported the Minuteman Project, while 34 percent are opposed and nine percent are unsure. . .

. Bush's guest worker program drew 62 percent backing, with 29 percent opposed and nine percent unsure. In addition, 54 percent of voters say they would favor the plan even if it contained a provision to allow permanent status for people already illegally in the country."(11) Far from being paradoxical, this combination of support for the Minuteman Project, on the one hand, and support for Bu\$h's guest worker program, expresses exactly the imperialist mentality: repress undocumented migrant proletarians, and exploit them, too. The imperialists have always repressed undocumented migrant proletarians. The fascists want to raise the repression to a higher level.

The Liberals at ACLU spread a lot of confusion among the oppressed, but it is symbolic, at least, of a deeply reactionary trend that the Border Patrol union in Tucson has apparently spent more time criticizing the ACLU observers than the Minuteman Project; this is despite the Border Patrol's official disagreement with the MMP.(12) The union suggests that it is only ACLU observers, not any Minuteman Project volunteers, who have tripped the Border Patrol's ground sensors. Border Patrol officials and the union disagree on who has been tripping the sensors. It is doubtful that no Minuteman Project volunteer has tripped the sensors; yet, the Border Patrol union has decided to single out the Liberals at ACLU for attack on this point.

"In fact, while the Border Patrol 'jefes' have to publicly not like this incursion into their job, the U.S. Border Patrol Local 2544 wrote in its recent report: 'We have not had a single complaint from the rankand-file agents of this sector about the

said 18 years. 8% said 17.

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washingtontimes.com/national/20050427-120138-8386r htm

9. For example:

Margaret Stock, "The 'REAL ID' Act: A Real Nightmare For Department Of Defense," http:// www.ilw.com/lawyers/articles/2005,0502stock.shtm

The Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, CLC, openly panders to chauvinism while opposing the REAL ID Act on pragmatic grounds.

"What's At Stake! : Stop the Anti-Immigrant REAL ID Act," http://www.unionvoice.org/ campaign/realidsenate/explanation "REAL ID would impose new unfunded federal mandates on state motor vehicle agencies to enforce federal immigration laws. The REAL ID Act does nothing to protect us - in fact, it undermines the guidelines for reform recommended by the 9/11 Commission. Instead, REAL ID prescribes a series of unworkable, rigid, unfunded federal mandates that could delay or disrupt new driver's license security measures adopted by the states as a result of the 9/11 Commission. . . . We need Congress to focus on real reform, not band aid fixes that do nothing to advance our goals to have an immigration system that is safe, orderly and legal."

10. "Praise for Minutemen Riles Hispanics," May 2, 2005, http://

www.hispanicbusiness.com/news/

newsbyid.asp?id=22705&cat=Headlines&more=/ news/more-news.asp

Minutemen. They have the support of our agents. They are courteous, many of them being retired firefighters, cops and other professions, and they're not causing us any problems whatsoever. If sensors were set off in the field, it was because of the A.C.L.U. sneaking around watching them.' "(13) Perhaps the union is hoping that the

vigilantes will draw attention that increases border patrol employment through increased government spending and that is why we are seeing labor aristocracy solidarity. On the other hand, the union risks that the public may decide to cut the border patrol and let the vigilantes do the job for free.

The Border Patrol "rank and file" consists of Euro-Amerikans, honorary white people / nation traitors, and others. The average annual Border Patrol agent salary was \$49,764 in 2003.(14) Starting salaries for Border Patrol agents were \$30,466 to \$37,043 in 2002.(15) The starting salaries are close to the 2000 median income of a one-earner household with a "White, non-Hispanic" householder (U.S. Census Bureau, http:// www.census.gov/hhes/income/ income00/inctab1.html) and close to half of the median income of a two-earner household with the same Based on surplus value appropriation, these are exploiter incomes even if the Border Patrol agents were in the productive sector, which they obviously are not. They are exploiters and at least petty-bourgeois.

The fact that many Border Patrol agents are Latinos confuses some people who do know what a bureaucrat or comprador class is and have no concept of nation traitor in any sense. Seeing oppressed nationalities carrying out repression in blue uniforms or the green uniforms of la Migra is confusing in general. (Related to this is why the bureaucrat government in Mexico has been discouraging migrants from crossing the border and even redirecting them to cross at other points reportedly. The Mexican bureaucrat capitalists and u.\$. imperialists both have an interest in not seeing the Minuteman Project turn into a crisis that would make it more difficult for imperialism to maneuver.) Not even police agents in Juárez got one-fourth the reported lowest starting salary of u.\$. Border Patrol agents in 2000.(16) Yet, San Diego Border Patrol agents union president Joseph Dassaro has complained that "an agent who has worked five years and makes \$50,000 can't afford the region's cost of living" (to which MIM would respond: so what? La Jolla has a "cost of living," too).(17) National Border Patrol Council (AFL-CIO and AFGE) T.J. Bonner opposes the overtime cap for Border Patrol agents. The fact that Border Patrol agents would like to be paid overtime for a job that already pays almost \$50 thousand on average is not surprising. What's interesting is that Bonner cites border security as a reason to decrease the overtime cap:

"In October, Congress raised the annual overtime cap per agent from \$30,000 to \$35,000, but it also added premium pay to that cap. That essentially decreased the total number of hours that agents can work in any given year and decreases border coverage in critical times, said T.J. Bonner, president of the National Border Patrol Council. Premium pay is the additional pay given for working Sundays, holidays, and nights from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m.

... Andy Ramirez, chairman of Friends of the Border Patrol, a nonprofit group that supports Border Patrol agents, said the new cap doesn't help protect Americans."(17)

It's almost a threat to withhold security—saying that doing their jobs depends on having even more moneybut Border Patrol unions view themselves as playing a patriotic role and openly defend organizations like the Minuteman Project despite the Minimum Project's decrying cultural mixing in its literature. The National Border Patrol Council's Web site and NBPC Local 1613's Web site conspicuously link to honorary cracker Andy Ramirez's Friends of the Border Patrol for instance.(19)(20)

MIM is not Liberals, and for MIM, individuals are part of a nation whether they know it or not. Ramirez barely addresses his Latino ancestry (http:// www.andyramirez.com/). Well, Euro-Amerikans rarely identify themselves as being part of the Euro-Amerikan or white nation or even "race" (supposedly, everyone is "racial" or "ethnic" except white people). If Ramirez wants to portray himself as being All-AmeriKKKan, MIM is not going to argue with that: Ramirez is an honorary Euro-Amerikan. Civil Homeland Defense Corps board of directors member Henry Esparaza has made a point identify himself as a Latino persyn, which is even more confusing than what Ramirez is pulling. "Henry Esparaza, one of four members of the Civil Homeland Defense board of directors, said he hopes his involvement will convince critics that the group, which patrols the border looking for illegal immigrants, is founded on respect for the law."(21) If the fascists are going to use this kind of cover, that has to be called out. It is propaganda maneuvering, like the Minuteman Project's claim that it wouldn't engage alleged undocumented migrants-just terrorize them from a distance. The Minuteman Project highlights its own "racial diversity." This is a ploy to trick those who equate fascism with racism. There are plenty of lackeys with Third World roots perpetrating white national oppression and racism on behalf of the white nation. This is what happens in effect when the Minuteman Project says 'culture," rather than nation. Most Amerikans have no concept of different nations within u.\$. borders, so culture becomes race in their heads, particularly at a time when oppressed nationalities are

Marla Ruzicka, 1977-2005

18 April

The death of Marla Ruzicka, who the mainstream press reports was in Iraq using Amerikan money to find homes for war orphans, is another bloody testament to the need to halt the march of the u.\$. war machine. MIM mourns the death of this California womyn who chose to risk her life mitigating the suffering her government extracts from the Iraqi people, and we make this plea to the people in Amerika who are appalled by this "senseless" loss:

If the death of a white Amerikan womyn means more to you than those of the hundreds of thousands of Iraqi victims, think for a minute about why. Then do something about it. Whatever your motives, do something to stop this war.

According to the New York Times and The Guardian, as Ruzicka's car happened to be near a convoy of foreign contractors when a car bomber struck that convoy on April 16. MIM does not have independent confirmation of these facts, but we take them at face value for the purposes of this article. This death "by chance" is no different from the hundreds of thousands of deaths that have bloodied the hands of Amerikan people in this war, except for two things. First, because she was an aid worker with a poignant story as a one-womyn orphan rescue agency. And second, because Ruzicka was an attractive white womyn who sought popularity with reporters to get her work done more effectively. Many more people will hear about her than they do about individual Iraqi victims.

The poignancy of Ruzicka's story will harden some Amerikans in their opinions against "terrorism" and for "pre-emptive war." These are the people who will not wrap their heads around the fact that when Iraq has been under 14+years of daily bombardment by the united snakes, the Iraqi people are left no choice but to fight back with the means they have available. MIM is willing to face the hard possibility that for many of these hardened Amerikans, there is not to be any awakening to the grotesque reality of imperialism.

The people who look at Marla Ruzicka's story and become hardened in their views against the Iraqi people are the same people who would have backed the Confederacy in the Amerikan Civil War, or stood with Marie Antoinette against the French peasantry. They cannot understand this simple fact: no country can export military invasion, occupation and genocide for hundreds of years without having some of that violence eventually come home.

Altruistic death to perfume an imperialist war machine is a waste of altruism. People like Marla Ruzicka should be in charge of society as a whole through participation in leadership in a vanguard party. Instead she played second-fiddle to war-mongers with no long-term plan for species-survival. The waste of altruistic efforts by the u.\$. government makes this story all the more tragic but typical.

Marla Ruzicka chose with open eyes and generosity to risk her life trying to alleviate some sufferings caused by her own government. None of the uncounted number of Iraqis killed since this war began (excepting those compradors and wannabes who are busy trying to ride the u.\$. train and were targetted like the occupiers) has had the liberty to make that choice.

Ward Churchill correctly pointed out in his now-famous "Some people push back" that all of us who enjoy the privileges of u.\$. citizenship live in danger of the consequences of our government's actions. Even those who reject this militarist government and devote their lives to anti-imperialist struggle live at risk, and must accept some guilt, for having failed so far to stop the biggest terrorist on the planet running amok.

Marla Ruzicka's death is a costly lesson for someone like the persyn who stopped at our Los Angeles demonstration yesterday to talk about who is culpable for u.\$.-imperialist crimes. Confronted with MIM's account of the witch-hunt against Ward Churchill, this individual, who showed considerable sympathy with the international proletariat in some parts of his thinking, said: Well, maybe Ward Churchill shouldn't be fired for what he said, but maybe just for being somewhat insensitive.

As MIM has said to countless Amerikans over the years: people are dying; the government you tolerate is killing them; the time for sensitivity was several hundred years ago! It's time to wake up, Amerika. The calendar says this is your day to get angry, and get busy smashing imperialism. You are already late.

See MIM's Iraq web page at: http:// www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/agitation/ iraq/.

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still portrayed as animals and inherently criminal.

Minuteman Project co-founder Jim Gilchrist is a caricature of a fascist who, without any conscious worked-out theory of fascism, is driven by his petty-bourgeois leanings. " 'Part of me is conservative,' Gilchrist concludes. 'And part of me is a left-wing wacko.' "(22) His so-called leftwing thinking is limited to criticizing corporations for hiring desperate undocumented migrants. It is subjectivist to deny the existence of large exploiter classes in the united \$tates that aren't just corporations. For fascism to grow out of such subjectivism in a petty-bourgeois persyn is not shocking.

"After patrolling the border for 30 days, Gilchrist wants his volunteers to begin assisting the Internal Revenue Service in cracking down on companies that hire illegal immigrants. 'It is more effective,' Gilchrist says, than waiting around in the middle of the Arizona desert. And on the Jan. 26 broadcast of Hannity & Colmes, Gilchrist described himself as a former '60s liberal . . . turned quasi-conservative in the '90s.' "(22)

These clowns paying lip service to anticapitalism are fascists. They are vigilantes, but Border Patrol agents endorse them. Andy Ramirez calls Border Patrol agents his friends. "You are also left with a sense of outrage for what the Bush Administration is doing to them. Let's talk about their [Border Patrol agents'] plight.(23)" Ramirez defends these murders, the rank and file of the Border Patrol, who police a border that kills undocumented migrants and would-be migrants.

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Media Attempts to Slander People's War in Nepal

by HC93 disap April 19 Ac

Numerous news sites online are reporting that revolutionaries killed 10 men for refusing to join the People's Liberation Army in Nepal. Many others are calling the murders "indiscriminate." Yet one version of the story coming out of India entitled, "Nepal: Maoist 'People's War' turning against people?," lets slip that the men executed were allegedly part of a vigilante group who had turned in 22 Maoists to the fascist government the day before. (1) This is almost the equivalent of executing 22 people struggling for the liberation of the masses of Nepal. The introduction to a recent Human Rights Watch report gives an idea of what it means to be captured by the state as a Maoist (or even under suspicion of being a Maoist):

"Policeman: "We kill them."

RNA Soldier: "No, we take them to jail."

Policeman: "Yes, we take them to jail and then we kill their asses."

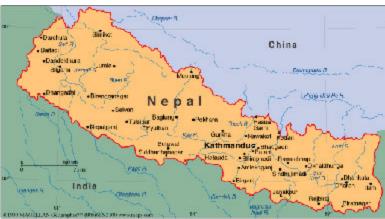
Conversation between Human Rights Watch researchers, a Royal Nepalese Army soldier, and a police officer about the treatment of detained Maoists, September 2004.

In the Nepali government's war with Maoist insurgents, the number of enforced disappearances cases in which people are taken into custody and authorities then deny all responsibility or knowledge of their fate or whereabouts has reached crisis proportions. Over the last two years, the Nepali security forces have made Nepal one of the world's prime locations for enforced

disappearances. According to the United Nations Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances (WGEID), in 2003 and 2004 Nepal recorded the highest number of new cases of disappearances in the world. Nepal' s National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has received reports of 1,234 cases of "disappearance" perpetrated by security forces since May 2000." (2)

Those 10 men who were killed were reportedly a part of this terrorism, responsible for the disappearance and possibly the deaths of 22 revolutionaries. Yet, according to the bourgeois press their murder raises the question of whether the People's War is for "the people." Here the bourgeoisie has taken the language of the people and twisted its meaning. We define "the people" and "the masses" as the majority segments of Nepali society that are friendly to the struggle for the elimination of all forms of oppression (ie. communism). (3) Given that definition of 'the people" and what we know about the men killed, the idea of the People's War being against "the people" quickly becomes silly.

If anyone is going to criticize attacks such as these recent killings by the revolutionaries of Nepal, then they must do so from the basis of reality and not rumor. The reality is that the people of Nepal live under a fascist u\$/briti\$hfunded government run by a king who claims to be a god incarnate. The reality is that there is a war between these fascist forces and those of the Maoists who are backed by the masses in their struggle for a society where food, clothes,



shelter and health care will be guaranteed and classes, oppression and exploitation will be eliminated. The recent killings occurred in the context of this almost decade long war, part of a much longer history of class struggle.

"The object of war is specifically 'to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy." (4)

Obviously, when engaged in war, one cannot allow the enemy to imprison and kill members of one's organization without consequence and expect to win. Therefore, to oppose the Maoist revolution in Nepal based on incidents such as the killings on April 15 one must either side with the u.\$. fascists and their godking or they must uphold a truly pacifist position in which violence against another humyn being is never justified. And if you choose the latter you still have to justify allowing the violence-ridden status quo to continue.

Malcolm X made the same point when amerikans criticized the Black revolution at home for being violent, "If violence is wrong in amerika, violence is wrong abroad. If it's wrong to be violent, defending Black wimmin and Black children and Black babies and Black men, then it's wrong for amerika to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her... The Chinese revolution, they wanted land, they threw the British out, along with the Uncle Tom Chinese. Yeah they did. They set a good example... When they had the revolution over there they took a whole generation of Uncle Toms, just wiped them out. And within 10 years... no more Toms in China... When you see that you got problems, all you have got to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who had problems similar to yours. And once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight."

In his military writings, Mao Tsetung defined People's War as a strategy available only to the revolutionary, propeople forces of society, because only they could receive the mass support inherent to People's War. If it were true that the Maoists in Nepal had degenerated and become anti-people, then the People's War in Nepal would be over and the bourgeoisie would be celebrating. Instead, u.\$. ambassador to Nepal James Francis Moriarty has made recent statements indicating a growing concern over the

revolution in Nepal, "I don't think any of us has enough insights into what exactly the Maoists are doing and thinking to say with any degree of certainty that ... the tide has turned against them." He continues, "The threat they represent is terrific. They have talked about collectivisation of agriculture repeatedly, about re-education of enemies, about expanding the 'revolution'-all this is basically a formula for an absolutely terrific totalitarian state in Nepal that also threatens the stability of the entire region.' (5) The imperialists are scared. They are scared of collective agriculture, of teaching oppressors to become productive members of society and they are scared that these ideas are not limited to the mountains of Nepal, but are building throughout South Asia.

The recent reports of 10 men killed by the Maoists are unique thanks to the kingordered censorship of the press, which forbids the reporting of any death tolls by the Maoists of the police or the Royal Nepalese Army. Despite recent major offenses, the only news being reported on these incidents is death tolls on the Maoist side. That is why we bother to take the opportunity to report on this one small incident above. The information coming out of Nepal is limited and very regulated. But in their own lack of understanding of class struggle, the imperialists and their semi-feudal pawns in Nepal will continue to leak bits of information that are useful to the understanding of the international proletariat looking to Nepal for solidarity and inspiration.

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What is militarism?

Militarism is war-mongering or the advocacy of war or actual carrying out of war or its preparations.

While true pacifists condemn all violence as equally repugnant, we Maoists do not consider self-defense or the violence of oppressed nations against imperialism to be militarism. Militarism is mostly caused by imperialism at this time. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism seen in countries like the United \$tates, England and France.

Under capitalism, capitalists often profit from war or its preparations. Yet, it is the proletariat that does the dying in the wars. The proletariat wants a system in which people do not have self-interest on the side of warprofiteering or war for imperialism.

Militarism is one of the most important reasons to overthrow capitalism. It even infects oppressed nations and causes them to fight each other. It is important not to let capitalists risk our lives in their ideas about war and peace or the environment. They have already had two world wars admitted by themselves in the last 100 years and they are conducting a third right now against the Third World.

Even a one percent annual chance of nuclear war destruction caused by capitalist aggressiveness or "greed" as the people call it should not be tolerated by the proletariat. After playing Russian Roulette (in which the bullet chamber is different each time and not related at all to the one that came up in previous spins) with 100 chambers and one bullet, the chance of survival is only 60.5% after 50 turns. In other words, a seemingly small one percent annual chance of world war means eventual doom. After 100 years or turns of Russian Roulette, the chances of survival are only 36.6%. After 200 years, survival has only a 13.4% chance.

The role of Amerikan public opinion Good cop/bad cop routine plays out in Nepal

Churchill for "terrorist-sympathizing" in connection to his speech on 9/11, these same Amerikkkans are supporting George Bu\$h's government that is delivering military aid to a regime in Nepal proven willing to use its airforce to attack its own people.(1) The "war on terror" reason given for Amerika's supporting a god-king in Nepal is that among his opponents is an organization referred to as the "Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)," which is on Bu\$h's official list as "terrorist." As in the case of the feardriven politics connected to Ward Churchill and 9/11, the "war on terror" in connection to Nepal does not stand up under scrutiny.

Even though Nepal teeters on the brink of Maoist revolution, the exploiters do not share a completely common agenda. No doubt mindful of what happened to other U.\$. lackeys such as Saddam Hussein and Manuel Noriega, Nepal's god-king Gyanendra is driving a doomed but hard bargain—either that or he is loyally serving imperialists who may have secretly told him to give up pretenses of democracy in order to defeat the Maoists. According to a bourgeois paper, the godking has refused for over a month to meet with India's or England's ambassadors now that they make a public stink of having cut off his military aid. Meanwhile the god-king met with the Amerikans at least as recently as March 7.(2) That's what makes it look like the god-king is flexing some muscle of his own.

Although MIM speculates on this point, it is a speculation based on much past history: it looks like the United \$tates is the good anti-communist cop while England is the bad one. The United \$tates is playing the role of loyal anti-communist supporter of the god-king who abolished Nepal's joke of a parliament and took complete power for himself, in the open. England is playing the role of dictating harsher terms in exchange for imperialist aid, harsher terms more pleasing to pettybourgeois European ears resentful of the god-king's open abandonment of democracy.

With Tony Blair coming under scrutiny again for legal advice prior to the recent phase of the war on Iraq,(3) and semifascist Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi having to make noise about pulling Italian troops out of Iraq because Amerikans killed an Italian secret service agent with "friendly fire,"(4) Bu\$h is in a relatively better public opinion position to pay the price for supporting a theocrat who has abolished any semblance of democracy. That has to do with the fact that the Amerikan petty-bourgeoisie is a tad more vicious and globally assertive than the European one-especially when it comes to communism. The proof of that sort of point is that Berlusconi did refer

While Amerikkkans attack Ward to Italian public opinion in his discussion of the reasons for making noise about pulling out of Iraq. If Bu\$h can kill Italian secret service agents, then the deal between the Italian and Amerikan exploiters must be no good, even from an Italian exploiter point-of-view.

The fact that Nepal's god-king Gyanendra meets with Bu\$h cronies but no one else actually exposes the u.\$. role in Nepal and globally in the "war on terror." It shows that the united \$tates is the main problem. The god-king abolishes parliament and courts, puts a military censor on the press, imprisons all other politicians, including the most bourgeois and semi-feudal, and there is still one reliable friend-Uncle \$am.

The risk to Bu\$h of killing the god-king and putting in a new lackey less likely to damage what is left of the tattered u.\$. image is the time it will take to find another god-king to placate the religious minority and the old regime's army. Since the majority of Nepal wants some kind of communist government, it may not be a simple matter to dispense with the support of the hard-core theocratic minority-and hence the god-king's bargaining leverage with the imperialists. Then too, every time Uncle \$am kills or removes a lackey, the other present and future lackeys see that. There is even a danger of copy-cat killings if Uncle \$am murders Gyanendra.

The nature of diplomacy under capitalism with its competitive property interests is secrecy. In the case of Nepal, the imperialists may have calculated who should play good cop and who bad cop. On the other hand, it is also possible that even the English, Indian and U.\$. players involved do not know the full extent of each other's moves because of differing interests in the "war on terror." Bu\$h has been calling an organization named the 'Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)" "terrorist," so any divergence in "war on terror" agenda could also play out in Nepal.

The imperialists would no doubt like a quick fascist victory over the Maoists followed by "democracy" for the remainder of the country left after the bloodbath. However, powerful imperialists do not always get 100% of what they want even in small countries like Nepal.

We Maoists in England and the United \$tates cannot do anything directly to stop the imperialists' secret maneuverings for fascism and monarchy in Nepal. We cannot shake the imperialists directly, but we can shake their props, the pettybourgeoisie, already concerned about 'democracy."

Not only does the official "war on terror" stand exposed as opposed to "democracy," but also, another pettybourgeois shibboleth is going down the drain thanks to the imperialists-the vaunted idyllic nature of places like

Nepal, pre-Mao Tibet and fictional cover for money-grubbing. Shangri-la. Bloodbaths, airstrikes-and agitation by the citizens of those countries-do not fit in with the image needed by a large portion of the professional classes seeking a spiritual escape from the daily capitalist grind of greed.

Examples of the liberal pettybourgeoisie's needs in connection to Eastern mysticism are found all over the united \$tates. Here is one example of how tickets sell for cultural performances with Tibetan themes: "Holiday in Tibet' is a multi-cultural festival honoring the wonder of Spirit through music, sacred writing and dance. The program also features celebrated violinist Aaron Meyer along with his band on a magical Holiday journey presenting traditional Holiday music ranging from Native American, Latino and Hebrew to Northern European, Mediterranean, oriental and Russian. With Tibet as the last stop on this magic carpet ride, the evening will come to a dramatic close with an unforgettable multi-performance tribute to the people, the culture and the indomitable spirit that is forever Tibet." It's not just that the ad ends "forever Tibet," but also the main featured song of the presentation is titled "forever Tibet."(5)

The Buddhists encourage Amerikans to sacrifice the people of Tibet and Nepal as mere figments of the imagination lower than the quest for spiritual tranquility: "If you have inner peace, the external problems do not affect your deep sense of tranquility. You are happy regardless of circumstances."(5) So if the god-king bombs the people of Nepal to smithereens to keep his property, the Amerikans looking for a cover for their capitalworshipping life will go on worshipping the god-king of Nepal and others like him. That's what happens when spirituality becomes separated from material life. In one place, we have money-grubbers and in the other a spiritual "tranquility" to

The liberal portion of the pettybourgeoisie especially resident in college towns and the "blue states" thought religious harmony was "forever" in those Eastern mystical places —so the risk would be that some might awaken to realize that god-king Gyanendra's airstrikes on his own people cannot be necessary or something is wrong with the initial picture of timeless spiritual unity. If the people practicing these spiritual ideas do not have "tranquility," it might stand to reason we cannot get it by imbibing Buddhism in Amerikan coffee houses either. Right now these liberals say "Free Tibet," but the risk is that they may flipflop to say "Free Nepal!"

For that matter, today, even the Dalai Lama does not believe there should be a theocratic government. According to his own writings, he does not believe there should be another one after him.

MIM is looking forward to debating the petty-bourgeoisie on both Tibet and Nepal together. Nepal shows us had the Dalai Lama stayed in power in Tibet, just like people everywhere the people still would have wanted a secular government, and with a majority of exploited peasants and workers, the chances of the government's being communist were always high. Hence, Amerikans should give up on their insistence that people of the East live under theocratic repression opposed to the economic interests of the majority. Fighting the economic interests of the global majority is no way to discourage terrorism.

Notes:

1. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/ south asia/4245411.stm

2. http://www.hindustantimes.com/ news/7598 1291765,000500020009.htm 3. http://news.independent.co.uk/uk/

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Florida attacks abortion availability for minors

FDA GUIDELINE PROHIBITS MEN WHO HAVE SEX WITH MEN FROM BEING ANONYMOUS SPERM DONORS

By HC116 and mim3@mim.org, May 6, 2005

The Florida legislature today passed a bill, CS-HB 1659, that would require doctors to notify the parent/guardian of a minor before the minor aborts her pregnancy.(1) Referring to a November ballot proposal to amend the Florida Constitution, the act itself says: "The Parental Notice of the Termination of a Minor's Pregnancy Act of 2005 is necessary to protect the fundamental right of parents to raise their children free unnecessary government from interference and to comply with the mandate of the citizens of Florida."(2) The Florida Senate passed the act yesterday. The House has sent the bill to Florida Governor Jeb Bush.

It is necessary to point out that this is not just a Bu\$h clique thing, and it is basically nothing new: the u.\$. Supreme Court ruled on parental notification for abortion before the 1980s. Most States in the united \$tates already require either parental consent or notification for minors' abortions. The Florida act requires only notification, with some exceptions including medical emergencies or a history of child abuse "by a family or household member." This actually gives minors some leeway compared with requiring parental consent, but then the minors have to deal with their parents' objections and hostility.

MIM's line recognizes three strands of oppression in the world: nation, class, and gender, which includes the gender oppression of children: the principal contradiction in the Euro-Amerikan nation today is in age. Restricting abortions for young people under eighteen is for different reasons relevant to gender in particular.

Concretely, abortion practices are not without problems in patriarchal society and do not exist outside the context of imperialist and patriarchal methods in medicine. But having an abortion is a way to limit patriarchal oppression and its effects. There is no reason to force childbirth on wimmin or young people as a group, even less so with the lower life expectancies associated with childbirth and motherhood. Compared with childbirth and the lower life expectancy from motherhood, abortion results in higher life expectancy even given the alleged health risks of abortion. Still, according to a March 10, 2005, Quinnipiac University telephone poll of registered voters in the united \$tates, 77% of men favored parental notification before abortion. 73% of wimmin, slightly fewer men than wimmin, did. The men and "women" of the united \$tates are in agreement on the supposed need for

parents to surveil and control their children's bodies; yet, children have rarely been allowed to even criticize adults for what they do with their own bodies or even the children's bodies. The gender oppressors' control of children's bodies for oppressive purposes is harsh, invasive and monopolized by adults, and it is a condition of exploitation of children and violence against children.

Interestingly, Florida's parental notification act coincides with a reported new Food and Drug Administration guideline apparently prohibiting men who have sex with men (within five years and regardless of protected/unprotected) from being anonymous sperm donors.(3) The guideline seems to have been in the making for years, since as early as 1999.(4) Unscientificially, the FDA focuses on the heterosexual/homosexual status of sex, rather than indicators of unsafe sex. What is concerning about this is not just the simplistic singling out of homosexual sex and the stigmatizing effect of that exclusion, but the FDA's restricting men who have sex with men's ability to participate in reproduction and making it further necessary for reproduction to involve straight men. Men who have sex with men do not necessarily identify as gay, but straight men who have had sex with men would probably be less likely to identify with the FDA's guideline.

MIM's line does not preclude changing reproduction practices in order to end the oppression of wimmin. Artificial insemination does not itself end patriarchy, and MIM is not chauvinists who worry about ways to increase the population growth rate of the oppressor nation. However, artificial insemination is a way to have biological reproduction without sex in this patriarchal society where all sex is rape socially; no practice of sex in patriarchal society is completely separate from power relations. If it were possible to have biological reproduction without necessitating even individual females to be part of biological reproduction, MIM would consider that. too. Such reproductive technology is for the most part theoretical, but the imperialist-patriarchy's efforts to reinforce the bond between reproduction and patriarchal sex practices-by discouraging young people from aborting their pregnancies and now by limiting artificial insemination—is a reactionary trend

In the process, the FDA guideline not only humiliates gay men and makes them vulnerable but raises the specter of eugenics against gay persyns with their "gay" blood. For almost two decades, the FDA has prohibited men who have (had) sex with men (since 1977) from donating blood on the most specious unscientific grounds not even distinguishing between protected and unprotected sex for any type of sex, heterosexual or homosexual. Now, it tries to prohibit sexually active gay men and other men who have sex with men from donating sperm. Contracting HIV through artificial insemination is practically unheard of regardless of heterosexual/homosexual sex. "Currently, 15 women are known to have been infected with HIV via artificial insemination using sperm from anonymous donors [in five different countries].... All but one of these cases of insemination-related infection occurred before the availability of HIV antibody testing."(5)

Limiting gay donation of blood and sperm is a political approach to solving a problem where money is lacking for scientific testing. There are techniques for artificial insemination used in Italy that separate HIV from sperm that comes from HIV-positive donors.(5) Yet techniques to use HIV-positive blood and sperm cost more money and time. This is another reason that socialism is important to health care and the battle against antigay chauvinism simultaneously. Under capitalism there are "good reasons" to prevent gays from blood and sperm donation—HIV and money. MIM is not in favor of people's risking their lives so that MSM (men having sex with men) can donate sperm and blood under capitalism. If capitalists decide not to spend money in a certain way in a blood drive and ask MSM not to donate blood, we hope these men respect it. Under socialism, we realize that the world has plenty of unemployed people and that money is really nothing but a call on labor. So we socialists are for putting the labor into eliminating practices discriminatory against gays. At the same time it would be wrong to expect today's hospital administrators and the like to behave like socialists: it won't happen. That's why MSM and other HIV risk groups need to cooperate under capitalism in questions of blood and sperm.

Just from the viewpoint of increasing the population growth rate, the gender oppressors are behaving in a contradictory if not irrational way to defend their system. They discourage abortion for minors, but then they want to ban MSM as sperm donors except in cases of directed sperm donors where the womyn already knows the man, thus lowering the already scarce supply of donor sperm. And this is happening at a time when the white oppressor nation's population growth rate is declining (and some MSM are white) and the fascists and cryptofascists are carping about the so-called immigrant invasion.

If in fact a higher population growth rate is in the oppressor nation's interests, then we can see more clearly the divergence between the gender and nation strands of oppression/struggle. The decadent Amerikans wanting more leisure time decide not to have children. Yet, many of them want to force teenagers to have children—effectively shifting the reproduction burden to youth. And they still want to prevent gays and lesbians from participating in reproduction / child rearing through sperm donation as well as adoption and foster parenting. The fascists and other white nationalists whine about the declining white proportion of the u.\$. population. It's stupid: they want to have the imperialist-patriarchal cake and eat bits of it too by attacking gay people.

Another reactionary seeming irrationality is when the assorted white nationalists attack Latino migrants but then some of the nationalists want to use Latina wimmin as nannies and surrogate mothers. The gender and nation strands are clearly entangled here.

All of these contradictions put wimmin—especially those outside the Euro-Amerikan nation—youth, and sexual minorities, in a precarious position. MIM has the line to advance beyond these contradictions. Notes:

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2. http://www.myfloridahouse.gov/ bills detail.aspx

3. David Crary, "FDA set to implement new rules rejecting gay men as anonymous sperm donors," May 6, 2005, http://www.canada.com/ health/story.html?id=1ab80615-934f-4ed5-b07ac5daf79f1e31

4. "The FDA is trying to prevent gay men from having children," April 8, 1999, http:// www.familypride.org/preleases/pr_fda.php JoSelle Vanderhooft, "Unwanted Organs : Why are gay men excluded from tissue donor programs?" http://slmetro.com/2004/5/ feature.shtml

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hivworkshop.com/feb02-3.htm 5. Elizabeth Donegan, "Transmission of HIV by Blood, Blood Products, Tissue Transplantation, and Artificial Insemination," October 2003, http://hivinsite.ucsf.edu/InSite?page=kb-07&doc=kb-07-02-09

6. "Male Pregnancy Now an Option, Beijing Surgeon Says," May 29, 2002, http:// www.china.org.cn/english/2002/May/33452.htm
7. Gary Younge, "Activists furious at limits on gay sperm donors," May 21, 2004, http:// www.guardian.co.uk/usa/story/
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9. Dennis Bueckert, "Sperm in jeopardy: Bill critics," October 6, 2003, anoe.ca/

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Build for the Unlock the Box conference

For years we've been asking our comrades behind bars to send information on conditions to help us build support for struggles like our campaign to shut down prison Control Units. We are currently working to bring this movement to a higher level through an upcoming conference called "Unlock the Box" on October 8 in San Francisco.

We invite prisoners to help recruit for this event and build support for this movement. We want to reach out to and involve as many people and organizations as possible from across the country. You can help by: 1) Creating a list of organizations (with contact info) who are interested in this work to reach out to 2) Contacting these organizations to see if they will participate or support our work 3) Getting people on the streets building awareness of the conference 4) Getting interested organizations to host events or meetings with representatives from our campaign to present on the topic of the control units and recruit support for the upcoming conference

Prisoners can help support this work by spreading the word about the conference within the prisons and encouraging our supporters on the inside to send information to their people on the outside to build participation. Those who can commit to this recruiting and who want more information, letters, fliers, etc should contact MIM. As always, we also need information from our comrades in the control units: statistics on the control units in your state or facility and reports on conditions in the control units are important for our educational and agitation work.

WA debts

It is my belief that as a prisoner of the Washington Department of Corrections we are not eligible for a second chance at life. A brighter tomorrow for us is an impossibility. We are no longer human beings that have made mistakes, but are now the wheels of the juggernaut called the "Department of Corrections." I do not disagree that convicts owe a debt to society. May it be victim restitution or court cost, we all come here owing a debt that WE should be accountable for.

What I disagree with is the racketeering of funds sent by loved ones. Here in Washington we are forced to forfeit 35% of funds sent by loved ones. That money does not go to pay debts, but goes to pay "cost of incarceration," which I know for a fact tax payers are already forced to pay. This means that WDOC is getting paid twice by tax payers who have loved ones that are incarcerated. Is that fair?

The 35% deduction is only the tip of the iceberg here in Washington. Because if you have no loved ones to send you money to purchase soap, toothpaste, stamps, deodorant, and other necessary hygiene items your debt grows. If your wife can only afford to send you \$50.00 once a year, and the rest of the year you are indigent you will have accumulated quite a debt. Now instead of a 35% deduction from the \$50.00, it is a 55%. It is my opinion that the 35% deduction for cost of incarceration would and should include necessary hygiene items, but here at WDOC, it does not.

Further more, if you owe restitutions, which are called LFO's here at WDOC. Which stands for Legal Financial Obligations. If you owe "LFO's", an additional 15% will be deducted from all monies received. This brings us to a total of 70% of your once a year \$50.00 money

Under Lock & Key News from Prisons & Prisoners

order from your wife.

Also, if you have child support they will deduct an additional 25%. In the end, if you owe all these debts, they will have deducted a total of 95% of funds that your loved ones send you. Out of a \$50.00 money order that your wife works hard for, and that Uncle Sam has already taken his share of, you will have received \$2.50. That is ridiculous. That is not a prisoner being held accountable for his debts. That is his loved ones being held accountable.

And as if that were not enough, WDOC is charging interest on prisoner debts. So if you come to prison here in Washington with a debt of \$1,000 and you are serving 5 years in which you are forced to depend on hygiene provided by WDOC, your debt will be enormous by the time of your release. And the addition of interest charged just adds weight on the shoulders of those who already have nothing. In my eyes, this is enough to overwhelm anyone. But what can we do? Our cries from behind these walls are unheard. Sincerely

—Worried in Washington, November 2004 **MIM responds:** We thank this comrade for reporting the above information to MIM Notes but we are encourage him not to face

Notes but we encourage him not to feel hopeless. There is much we can do. Not only are policies like this affecting about \$2 million incarcerated people in this country, but as the writer mentions, the families are also being victimized. That's millions of people both inside and outside prisons who can be organized around winnable battles like changing debt policies within the DOC.

But as the pages of ULK make clear, this is just one example of the type of problems prisoners are facing across the united \$tates. The big problem is the fact that prisons are used as a tool of national oppression, not as a tool of the people that promotes rehabilitation and true restitution when crimes against the people were committed. So this is what we aim to change. We must eliminate a system that seeks to profit off of oppression. And we must build a society that meets the needs of its people by working in the best interest of all of humynity.

Unsafe Showers in Washington

The Washington State Penitentiary facility and its administration has been using an unsanitary, hazardous security practice with its outdated shower procedures. WSP facility units 6 & 8, communal shower rooms have only 16 active shower heads per each shower room with no individual control of each independent shower heads that inmates could adjust. The shower rooms also lack control of hot or cold water adjustments.

On a daily basis, units 6 & 8 conducts its unit showers at only two periods: 8:30 to 9:30 am, and 7:30 to 8:30 pm approximately. There are 120 cells that house 4 men each with a total capacity to hold 480 inmates per housing unit. On a daily consistent basis there are usually more than forty inmates congregated in the shower room to utilize 16 shower heads for 10 minutes, which everyone is expected to shower. After the 10 minute period the water is turned off by a staff officer who sits in an enclosed booth to monitor the showers. This herding and over-crowding has and is causing tension and frustration among inmates that are forced to follow this practice using this shower area. Nearly a year ago a riot incident occurred behind this same dangerous issue. On 4/23/04, six inmates, three whites and three Blacks, engaged in a brutal battle over shower access.

This violent incident escalated into racial tension that infected the whole institution and caused other alterations that almost instigated a full fledged riot.

The WSP administration has been showing total institutional indifference for years over this issue. It is not only an unhygienic practice, but also a sever security issue that bolsters victimization, sexual assault and homosexual rape that has been an epidemic in the WDOC system. The use of this type of communal shower system fosters tension and belligerent behavior.

This problem could be immediately remedied by releasing only 16 inmates at a time to utilize the 16 shower heads at 10 or 15 minute intervals. For a permanent remedy the shower area should be reconstructed and modified for individual shower stalls to relieve congestion. This is the only state facility that has communal showers.

These upgrades and changes in a new shower procedure and modifications is in the mans of the WSP administration budget for what they don't pay for now they surely will be paying for later at a much higher cost.

We, the inmates confined at WSP, have to endure this daily forced congestion of showering. We are already addressing this matter through the appropriate levels of complaint to exhaustion only to receive no relief. We are also seeking outside support and help on this issue in the form of letters of complaint and concern. Email to OCO DOC Deputy of Corrections, Eastern Regional administrator, Washington legislature officials, or any agency that can compel the indifference of this administration to make immediate change in this policy. Mr. Richard Morgan is the Superintendent of WSP 1313 N. 13th Ave Walla Walla, WA 99362.

-a Washington prisoner, December 2004

No due process in "Land of the Free"

Contrary to naive Amerikan idealism about due process and justice's blindness to prejudice, the u.\$. criminal injustice system includes an intricate web of extrajudicial proceedings designed to deprive prisoners of their basic rights. Prisoners in this country are supposedly doing time assigned them by a judge, after trial by a jury of their peers. But really the u.\$. prisons have means of lengthening and hardening sentences, with no deference to the courts and often no means of appeal.

The first two brief reports below are from prisoners being denied access to the grievance system — the first recourse for prisoners subjected to injustice behind bars. Since a prisoner must demonstrate that s/he has exhausted the grievance process before filing some civil rights lawsuits, this kind of interference with access to the grievance process is a straight- up denial of the constitutional right to access the courts. The full letter that follows describes the extralegal sentencing that in the security classification system that further violates due process.

I'm writing to report a change of address. I believe my sudden transfer was due to my efforts to organize inmates to file grievances and lawsuits when our rights are being violated. I was also writing for help from outside organizations.

- a Kentucky prisoner, 20 April, 2005

[I have filed many grievances over issues of safety and hygiene for prisoners with disabilities in this Department of Corrections.] The warden has even told the safety officer not to give me Safety Violation Forms [so I won't be able to file any more grievances]. — a Texas prisoner, 15 February, 2005

CO prisoner sends \$3.70 What can you give?

I've seen some papers speaking about your anti-imperialist movement. I believe strongly in being anti-Western because of this institutional oppression of the masses. I am

MIM on Prisons & Prisoners

MIM seeks to build public opinion against Amerika's criminal injustice system, and to eventually replace the bourgeois injustice system with proletarian justice. The bourgeois injustice system imprisons and executes a disproportionately large and growing number of oppressed people while letting the biggest mass murderers — the imperialists and their lackeys — roam free. Imperialism is not opposed to murder or theft, it only insists that these crimes be committed in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

"All U.S. citizens are criminals accomplices and accessories to the crimes of U.\$. oppression globally until the day U.\$. imperialism is overcome. All U.S. citizens should start from the point of view that they are reforming criminals."

MIM does not advocate that all prisoners go free today; we have a more effective program for fighting crime as was demonstrated in China prior to the restoration of capitalism there in 1976. We say that all prisoners are political prisoners because under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, all imprisonment is substantively political. It is our responsibility to exert revolutionary leadership and conduct political agitation and organization among prisoners whose material conditions make them an overwhelmingly revolutionary group. Some prisoners should and will work on self-criticism under a future dictatorship of the proletariat in those cases in which prisoners really did do something wrong by proletarian standards.

incarcerated in Colorado and I was informed about a free subscription newsletter that you offer. If I can be honored, I would like to receive this newsletter. A struggle without sacrifice is nothing. So if you can or cannot send the newsletter, I would like to donate these 10 stamps to your cause.

- a Colorado prisoner, 4 April, 2005

Same tactics in Amerikkkan and Iraqi prisons

I have been a prisoner here at Georgia State Prison—AKA "The Bottom"—since June 2001. I have been confined to SMU (Special Management Unit) on high-max for false and fictitious write-ups for assaulting an officer and confined to a 5' by 8' cell with reinforced sold steel doors with padlocks on tray slots.

We are unable to flush our own toilets from inside the cells, and have to depend on security guards to flush toilets "every two hours" from walkway behind our cells. To deprive us of sleep sometimes toilets are flushed only once on each eight hour shift, which leaves feces and urine standing for hours in toilets. Also, to participate in one hour outside recreation, shower, or go to sickcall we have to strip completely naked and are required to: open our mouths, hold hands above our heads, lift testicles, turn around and lift left and right feet to expose soles, and bend over at waist, take both hands and pull buttocks apart to expose anus—all this or be refused above activities or face physical force from Correctional Emergency Response team as harassment.

The practice here in the SMU by requiring us to bend over at the waist or face force, frivolous write-ups, etc. are all intended to degrade prisoners. The same tactics that are used in Iraq are first used here in Amerikkkan prisons.

—A prisoner in Georgia, January 2005

Conditions in California SHU

I am in CCI, Tehachapi Security Housing Unit (SHU). I've read what other comrades have said about where they're at in the SHU and about mental problems. Well, from how we are given the cold shoulder and treated around here, it would break a person's mind down real fast. The first thing that blew me away was, we only get a 1/2 a bar of soap every week, not a bar, a 1/2 of bar. Two pairs of boxers, 2 shirts, 2 socks, 1 jumpsuit, 2 blankets and 4 sheets. We turn out laundry in on Sunday and get it back the next Saturday, a week later. Which means we have to wash our boxers, shirts and socks, shower 3 times a week, if we're lucky, and clean our cells with that 1/2 a pair of soap. You get 2 pieces of blank paper a week which I appealed all the way to Sacramento under CCR title 15 sec 3134, indigent inmates, which in short says "writing paper, envelopes and the minimum postage required for first class domestic mail

for up to five one ounce letters per week shall be supplied to an indigent inmate as defined in section 3000, upon the inmate's request." I'm indigent and can't get it. I have to ask people for paper when I run out.

Some people in here with mental problems sometimes flip out and kick on their doors. What happens you ask? These pigs spray them down with O.C. pepper spray, then strip out their cell. Shit, I've come to the point after all I've seen and been through, that I'm starting to get paranoid! I'll think that there's a microphone or a little video camera inside of my cell somewhere. Then I get a grip on my thinking. The SHU comrades are on a lockdown program. We shower 3 times a week, if lucky, and are supposed to receive 10 hours of yard a week in the dog cages .But if the main line gets locked down, we get locked down also. Which means no vard or showers until the warden, captain, or lieutenant says so. It's January 22 today and I've had 5 showers this month and have only gone to yard 4 times for around 2.5 hours per yard. That's 10 hours of yard in 22 days. Madness! I'd like to see our so-called state officials spend 22 days in our situation, shit even one day would make 'em think twice about saying SHU are not unjustified or cruel.

In the summer, the heater was on and now in the winter the cooler is on. Cruel and unusual? Hell yea, to top it off with mind games. Here's something else: I'm trying to educate myself while I'm in the SHU. I asked that I be able as well as other inmates be able to study for and take the GED test and/ or study for my high school diploma. I 602 appealed on the grounds that I'm wanting to educate myself and, it is a requirement by the state parole board for a lifer to have either a GED or a diploma. The appeal was denied on all levels, I am including a copy of the whole 602 appeal with this letter so people outside can see that the department of Korruption wants to keep comrades in the SHU ignorant.

I tried to enroll in the correction learning network, that they said is offered to me, and I was told the materials I needed were not available at that time. So I put in for different study materials and never heard from them again! I plan on taking this issue into the courts and due to the fact that I am a layman of the law, I can use all the help anyone may offer.

- a prisoner in California, Tehachapi SHU, January 2005

Lack of Outdoor exercise

Outdoor exercise at High Desert State Prison is limited to 1 hour to 3 hours every week. However, this is not always the case due to lockdowns, yard delays, weather conditions, emergency counting, a tray missing, unsigned kites [ghost inmates informing officers of a possible assault], officers' end of the month training day, officers' funerals, and any other excuse is

Facts on U\$ imprisonment

The facts about imprisonment in the United \$tates are that the United \$tates has been the world's leading prison-state per capita for the last 25 years, with a brief exception during Boris Yeltsin's declaration of a state of emergency.(1)

That means that while Reagan was talking about a Soviet "evil empire" he was the head of a state that imprisoned more people per capita. In supposedly "hard-line" Bulgaria of the Soviet bloc of the 1980s, the imprisonment rate was less than half that of the United \$tates.(2,3) To find a comparison with U.\$. imprisonment of Black people, there is no statistic in any country that compares including apartheid South

Africa of the era before Mandela was president. The last situation remotely comparable to the situation today was under Stalin during war time. The majority of prisoners are non-violent offenders(4) and the U.S. Government now holds about a half million more prisoners than China; even though China is four times our population.(5) The rednecks tell MIM that we live in a "free country." They live in an Orwellian 1984 situation where freedom is imprisonment.

The rednecks tell MIM that we live in a "free country." They live in an Orwellian 1984 situation where freedom is imprisonment. Notes: 1. Marc Mauer, "Americans Behind Bars: The International Use of Incarceration 1993," The Prison Sentencing Project, 918 F. St. NW, Suite 501, Washington, DC 20004 (202) 628-0871 Reference: SRI: R8965-2, 1994

2. Ibid., 1992 report.

3. United Nations Development Programme, "Human Development Report 1994,:" Oxford University Press, p. 186.

4. Figure of 51.2 percent for state prisoners there for non-violent offenses. Abstract of the United States 1993, p. 211.

5. Atlantic Monthly December, 1998.

reason good enough to keep our asses lock down 24/7. Since rehabilitation programs, vocational,

training classes, or school is out of the question, surely some fresh air and sun light is not a lot to ask. Mexico, being a Third World country, provides its prisoners with more respect, jobs, education, family contacts (conjugal visits), and above all, treat them like human beings.

Many Mexicans have asked for transfers to do their sentences in Mexico, but we are always turned down. It seems to me that the prison system needs the \$30,000 a year that each Mexican generates occupying their prison beds.

- a California prisoner, HDSP, March 2005

Discrimination against Mexicans at Folsom

I would like to elaborate on the current issue within the prison walls at New Folsom State Prison. I am Mexican and from Northern California and have been at New Folsom Cyard for over four years now. All of a sudden CDC wants to use the validation process to validate me [as a gang member], not once but now twice since I have been in ad-seg.

I have seen a handful of my friends be put up and shipped to Pelican Bay where they have to spend the remainder of their time confined with nothing to do. No contact visits. or phone calls, and no socializing with anybody outside of your pod. Right now northern Hispanics are the number one individuals getting validated besides Southern Hispanics who also get validated. We have discussed it amongst us but can not come up with anything valid to file on the assistant warden. We feel he is biased against us but can't prove it. When individuals are seen by him, inappropriate comments are made on his behalf. But one can not comment due to repercussions made by staff. like destroying cells, late mail, things of that nature.

It is very corrupt within these walls. This administration is not even following protocol when validation is being done. The only way one can get out of the SHU is to file writs within the courts, but by then what do you have left. Hopefully you have family because a relationship will fall apart. This is just a small piece of what is going on behind the walls at New Folsom State Prison.

- a CA prisoner, March 2005



Join the fight against the injustice system

While we fight to end the criminal injustice system MIM engages in reformist battles to improve the lives of prisoners. Below are some of the campaigns we are currently waging, and ways people behind the bars and on the outside can get involved. More info can be found on our prison web site: http://www.etext.org/Politics/ MIM/agitation/prisons

Stop Censorship in Prison: Prisons frequently censor books, newspapers and magazines coming from MIM's books for prisoners program. We need help from lawyers, paralegals and jailhouse lawyers to fight this censorship.

Books for Prisoners: This program focuses on political education of prisoners. Send donations of books and money for our Books for Prisoners program.

End the Three Strikes laws: This campaign is actively fighting the repressive California laws, but similar laws exist in other states. Write to us to request a petition to collect signatures. Send articles and information on three strike laws.

Shut Down the Control Units: Across the country there are a growing number of prison control units. These are permanently designated prisons or cells in prisons that lock prisoners up in solitary or small group confinement for 22 or more hours a day with no congregate dining, exercise or other services, and virtually no programs for prisoners. Prisoners are placed in control units for extended periods of time. These units cause both mental and physical problems for prisoners.

Write to us to request a petition to collect signatures. Get your organization to sign the statement demanding control units be shut down. Send us information about where there are control units in your state. Include the names of the prisons as well as the number of control unit beds/cells in each prison if that is known. Send us anti-control unit artwork.

MIM's Re-Lease on Life Program: This program provides support for our comrades who have been recently released from the prison system, to help them meet their basic needs and also continue with their revolutionary organizing on the outside. We need funds, housing, and job resources. We also need prisoner's input on the following survey questions:

 What are the biggest challenges you face being released from prison?
 How can these problems be addressed?

3. What are the important elements of a successful release program?

Notas RojasImage: Contract of the second second

Irak: Las elecciones son una fase nueva en la ocupación yanqui

Por: Carlos Varea (*). www.eldiariointernacional.com

La Junta Electoral iraquí presentaba finalmente el sábado 13 de febrero los resultados de los comicios celebrados en Iraq el pasado 30 de enero. Los resultados se ajustan a lo previsto, esencialmente un reparto de los 275 escaños de la nueva Asamblea Nacional entre las formaciones asociadas a los ocupantes y que han formado parte de las instancias previas instauradas por EEUU y Reino Unido tras la invasión de Iraq, primero del Consejo Gubernativo y, a partir de junio de 2004, del denominado Gobierno Interino, presidido por Iyad Alawi [1].

El número oficial de participantes en los comicios ha sido fijado finalmente en 8.456.266 votantes, sobre un total de inscritos de 14,7 millones, es decir el 59%. De los 20 millones de potenciales votantes se habían inscrito para poder hacerlo 14 millones, según fuentes oficiales, es decir el 70%. Calcúlese el porcentaje final total de participación: en torno al 42%.

Lo más relevante es que la coalición, si no exclusivamente shi'í (incluye formaciones de otras comunidades y confesiones), sí articulada en torno a la figura del gran ayatollah as-Sistani y las dos principales formaciones confesionales shiíes (el Congreso Supremo de la Revolución Islámica en Iraq, CSRII y ad-Dawa), la Alianza Unida Iraquí (AUI), ha obtenido, según declaraciones propias, menos votos de los esperados: 1,9 millones. La AUI ha logrado así el 47,6% de los casi 8,5 millones de votos emitidos, el 60% de ellos en Bagdad (donde votó el 51% de los inscritos) y el resto en las nueve provincias del sur del país, donde el promedio de participación fue del 72% [2].

Hay discrepancias en la asignación del número de escaños, pero la AUI contará según el reparto de la Junta Electoral con 132, es decir carecerá de mayoría absoluta en la Cámara (fijada en dos tercios) pero será la fuerza principal. Efecto colateral inevitable de la estrategia de desmantelamiento confesional y sectario del Estado iraquí seguida por la Administración Bush, este hecho solo atenuará parcialmente la poderosa irrupción de Irán en el escenario interno iraquí, dada la estrecha relación con este país que mantienen tanto la propia jerarquía shi'í iraquí (as-Sistani es iraní), como las dos formaciones principales de la lista vencedora, el CSRII y ad-Dawa (que incluso combatieron al lado de Teherán durante la guerra irano-iraquí).

La siguiente lista más votada ha sido la de la coalición -de los otrora enemigos- Unión Patriótica del Kurdistán (UPK, de Talaban) y el Partido Democrático del Kurdistán (PDK, liderado por Barzani), la denominada Alianza Kurda, con el 25,4% de los votos y que tiene asignados 71 escaños. La tercera es la del actual primer ministro Alawi, la Lista Iraquí, con el 13.6% de los votos y 38 escaños. La cuarta más votada es la encabeza por el actual presidente interino del país, Ghazi al-Yawar, sunní, que contará con cinco escaños. Al-Yawar probablemente ha recogido el limitado voto de las provincias centrales del país, con un porcentaje mínimo de participación en la de al-Anbar (con capital en ar-Ramadi y donde se localiza Faluya), el 2%, v máximo en la de Salah al-Din, con el 29%. Las provincias caracterizadas como de "mayoría sunní" por los medios de comunicación suman siete millones de iraquíes, un cuarto de la población total del país.

Otras siete candidaturas se reparten el resto de escaños de la Asamblea, entre ellas la del Partido Comunista (Unión del Pueblo, con dos) y una lista de seguidores del clérigo Moqtadar as-Sadr (lista Nacional Independiente, con otros dos), quien se desvinculó de la lista promovida por as-Sistani, pero que, respetando el liderazgo religioso de la jerarquía shi'í (al-Marja'iyyah, integrada por cuatro ayatollahs), no llamó al boicot activo de los comicios [3]. Esta lista de seguidores de as-Sadr ha recibido su apoyo mayoritariamente en la provincia de Maysan, donde el porcentaje de participación ha sido el máximo estatal, como en el Kurdistán, del 85% [4]. Tras las elecciones, as-Sadr ha pedido un calendario para la retirada de las tropas de ocupación [5] y probablemente espera canalizar de nuevo a su favor la oposición mayoritaria a la presencia de los ocupantes entre el electorado shí'í a medida que se evidencia que la Asamblea y el nuevo gobierno, como ya se ha adelantado, no pedirá a EEUU y demás países ocupantes el fin de su presencia en el país [6]. Una situación de interinidad

Estos resultados electorales, se les otorgue la fiabilidad que se quiera (las denuncias de irregularidades han sido muchas, particularmente en la disputada ciudad de Kirkuk [7], que la coalición UPK-PDK reivindicará como capital de un ampliado Kurdistán iraquí), prefiguran un panorama político en Iraq para el próximo año complejo, que habrá de resolverse con un reparto equilibrado de cargos entre las tres listas más votadas, en una atmósfera que no pierde su carácter de interinidad

Así, el nuevo parlamento habrá de estar constituido para el primero de marzo y habrá de abordar la formación de un nuevo gobierno y la redacción de una nueva Constitución basada en la denominada Ley Administrativa Transitoria, un texto provisional aprobado hace ahora un año que, según el calendario establecido por la Autoridad Provisional de la Coalición antes de su disolución en junio de 2004, habrá de someterse a referéndum el 15 de octubre. Tras ello, se convocarán nuevamente elecciones generales el 15 de diciembre para elegir otra nueva Asamblea y un nuevo gobierno, ya por cinco años. La Administración Bush sin duda participará

activamente en lograr un acuerdo entre los triunfadores en lo que respecta a la designación de los cargos de primer ministro y presidente del país. Alawi ha procurado en estos días -con visita a Irbil incluida- que los partidos kurdos le apoyen en su intento de mantenerse como primer ministro, haciendo valer para ello su carácter de puente -"shi'í laico" [sic]— entre las dos listas más votadas. La alianza UPK-PDK postula a Jalal Talabani, líder de la UPK, como presidente del país. Por su parte la coalición ganadora ha insistido en que quiere para sí el cargo de primer ministro, designando para éste a Ibrahim al-Jaafari, máximo dirigente de ad-Dawa y actual vicepresidente del país [8]. Presentado como un moderado por medios occidentales, al-Jaafari, exilado en Irán desde los años 80, pertenecía a la denominada "rama londinense" de ad-Dawa, más proclive que la parte de dirección del partido asentada en Teherán a asociarse a los planes de EEUU y Reino

Unido de invasión de Iraq. Fuentes kurdas avanzaban un acuerdo preliminar por el cual la Alianza Kurda finalmente apoyaría a un primer ministro de la lista shi'í y no a Alawi, a cambio de que la presidencia del país se otorgue a Talabani [9], un hombre con muy buenas relaciones con Irán, Turquía e Israel.

Las líneas de mayor tensión entre la Alianza Kurda v la Alianza Unida Iraquí de as-Sistani es la reivindicación federalista de la primera y la imposición de la ley islámica como exclusiva fuente de legislación en la nueva constitución de la segunda, va expresada abiertamente tras los comicios [10]. La posibilidad de acuerdo, aquél derivado de la presión estadounidense y del sometimiento a la lógica de los ocupantes de unos y de otros en esta nueva etapa de dominación, que cabe imaginar como caracterizada por una división territorial de facto de Iraq, mientras se ajustan para 2006 los acuerdos sobre la presencia militar indefinida de EEUU y Reino Unido y la privatización de los hidrocarburos. En suma, la gestión y reparto en clave neocolonial del crudo iraquí.

Por su parte, las formaciones que llamaron al boicot de las pasadas elecciones en Iraq, agrupadas en el Congreso Fundacional Nacional Iraquí, han emitido un comunicado el 14 de febrero al término de un nueva reunión mantenida en Bagdad. Entre las formaciones y personalidades reunidas se encontraba un representante de Moqtadar as-Sadr, junto a la Asociación de Ulemas Musulmanes y formaciones laicas y nacionalistas (incluido el Partido Baaz). El comunicado, avanzado por Al-Jazeera, exige de la comunidad internacional "[...] un calendario internacionalmente garantizado para la retirada de las tropas extranjeras" y fija las dos condiciones de su participación en un "[...] proceso de reconciliación nacional y redacción de la [nueva] Constitución": que se ponga fin a la designación de cargos según "[...] criterios religiosos, raciales o étnicos" y "[...] el reconocimiento del derecho del pueblo a resistir" la ocupación. El comunicado declara como "ilegítimo" el gobierno iraquí que surge de unas elecciones que son caracterizadas como "fraudulentas" y con limitado grado de participación popular.

Continuidad de la presencia extranjera

Debido a este carácter de interinidad de las nuevas instancias iraquíes surgidas del 30 de enero, no se espera que EEUU discuta con el gobierno iraquí que ha de ser ahora constituido el denominado Status of Forces Agreement ("Acuerdo sobre el estatuto de las fuerzas [extranjeras en Iraq]") [11], es decir, un calendario de retirada parcial y escalonada de las tropas de ocupación y la formalización de su presencia definitiva en el país por medio del establecimiento de hasta 14 bases militares estadounidenses y británicas, asociadas -se afirma- a puntos neurálgicos de extracción, producción y exportación de crudo y gas iraquíes [12]. En cualquier caso, todas las declaraciones más recientes de miembros de la Administración Bush y del propio presidente coinciden en el mantenimiento de la presencia de las tropas estadounidenses más allá, cuando menos, de este año 2005, máximo cuando se confirma lo poco que avanza el proceso de formación y adiestramiento de los nuevos cuerpos de seguridad iraquíes, hasta el punto que el Pentágono ha renunciado a dar cifras concretas sobre esta materia [13].

Mandos militares estadounidenses han reconocido que el nivel de violencia el día de las elecciones fue muy superior al inicialmente admitido, entre 200 v 300 ataques, cuando el vicesecretario de Defensa Wolfowitz limitó el número de acciones a ocho ataques suicidas [14]. El segundo mando del Comando Central de EEUU, el general Lance Smith, ha señalado que la actividad insurgente se mantiene tras la elecciones en niveles similares a las semanas anteriores. En diciembre murieron en combate 55 militares de EEUU (58 en diciembre) con una distribución territorial amplia, a los que hay que sumar otros 52 fallecidos en "incidentes no hostiles" [15]. Desde el 1 de mayo de 2003 han muerto en combate 1.019 militares de EEUU. En el transcurso de los primeros quince días de este mes han muerto en combate al menos 15 militares estadounidenses.

Además han muerto por la actividad insurgente 10 británicos, un italiano (en Nasiriyah el día 19 de enero) y ocho ucranianos y un kazaco (todos ellos en la provincia de Wasit). Los militares británicos murieron el mismo día de las elecciones por el derribo de un avión de transporte C-130 a 30 kilómetros al noroeste de la capital, una práctica que empieza a preocupar a las autoridades de ocupación por su carácter creciente y porque los insurgentes estarían utilizando misiles relativamente sofisticados tierraaire SAM y MANPADS (Man Portable Air Defense Systems), provenientes de arsenales clandestinos del ejército iraquí [16].

Tras la elecciones, mandos estadounidenses indicaban a la cadena CNN que el Pentágono ha elevado hasta entre 13.000 y 17.000 la cifra oficial de insurgentes (antes limitada a 5.000), en su mayoría, según los oficiales, militantes o cuadros militares baasistas; menos de un millar serían seguidores de az-Zarqawi.

Escándalos petrolíferos

Nada parece indicar que el nuevo gobierno iraquí se salga del guión establecido por EEUU y Reino Unido. Sobre el terreno seguirán los más de 40.000 asesores civiles y militares estadounidenses que, impuestos por Paul Bremer y designados para cinco años, supervisarán igualmente cada una de las decisiones —si es que cabe calificarlas como tales de las nuevas instancias iraquíes [17].

Al igual que en la faceta securitaria, no cabe imaginar que el nuevo gobierno iraquí altere la intervención de EEUU en la gestión de la renta petrolífera. El actual ministro de Finanzas —antes mencionado como candidato del CSRII a primer ministro—, Adil Abd al-Mahdi, se manifestaba partidario el pasado mes de diciembre, durante una visita a Washington, de la aprobación por el nuevo gobierno iraquí de una ley de privatización del sector petrolífero que permitiera a las compañías extranjeras invertir —y ser por tanto propietarias— en cualquier tramo de la explotación energética del país. Contratos en esa línea ya estarían siendo aprobados de manera encubierta en estos meses durante su gestión al frente del ministerio, incluidos aquellos por valor de 450 millones de dólares para la explotación de los yacimientos de Suba-Luhais y Hamrin [18].

Lo cierto es que las alharacas y fuegos de artificios lanzados con motivo de las elecciones del 30 de enero han permitido tapar el escándalo del informe presentado ese mismo día por Stuart Bowen, Inspector General de EEUU para la Reconstrucción de Iraq, relativo a 8.8 mil millones de dólares obtenidos por la venta de crudo durante los 14 meses de mandato de la Autoridad Provisional de la Coalición (APC) y cuyo destino se desconoce, además de un cifra indetermina de hasta 800 millones de dólares (de ellos, al menos 500 millones también procedentes de la venta de crudo iraquí, el resto de fondos del Pentágono) otorgados a mandos militares estadounidenses para actividades de emergencia sobre el terreno y sin necesidad de ser justificados [19]. (18-02-2005).

(*). Carlos Varea es coordinador de la Campaña Estatal contra la Ocupación y por la Soberanía de Iraq, CEOSI (www.nodo50.org/iraq) Notas:

1. Véase el texto de Carlos Varea en Rebelión del 4 de febrero de 2005, "Tras las elecciones en Ira: No perder el hilo": http://www.rebelion.org/ noticia.php?id=10986.

2. Según datos oficiales iraquíes.

 3. AFP, 4 de febrero de 2005.
 4. Finantial Times (edición electrónica), 10 de febrero de 2005. En esta provincia los seguidores de as-Sadr habrían llegado a un acuerdo de control de la seguridad con los militares británicos.

5. AFP, 4 de febrero de 2005.

6. El mismo martes día 1 de febrero, el actual presidente interino de Iraq, Ghazi al-Yawer, dejaba bien claro que "[...] carece absolutamente de sentido" una petición por parte de las nuevas instancias iraquíes de una salida de las fuerzas de ocupación [...] en este caos y con este vacío [actual] de poder" (Associated Press, 1 de febrero de 2005). Al-Yawer indicó que "[h]acia finales de este año podríamos ver una reducción del número de fuerzas extranjeras". De igual tenor se han manifestado otros responsables iraquíes, entre ellos, el ministro interino de Defensa, Hazem Shaalan. Más significativa sin duda es la posición mostrada poco después por quienes supuestamente son los ganadores de los comicios: Mohammad Juzai, uno de sus portavoces de la jerarquía shí'i, ha confirmado que ésta no solicitará la salida de las tropas de ocupación por el momento, según informa The Washington Post el 3 de febrero.

7. IslamOnline.net y agencias, 12 de febrero de 2005. Las denuncias parten de organizaciones árabes y turcomanas que afirman que estas comunidades no han podido votar.

8. Al-Jazeera, 16 de febrero de 2005. Al-Jaafari ha desplazado al candidato del CSRII, el actual ministro de Finanzas, Adil Abd al-Mahdi.

9. Reuters, 13 de febrero de 2005.

10. The Jordan Times, 9 de febrero de 2005. 11. Escobar, J. "The Roving Eye. The Shi'ites' Fautian Pact", Asian Times (www.atimes.com),

febrero de 2005. 12. Al-Moktar, S. "Oil in the election", Al-Ahram

Weekly Online, febrero de 2005. 13. The Independent, 13 de febrero de 2005.

14. UPI, 9 de febrero de 2005.

15. Datos oficiales recogidos en Iraq Coalition Casualties Count.

16. India Daily, 9 de febrero de 2005.

17. Phyllis Bennis, UFPJ Talking Points 29: "Reading the elections", 1 de febrero de 2005. 18. The News Standar, 8 de febrero de 2005.

19. The Guardian, 8 de febrero de 2005. Otros 1,4 mil millones de dólares fueron transferidos también por la APC de Bremer al gobierno autónomo del Kurdistán in que se conozca su destino final.