



Nothing new in the 'War on Terror'

Amerikan government spying, torturing, and killing

Conscription update

HAVE THE IRAQI PEOPLE ALREADY WON?

MIM has come under criticism for predicting there would be a draft about now in the united States if certain conditions did not arise. Our critics are generally right that it is not a good idea to make predictions in politics.

In 2004 we said, "MIM has predicted that there will be a draft after the election unless there is a huge military victory by the Iraqis or other Middle East fighters before that or a desperately radical anti-draft struggle in the upcoming months." (1) For sure there has been no radical anti-draft movement that has arisen. Iraqi insurgents have not dropped a nuke on the u.s. troops either, but whether or not there has been a victory by insurgents is more up in the air than one might think, despite MIM's critics.

One thing that MIM did not predict is that both Democrats and Republicans would be in political trouble. Democrats hold no power in the House, Senate or White House. At the same time, Bu\$h is in trouble with multiple scandals and the underlying Iraq anxieties. Without a major propaganda coup, neither Bu\$h nor anyone else has the political capital to push through a draft right now. It would take a major incident to change that.

Yet, according to House representative John Murtha, the Iraqi people have already won and rumor has it that he reflects the opinion of many generals who

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Protesting Amerika in the Middle East.

Response to Muhammad cartoons shows international proletariat's potential

**By International Minister
Posted on mimnotes.info
February 9, 2006**

Fiery protests by oppressed-nation peoples broke out in London, Paris, Syria, Palestine, Indonesia, Somalia, and much of the rest of the world, when cartoons mocking the Muslim prophet Muhammad appeared in Western newspapers after originally appearing in Danish newspapers. One cartoon showed Muhammad as having a bomb in his turban, while another cartoon showed Heaven with a shortage of virgins for ascending suicide bombers. By now, countless Western organizations, including the racists of the British National Party, have printed the cartoons. MIM

might also mock Islam and Muhammad in some circumstances and from a revolutionary perspective, but we would not print these cartoons,

because they are clearly linked to the struggle of oppressed nation people of the Middle East, especially the Palestinians.

Politically, the timing of the struggle was just as the European Union was considering continuation of funding to the incoming Hamas government in Palestine. The amount of money each year is nothing that Saudi Arabia could not make up easily if it so wanted. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Muhammad cartoons have had the effect of making relations between Hamas and the European Union more difficult generally. Already the European Union has intervened on behalf of Denmark as a business matter to say that a boycott of Denmark is a boycott of Europe.

In response to the cartoons, a Muslim group published a cartoon of Hitler sleeping with Anne Frank, the Jewish diarist who wrote about life while hiding from Hitler's genocide. (1) Also, Iran's president pointed out that anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish feeling connected to World War II is banned in Germany and much of Europe, but not so for anti-Islamic outbursts. (2)

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February 5, 2006

In recent months, as the Amerikan public has become aware that President Bush ordered the National Security Agency (NSA) to wiretap phone calls without a warrant, many critics have said the practice is illegal. In theory, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) bans the government from wiretapping without the permission of a special court: the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court. While it is certainly useful to point out that the President of the United States violated his own laws, even the legal wiretapping in Amerika is a problem to MIM. The requirement to get permission of a special court for wiretapping, a court that is run by the Amerikan government, should not provide people with any comfort that the government is respecting freedom of speech (as limited as it is in a society where groups of people have power over other groups) or protection against unreasonable searches and seizures: rights supposedly protected by the Constitution.

Amerika has a long history of spying on people who oppose the government — brazenly violating their own laws in the process — most aggressively radicals who effectively oppose the military and everyday violence and horror of imperialism. This is not new, and it is not exclusive to Bu\$h.

After the attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, Congress gave Bush sweeping authorization to go to use military force, spy, imprison, and "use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks" (Authorization for the Use of Military Force, passed by Congress on September 18, 2001). Because of this and other reasons, there is little reason to believe that Congress or any other part of the government is much more interested than the Bu\$h government in protecting the rights of Amerikans, much less the freedoms and lives of Third World peoples.

After passing the Authorization for the

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HAVE THE IRAQI PEOPLE ALREADY WON?

From I...

brief him:

"I said over a year ago, and now the military and the Administration agrees, Iraq can not be won "militarily." I said two years ago, the key to progress in Iraq is to Iraqitize, Internationalize and Energize. I believe the same today. But I have concluded that the presence of U.S. troops in Iraq is impeding this progress.

"Our troops have become the primary target of the insurgency. They are united against U.S. forces and we have become a catalyst for violence. U.S. troops are the common enemy of the Sunnis, Saddamists and foreign jihadists. I believe with a U.S. troop redeployment, the Iraqi security forces will be incentivized to take control. A poll recently conducted shows that over 80% of Iraqis are strongly opposed to the presence of coalition troops, and about 45% of the Iraqi population believe attacks against American troops are justified."(2)

Behind the major House speech by Murtha are people who look at numbers and see that despite increasing numbers, equipment and money the "bang for the buck" goes down in Iraq; in other words, the war effort is losing. So the number of casualties from year to year stays the same, but the equipment and money to accomplish that had to increase.

One thing we can say for sure, the Iraqi people did defeat Bu\$'s original plan, which was to build up huge contractor

business support for the war and sustain it on that basis with money from oil revenues. House rep Murtha pointed out "Only \$9 billion of the \$18 billion appropriated for reconstruction has been spent. Unemployment remains at about 60 percent. Clean water is scarce. Only \$500 million of the \$2.2 billion appropriated for water projects has been spent. And most importantly, insurgent incidents have increased from about 150 per week to over 700 in the last year."(2)

It is an inherent flaw of capitalism, that the people making the big profits have the most money to bribe politicians with. Exxon-Mobil just set an historical record for profits and that corporation has clout, while the alternative energy industry is an idea without much profit yet with which to influence Congress. It becomes a vicious cycle, where to make money one must have government influence but to have government influence, one must make money. Only socialism is the answer to that problem in general. In this case, the insurgents in Iraq have closed down the vicious cycle by making it very difficult to make profit in Iraq—with their obviously controversial tactics of killing civilian contractors, who MIM sees as exploiters and oppressors, contrary to the left-wing of the white nationalist movement in Amerika.

Another quote from Murtha tries to give the overall direction of the numbers: "But the war continues to intensify. Deaths and injuries are growing, with over 2,079 confirmed American deaths. Over 15,500 have been seriously injured and it is estimated that over 50,000 will suffer from battle fatigue. There have been reports of at least 30,000 Iraqi civilian deaths."(3)

Murtha went on to say that the military is "broken, worn out."(4) If Murtha is

right, then MIM was not wrong in its prediction. The Iraqi people just won sooner than people might have expected. The brass knows which way the wind blows, even if the public and politicians have not adjusted yet. We're not saying to end the struggle against the Iraq War by any stretch of the imagination, but nor should we be saying the Iraqi people haven't won. We're in the phase now where we can force our politicians into accepting the obvious sooner than they would if allowed to pull some political stunts on behalf of patriotic military recruiting.

Notes:

1. <http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/agitation/draft/draftupdate05252004.html>
One thing we got right for sure was that

Uncle Sam's going to the UN for troops for Iraq was just a smokescreen that did not end up accomplishing anything except to prepare U.S. public opinion with "we tried."

2. http://www.house.gov/apps/list/press/pa12_murtha/pr051117iraq.html

"Nobody admires our armed forces more than I do, and I'm so proud of the service of our military men and women. I've worked hard during my 32 years in Congress to make sure that our military has the equipment, training, medical care and other support it needs to accomplish its mission, and to save and protect the lives of service members and their families.

"The military had no problem recruiting
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What is Mimnotes.info?

<http://mimnotes.info>

Mimnotes.info publishes news articles and culture (media, movie, music, video game and other) reviews from the standpoint of the world's exploited and oppressed under imperialism, capitalism, and patriarchy. Inspired by the Maoist Internationalist Movement, mimnotes.info ("MIM notes dot info") opposes all group oppression, including the oppression of gays and lesbians, wimmin, and youth. The imperialist-patriarchy is full of horrors and misery for the world's oppressed majority. Mimnotes.info aims to build public opinion for revolutionary change. Nothing short of revolution can end this messed-up system.

Knowing the world and conditions inside the belly of the beast is key. Equip yourself with mimnotes.info and write for mimnotes.info.



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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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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 English-speaking 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.S. 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 possible 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 so-called workers. These so-called workers bought off by imperialism form a new petty-bourgeoisie 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 States, 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.

Activists, community drown out fascist anti-immigrant demonstration in San Diego with protest and dance

February 4, 2006

Volunteers with Jim Gilchrist's Minuteman Project gathered Saturday morning at an informal day labor site in San Diego County. In the past, the Minuteman Project said it would focus on going after employers of undocumented migrants and leave intimidating and terrorizing migrants to the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, which it had worked with closely. This was after the Minuteman Project's much-publicized border vigilantism event in Arizona in April. Today's event at the high-traffic intersection in Vista, attended by mainstream media, illustrates that the Minuteman Project and its spinoffs known as the Minutemen are once again willing to directly tap into widespread anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. population to whip up support for the deeply reactionary fascist movement to intensify the repression of migrants. Today's local fascist demonstration comes after similar actions last month, coordinated by other groups, against Latin American and indigenous day laborers and migrants in several States.

Despite recent survey interpretations — such as one contained in an article in the February/March issue of the *Tu Ciudad Los Angeles* magazine — suggesting that there is an intense divide among Latinos over immigration, the vast majority of the Minutemen supporters in Vista out on the street mobilizing people locally to support the increased repression of migrants were of the Euro-American nationality. First World chauvinism does lead to some oppressed-nation people in the United States supporting immigration restrictions for individual economic reasons, and this was evident with a handful of people of color among the Minutemen supporters, but in general the fascist movement targeting migrant proletarian workers has a Euro-American character. Ideologically, the fascist anti-immigrant movement is largely motivated by Euro-Americans' fears that migrants, regardless of documentation or legal status, pose a political, economic, cultural and demographic/racial threat to the dominant Euro-American oppressor nation. As some signs held by Minutemen supporters illustrated — implying that Americans have an entitlement to contractor jobs with higher pay — Euro-American-worker hostility toward migrants is also an important aspect of the fascist movement.

Many activists and community members showed up as early as 7 AM to protest the Minutemen and support the disrupted day laborers. Although activists were present, they refrained from displaying their political affiliations in signs and so on, in contrast to some other protests in California against the Minutemen where sectarian recruiting



Papier-mache effigy of border vigilante.

efforts have been counterproductive.

Some chants by opponents of the Minutemen were problematic, saying that the United States and California were "our country" and "our state." These played into the idea that citizenship for migrants is a solution to all of the anti-immigrant movements seen in history. While some level of citizenship for undocumented people, already inside U.S. borders, is a winnable and desirable reform within the framework of the political and economic system that exists today, the whole notion of citizenship in the American context often ironically legitimizes the imperialist border and the economic and political interests of the imperialist Euro-American settler nation. Euro-Americans in particular should think of themselves as citizens only when acknowledging their privilege, made possible by exploiting Third World workers and oppressing the world's wimmin. The rhetoric of citizenship is useful only in limited circumstances, for example, when talking about the exclusion of oppressed-nation people from First World society, or pointing out how anti-immigrant advocates are ignorant for calling all day laborers "illegal aliens" when in fact many of them are documented (although, this should not be done in a way that suggests that the rights of undocumented migrants do not deserve to be supported).

A man dressed up in an Uncle Sam costume put forward the position over a megaphone that attacking immigrants was un-American and unpatriotic. Literature found nearby and signed by an "Uncle Sam" contained some correct points about the economic changes underlying the fascist movement, but pandered to Americans by trying to convince them that they benefited economically from migrants. In general, the opposition to the Minutemen had a liberal tone opposing mainly racism and violence and not putting as much emphasis on the fundamental illegitimacy of America as a deeply racist and white supremacist society and an imperialist state. This was not surprising in a protest against fascists, simultaneously a demonstration in support of the civil rights of documented and undocumented day laborers and migrants, but there was little open condemnation of the repressive and

terroristic Migra agents, and other forms of government-sanctioned repression, even after the recent killings of migrants near the border by American law enforcement.

On the other hand, protesters sometimes called out the Minutemen as neo-Nazis and neo-KKK elements, and one van drove around the block with words painted on it saying that the Minutemen were like Adolf Hitler. Although most of the Minutemen are not actually card-carrying or Sieg-heiling neo-Nazis, it is important and necessary to expose the true nature of the fascistas and virulent white nationalists making up the Minutemen and their supporters. The tendencies represented by the Minutemen and their supporters among huge segments of the Euro-American nation are not something that will simply go away when the anti-immigrant vigilantes and advocates stop using blatantly racist language and develop feelings of racial harmony. Rather, these anti-immigrant movements are generated by the decadent imperialist system and attempts by oppressor-nation people to hold onto their imperialist privilege.

The imperialist privilege at the center of the dynamics underlying fascist movements must be called into question and ultimately ended. White Americans who want to effectively work with oppressed people to end oppression must become traitors to their nation and the exploiter class which they are a part of under the world capitalist system.

The current wave of anti-immigrant reaction has manifested in the political system and efforts to create laws that fall short of rounding up and deporting undocumented people at gunpoint. Congress is still considering legislation, already passed by the House of Representatives, that would make any unauthorized presence in the United States a felony and even criminalize family members who help undocumented migrants in any way after they have crossed the border. Such draconian repression could come into being through the normal democratic system and with the backing of the majority of Americans. Killings of migrants by the Border Patrol just in the past couple of months are just some obvious examples of the ruthless repression that is already part of the status quo.

Minutemen supporters in Vista waved American flags, as did some opponents of the Minutemen trying to appeal to American patriotic sentiments. One prominent sign read "Hiring Illegal Aliens is Illegal & Un-American." Other Minutemen supporters did not pretend to oppose the exploitation of undocumented migrants and instead openly advocated the deportation of all undocumented migrants for nationalist, economic and other reasons. One Minutemen supporter

held a sign reading "America first," reflecting the Euro-American chauvinism, nationalism, and ignorance, at the heart of much of the Minutemen movement and the larger anti-immigrant movement.

An impromptu speech by an anti-Minutemen protester pointed out that the real Americans are the peoples from Alaska to Argentina. "We didn't cross the border; the border crossed us" and "one world, one race" could also be heard on the anti-Minutemen, anti-racist side. At around 10 AM, drum players arrived, and protesters chanted and danced to the beat. The protest against the Minutemen was peaceful, but several police in riot gear eventually showed up to stand in the parking lot in-between the Minutemen supporters and their opponents. They allowed people, apparently with the Minutemen supporters, to photograph protesters righteously denouncing the Minutemen as racists. Activists and community members protesting the Minutemen far outnumbered the Minutemen and their supporters, but were restricted to the sidewalk on a single side of the block.

Notes:

1. Craig Tenbroeck, "Opposing immigration protests planned for central Vista," 31 January 2006, <http://www.nctimes.com/articles/2006/02/01/news/coastal/20_10_361_31_06.txt> (4 February 2006).

Iraq

From 2...

directly after 9/11 because everyone understood that we had been attacked. But now the military's ability to attract recruits is being hampered by the prospect of prolonged, extended and repeated deployments; inadequate equipment; shortened home stays; the lack of any connection between Iraq and the brutal attacks of 9/11; and — most importantly — the administration's constantly changing, undefined, open-ended military mission in Iraq. I didn't have concerns like these when I enlisted in the Marines during the Korean War or volunteered to go to Vietnam.

"I have devoted my entire career to supporting our military forces and will continue to do so. I believe there is no greater honor than to serve and defend this great nation."

For a Connecticut soldier on how he would not join the military had he known war was going to go on this long:

http://www.middletonpress.com/site/newsch/newsid=197704&BRD=1645&PAG=461&cpt_id=10856&rft=6

Murtha, http://www.house.gov/apps/list/press/pa12_murtha/PRrecruiting.html

3. http://www.house.gov/apps/list/press/pa12_murtha/pr051117iraq.html Murtha has also said his "friends" in the White House would come to agree with him that the war cannot be won militarily.

Amerikan government spying, torturing, and killing

From I...

Use of Military Force, Congress passed the Patriot Act which was an even stronger attack on civil liberties, giving the government sweeping powers to snoop on phone conversations and e-mail messages. Using the Patriot Act, the FBI has obtained the reading lists and private information of library users and bookstore customers. The Patriot Act was co-authored by John Kerry, a prominent Democrat, a fact that should make clear that Bush and the Republicans are not the only problem.

The Patriot Act formalized what was in fact a long history of domestic spying in Amerika. The Church Committee, in 1976, revealed monitoring by the NSA, FBI and CIA during the 1970s. This surveillance was used to attack revolutionary groups, such as the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement. Since that time, spying, within U.S. borders, particularly of political activists, has not stopped. Under the Freedom of Information Act, Amerikans can request a copy of their FBI file, and many have done so and found the government keeping close tabs on their activities in spite of the fact that all of their activities are completely legal, but in some way oppose imperialism or even just some particular policies of the U.S.

government.

So-called war on terrorism just another excuse

The War on Terror has been a convenient excuse for the Amerikan government to invade countries, torture prisoners, and hold suspected terrorists as detainees indefinitely, and now the government is trying to justify wiretapping phones without court permission. Some political activists in Amerika argue that Amerika is fast descending into fascism. Some of these activists recently talking about fascism have the perception that the Amerikan government has become a threat to white Amerikans and ignore the fascist repression that the United States is already carrying out against oppressed-nation people in the Third World on a daily basis. But for those who have studied some history and put current events in historical context, the War on Terror looks a lot like the War on Drugs during the 1980s, with attacks on Third World nations as well as attempts to subvert the Constitution domestically — the War on Terror is just another excuse for imperialist militarism.

The Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist League (RAIL) briefly explained this history well in its statement about the War on Terror:

“The Cold war had a real enemy —

the international communist movement — although the way the US perceived that enemy was often deluded and misguided. Communism was never orchestrated from Moscow as the monolithic theory of communism envisioned it. Nor were people such as Jacobo Arbenz who was ousted from Guatemala in 1954 a communist, as the Eisenhower administration claimed. The whole of Cold War propaganda was describing [one part of] imperialism and calling it communism. This was a play on perceptions.

“When the Cold War ended, the US still needed a way to suppress guerilla movements that threatened its client governments around the world. To protect the interests of first world banks and businesses it created the War on Drugs, which justified increases in military spending. The War on Drugs was/is political, since Amerikan power is political, but its façade was a moral crusade. The Puritan ascetic character of Amerika justified its continued assault on third world peoples.

“After the September 11 attacks, a new enemy has been erected. Terrorism is an invisible enemy, and when held to the truth of history, does not hold for a real enemy. Enemies exist for any system based off of oppression of peoples, theft of foreign labor and natural resources, domination

of foreign capital, etc. There is no way that Amerikan imperialism can continue to grow without creating more bitter opponents — it creates a dialectical struggle, and calls its opponents terrorists. This new war against terrorism is a result of the continual oppression of the world’s people as the US military overextends its power across the globe. Its enemy is vague, and its goal very unstable. The degeneration from a highly politicized to a moral crusade, now to a vague attack on any reaction to US imperialism is a sign of a weakening intellectual culture, as well as an increasing desperation from the US imperialists to hold onto their foreign investments by using military force. The War on Terrorism is a sign of weakness. The US empire has possibly already hit its apex, and is now on the permanent decline. Whether this will mean recession or recovery after the long growth ended is yet to be seen.”

The United States will declare victory in the War on Terror only when it has achieved complete dominance in the Third World and crushed all resistance to U.S. imperialism there. But this is an impossible goal because repression breeds resistance, and there are far more people in the world oppressed by imperialism

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Response to Muhammad cartoons shows international proletariat’s potential

From I...

Other Muslim responses to the cartoons included burning down the Danish embassy in Syria.(3) Danish businesses are also suffering under comprehensive Middle East boycotts of their goods.(4)

The intense media coverage of the Islamic response accomplished one thing from MIM’s point of view. Anyone who saw all the pictures of demonstrators and actions taken should think that we have just seen the international proletariat in action. The international proletariat is nothing like the tepid people of England who elected Blair or the fiery reactionaries who elected Bu\$h. That is true even where there is no local Maoist party to lead the way.

The demonstrations for Muhammad are questionable in so many regards. For example, they caused the arrest of Jordanian journalists who aired the cartoons.(5) Yet, Jordan is trying to be the good Western lackey capitalist country. It is not usually at the front of any Islamic struggle with the West. With Jordan, we get neither the geopolitical posture against imperialism that Iran or Libya would pretend to take, nor the freedom of speech usually promised as part of the love-Amerika political package.

It’s hard not to be disgusted with the Islamic stampede that killed a Somali persyn.(6) That’s one less fighter against the imperialists. This demonstrates a difference between Marxism and Islam. The Islamic movement’s great protests were not when the United States bombed or killed someone, but when Westerners

broke a taboo against depicting Muhammad. The unity of Islam is only in the abstract, the image of the prophet himself for example. In contrast, Marxism is a set of tools that helps us to build unity in the concrete of here and now.

In both Islam and Marxism, and in every system of thought, there are opportunists and deviationists, people who make a career out of rhetorical appearances. In the end, though, we Marxists divide over concrete issues; yet, this also allows us to unite on concrete issues. In contrast, Arab people in general face an enemy of the United States and I\$rael, but they cannot unite, because Islam does not allow it. The factions within Islam are not on an open concrete basis, but the splits and contrasts among those calling themselves Marxist have to start and end in concrete issues. It becomes possible within Marxism that people will unite behind a concrete demand.

Some of the things we heard Islamic people say during their demonstrations were not the greatest. Nonetheless, witnessing all that is just like what Mao said when he saw peasant rebellion with his own eyes the first time. The first impression of many comrades was that it was “terrible,” because of the inarticulate and unsystematic way that the peasant masses went about things. It was Mao who put his finger on it and said “it’s fine.”

Even in the Western bourgeois coverage, we saw Islamic people of the Third World line up flags from Denmark, Norway, France, the United States, and

I\$rael, on the ground to trample as they walked into a building. Others burned the flags individually. So, despite whatever else the international proletariat might say or do, the international proletariat is a fighting class, and it even has a sense of its enemies to a great political extent at a general level, even if it cannot always tell which individual religious or political leaders advance the class interests of the proletariat.

The deftness of the blows the oppressed-nations proletariat lands and the strategy it employs are in question wherever a brand of Islam dominates. The current popularity of Islam stems from its being seen as Third-World and not a dominant religion of the imperialist countries. Many Islamic leaders have had the sense to ride the national question, what we Maoists call the principal contradiction between the imperialists and oppressed nations. So, Islam fills in where scientific communists should be leading the way.

Islam is an example of the false consciousness of the true proletariat and oppressed nations. Underneath everything, it is still clear who the enemy of the Third World oppressed and exploited is. While they were demonstrating for someone dead for hundreds of years and to protect an abstract idea, the proletariat and oppressed nations could not help but show their potential revolutionary thrust.

Notes:

1. “Hitler, Anne Frank shown in bed in

drawing on Muslim Web site,” 8 February 2005, <http://www.dailynews.com/news/ci_3485740>.

2. “Tempered reaction among American Muslims to cartoon row,” 5 February 2006, <http://www.gulf-times.com/site/topics/article.asp?cu_no=2&item_no=71520&version=1&template_id=43&parent_id=19>.

“The other day the president of Iran made a statement about the Holocaust and the whole world condemned him,” he said. ‘Here you have a statement offending 1.3bn people around the world. Why don’t we see condemnation?’

‘There is one set of rules for the West and another set for everyone else,’ he added. ‘Where do we draw the line on your freedom of speech and hurting my feelings and principles and irritating the hell out of me?’ “

3. “Inflamed over cartoons,” 8 February 2006, <<http://dailytelegraph.news.com.au/story/0,20281,18072151-5001027,00.html>>.

4. “EU warns Iran against boycott of Danish goods,” 7 February 2006, <<http://breakingnews.iol.ie/news/story.asp?j=171951948&p=y7y95z654>>.

5. “World’s Press Organizations Protest Against Jailings in Jordan Over Muhammad Cartoons,” 8 February 2006, <<http://www.wan-press.org/article9164.html>>.

6. “Muslim Anger over Mohammed Slur Spreads,” 7 February 2006, <<http://a11africa.com/stories/200602070539.html>>.

Coverage of anti-immigrant demo shows need for independent media

February 5, 2006

As usual, the mainstream media has painted a favorable and erroneous picture of fascist activists mobilizing people to support more crackdowns on undocumented migrants and further immigration restrictions.(1) A North County Times article, for example, suggests that the Minutemen and their supporters yesterday in Vista, California, were mainly concerned with the exploitation of undocumented migrant workers by employers, and upholding the law. In reality, a substantial number of Minutemen and supporters openly opposed migration in general, documented and undocumented, for nationalist reasons ranging from national security — as if day laborers were a threat — to preserving jobs and higher pay for U.S. workers, to stopping what they saw as the flow of tax money to public and social services for recent immigrants. This was evident in the signs they held, as well as in interviews with Minutemen supporters posted by someone on the San Diego Indymedia open newswire.(2) Minutemen supporters frequently attacked migrants themselves and described them as thieves stealing jobs and government services. One went so far as to call Mexican migrants cowards for not staying in Mexico and overthrowing Vicente Fox, who actually is a lackey of U.S. imperialists. They sought to distance the majority of Euro-Americans from the conditions in the Third World and deny their complicity

When Minutemen supporters argued that undocumented migrants took jobs or were a drain on taxes, the arguments often could have just as easily been applied to documented migrants. For example, property taxes are used to pay for the schooling of documented migrants' children, too. The focus on undocumented

migrants as lawbreakers just obscures an opposition to migration in general regardless of documentation or legal status. Anti-immigrant activists don't support legality or even American laws in some abstract sense. They support particular laws for particular reasons, reasons that are often rooted in reactionary nationalism and either Euro-American or U.S. chauvinism. Many anti-immigrant advocates explicitly connect their opposition to "illegal immigration" to nationalist concerns about migration as a whole, not just the part that appears as undocumented migration. One Minutemen supporter in Vista asked "what's wrong with nationalism," and the same speaker later asserted that America "has the best people in the planet."

Migration affects wages in a particular subset of occupations. American workers unwilling to work for lower wages may find themselves out of a job in some cases. In general, unemployment among Americans, particularly Euro-Americans, is usually temporary. Regardless, the U.S. economy is organized on the basis of, and hugely depends on, the exploitation of Third World workers. The vast majority of U.S. workers benefit from this exploitation. The whole U.S. working class is bourgeoisified. From the perspective of the world economy, the kinds of jobs Americans have represent a privileged position, and the wages of Americans mostly come from the exploitation of Third World workers. It is not Third World workers who are stealing jobs. On the contrary, the jobs and wages are constantly being stolen from Third World workers.

Third World workers who migrate to the United States continue to be oppressed and often continue to be exploited economically, unlike most U.S. workers, but this is not something that can

be ended by repressing more migrants. Indeed, the border is an important factor in maintaining wage differences, for instance, between the United States, and Latin American and other countries. And the whole U.S. economy is based on the exploitation of the Third World workers. The majority of Americans are exploiters, not just corporations and contractors who employ undocumented migrants.

Neither can abuses of day laborers be stopped by increasing immigration restrictions, which tend to put migrant workers in a more vulnerable position. And ending the repression of migrants would do more to end the abuse of undocumented workers than going after employers, which has been ineffectual. Anti-immigrant vigilantes' recent criticism of employers for abusing day laborers is really about attacking Third World labor and perpetuating the exploitation of Third World workers inside and outside the United States.

The shift of undocumented migrant workers in the United States to sectors other than agriculture, a change that is currently being discussed in the mainstream media, and the unfilled job openings left behind, are just another indication that many Americans are unwilling to work in goods-producing occupations requiring intensive manual labor even if the jobs pay more than the minimum wage. Much of the anti-immigrant movement focusing on migration as a cause of unemployment for Americans has no rational basis in this respect, but white-worker involvement in the anti-immigrant movement is related to feelings of uncertainty about the future economic conditions of American workers, and is rooted in a deeply reactionary tendency seeking to hold onto privileged economic positions. Fascist and fascist-leaning workers in the anti-immigrant movement seek to perpetuate the exploitation of Third World workers. They are not being tricked by powerful people into acting against their supposed common class interests with Third World workers. First World workers in reality are parasites on Third World labor. These workers don't strike against capitalism or organize for revolution; at their most political, they attack Third World labor.

When media outlets like the North County Times, and also the San Diego Union-Tribune, just report the facts of events like the recent demonstration and counter-protest in Vista, they gloss over all of this important context. These demonstrations and protests are not isolated events but part of a pattern that can be explained. (Anti-immigrant demonstrations at day labor sites in other cities are already being planned.) And the media outlets' claims to impartiality and neutral reporting obscure biases and sometimes factual errors. Reading a San Diego Union-Tribune article and looking at the single close-up photo of a Minutemen supporter, one could get the wrong impression that Latinos were more than a tiny fraction of the Minutemen

supporters.(3) The Union-Tribune gives a Latino face to the Minutemen supporters, but doesn't show pictures of any of the handful of white people supporting day laborers and migrants for civil rights- and human rights-related reasons in Vista on Saturday. The photo of the Minutemen supporter is also decontextualized from the complex social differences (generational and citizenship- and class-based) among Latinos that give rise to Latinos supporting immigration restrictions.

The same San Diego Union-Tribune article also features quotes from a youth Minutemen supporter, but neglects to mention the numerous youth among the anti-Minutemen protesters. Furthermore, the article states: "Those who came to watch the protest said they respected the various viewpoints, but noted that neither side had offered a solution." The article totally neglects to mention the anti-racist aspect of the anti-Minutemen protest and the calls in support of documented and undocumented migrants' civil rights.

One interesting thing in mainstream media coverage of anti-Minutemen protests is how they report on the country flags flown by anti-Minutemen protesters. In the San Diego Union-Tribune article on the Internet, there are multiple photos of Minutemen supporters holding American flags, and in contrast to the North County Times article, the Union-Tribune article doesn't show or mention any anti-Minutemen protesters with American flags whatsoever, only saying that protesters "waved 5-by-10-foot Mexican flags." This is inaccurate. There was only one Mexican flag that large at the protest, and video footage obtained by mimnotes.info clearly shows that anti-Minutemen protesters carried American flags. Obviously, mimnotes.info disagrees with the suggestion of "Uncle Sam" that anti-Minutemen protesters should have waved more American flags, but we do not mind pointing out that the media, in a misleading way and for reactionary purposes, reports things like who waved what flags.(1) Mimnotes.info was probably the first news outlet on the Internet to state that some anti-Minutemen protesters held American flags, but the context of this was a criticism of the limitations of liberalism and pandering to American patriotism.

The fascist-leaning mainstream media, futilely looking for common ground between calls for the humane treatment of migrants and proposals to carry out vicious repression of migrants, would like to portray the more vocal critics of the fascist anti-immigrant movement as an extremist, racial monolith, even if many of these critics' demands aren't radical. The mainstream media accepts the notion that there is an immigrant "problem" that needs to be solved. "Illegal immigration" is often a code word for unwanted immigration and frequently distracts attention from the imperialist migration and border policies, and imperialist

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than there are benefiting from it — despite the majority of Americans, particularly the Euro-American nation, benefiting from imperialism economically and politically. So, the United States has manufactured a war that cannot be won, but which will provide constant justification for surveillance and imprisonment, and aggressive militarism.

The answer to this "new" war is not to attack just Bush or even just the Republicans, in the process giving legitimacy to the imperialists' efforts to choose a more effective figurehead. Some Republicans, feeling that Bush poses a threat to the prerogatives of Congress as an independent branch of the government, are currently distancing themselves from Bush even though they have only minor disagreements with him. They are working to make sure that any reduction in Bush's power will leave the imperialist system intact and more stable.

In America, the answer to United

States' changing excuses to attack Third World nations is to expose the oppression and repression that goes on under imperialism, and work to end this vicious predatory system in which groups of people profit from the domination, oppression and deaths of others. It is also necessary to demand that mainstream Americans stick to the constitution they claim to uphold and stop disregarding the Constitution when it comes to applying it to unpopular groups or ideas.

Notes:

1. "Surveillance Blind Spots," Washington Times, 5 February 2006.
2. "A RAIL statement on the War on Terrorism," <<http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/rail/terror.html>>.
3. "GOP Lawmakers' Loyalties Face a Test," 5 February 2006, <<http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/nation/la-nsa5feb05,0,925841.story?coll=la-headlines-nation>> (6 February 2005).

Peru: The Remnants of a Betrayed Revolution

By Luis Arce Borja
January 28, 2006

MIM is unable to confirm that Luis Arce Borja is the author of this document. It was 2002 that his neighbor the revisionist Workers Party of Belgium last reported on him in the news. Various reactionary Peruvian papers have reported on him more recently. We hope Luis Arce Borja is well. --MIM

A guerrilla action, and similarly a whole process of armed struggle, does not by itself constitute a liberating political process in the sense of revolutionary change of society and the state.

The revolutionary content of a political or military action is determined by its strategic objective, whose essence is determined by a combination of ideological, political and organizational factors.

From May 1980 until almost the middle of the '90s the Maoist guerrilla was without any doubt a hope for revolutionary change in Peru. The poor masses took it as such and valiantly fought at its side. In that war the people gave their blood and sacrifice, and more than 60,000 peasants, workers, students, squatters, and others had died by the end of the armed conflict. A historical epoch that is an extraordinary legacy for the Peruvian people and their future revolution. What cut short that road? In October 1993 Abimael Guzmán and the greater part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) changed political line while in prison and became collaborators with the regime of Fujimori and Montesinos. They called off the armed struggle. This betrayal, the

fundamental cause of the defeat of the revolution, came wrapped up with the so-called "peace letters" written in the manner of applying "Gonzalo Thought," which in the words of Guzmán himself is the "creative expression of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality." In this way, what served to initiate and develop the revolution became useful in bankrupting this same process.

What remains of that historical epoch, and what is the current situation of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP)?

What remains after the defeat of the People's War, is a supposed Communist Party that is nothing but a caricature of the party that initiated the armed struggle in May 1980. Its remnants do not behave like fragments of but rather like the remains of a political process broken by the disastrous defeat. Here there was no, like Lenin said, organized retreat in the defeat, only political dispersion without any perspective of reorganizing for the future struggle. Its representatives do not express themselves as a separate party with its own political aspirations and programs, but they subscribe to directives inherited from when Gonzalo hadn't yet been captured. They don't act as antagonistic groups, and their ideological points of reference spring from fidelity to Gonzalo thought, which they uphold without criticism or reservations. They continue to consider Guzmán the legitimate "head of the PCP and the revolution." They sustain that Gonzalo continues as the "strategic and decisive leadership of the PCP" and, as they say, "Doctor Abimael Guzmán Reynoso continues as our chief." Some take

Guzmán as the holy spirit, without conceivable sins and outside the realm of human weaknesses, much less betrayal and capitulation.

The main group is constituted by those directly connected to the "peace letters." It groups together at its heart almost the entirety of high and medium level leaders, as well as base level militants who capitulated in prison (many of which collaborated with the National Intelligence Service [SIN]). The members of the Central Committee, with Gonzalo at the head, are part of this group and continue dictating party orders aimed at propitiating political repentance and insertion in the terrain of bourgeois legality. Their political course has not varied at all since the time of Fujimori, and continues based on the postulates of the document "Asumir y Combatir por la Nueva Gran Decisión y Definición" [Take Up and Fight for the New Great Decision and Definition] (written by Gonzalo in 1993) whose political line constitutes the negation of the revolutionary theses that gave shape to about 20 years of armed struggle in Peru. Its current work is urban

and restricted to the capital. Its operations are legal and aimed at continuing to sell the snake oil of "looking for a peaceful and negotiated solution to the problems of the war." At the international level this group is part of the "parties" that make up what is known as the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement [RIM], with headquarters in the United States and London.

Another group is active in the Upper Huallaga region, and is led by the one called "rtemio," involved in some sort of vendetta on television, the radio and in the press. It carries out armed actions focused on the jungle region without any perspective of people's power, and it declares itself the defender of the coca growers of the jungle. The political objective of this group is not revolution, but to reach a political settlement with the current representatives of the Peruvian state and army. Since before 2000, when Fujimori still governed, its guerrilla actions were suspected of being carried out in complicity with the military plans of Vladimiro Montesinos and the SIN. The goal of this group, which calls

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economic structures, creating the undocumented migration in the first place. Consistent opponents of the fascist repression of migrant workers are in fact a minority in the United States, but one effect of the reporting by the media controlled by the Euro-American nation will be to encourage some opponents of the anti-immigrant movement to adopt opportunist tactics such as trying to prove their allegiance to the imperialist state. This is despite others' pointing out that the American flag is an extremely oppressive symbol.

American flags have been waved at anti-Minutemen protests for a long time. But racial democracy in America is a myth, and the American flag has never stood for the interests of the oppressed. To the extent that it has been a symbol of equality for some oppressed people, it has only meant assimilation or been a broken promise. Since its inception, Euro-America has been a settler nation oppressing nations inside and outside its artificial borders; some segments of the Euro-American nation have allied with subgroups of the oppressed for tactical

purposes only. The oppressed must struggle against fascism on their own terms, repudiating imperialist patriotism and resisting the various forms of imperialist nationalism and chauvinism that time and time again have ultimately contributed to the rise of fascist anti-immigrant movements.

Notes:

1. Louise Esola, "Taking immigration to the streets in Vista," 4 February 2006, <http://www.nctimes.com/articles/2006/02/05/news/top_stories/19_07_212_4_06.txt> (5 February 2006).

2. "Minutemen in Vista, Ca. (Raw Audio)," 4 February 2006, <<http://sandiego.indymedia.org/en/2006/02/113471.shtml>> (5 February 2006).

3. Adam Klawonn, "Minutemen make a stand in Vista," 5 February 2006, <<http://www.signonsandiego.com/news/northcounty/20060205-9999-2m5minute.html>> (5 February 2006).

See also: "Activists, community drown out fascist anti-immigrant demonstration in San Diego with protest and dance," 4 February 2005, <http://mimnotes.info/news/20060204minutemenvista/>.



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 States, 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 war-profiteering 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.

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itself “Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist” is to insert itself in Peru’s political system. Artemio, who now presents himself as the head of the Huallaga Regional Committee of the PCP, has not stopped publicly repeating that his armed struggle’s objective is to achieve a “political solution and all-sided negotiation to the problems derived from the civil war,” which in other words means to serve the government of Toledo like they served Fujimori’s government before. The political demands of this personality are not different from those of the peace letters group. Artemio has told the magazine *Caretas* (August 2005) “we began the armed actions with the objective of demanding a negotiated political solution of the government and the state. Today we are carrying out the actions with this same purpose, demanding a political solution of the whole set of problems derived from the war.”

A smaller group exists that the Peruvian press calls “proseguir” (in relation to their decision to keep on the road of armed actions). This group, according to official information, is led by comrade “Alipio,” and its area of operations is in the central jungle region, mainly on the Ene River. The political position of the *proseguir* group differs from that of the “peace letters” group and that of “Artemio.” They reject collaboration with the state and declare themselves against capitulation and betrayal, but strangely they continue to consider Gonzalo the “head of the Party and the revolution.” They blindly deny that Abimael Guzmán is the author of the “peace letters” and the treason committed against the revolution. They have no known programmatic document or current analysis of Peruvian reality. Their communiqués are repetitive, delirious slogans, whose content is a textual reproduction of what Gonzalo spoke and wrote before 1992, and demonstrates that this group, perhaps sincere in its political activity, has not even come close to understanding the true problem in the Peruvian revolution.

The guerrilla actions, those of “Artemio” as well as those of the “*proseguir*” group, (without bearings or leadership), rather than serve as a stimulus for the people’s struggle, serve to confound the possibility of regrouping the people’s forces and in better conditions return to the true revolutionary struggle under the leadership of a solid political organization. The masses of people, betrayed by the Maoist leaders in 1993, with good reason distrust these guerrillas, and see in these actions not the possibility of liberation, but rather a trick of the secret services to continue militarily controlling the state in the guise of the senderization of society. By chance or by direct relation, the truth is that the supposed “guerrilla offensives” serve the reaction more than the revolution. For example, based on the actions of “Artemio” of past months, the Fujimorismo has renewed in grand form its old electoral campaigns expressed in

Lima street paintings that say “Fujimori yes, terrorism no.” But it is not only Fujimorismo that is looking to gain from this situation of fictitious people’s war. The military forces that for ten years of Fujimorismo were involved in brutal crimes and spectacular graft have not had to wait to win dividends from this situation. With this purpose, a congressman (Luis Iberico) just proposed in parliament “a selective amnesty” for 638 army officials legally accused of crimes and human rights violations. This amnesty, according to parliament, is aimed at “strengthening the morale of the Armed Forces so they can confront terrorism without fear.” In the same vein, the Fujimorista daily *La Razón* (Lima), has become the most enthusiastic medium for publishing on the front page any murmur of a guerrilla bullet. Including, in order to give credibility to supposed propaganda about the “senderista advance” it has publicized “declarations” of nonexistent and phantasmal organizations that publish a marginal web page in Sweden.

The ideological basis of the betrayal

The defeat of the people’s war did not have its main causes in the superiority of the enemy, rather in the political ideological weakness of its top leaders. When the Central Committee of the PCP, including Chairman Gonzalo, passed over to the side of the enemies of the revolution, the Maoist guerrilla was carrying out about 400 military actions per month and maintained the repressive forces of the state in check, which including soldiers, police, paramilitaries and civil defense groups, *rondas* and other tools of the army, included over 500 thousand active members. In that stage of intense social struggle, the people’s committees (open and clandestine) expanded and multiplied across the country the support bases of the revolution. The armed process was the epicenter of the class struggle and determined the political life of the country.

This problem has its roots in the deep ideological problems whose elements should not be sought outside the party, but rather within it, and particularly in the Gonzalo thought that has served for war and for treason. The police repression factor could be an important ingredient, but not determinant in the form of behavior of the leaders of this party. The biblical cult of the leader and the one man management of the party organization are two of the road to follow to arrive at the origin of the problem. In no part of the world can a revolutionary party be conceived of that is operated by only one person and even less from prison as has been the case with the PCP. In revolutionary war parties have a structure that as a whole makes them invincible against reaction. Each militant, each cadre and each leader form an ensemble of leadership. No revolutionary party, even more so a Marxist party, can demand that its membership take an oath of total and unconditional subjection to the leader of that party, as has been the experience of the PCP. The militants,

together with respecting the most distinguished cadre and leaders, express their revolutionary fidelity to the programme, political line and to each one of the organic instances of leadership. This excludes personal management and any type of great leader adoration characteristic of the political organizations of the bourgeoisie.

Any political group in Peru that intends to take the victorious years of people’s war (1980-1993) as a point of departure is obliged to be honest with the facts and explain with political coherence the causes and ideological-political factors involved in the conduct of Gonzalo and the Central Committee. It has to explain, beginning with ideology, what has been the phenomenon by which top leaders become clowns, turncoats, informers and poor devils. An example of this problem is “Feliciano.” The highest responsible military figure in the party is now someone who renounces not only his old convictions but publicly begs the authorities to collaborate in the pacification of the country. In every social phenomenon there is cause and effect, and the most abominable problems don’t pop up and appear out of nothing. They are connected to class consciousness, the vision of socialism, political formation in general, experience, also material factors. The interest of this reflection can be presented in diverse aspects, but to deal with it substantially one must rigorously broach the ideological aspect of the PCP. The whole course that Gonzalo and the PCP ran from 1964 to 1993 must be scrutinized with a magnifying glass. Nothing can be left unanalyzed and it is preferable to submit to criticism the whole ideological, political and organizational scaffolding that preceded the “peace letters” of 1993.

To take things as if nothing had happened in the heart of the Communist Party nor in the armed process is a distortion of reality. It is a form of complicity in covering up betrayal and Marxist deviation. It is a style of conciliation with those responsible for the defeat of the armed process. The serious damage caused to the Peruvian social process, whose principal victims have been the true communists and the masses who fought at their side, was directly caused by people who can be given no concessions and cannot be conciliated with. The traitors are no longer part of the people and any revolutionary initiative has to struggle against them. On the other hand, to not search for the truth of things and say it as it has happened, is serious in that it takes the masses for idiots, and above all negates the political tasks of the current moment, principally that which has to do with the ideological aspect and the reconstitution of a revolutionary organization.

Before 2000, when Fujimori was still in power, there might have been good reason to maintain serious suspicions that the peace letters had nothing to do with Gonzalo. It was also correct to put out

the hypotheses of video editing, lies and imposters of the leading Maoist prisoners. That situation changed substantially when Fujimori fled Peru in 2000. Secret documents, direct testimonies and other proofs came to light and cleared up a situation which had been managed since ’93 spectacularly based on lies and half-truths. The same Chairman Gonzalo, facing the judges who judges him and in front of 254 national and international journalists, confirmed on November 5, 2004 his protagonism in the capitulation and treason of the armed struggle. In said event, the first act of Gonzalo was not to call for the continuation of the armed struggle, as he did in 1992 (first public presentation) but to effusively hug each member of the Central Committee who like him were responsible for the “peace letters” and the text: “fight for the political solution to the problems derived from the war” and conclude the internal conflict without victors nor vanquished”. [the original text is missing a “]

The fantasies regarding the “uncontainable advance” of the People’s War, or that the “reaction trembles” from the current armed actions, are nothing more than artificial flames that the reaction uses to camouflage the grave political crisis of the country, who most notorious expression is the electoral carnival on whose terrain the dispute is open between ruffians, delinquents and criminals. Even Fujimori’s political party is fighting again for the presidential chair. But these extravagant slogans also cover the opportunism of their mentors whose purpose is the cap with one finger the loss suffered by the PCP and the ideological drift this organization finds itself in. To not make a distinction between the political situation before 1993 and the current conjuncture, is not only an error, but in and of itself constitutes authentic proof that those who currently claim the legacy of the Peruvian revolution are merely remnants of a betrayed process which has been beaten into defeat.

MIM International Minister responds

MIM is probably to blame for the appearance of this article. I in particular have to make self-criticism for recently allowing the publication of some short and bland articles on Peru in MIM Notes. Although I knew there was an issue of the Peruvian reactionaries’ inventing Maoist armed struggles for their own purposes, I allowed the articles to go forward without a thorough investigation.

This is also an example of how people mistakenly pressure leadership. Often as International Minister I come across superficially cheerful and optimistic news spread by bourgeois media blitz that I have to quash. This sort of pressure “from below” is wrong in many aspects in the West. 1) It caters to the labor aristocracy and ends up supporting

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gay identity in “Brokeback” colludes with settlerism at the Amerikan frontier. Jack lives in North Texas in the movie, but the border, and crossing it, is alluded to repeatedly. Also, much of the movie is set in Wyoming, which connotes the Western frontier. “Brokeback” can be seen as an attempt to carve out a place for Euro-Amerikan gays in the cowboy Western romance genre.

Portraying the Amerikan frontier was apparently an intention behind the movie. Annie Proulx, author of the fictional short story on which the “Brokeback” movie is based, herself said in a December interview: “‘Brokeback Mountain’ was/is one of a number of stories examining rural Western social situations. I was trained as an historian (French Annales school), and most of my writing is focused on rural North American hinterlands. The story was not ‘inspired,’ but the result of years of subliminal observation and

thought, eventually brought to the point of writing.”(3)

Although the earliest scenes in “Brokeback” are set in the 1960s — the movie depicts a recent past that will be familiar to many rural Amerikans today — “Brokeback” may even evoke in Amerikan moviegoers feelings of nostalgia for the white society of the past. Through “Brokeback,” urban Amerikan moviegoers can go back to their country roots even. “Brokeback” is in sharp contrast to movies depicting gay people as urban dwellers and shows how even rural Amerika is not devoid of same-sex relationships. But the particular way in which “Brokeback” does this, beside romanticizing a highly segregated society, reinforces the notion that Amerika’s expanding frontier was sparsely populated or practically unpopulated before Euro-Amerikans settled there. The breathtaking nature shots in “Brokeback” just leave the impression of land there for the taking. Thoreau types watching this movie may have fond remembering of nature in its pure state, and be moved by the escapist fantasy “Brokeback” brings to life of

people living out their lives alone in the outdoors, but these are fake memories of something that never existed and have the effect of effacing indigenous peoples from the history of the Americas. Beside legitimizing the Euro-Amerikan occupation of First Nations territory, the representation of an unpopulated land may even have an immediate practical consequence today with increased interest in traveling to Wyoming after the release of “Brokeback.”

On the plus side, non-whites aren’t completely absent in “Brokeback.” We see Mexicans working as ranch hands, while Ennis and Jack get the high-paying jobs tending to a herd of sheep. Jack later gets into the farm machinery business. “Brokeback” challenges the wrong notion that the oppressor Euro-Amerikan nation has a proletarian working class. And at one point, Jack goes to Ciudad Juárez in Mexico to have sex with a Mexican male prostitute (played by cinematographer Rodrigo Prieto); although, the movie doesn’t get into that part of Jack’s life in any detail.

“Brokeback” raises and quickly drops issues of the oppression of Third World people by First World gay men, and the role of First World gay men, along with straight people, in sex tourism in the Third World. What moviegoers could potentially draw out of “Brokeback” is that allowing gay people in the United States to exercise their civil rights and have more freedom in other ways could cut down on the sex tourism industry in the Third World. In this way, Third World nations wanting to have economies independent of imperialism may have some objective unity with First World gay people; although, coalitions based on such unity seem highly unlikely. Heterosexual sex tourism thrives despite civil rights for straight people. Sexual liberalism in the First World ultimately cannot end this kind of oppression.

The rest of this review is available at www.mimnotes.info. For more Maoist Movie Reviews: go to www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/movies

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Comintern-like thinking that we have to be involved in the concrete details of other struggles. 2) It gives the enemy a chance to probe our defenses and procedures. Then leaders must work overtime to compensate. At least in this case, we have an article now to try to set us straight.

With regard to Luis Arce Borja’s article’s contents, most are plausible. We do not undertake a concrete investigation throughout Peru as would be necessary. For all we know, there are real Maoists in Peru spreading great agitation and theory as they carry out armed struggle. MIM and activists generally know to what extent the media and self-interested political leaders misreport events. If we have omitted the activities of real Maoists in Peru in our reporting, we apologize and again, we mean no harm. We are not claiming to lead a Comintern reaching into Peru and excluding legitimate Maoist comrades.

In the article above, Luis Arce Borja concludes that Gonzalo was in fact behind the peace letters. From MIM’s point of view, 250 journalists could claim to see Gonzalo in court, but most would not know what he looked like originally. Luis Arce Borja, on the other hand, does know what Gonzalo looks like, so his opinion has to be taken seriously. We also see no evidence of a huge campaign to undo the publicity that says that really was Gonzalo in the 2004 court appearance. For that reason, let us presume that the people of Peru have concluded that Gonzalo did collaborate with the Peruvian state once arrested.

If the people of Peru have concluded that Gonzalo and his central committee capitulated, the uphill nature of the fight in Peru has become more steep. It will be psychologically difficult to accept that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Gonzalo Thought guided the most successful

revolutionary movement in Latin American history, prior to the arrest of Gonzalo. The CIA has won a great battle then.

Nonetheless, MIM maintains that Gonzalo the man and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Gonzalo Thought now belong to history and have to be treated objectively, regardless of feelings about the man supposedly still alive in a naval prison. In this regard, MIM has some experience as well. Huey Newton led the most successful scientific communist movement in North Amerikan history. Yet the last 15 years of his life are full of rumors of his being a horrible drug addict. He managed a book and a few statements before an alleged drug dealer took his life. The paths of Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale were even worse. MIM has assessed that the white labor aristocracy bears the principal blame for the degeneration of Huey Newton, who was unparalleled in his 1966 to 1970 activity. It’s not that the labor aristocracy betrayed Newton. We cannot say the enemy betrays us. MIM popularized Huey Newton’s work even while Huey Newton was still alive. One could even say MIM was too impersynal in not trying to take in Huey Newton directly. That might have been an error on our part.

If Gonzalo capitulated in prison, then his accomplishments leading People’s War for so many years are what we must learn from. We have no materialist choice other than that, because no one in Latin America has done better. The only reason we know that it is wrong to try to direct the struggle from prison is that we have seen successful revolutionary movements elsewhere, not in Latin America. We have the example of Mao. The Communist Party of the Philippines also does not allow leadership from prison.

There is one condition under which we

should allow leadership from prison. When all the masses are in prison, we should lead the party from inside the prison struggle. Such was not close to being true in Peru. In the united States, we are on course statistically for the oppressed nations to end up in prison. Yet even inside u.s. borders it is not appropriate to lead the vanguard party from inside prison yet. The prison struggle itself may be led inside prison.

With regard to saving the life of comrade Gonzalo, the best course is a well-developed People’s War. That is of concern to the whole international communist movement. Nonetheless, saving the life of Gonzalo should not be the principal goal of armed struggle. It could be a tactical goal of one armed struggle. It cannot be the overall goal of People’s War in Peru. The people must make the struggle for their own reasons.

The question of how reaction benefits from alleged People’s War is only tactical. We cannot raise to a question of principle how the reaction frees Fujimorista military officers by pointing to People’s War. There is never any armed struggle that does not polarize society. Hence, MIM cannot get involved in criticizing people for giving blood-thirsty military officers a chance to go free. That could be tactically correct, but MIM is not in a position to know.

As Luis Arce Borja pointed out, there are those connecting themselves to the Peruvian struggle who give us the sense of existing just before 1993. What we need though, is a leadership able to depart from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Gonzalo Thought as it existed before 1993 but also integrate theory with conditions of 2006. Most of the major social and political conditions have not changed in Peru since 1993—comprador

bureaucratic capitalism, semi-feudalism and imperialism—but some relatively minor conditions have changed and there is no way to get around having leadership outside prison. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Gonzalo Thought should be the basis of line in Peru, but those who continue to say that Gonzalo is still the “chief” of the revolution do it a disservice. Even if Gonzalo did not capitulate, he cannot lead the Peruvian revolution now from prison. Perhaps there should be Marxism-Leninism-Maoism- New Comrade Thought for Peru, but Gonzalo Thought prior to 1993 should still be the point of departure.

As for the question of one-man management, we must all admit that the reactionaries captured and killed many more than one man. There are weaknesses in the oppressed and exploited which enable one-man leadership in some conditions. MIM is surprised given the plentitude of revisionism and reformism in Peru that one man leadership might be a serious problem. It would seem natural that the political competition would alleviate the problem of monarchist-style thinking, but the revisionists and reformists do not go deep into the countryside among the indigenous peoples much, so MIM can draw no firm conclusion. It is natural that Luis Arce Borja would have firmer conclusions.

MIM has tried to develop ideologically lately that the bourgeois pluralism of the imperialist countries does have a secondary role to play in demolishing the conditions of semi-feudalism in the Third World. To the extent that our Peruvian comrades are forged in the furnace of the whole world’s struggle, the whole international communist movement will be better off.

Nepal's absolute monarch plays election card and loses

By International Minister,
February 8, 2006

The self-labeled god-king of Nepal, King Gyanendra, held sham local elections February 8. All accounts showed there was a negligible turnout for the election that attempted, but failed, to legitimize the king.(1)

In October 2002, Gyanendra dismissed Nepal's fake parliament. In 22 out of 54 cities, he could not find anyone willing to run in the local elections on February 8, according to BBC.(2) Other municipalities had king-approved candidates only.

No political party took part in Nepal's February 8 elections. An analogous situation would be if the Queen of England with the backing of the British army dismissed Parliament and then held elections without the Labour Party, the Conservatives, the Liberal-Democrats, the British National Party, and three smaller parties.

According to BBC, Maoists killed two of the king's lackeys running in these fake elections, and 600 candidates withdrew. One candidate cynically referred to his profession as a business.

God-king Gyanendra has isolated himself with the help of Maoist tactics in Nepal. His move to dismiss parliament as corrupt hurt him with bourgeois Liberals. Then he dismissed his various prime ministers from exploiter parties and took complete control himself.

The straw that broke the camel's back for this election's legitimacy was the Maoist cease-fire that the imperialist press, such as BBC, reports held for four months. With the country engaged in a civil war and Maoists holding increasing territory, the whole world was aghast that the self-labeled god-king chose to botch the peace negotiations.

At the end of the three month cease-fire, the political parties begged Gyanendra to respond. He did not. Instead, he went abroad. Then the Maoists extended the cease-fire one more month according to imperialist media. Even then the god-king did not respond. He clearly itches to see how far he can lead Nepal himself.

Contrary to the usual bourgeois Third World attitude toward elections, the king's people said that no international observers to the elections are necessary.(2) For that matter the European Union condemned the election as a "a setback for democracy," according to a bourgeois British paper.(3) Pointing out that there have been no elections in Nepal since 1999, the British imperialist media even described the Nepal situation as one of an "army-backed coup."

The maneuvering

The key maneuver which has united election monitors, the European imperialists, and the bourgeois media, against the god-king in Nepal was the cease-fire by the Maoists. Through protracted People's War, the Maoists put



Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has at least the vague support of Nepal's majority of people, and even though the imperialists themselves report that the Maoists are the government of many parts of Nepal. When the theocrat Gyanendra blew the peace negotiations, the public and even imperialist mouthpieces saw through him completely.

Now, there is no one except his true-religious believers. Now, there is no one who will defend the king against the Maoists, not even the opposition parties of the old parliament. Rather, the old parliamentary cretins are busy proving to the people that they, too, will organize against this "autocratic" Gyanendra. We saw a similar situation in the Russian Revolution, when the Liberals had to gain themselves some movement credentials against the tsar.

The geopolitical situation

Behind the current conflict between theocrat Gyanendra and Nepal's people is some geopolitical reality. The two largest parliamentary parties of old Nepal are cronies of India and China respectively. These parties have had to take up the formerly Maoist demand for a republic, so as not to be tarred as pro-monarchist by the people of Nepal. Yet, without the support of pro-India (Congress Party) or pro-China parties (Communist Party (United Marxist-Leninist), abbrev. "UML"), the open situation of Gyanendra must be dire since he has only a die-hard band of religious fanatics on his side.

The situation is in fact so weak that we must still believe that some imperialists must be helping Gyanendra secretly without being willing to take the blame for his policies. On the surface, for now, even Bu\$h-mouthpiece and government-funded "Voice of America" reported that more than half the election posts had no candidate in the election.(6) In fact, VOA said, "Nepal's mainstream political parties have formed a loose alliance with the insurgents to push for the return of civil liberties and the holding of Constituent Assembly elections."

Without India's backing, it would seem that Gyanendra probably won't have the backing of England or the United States either. Gyanendra is either totally irrational or has substantial and secret imperialist backing.

Prior to his coup, Nepal's government

themselves in position(5) such that the Bu\$h administration included them in a short list of organizations deemed officially "terrorist" in the world — even though

alternated between pro-China and pro-India parties. Neither accomplished land reform despite the clamor of the public. However, we should not imagine that it is easy for the Anglo imperialists to convince India and China that they will have more influence in the future in Nepal when they had developed good ties with governing parties prior to the coup.

In the planning for a post-Gyanendra world, there is much concern about intervention by the Anglo imperialists, India, and China. Even in the case of the first, intervention by U.\$.-British imperialists would be a great honor for Nepal's people, a chance to stretch the imperialists thinner than they are now thanks to fighters in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Perhaps all-out Chinese intervention with troops is the least likely. In the event that the Chinese do send troops to Nepal, they risk a permanent confusion of the situation with Tibet. Anti-theocratic and peace-loving forces of the United States will alone make China's life hell if China believes some Anglo imperialist promise of increased influence in Nepal and decides to intervene. Right now, what is happening to Gyanendra is a reminder of what would have happened to the Dalai Lama had he stayed in power. China should keep it that way. MIM will not hesitate to inflame intra-bourgeois tensions and risk the peace if China touches a hair on the head of the revolution in Nepal.

The case of Indian intervention is more likely. Perhaps there will be an assassination of Gyanendra followed by Indian intervention to install India's old friends in power. In some ways, an Indian intervention would be very favorable to the prospects for global Maoist revolution, because it would represent a huge risk by the Indian ruling class. In the end, the result could be both a Maoist Nepal and a Maoist India, which could become a turning point in history. The India challenge is the one we should look forward to.

The immediate future

God-king Gyanendra ordered the army to shoot anyone interfering with his fake municipal elections, but even so, a bourgeois party appeared in public to say that it was organizing against the election.(2) Also, seven of those police and soldiers of Gyanendra died in attacks the night before the fake election.(7)

Also, the bourgeois media took to reporting rumors that a Maoist leader named Prachanda was talking about the cease-fire still and an opening for peace negotiations and a constitutional monarchy, even though "we don't see that possibility," presumably because the reactionaries in Nepal do not respond.

Despite the immense difficulties of the theocrat Gyanendra, the future is still full of challenges for the Maoist revolutionaries. In Peru, the Maoists nearly defeated the U.\$.-backed torture regime under drug and arms-runner

Fujimori when the CIA assisted the Peruvian police to arrest the Maoist leaders. Once arrested, many in Peru made the mistake of continuing operational allegiance to a leader in prison and the armed struggle took a doubly hard blow as a result.

In Peru after the arrest of leader Gonzalo, there were peace negotiations, which are a two-edged sword. In a situation of power as with the Maoists in Nepal or the Philippines, the peace negotiations can clarify who stands for what. At the same time, they carry the risk that the people themselves will go from cease-fire to permanent inactivity. So, peace negotiations also carry risk for Maoist revolutionaries. There is a question of how to steer through the pitfalls for the Maoist revolution.

Notes:

1. "Nepal Election: Turnout Low," 8 February 2006, <<http://www9.sbs.com.au/theworldnews/region.php?id=127203@ion=2>>.

"Few people were seen at polling booths in the capital Kathmandu, where heavily armed police and soldiers patrolled the streets, an AFP correspondent said.

In Mahendranagar in far west Nepal, turnout was negligible after a series of blasts shook the main bazaar before polling began, a local journalist said."

Randeep Ramesh, "Royal command falls on deaf ears," 8 February 2006, <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,,1704718,00.html>>.

"There are no political banners, no flags bearing party emblems and no campaign posters draped across the thoroughfares of Nepalgunj, a Nepali town on the grassy flatlands abutting India. Army trucks filled with soldiers in combat fatigues are the only vehicles barreling through the dusty streets."

"Nepal King Hurt by Tainted Election," 8 February 2006, <<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/02/08/ap/world/mainD8FL45COC.shtml>>.

According to the Associated Press imperialist wire service, "[r]ebel attacks, the army's shooting of protesters and low turnout tainted Nepal's first election in seven years Wednesday, dealing a blow to the absolute rule of a king who seized power a year ago to stamp out the insurgents and restore political order."

2. "Nepal's disputed vote under way," BBC News, 8 February 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/4691110.stm>.

3. Thomas Bell, "Nepal poll written off as a sham," 8 February 2006, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2006/02/08/wnepal08.xml&sSheet=news/2006/02/08/ixworld.html>>.

4. "King of Nepal carries out a bloodless 'coup'," 2 February 2006, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2005/02/02/wnepal02.xml>>.

5. British imperialists admitted a little bit more than a year ago that Maoists controlled 80% of Nepal's countryside.

Thomas Bell, "Yard reveals Nepal plan to beat Maoists," 6 December 2004, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2004/12/06/wnepal06.xml>>.

6. Patricia Nunan, "Nepal Braces for Controversial Election," 7 February 2006, <<http://www.voanews.com/english/2006-02-07-voa16.cfm>>.

7. Binaj Gurubacharya, "Nepal Army Told to Shoot Rebels," 7 February 2006, <<http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=1589541>>.

'Hospitals' holding people who've served their time

Glad the word about SHU is getting out. You know in the early 2000's CDC [California Department of Corrections] built 10 Ad-Seg units at 10 prisons. They hold 200 each and are basically the same as SHU only with less privileges. They are supposed to be for people waiting to go to SHU, but often are held in those units for 2 years or more. In many ways it is worse than the SHU.

Where I am now is right next to Pleasant Valley State Prison. We can hear the alarms and gun fire. It sounds like a lot of unrest there.

This is a billion \$ prison. If you looked at it from the outside you would not know it was not a prison. CDC officers patrol the outside. We have hospital police inside, and a lot of them. It is a little more comfortable than prison; soft chairs and beds, but still very restrictive. The food and medical is much better. How long this will last we don't know. We have about 100 inmates here now and 4 50-man wards open. They are having a lot of problems getting staff. It is out in the middle of nowhere and people don't want to live out here. The weather is undesirable, we are right along an earthquake fault, we have the valley's dirty air and valley fever is real common.

This is basically an extension of the prison system and a way to keep people locked up past their release date. California now has THREE laws on the books where they can send inmates to hospitals upon their release date, so there are more and more not paroling. They soon will be building more of these. The basis for commitment is a POTENTIAL for future illegal behavior. Who does not have the potential?

I will be looking forward to getting MIM Notes. I have really missed them.

- a California prisoner, December 2005

To: Washington Secretary of Corrections [If you support Ronald Henderson's response to Mr. Cedeno, please sign this petition. You may also want to print it out and mail it to Mr. Cedeno and to other officials, or cut&paste and email it.

Please also consider emailing this petition to your list. (See "send this to a friend" icon at bottom of petition.)

The original "Stop Walla Walla Ad-Seg Lynching" petition can be read and signed here: <http://new.PetitionOnline.com/lynching/petition.html>]

TO: Department of Corrections
Office of Correctional Operations
South West Regional Office
c/o Prison Administrator Mr. Ruben Cedeno
637 Woodland Square Loop - 41120
Olympia Washington 98504-1120
FROM: Ronald Henderson #729397
Washington State Penitentiary
1313 North 13th Ave. Unit 1-A-5
Walla Walla Washington 99362
November 18, 2005

Prison Administrator Mr. Ruben Cedeno,
I am in receipt of your response letter date October 31, 2005, in regard to my complaint of discrimination, deliberate indifference, bias, and on-going confinement. I find very disconcerting and disappointing your response to my factual complaint in which I have used every avenue of administrative protocol and chain of command to have my and other inmates' issues heard. My initial complaint was not investigated thoroughly. Neither I nor other inmates housed in Intensive Supervision Units (ISU) one and four for longer than 90 days have been personally interviewed.

Under Lock & Key

News from Prisons & Prisoners

Your statement that CUS (Custody Unit Supervisor) Weaver investigated my complaint, is akin to a felon prosecuting their OWN case. Is it normal DOC (Department of Corrections) procedure to let an accused entity of authority investigate ITSELF?

Every response I have received from the different administrative protocol levels has made a reference to my disciplinary behavior, or behavior history. This is not a forum to dispute my record. If it were, why are you not bringing up my record of credibility in regard to complaint issues? What has my disciplinary behavior to do with my complaint of biased treatment and discriminatory confinement conditions in violation of DOC policies?

STATEMENT OF FACTS:

1. There are inmates that have been housed in ISU for six months and longer waiting to be transferred to an IMU (intensive management unit). We prisoners that are housed here on Ad-Seg (Administrative Segregation), or IMS status are not receiving the same access and privileges that prisoners in IMU facilities are afforded to receive. Confinement in ISU #1 and #4 is contributing to delay in the release of inmates off of max-custody IMS status.

2. Yes, ISU records do indicate that I received a hair-cut on Oct 7, 2005; but policy states Ad-seg or maximum custody inmates can and shall receive one hair-cut per month. I had been waiting since 6/2/05! We are not allowed to shave our heads or other areas with razors. Ironically WSP (Washington State Penitentiary) sponsors the vocational barber class.

3. In your letter you state that I "have continued to engage in negative behavior and have been infracted." Yes, a minor infraction. Yet other inmates housed on Ad-seg have been infracted, found guilty, then released from Ad-Seg, ANDEITHER TRANSFERRED OR RELEASED TO GENERAL POPULATION. For instance: A Hispanic inmate was placed two cells away from me on full modification ("strip dry cell"), after having a use of force cell extraction with O.C. gas used on him and five others housed in ISU 1-Seg. This prisoner along with twenty others were placed on Ad-Seg the same day I was, 6/2/05, due to a racial melee between Hispanic and Black prisoners. This prisoner was RECOMMENDED FOR RELEASE the same day I was referred for IMS max-custody status. He went to his hearing right after me. He was released back to general population one week later!

4. I was infracted Ad-seg and placed on IMS-max-custody status for causing a work stoppage that 45 other prisoners participated in. I was the only one infracted and confined for speaking out, standing up and addressing an issue that the WSP administration refused and neglected to even hear. This is the same type of contempt and disregard for prisoners' legitimate grievances that sparked incidents such as Attica, Lucasville Ohio, New Mexico, Marion III, ADX, and Cuban prisoners held in federal detention facilities. Prisoners rebelled after their complaints were exhausted and not heard by prison administrators and other authorities.

Mr. Cedeno, can you honestly state in your

professional correctional administrative capacity, that prisoners confined to these units 1 and 4 Seg longer than 120 days is not unusual, that there is not discrimination and favoritism being shown when it comes to the criteria judging prisoners' classification assignments? If prisoners can't find administrative relief to their complaints through appropriate administrative channels, where then can they find relief?

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the state of Washington, that my foregoing statements are true and correct.

Mr. Cedeno, will you be able to state the same about your statements under oath?

"I learned that it is the weak who are cruel, and that gentleness is to be expected only from the strong." —Leo Rosten

Ronald Henderson

MIM adds: The arbitrary use of punishment is a typical divide and conquer tactic. It is used to frustrate prisoners, to create a sense of helplessness. It has also historically been used between close comrades to promote division and suspicion.

You can find this petition online at <http://new.petitiononline.com/lynch2/petition.html>. We encourage people to print it out and mail it in as suggested, for increased effect.

Suicidal prisoners tortured

I just received your issue on suicide rates in California prisons. Thank you for drawing attention to another one of California's dirty secrets. I am an inmate at CMF-Vacaville, which supposedly has programs for inmates that have attempted suicide.

My story is not unique - as a first time offender, I was arrested and charged with crimes that would have resulted in a 300 years to life sentence. Recognizing my old capitalist life of leisure was over, I tried to take my own life. The country's reaction to this was to keep me in solitary confinement in a cell with nothing but a toilet. I was naked, cold, without glasses or any reading material for over 58 days. I would compare this treatment with the worst any other nation can dish out.

The CDC's treatment plan is to keep me out of any jobs (I'm a security risk due to my lengthy sentence); produces procedures to prevent me using the lousy "library," provides contact with a psychiatrist every 3 months for 1 minute; dispenses medication like a winning slot machine; and then wonders why I would prefer death by lethal injection to this existence.

I try to provide a purpose and meaning to my life, but the state does not want any of its convicts to improve themselves or society. It is now very clear to me that we are pawns of a massive political network designed to keep the populace dumb and numbed. I used to be an extremely active liberal political activist involved in local politics. Now, I can see how easy it is for our "system" to shut down speech and ideas that are contrary to the dogmatic, religious theocracy that is dominant in this country.

Thank you for providing a voice of reason and shining a light into the dark recesses of California's own Gulag Archipelago.

-a California prisoner, November 2005

Hunger strike ignored in California

In my last letter to MIM I explained how I was on a hunger strike. Well the strike lasted for eight days, but I am sad to say it did not get me anywhere. These pigs do not care if you die and I was on it by myself so it did not get anyone's attention who could help me. No Captains or Lieutenants came to ask me what I was striking for, like they are supposed to, nobody at this institution seemed to care, besides the nurses, but they can not do anything in those situations besides weigh me. So I lost that battle but the war is not over yet. Today I was moved to another ad-seg building because I refused to accept a cellie. No I am in a cell with no widows, concrete bunks, and when you look out the door window you can not see anything but a 50 foot concrete wall. When I thought it could not get worse it did!

Brothers and sisters, it is time to organize and take charge. We have to put an end to these control units and stop the mental torment and dehumanization of prisoners.

- a California prisoner, December 2005

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.S. oppression globally until the day U.S. 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.

Massachusetts prisoners resisted Texas transfer

You have a web page that hasn't been updated since 1999. The page in question is about the transfer of Massachusetts State Inmates to the Dallas County Jail.

I was one of the prisoners that had a rifle pointed at my head while being moved; my feet almost never touching the ground from my housing unit to the visiting area because I was carried by two tact team members by the armpits.

At the visiting area I was asked if the emergency contact information in my file was valid, as all other prisoners. We were loaded on a prison van which we almost tipped over by rocking.... We should have... We would have received a major beating for our actions, but would have been spared what was yet to come.

We found out very quickly that the intelligence level of the Dallas County Correctional Officers was less than normal, so we took advantage of that fact...

Still, I didn't see the Sun or get fresh air for three years.... I will give an accurate recount, if you want, of the transfer, housing conditions and how they (the c.o's) pitted inmate against inmate to remove anger originally vented at them.

So what has been done about this.... Weld doesn't currently live in the US, and where is Celluci? Both deserve worse than they are receiving.

- a former Massachusetts prisoner, August 2005

Cell extraction leads to cruel and unusual punishment

As for today I am on hunger protest. These pigs have done too much. I have been locked in the "dungeon" or the "hole" aka ad-seg for 158 days on charges I did not even do. And the cold part about this whole ordeal is that the administration (warden, associate warden, captains, lieutenants, etc) all know that me being held captive in this hole is illegal. I have written them 602s (complaints) and a few letters with no response as of today. But the way they keep me from advancing legally is they keep me in this hole. That's their strategy.

I just sent about seven letters out to various people who can do something about my problem. But the way things go at this stable, the mail will most likely never reach its destination.

This place is so damn crooked and corrupt. Just yesterday an incident happened here in the dayroom. These pigs had to cell extract an inmate, he was lucky they didn't kill him and say he hung himself with a sheet tied to his bed. The way you get cell extracted is you either board up (refuse to leave your cell) or if the pigs think you're dead then they have to come in and get you.

The way they do it is they have about 5 pigs line up in a row with the front man holding a Plexiglas shield. Then they have about 2 or 3 more pigs on both sides of the door. Then they crack the door open and the row of pigs come running in screaming at the top of their lungs "Get down, get down!" Most of the pigs can't even fit in the cell together. Then they trap you against the wall with the shield, and grab you and either throw you to the ground and beat you, or handcuff and then throw you to the ground and beat you and maybe kill you and hang you on a sheet, or just handcuff you and take you out of the cell. With the inmate yesterday they just handcuffed him and put a spit bag over his head and about 10 pigs escorted him to a small cage in the day room about 2 1/2 feet wide, 6 feet tall.

After he was in the cage, I guess the pigs were trying to talk to him to see what was wrong, and they say he tried to spit on them. Now let's keep in mind, this is a mentally ill inmate hand cuffed, in a cage smaller than a bathtub, and a spit bag over his head. He was no threat at all to the gang of officers at that time. But here comes C/O Romoe out of nowhere grabs his can of pepper spray and empties the can on this helpless human and grabs another from his partner's hand and does the same with that one. Now if this is not "cruel and unusual punishment", what is? I don't even know why we have rules and regulations in prison because they are broken each and every day by overreacting, mentally unstable pigs like these.

- a California prisoner, November 2005

Follow example of unity in Oregon

I was reading through the Under Lock and Key section of MIM Notes and what caught my attention the most was the unity and organization amongst the fellow captives in EOIC's DSU on June 19, 2005 when they rioted against our real enemies, the pigs. And again, recently the brothers united and went on a hunger strike to take a stand against the oppressor. This is pleasing to hear and should be a message to us captives in these California warehouses (prisons) where they are continuously taking and taking. I am glad to hear there are still brothers out there who are like myself, who are not going to be passive to these pig's corruption.

Brothers in California State Prisons need to become conscious and realize the more you lay down to this corrupted system and their contradictive rules and regulations, the more they are going to take our visits, take our canteen products, take our personal clothing, take our radios. Take our minds, take our dignity, take our lives.

We are not enemies of each others. These pigs can't stop us if we are united as one and take a stand against this oppression and corruption. As long as we let these pigs bring these unnecessary divisions among us

(Blacks, whites Hispanics, Northerners, Southerners, Bloods, Crips, Muslims, Christians) we will continue to lose our dignity and stay captives in these industrialized cesspools (prisons) for modern day slavery.

- a California prisoner, November 2005

High Desert protest against unsanitary timers on toilets

In this prison timers are being installed on the plumbing of the toilets. With these timers we're allowed to flush the toilet in our cells three times an hour. With two people living in a cell, three flushes every hour is unsanitary. The pigs on the neighbor facility (C-Yard) all ready finished installing the timers C-Yard is allowed to flush their toilets two times every half hour. The reason these timers are being installed is because the state is saying the prison is using too much water and so the prison is being fined one \$1,000 every day.

So far in D-facility our captors have installed these timers in one building, they need seven more to go. In this facility the timers are set for three flushes every hour. Everyone here feels this is unacceptable. Well, every one in D-facility protested by covering the window of our cell door a minute before four o'clock count. Our captors were surprised that every race was involved in this mass protest. The pigs didn't like that every race here was involved against them. The pigs prefer one race warring against another race.

After our captors had a meeting with the spoke persyn of every race our captors agreed to install the timers to two flushes every half-hour like our neighbor facility has them. After we were told of this agreement by our spokersyn we all uncovered the windows of our cell doors so the pigs could finish their count.

The next day our captors placed the spoke persyn that participated in the meeting in ad-seg (the hole) and all of us here on D-facility are going to spend a month or more on punishment lockdown in our cells 24-7 for delaying their count and for mass protesting. The protest happened a week and a half ago and there is still more punishment coming. Our cells got a shake down by these pigs.

On our write-up hearing we will all be found guilty (I've enclosed a copy of the write up) and I'm pretty sure we will be sentenced to loss of privileges - no canteen and no quarterly packages.

Our captors figured that if our spoke persyns could have every one on D-facility participate in this mass protest these spokersyns are a threat to them. These pigs fear unity amongst every race and our leaders are always a target of repression. Our captors prefer our revolutionary leaders in ad-seg or in the SHU.

- a California prisoner, High Desert State Prison, December 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:

1. What are the biggest challenges you face being released from prison?
2. How can these problems be addressed?
3. What are the important elements of a successful release program?

Facts on US imprisonment

The facts about imprisonment in the United States are that the United States 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 States.(2,3)

To find a comparison with U.S. 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.

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.

Brokeback illustrates need for a queer Aztlán approach to gay oppression in United States

“Brokeback Mountain”

Directed by Ang Lee

Focus Features, 2005

www.brokebackmountain.com/

Review by HC116

February 6, 2006

*This is the first part of a longer review of *Brokeback Mountain*. To read the full review go to: www.mimnotes.info. --ed.*

Regardless of how people have seen the movie as being either political or not, the modern “gay” cowboy Western romance “*Brokeback Mountain*” has been undeniably political in its impact. It is not just a love story that gay and lesbian people can use for therapeutic or cathartic purposes (although, such therapy would still have a political aspect). “*Brokeback Mountain*,” which has grossed over \$60 million at the box office in the United States as of February 5th (<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=brokebackmountain.htm>), has generated discussion of the state of homophobia in the United States, and comments on issues such as gay marriage equality. Responses to the movie have ranged from the homophobic and factually incorrect (the notion that the movie is just about “lust,” a position that some conservative religious critics of the movie have put forward even though the movie indisputably has a romantic theme), to critical from another viewpoint: some gay-advocate commentators have said that the movie is too straight or mainstream in its outlook, encouraging gay people to imitate practices considered traditionally heterosexual. Bourgeois reviews of “*Brokeback*,” largely favorable, represent a variety of political ideas, and these reviews and other responses are interesting in their own right and should be examined. However, two important and relevant viewpoints are missing in the reviews. These are the revolutionary feminist and queer Aztlán viewpoints, which overlap in some places.

“*Brokeback*” has positive aspects, but emphasizing those one-sidedly and to the exclusion of criticizing its problems, even in the face of deeply reactionary attacks on the movie, and just adding another drop to the sea of praise for “*Brokeback*” would be a wrong approach to take. To put it simply, the movie contains a Euro-American outlook purporting to be a universal gay one. The subjective enjoyability and artistic quality of the movie may obscure this, but it is important nonetheless.

Reinforcing a warped view of homosexuality in the Americas

One way “*Brokeback*” puts forward a Euro-American gay outlook is in the ideas it reflects about coming out. Although nobody voluntarily comes out in “*Brokeback*,” the difficulty of doing so in

rural American towns in the 1960s-’80s is a prominent theme. The desire and then inability or reluctance to come out is a sign of the gendered oppression of gays, who due to their sexuality are subject to violence, rape (often by people taking advantage of gay people’s isolation and vulnerability, caused by homophobia and social structures), abuse, suicide, their exclusion from numerous places, spaces, and institutions, and restrictions in what they can do in their leisure time. These things confronting oppressed gay people represent power differences even if First World gays are privileged compared with Third World people. Lesbians and gay youth are particularly oppressed. However, the typical coming-out experience in Euro-America and developing a distinct gay cultural identity — involving dating in public and particular patterns of commodity consumption and leisure-time activity — do not constitute a universal experience in the world, nor even a necessary one. And the cultural identity associated with coming out in the First World implies a white ethnicity despite on the surface appearing to be cross-cultural. The stifled universal gay identity “*Brokeback*” depicts is in actuality a European one embedded in an ideology propping up the subjugation of the peoples of the Americas and oppressed nations throughout the world. In this respect, white gay identity differs little from heteropatriarchal identities and ideologies that operate in tandem with Euro-American settler imperialist ideologies, though white gay identity may diverge in significant ways from the prevailing patriarchal practices and ideologies in society.

Law professor Kenji Yoshino suggests in an Advocate.com article that “*Brokeback*” represents a particular stage in a linear progression of expanding civil rights for gay people. Yoshino locates the story in “*Brokeback*” in what he terms the “demand to convert” and “demand to pass” phases in the history of gay rights. But one problem with “*Brokeback*” is the implicit notion that before the white man came to America there was no tolerance of what we now call gay sex, or for that matter gender-bending even though transgenderism as distinct from being gay is completely marginalized in “*Brokeback*.” This contrasts with historical evidence showing that certain pre-Columbian indigenous nations in the Americas tolerated gay men and lesbians and even valued them in various ways and in particular roles, and some of this evidence is specific to nations located in Aztlán. Some contemporary First Nations in the Americas, including the land comprising Aztlán, still accept gay people (albeit within an overall patriarchal framework). It is pertinent to acknowledge these things because part of “*Brokeback Mountain*” is set in the

area known as “Texas” in occupied Aztlán, which comprises land alienated from indigenous peoples by different European settlers. The present occupation of Aztlán by the Euro-American nation is part of an ongoing oppression of oppressed nations in North America. “*Brokeback*” also strongly alludes to the Western frontier and has a bearing on First Nations outside Aztlán.

At a time when progressive ideas about gay rights are seen as spreading from big cities to rural towns, it is perhaps curious that the expansion of the American frontier has historically meant the intrusion of a ruthlessly violent homophobia into First Nations territory. Indeed, the first organized homophobes in the Americas were not today’s Christian conservatives attacking out and proud gay people for bigoted and demographics-related reasons, but Spanish colonialists punishing open homosexual behavior as a way of seizing land from First Nations. Later, the United States also repressed First Nations gays while brazenly flouting First Nations self-determination even on reservations. The history of homophobia in North America is a history of repressing First Nations more than it is a history of preventing gay cowboys from settling down in the American frontier. Fighting homophobia continues to be a matter of First Nations self-determination in the cultural sphere.

Researcher Walter L. Williams has argued that cowboys as late as the early 1900s were probably not asexual when separated from women, even though homosexual behavior may not have been openly accepted. The expanding American frontier eroded First Nations self-determination, but for Euro-Americans (some of whom moved there for this reason), the frontier meant increased sexual autonomy for themselves. Contrary to arguments that Ennis and Jack are not gay because they are too masculine and too heterosexual in their behavior, the real reason why we can’t be sure that Ennis and Jack are gay, rather than two people with situational homosexual behavior, is because of what Williams points to in the chapter of his non-Marxist book *The Spirit and the Flesh* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986) dealing with cowboys.

“With the exception of those men who married Indian women, males who remained on the frontier were those who — like buccaneers — were comfortable living outside of established rules and without women. They may not have originally gone to the frontier because of homosexual preferences (though some undoubtedly did), but they did not stay if they had strong heterosexual needs. The frontier was largely populated by men who were content to be asexual for long periods or who had sex with other males.

What about when cowboys were not in the cow towns? Other than their brief annual or semiannual payday flings, most of their time was on the range or in the camps where women were conspicuously absent. Out on the range, isolated from mainstream society, there was no outside authority checking on them. The range boss was senior cowboy himself. In this situation, cowboys paired off. A deep personal relationship often developed between two ‘partners’ or ‘sidekicks.’ “(2)

Some of the relationships did develop into romance, Williams shows, and assuming that the cowboys would have otherwise had a heterosexual orientation by default would be simplistic, but rural-themed “*Brokeback Mountain*” for most moviegoers will affirm a universal gay identity in a way that ignores the complicated history of homosexuality and homophobia in the Americas. The effect is to reinforce the notion that ending gay oppression can be achieved only via the arrival, and within the confines, of European culture.

In addition to presenting a distorted view of history, “*Brokeback*” also does not show how same-sex relationships as well as developed gay subcultures can exist even under conditions of extreme exclusion in society, including in Third World cities that have not been Westernized. Consequently, the movie reinforces the idea that gay oppression can be ended only by passing through some painful stages in an imperialist society. “*Brokeback*,” implying that America has made much progress in gay rights since the ’60s, is part of the discourse essentially saying that gay rights can be won only in the imperialist society of the First World, and only through the political and economic framework of that society.

Not only does “*Brokeback Mountain*” evoke a false memory of the history of gay people in the land occupied by the Euro-American nation and contribute to the tendency to see First World people as leading the gay rights struggle, it deals another blow to the oppressed by pitting gay people in the Euro-American nation against gay Mexicans and gay indigenous people. Although Ennis Del Mar (Heath Ledger) has more reservations than Jack Twist (Jake Gyllenhaal) about living together, both long to do so. Jack proposes fancifully that they live on a ranch together in Texas and run a business. Jack talks offhandedly about settling down in Aztlán. The movie doesn’t explore the implications of this for Latinos, Mexicans, and indigenous nations. The Euro-American nation is a settler oppressor nation — the whole notion of Euro-Americans happily living ever after in the Americas is oppressive in the context of any place in the United States — but the

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