



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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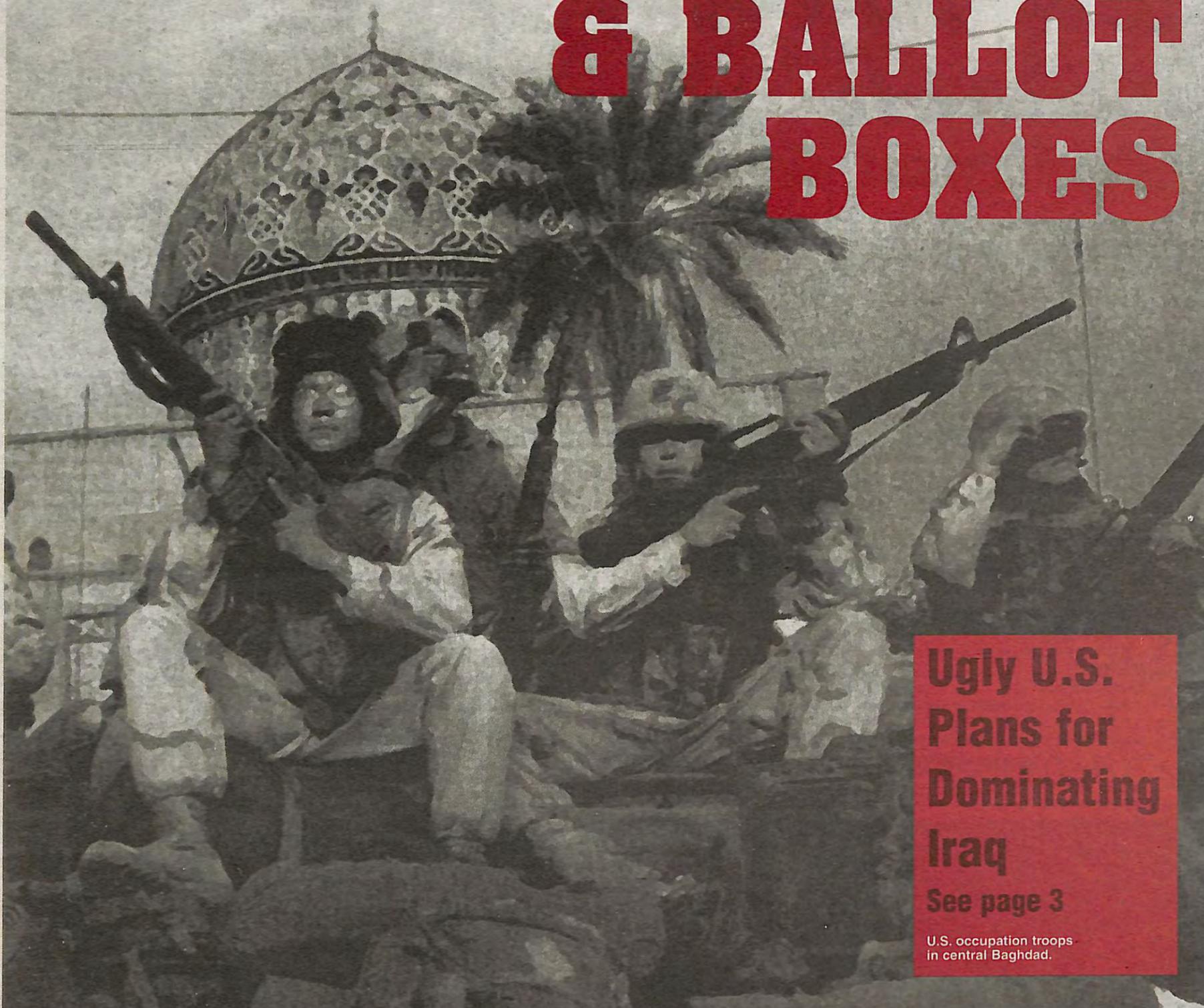
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# GUNS, PUPPETS, & BALLOT BOXES



**Ugly U.S. Plans for Dominating Iraq**  
See page 3  
U.S. occupation troops in central Baghdad.

**8**

**From Democracy: More Than Ever We Can and Must Do Better Than That**



**The Paris Commune in Perspective: The Bolshevik and Chinese Revolutions as Its Continuation and Deepening Revolutionary Communist Leadership**  
by Bob Avakian

**7**

**John Kerry and the Mission of War**



# Our Ideology is Marxism-Leninism- Maoism

# Our Vanguard is the Revolutionary Communist Party

# Our Leader is Chairman Avakian

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THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER ONLINE  
TRUTH IN PREPARATION FOR REVOLUTION

## Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian Chairman of the RCP,USA

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

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

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

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

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

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# Guns, Puppets, and Ballot Boxes

## Ugly U.S. Plans for Dominating Iraq



U.S. occupation headquarters in Baghdad.

One year into the conquest of Iraq, the U.S. government is eager (very, very eager) to announce that their armies are no longer occupiers there.

They want to claim there is an Iraqi government that *wants* the invaders there. They want such a government to legally approve their presence.

And they want to convince the world (including people in both the U.S. and Iraq) that their goals in Iraq are not to control Iraq or to dominate the huge parts of the world that rely on Persian Gulf oil—but to help Iraq's people.

And so, they have invented "Handover Day," June 30.

At this magical moment the U.S. will supposedly *hand over* power to a "transitional Iraqi government." Occupation will end. This government will be "sovereign"—meaning: in control of the country's affairs and destiny. And this new government will then hold "democratic elections" (currently scheduled for Jan. 31) to create a national assembly. And Iraq's people will then (supposedly) be free and in control (even though U.S. armies will be camped all over their country and region for many, many years).

And that is the official line from Washington, D.C.

Now let's look at some truth.

### Who Controls the Guns

*"In the war against the militias every door American troops crash through, every civilian bystander shot—there will be many—will make matters worse, for a while. Nevertheless, the first task of the occupation remains the first task of government: to establish a monopoly on violence."*

Conservative columnist George Will, *Washington Post*, April 7, 2004

Whenever the U.S. government says its interim government will be "sovereign"—they get asked: "If this government asks you to leave, will you go?"

The U.S. government gave every possible response to that question—but the real answer was always obvious: No, this government in Iraq will not have the power to control U.S. troops or make them leave.

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld said (months ago) that the new transitional government would *not* have the power to ask the U.S. to leave. More recently, Secretary of State Colin Powell said that they *would* have the power to ask the U.S. to leave. Then Bush's personal tutor and top advisor Condoleezza Rice said that the question didn't matter, since the coming Iraqi government *wouldn't want* to ask the U.S. to leave.

And Powell returned to the question by saying UN resolutions on Iraq should not say the interim government has the final say. "You can't use the word 'veto,'" Powell insisted. Why? Because, he explained, "There could be a situation where we have to act and there may be a disagreement."

In other words, the U.S. government intends to use its troops in the Middle East and, in case of "disagreement," will still do what it wants.

(So much for "sovereign.")

No one was surprised when the first major statement of the new Iraqi Prime Minister, Iyad Allawi, asked U.S. armies to stay. As soon as "handover" happens, Allawi said he will sign a formal treaty to have U.S. and allied armies in his country. That was, after all, the job Allawi was hired to do.

The U.S. creates this "government," the "government" begs the U.S. armies to stay, and signs a treaty making it all legal.

The U.S. government will claim its troops are now there by formal invitation—to make a future democracy possible by "providing security." And they will claim that armed Iraqi resistance is not fighting foreign invaders—but are just (according to Bush) "violent people who want to stop progress."

These kinds of arrangements are called "puppet governments"—where a country's handpicked government officials seem to move and talk, but everyone sees the strings that lead back to the outside imperialist puppetmaster.

### What the World Is Watching

*"The problem is that many Iraqis may interpret the government that is created now as essentially acting on our behalf and being a stooge for us."*

Zbigniew Brezezinski, National Security Advisor to President Carter *Lehrer News Hour*, May 25,

*"He was an American candidate. They brought him to us. We supported him."*

Mahmoud Othman, Kurdish member of Iraq Governing Council explaining the council's rubberstamp of Allawi

*"These are not America's puppets. This is a terrific list and really good government, and we're very pleased with the names that emerged."*

Condoleezza Rice, Bush's National Security Adviser

This Iraqi government was literally invented by the U.S. Occupation Authority.

Its leading figures were hired like actors auditioning for a role.

Right after the U.S. invasion, the U.S. Pentagon and intelligence agencies started gathering Iraqi figures who they thought might serve them well in some future Iraqi government.

The Pentagon literally airlifted in Ahmad Chalabi, a notorious CIA agent, with over 700 of his well-paid operatives—and paid them millions to spy on the resistance and help create a new puppet government.

Other wannabe Iraqi puppets got tested in various jobs—by sitting on the powerless Iraqi Governing Council, helping to write a bogus new Constitution, or serving in occupation ministries that carried out the conquest of their country and the "privatization" of its wealth.

As the Iraqi armed resistance spread, Bush announced last fall that he would "hand over" power to some unnamed domestic clique on June 30. And the UN offered to provide a figleaf of "international legitimacy" by picking the A-List of new Iraqi officials.

But when it came down to it, even the UN envoy Brahimi's choices were brushed aside—and the U.S. picked Iyad Allawi, a tried-and-tested CIA agent, for Iraq's new Prime Minister.

Before the U.S. invasion, Allawi lived his corrupt and repulsive life outside Iraq—in high-paid service to the U.S. empire. His specialty was secretly trying to recruit high-level forces (within Saddam Hussein's army and party) for a pro-U.S. coup.

Putting him in power shows that the U.S. now intends to bring back more and more former Baathist generals and government officials from Saddam Hussein's government—promoting Baathist Sunnis to balance the power and demands of Iraq's Shiite parties.

And, at the same time, Allawi's rival Ahmad Chalabi (another ambitious CIA agent) fell out of favor. On May 20, Chalabi's offices were raided. (For more see the article in this issue: "Iraq: A Tale of Two Cousins.")

These puppet wars produced an angry public confrontation *inside* the U.S. ruling class: On May 22, a delegation of high-level Republican rightwingers marched into the office of Condoleezza Rice, Bush's National Security Advisor. The crew included Richard Perle, a behind-the-scenes war-planner, and James Woolsey, a former CIA director. These were long-time promoters of Chalabi and were angrily demanding an end to the "smear campaign" against their number one Iraqi agent.

Chalabi had represented a different strategy for developing a pro-U.S. government—opposed to bringing former Baathists back into power. The CIA had (reportedly) backed Allawi, and the Pentagon's top "neocóns" were backing Chalabi. Perle and Woolsey are leading figures of the "neo-conservative" imperialists operating outside the government, while their co-thinkers inside the government include Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (among others).

In other words, the picking of Allawi involved far-reaching decisions about which political forces *inside Iraq* would become the country's new ruling group.

And *where* was it being decided who would get which strategic position?

Woolsey and Perle (two major "behind the scenes" players in global U.S. decisions) clearly think *they* have a say in who gets power in Iraq.

(And think for a second: who are these retired U.S. spymasters and war mongers to make decisions over the people and resources of Iraq a half world away!?? What is ANY of this but naked imperialism and colonialism!)

And when Woolsey and Perle have a

complaint over these strategic decisions for Iraq, where do they go? To the Iraqi people? No. To the "American people"? Nope. To world public opinion? No again.

That's not where all of this is being decided. They storm into the White House and confront Condoleezza Rice. Bush publicly said (June 1) that he had "no role" in selecting Iraq's leaders. This may be true—but everyone also knows that Bush's *government* decided *everything* about who got appointed in Iraq's new puppet posts.

This dispute (over which forces, circles, and political forces within Iraq's ruling class will be targets of recruitment into the future pro-U.S. government) is fought out *inside* the U.S. ruling class (and, in this case, inside the ruling Republican clique). And it is fought out on the basis of what they think serves them best.

(If we were flies on the wall in Rice's White House office, the heated debate we heard would *NOT* be over how best to serve Iraq's people and *their* future!')

### One Step on the On-Going Road of Domination

Bush called his new Iraqi interim government "one step closer to democracy."

Ah, Democracy. Democracy is (as we all know) what the U.S. claims its goals are—in Iraq and throughout the world.

Bush said in the historic speech that announced his "Bush Doctrine" (September 20, 2002) that the world now had only one "single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy and free enterprise."

The "free enterprise" imposed on Iraq means that U.S. corporations now run and exploit Iraq's highly strategic oil and chemical industries—and rival imperialists like France and Russia get pressured to forget about the deals they made with the old Baathist regime (and forget about *payment* of money-owed to them by Iraq).

The new "interim government" is expected to sign all kinds of new treaties—making the "privatization" and sale of Iraqi wealth final and legal. And setting up new contracts for the exploitation of their oil—which are expected to be made with companies of the invading countries.

Meanwhile, what are the steps taken by the U.S. toward "democracy" in Iraq?

First, puppet forces are recruited, tested, financed, trained, and put in power—based simply and solely on whether they seem likely to serve U.S. interests. Other forces (who in various ways and for various reasons, oppose or threaten U.S. plans for Iraq) are suppressed, marginalized and killed—using assassins, prison interrogators, death squads and tank shells.

While the U.S. occupation authorities are pouring millions of dollars into their "own" TV and radio media for Iraq, their troops padlocked a prominent Islamist newspaper

Continued on page 4

# BROOKLYN'S OWN ABU GHRAIB



Video from the detention center in Brooklyn.

New pictures are leaking out of Arab and Muslim prisoners being brutalized by U.S. guards. But this time, the images aren't from Iraq—they were taken in the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn, N.Y.

More than 300 hours of secret videotapes exist—documenting the mistreatment of prisoners seized in the huge raids and roundups within the U.S. after 9/11.

At that time more than 1,200 people, mostly Arab and Muslim men, were seized by police across the U.S. People were snatched using crude profiling by religion and nationality. They were often held in secret, without charges, and interrogated. Often their families had trouble knowing where they were taken. It is not known how many are still held.

Few of these captives were ever charged with anything other than minor immigration violations. None was ever charged with any conspiracy to attack the U.S. Many

were simply deported.

Many of those who were released or deported have claimed they were treated in extreme and abusive ways. And the government denied it. One prison official even insisted (a couple years ago) that his guards were "very polite" to the detainees.

Now the truth is starting to leak out.

These 300 hours of video were "discovered" hidden in a storage locker last year. People who have seen the videos claim they showed prison guards slamming people into walls, twisting their arms and wrists.

There is also evidence of sexual humiliation—similar to what was done in the U.S.-controlled prison of Abu Ghraib in Iraq. Detainees were stripped naked, forced to stand naked in front of female guards, and subjected to degrading mockery. Over a dozen guards are implicated.

One Muslim former detainee claims in a recently filed lawsuit that he was repeatedly strip-searched at the Brooklyn prison—and

during those searches, he says guards inserted objects (like a flashlight and a pencil) into his rectum.

The government is moving aggressively to suppress this information and prevent any public trials of their guards. Here are some of their methods:

First, though this report and some photos were supposedly "released" last year, no one has heard of them. Until Abu Ghraib happened, the whole thing was just buried.

Second, the federal prosecutors stopped their "criminal probe" into the actions of the guards. Why? Because this same federal government had simply deported many of the people they were brutalizing. So if there are no witnesses or victims available to testify—the guards get off without charges or trial. (Even though all the evidence on these videotapes exist!)

Third, the federal government refuses to release the videotapes themselves to the public.

They are using an insulting (and increasingly familiar) argument. Bureau of Prisons spokesman Dan Dunne claims that releasing these tapes would violate "privacy rights"... of the brutal prison guards!

Here is a government that respects NO ONE's privacy—launching one of history's greatest operations of police spying and snooping—but now wants to use "privacy rights" to cover its crimes. (Recently they claimed that photographing the returning coffins of dead U.S. soldiers would "violate the privacy rights" of grieving families! Now we are supposed to worry about how exposing prison brutality affects the "privacy rights" of those who did the brutalizing.)

And finally, the Bureau of Prisons has announced a new policy: it will now be forbidden to videotape any strip searches. Obviously they want to make sure that their future abuse doesn't leave behind any evidence.

## Guns, Puppets, and Ballot Boxes

Continued from page 3

in Baghdad because they didn't like its coverage.

Meanwhile anyone who expresses any views opposed to the occupation have no legal protection—they face the threat of jail-without-charges, torture, rape and even murder (as the photos from Abu Ghraib showed). And (at the same time) U.S. agents in Iraq are not subject to Iraqi laws, and their shadowy "civilian contractors" are not subject to ANY laws, not even U.S. military law (and can apparently kill and torture at will).

So much for "freedom of press" and "rule of law."

In short, the U.S. government is going all out to establish their own stable domination and exploitation of Iraq—by any means necessary. And they are using the conquest of Iraq to plan the transformation of the whole surrounding, highly strategic region.

And while they do all this, they will claim they are "bringing democracy"—because they will (almost certainly) hold some kind of elections in Iraq once "the country is ready for elections." Ready means pacified. Areas with strong opposition will not have elections. And areas where the opposition has been killed or crushed will be considered "ready for democracy."

And U.S. officials, like Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, have already said that certain political forces are just not acceptable to the U.S.—and will simply not be allowed to hold power, even if they win elections.

All of these preparations and repressions make it clear that any U.S.-created democracy will have nothing to do with giving real power to the masses of people in Iraq. And elections will have everything to do with continuing, enforcing and stabilizing continuing U.S. domination over the people in Iraq.

These elections will be completely controlled by the U.S. invaders and their vari-

ous emerging allies and puppets.

The elections will not make any basic decisions in any case—since the key decisions will be made through treaties and laws that legalize the U.S. occupation and the foreign capitalist control of Iraqi wealth.

These elections will have the primary purpose of giving some flimsy legitimacy to a future pro-U.S. government in Iraq—(legitimacy which this Allawi will never have!) And they will serve as a way of channeling, confining, and controlling the political activity of the masses of people in Iraq.

And all of that, if you think about it, is also precisely how electoral democracy works inside the U.S. too—where (in times like this current election circus) people are forced to pick between tested representatives of the system, and where the whole

structure and direction of society and the basic policies of government are removed from the election debate and discussion.

### Wielding the Real Power

Who will rule Iraq after this bogus "handover" of power?

Aside from the fact that U.S. troops will stay, and probably grow in number, and aside from the fact that this Iraqi government will have no say in what they do, or whether they stay... And aside from the fact that it now has no troops of its own, and when it does it will probably not command them...

Aside from all that, the U.S. is setting up the world's largest "embassy" in Baghdad—with a staff of 3,000 in a vast complex that is being built over five years.

Embassies are officially supposed to communicate with a country's government,

and study its political developments. But this vast "embassy" complex will be built like previous U.S. embassies in the countries of Central America—where the U.S. "embassy" ran the local puppet government, ordered around the local military, and picked which general or plantation owner would become the next president.

And this new colonial U.S. embassy in Iraq will be run by Ambassador John D. Negroponte, who has no background in Iraqi or Middle Eastern affairs, but served as an architect of Ronald Reagan's bloody reign of terror and murder in Central America.

Negroponte is the blood-soaked U.S. cut-throat who used the U.S. "embassy" in Honduras (from 1981-1985) as a headquarters to unleash death squads on the people of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras.

On the day he announced his new ambassador to Iraq, President Bush said, "John Negroponte is a man of enormous experience and skill" and "has done a really good job of speaking for the United States to the world about our intentions to spread freedom and peace."

So what is being set up in Iraq is classic "neo-colonialism"—which has long been the hallmark of U.S. domination in the third world. The countries dominated by the U.S. are not mainly ruled directly by colonial governors. On paper, countries like the Philippines, or Honduras, or the Congo, or Peru have been "independent" and have their own "sovereign" governments. But the real power is wielded by imperialism—through all its various arms, including the U.S. military, intelligence services, its ambassador, armies of "advisors," high-level bankers and corporate operatives, and all those local puppets who understand U.S. interests well.

Look close at Negroponte's grim killer's face—It gives a chilling glimpse of what the U.S. government has in store for the people as "Iraq moves towards democracy."



New U.S. ambassador to Iraq John Negroponte with Colin Powell.

## From A World to Win News Service



Chalabi sitting directly behind Laura Bush at George Bush's State of the Union speech, January 2004.

# Iraq: A Story of Two Cousins



Allawi with U.S. occupation chief Bremer.

We received the following from A World to Win News Service.

May 31, 2004. A World to Win News Service. It is worth comparing the rise of the U.S.'s new chief puppet in Iraq, Iyad Allawi, and the fall of his life-long rival cousin, Ahmad Chalabi.

How Allawi was chosen reveals a lot. The U.S. had asked UN envoy Lakhdar Brahimi to pick a new Prime Minister, the key post in the new interim government which the Bush administration declared will be "sovereign" after June 30. The idea was that by putting the decision in Brahimi's hands, the U.S. was signalling its willingness to loosen its grip on the country, even if only a very little, and compromise a bit with its European critics.

Brahimi wanted to install Hussain Shahrastani, a nuclear scientist thought to be acceptable to both the U.S. and Europe. Within days, the U.S. overruled him because it was worried that Shahrastani was "not sympathetic enough to American politics, particularly the Bush administration's desire for U.S. forces to have unfettered power in the country after the handover" (*Washington Post*, May 31).

Then White House envoy Robert Blackwill and U.S. administrator of Iraq Paul Bremer met with the U.S.-appointed Iraqi Governing Council. Official American government sources put out the story that making Allawi the head of the new government was the Council's idea. Unofficial Iraqi sources complained that Bremer ordered the Council to rubber-stamp his choice.

The irony here is that the U.S. asked for Brahimi's help in the first place because, as *The New York Times* wrote, "Opinion polls show that Iraqis view the Council largely as a U.S. mouthpiece."

Informed that the decision he was supposed to make had been made for him, Brahimi's public response was that he could "live with it." Later when reporters pressed a spokesman for Kofi Annan, Brahimi's boss at the UN, for his views, he replied, "The Secretary General respects the decision, as I said Mr. Brahimi does. 'Respect' is a very carefully chosen word." In other words, the UN didn't like this gangster farce but went along with it anyway.

Why the U.S. finally picked Allawi and not Chalabi is also very revealing.

Both men come from one of Iraq's main traditional ruling class families. Chalabi's father was among Iraq's richest men and his grandfather, a feudal lord, had his own personal prison where he kept serfs who failed to turn over enough of their wheat crops. That family lost much of its wealth and power in the 1958 revolutionary army coup that overthrew the monarchy. Chalabi went into exile, where he became an ally and friend of the king of Jordan. Eventually, he began working for the CIA.

Allawi's path was a little different. In 1961, he joined the Baath party that was eventually to be headed by Saddam. The party began to come to power in a U.S.-backed 1963 counter-coup marked by the slaughter of communists and other leftists and nationalists on a list supplied by the

CIA. After the Baathists consolidated their grip in 1968, he was sent to medical school in London, where he became head of the Baathist student union. According to sources as diverse as *Al-Jazeera* and *The New Republic*, he also became a key figure in the Baath apparatus in Europe. A doctor who went to school with Allawi described him as a man who "carried a gun on his belt and frequently brandished it, terrorizing the medical students." Sometime in the 1970s, he also became linked to MI6, British military intelligence. It is not clear if that came before or after his public break with Saddam. In 1978, the year before Saddam came to power with CIA and MI6 support, someone tried to kill Allawi—an event shrouded in mystery even though ever since he has used it to claim anti-Saddam credentials.

His political efforts were focused on organizing contacts among top Baathist generals. It was in this capacity that he became an "asset" of the CIA, which took him over from MI6 in the early 1990s after the U.S. turned against Saddam. Allawi's 1996 CIA-sponsored attempt to organize an anti-Saddam Baghdad palace coup flopped. Nevertheless, the CIA continued to regard him as a man who could help bring about "regime change" in Iraq without dismantling the existing state apparatus. The *Los Angeles Times* quoted a highly informed "observer" who said, "Iyad is somebody who is military minded, wants a strong government, believes in a strong army."

For use against whom? Not the U.S.

When Allawi returned to Iraq with the U.S. occupation forces, he argued against the decision to dismantle the Iraqi army and police. The U.S. put him on the Governing Council, despite the fact that according to a CBS television news poll his support among the population is "statistically insignificant" (even more so than most of the Council). He installed his Iraqi National Accord headquarters in the old headquarters of the Baath party in the capital and across Iraq. (During an uprising in the town of Baiji, north of Baghdad, Patrick Cockburn wrote in the *Independent*, a crowd burned down the local INA office.) As Minister of Security, he took charge of the U.S.'s efforts to rebuild Saddam's police after the Bush administration decided to reverse course. Bremer, who took responsibility for that earlier decision, now began efforts to rebuild Saddam's armed organizations, working with Iyad Allawi and his cousin Ali Allawi, the occupation Defense Minister.

According to the *Washington Post* (May 1), "U.S. commanders across Iraq's 18 provinces have been asked to nominate and submit biographies of former officers who seemed friendly to American authorities. An Army colonel, who reports to Paul Bremer, the U.S. administrator of Iraq, has travelled extensively, recruiting and evaluating candidates." On April 18, Ali Allawi named two former Saddam generals to head Iraq's new armed forces.

Iyad Allawi's rival Chalabi had been the protégé of Bush Vice President Dick Cheney and the civilian "neo-conservatives" who took over the Pentagon with

A World to Win News Service is put out by A World to Win magazine ([awtw.org](http://awtw.org)), a political and theoretical review inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the embryonic center of the world's Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations.

Bush's arrival in office, especially Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. Some commentators called Chalabi's disgrace and Allawi's triumph a victory for the CIA in its long-standing squabbles with the Pentagon. But more basically, Allawi's appointment is meant to further what has now become official, unified U.S. policy: rebuilding Saddam's army and state structure under U.S. control, and trying to build a new Iraqi ruling class coalition that includes the bureaucrat capitalists who held power under Saddam.

In the 12 years before his Baghdad home was humiliatingly raided by U.S. troops and Iraqi police (under Allawi), Chalabi received more than 100 million dollars, at least 39 million from the Bush administration alone, according to Jane Mayer, writing in the *New Yorker* (June 7). Until last week, he was still receiving \$342,000 a month.

Now the American establishment—from government to media—accuses him of misleading the U.S. about Saddam's supposed WMD. The fact is that Chalabi's lies didn't fool the U.S. government. The U.S. government used them to try to fool other people.

Another fact is that the charges now being raised against Chalabi are nothing new. It's almost funny when Bush's people express horror at the "embezzlement" committed by a man convicted of looting Jordan's second biggest bank in 1989. (It is said that when police raided the Petra Bank, they found not a single page of financial records of any kind.) The howls about Chalabi's links with the Islamic Republic of Iran and its security services are equally hypocritical, since these were also known all along and encouraged. Getting Iran's ruling mullahs to help establish a stable, pro-U.S. regime in Iraq has always been a part of the game plan. Chalabi and Allawi (and the rejected Shahrastani) were all accepted by Ayatollah Ali Sistani, the Iraqi Shia leader associated with the Iranian mullahs.

What changed about Chalabi is that for the U.S., he had outrun his usefulness. His die-hard public opposition to bringing back Baathist forces only sealed his fate.

You could call Allawi Mr. 45 Minutes because he has been identified as the source of Tony Blair's now ridiculed claim that Saddam Hussein could deploy his (non-existent) weapons of mass destruction within that time frame. Another reason to call him that might turn out to be that like his enemy cousin, chief rival and fellow disposable U.S. pawn Chalabi, Allawi may not last too long.



A U.S.-created Iraqi national task force in training.



## Talking About Bob Avakian on the Mexican Border

The following correspondence is from a Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade member in Los Angeles.

On Friday morning, four of us left Los Angeles around 11 a.m. We were headed to San Diego, loaded with anticipation and hundreds of copies of the special May Day issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper. We were on a mission: to hook up Chairman Bob Avakian with people from across the border. Around 2 p.m. we met up with some YBers from San Diego, and we all talked about how to bring the Chairman's vision of a beautiful communist future to some of the people who most need (and want!) to hear about it.

We decided to sell at a grocery store near the border where there are several check-cashing places. Most of the people here were from Tijuana, and we knew that if we got out bundles of newspapers to them, they would be taking them back into Mexico. This would be a great opportunity for us to get the word about our Main Man across the border and connect him with the masses over there.

There were about three check-cashing places on one corner. It was a good set-up. At first, we found it a little difficult because we had to speak Spanish. At least I know I did. But we did very well and we got a great response from the masses out there. They told us we should go sell at the bus stop of these big buses that drive people into the U.S. so they can go shopping or for when they go back home from work, and they gave us directions to the bus stop.

We decided to break into two teams: one team would stay at the check-cashing places, and the other team would sell at the bus stop where people bus back to Tijuana. We had one person agitating while the rest of us would go and sell the paper to the people waiting for the buses or standing in line to cash their checks.

Overall, we got a very positive response. There were people from different strata, both middle class and proletariats, who hate how the world is and want it changed. People were in a hurry, but once they saw someone buy the paper, they wanted it, too, and would come back and get it. One YBer said she mostly talked to people about how we were celebrating the paper's 25th anniversary, and most of the masses asked how was that possible if it was the first time they ever saw it. Someone else summed up that most of the women at

the bus stop really liked the article around the youth in Mexico, and never knew people in Mexico were fighting back against their oppression.

I spoke to several people who could not envision another world. One man told me that all he could do in this life was work and survive. What else was there? He felt hopeless, but got the paper because he wanted to know what Bob Avakian was saying about revolution and how we can change the world.

Another man I spoke to thanked me for being out there because he felt that young people should be trying to change the world. He also was angry at the situation he was in. He used to be an alcoholic, but now he lives in a mission and is forced to work very hard as a farmworker. He hates what the president is doing to the Iraqi people and "his people." He bought a subscription on the spot off of looking over the Chairman's article.

One of the YBs spoke to several people who were surprised she was even talking about revolution. They would say, "Revolution? In this country?!" (meaning, the U.S.). They all wanted the paper.

Almost everyone we spoke to got the paper and we got bundles out as well. We raised over \$40 and got out all Spanish papers. Most of the money we received was in pesos. One YBer came up to me and showed me the pesos, so enthusiastically, like it was her first time she saw one. I guess it was a trip for her because here we were selling the paper to people from Mexico, something we'd never really done before.

Later that night we shared our excitement and our stories. We learned that most of us had been trying to connect with people by talking about the Cancun article or the 25th anniversary of the newspaper or by using agitation comparing what the U.S. is doing to the Iraqi people to what they do to immigrants crossing the border. We'd sold a lot of papers but we'd hidden Bob Avakian and his vision of a bright communist future from the people we'd met!

Then one of the comrades made an important point. She said that when she was selling the paper, she'd led with the Chairman's article and it called to the advanced—people

Continued on page 11

## "Walking on the Path of the Vanguard" Viewing Chairman Avakian's speech in the heart of the barrio

"This was a great event: to hear the words of the leader who speaks to us with the truth, who takes things apart with such a clear analysis, who teaches us with a science that advances our understanding." So it was described by an organizer of the May Day showing of the video clip.

On May 1st, in a restaurant in the Pico-Union section of Los Angeles, a group of a dozen Latino proletarians and others gathered to watch the video clip of the historic speech by Chairman Avakian, "Revolution: Why It's Necessary, Why It's Possible, What It's All About." The event was sponsored by *Libros Revolución*. There were immigrants from Mexico and Central America, some of whom heard about it at the earlier Immigrant Workers March. There were revolutionary communists and members of *La Resistencia*. One woman makes a living as a street vendor, and stayed up the night before to study the speech excerpt that was in the *Obreiro Revolucionario*. An African American nurse who attended was thrilled by the multi-national gathering.

After the clip was over, an immigrant woman from Mexico rose to her feet and spoke from her heart: "When was I ever going to meet up with an analysis that made me feel sane and whole? The things you think and feel weigh on your heart because you can't understand: Why do we live in such desperation, without any real reason for the fact that no matter how hard you work, you don't have enough money to survive? You just can't understand why they're fighting this senseless war, where they're killing innocent people — for what?"

"It's here that I can understand and express things. It's this leader and this newspaper that gives me the courage to express things that I'm drowning in. It makes me feel that, yes! we can unite and struggle to seize power and bring about change."

An immigrant man from Mexico spoke of the struggle he had with his friend to win him over to come. He almost didn't come because he felt he had nothing to say and that if he were asked a question he wouldn't be able to respond. The man continued, "In this system the common people have no right to speak or have opinions. Supposedly we don't have the intellect to study science. Science is only for the higher classes to own and to use. This leader gives the ability to understand that science is not something unreachable. Like he says, we shouldn't be afraid to use this science and it's important to understand that we have the ability and the right to do it. The people need this so much!"

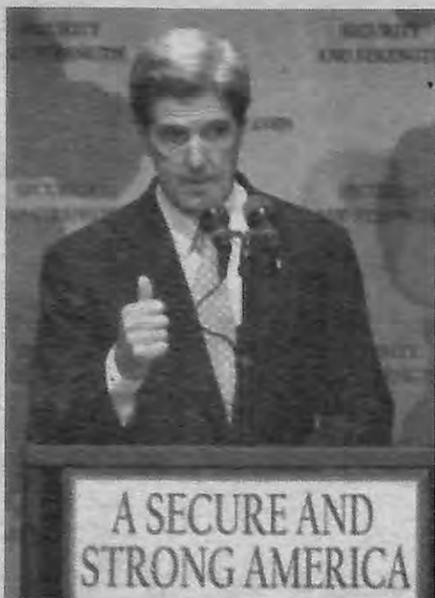
Another immigrant woman rose to her feet, struggling to control the emotion in her voice: "I'm feeling a great emotion, like I feel like I want to cry: to be able to analyze and understand things like, 'What is monopoly?' These are words that have to do with a science and yes, we can understand, use and analyze them. When has anyone given us, the ones on the bottom, the chance to understand, analyze and participate in a debate like this? To be able to break things down with a correct understanding fills us with confidence and courage, so that today and even right now we are walking on the path of the vanguard, doing something brand new, something that belongs to the future."

Can you hear them? The voices of those forced into the shadows—they long for a leader who can show them the reason for their stolen lives and a path to liberation. When the conscious proletariat hears Bob Avakian they can recognize that he is rare and unique and irreplaceable. Who could argue then that they would not embrace this leader who links their lives to their historic mission to bring about a communist future? Who would call on them to fight for anything less than the liberation of humankind?

Listen... they're playing our song. Can you hear it? "The Internationale"... "We have been naught, WE SHALL BE ALL!...We must each one decide our duty, we must decide and do it well..."



Border crossing at Tijuana.



Kerry giving a speech, May 2004.

# JOHN KERRY &



U.S. troops in Kuwait. Kerry calls for more U.S. troops in Iraq and enlarging the size of the U.S. military as a whole.

# THE MISSION OF WAR

*"The difference between the two on the war on terror is much less than most people think. There might be a difference in emphasis, but not overall gist, because frankly, it's like (Rolling Stones guitarist) Keith Richards said to Mick Jagger: 'It's bigger than the both of us.'"*

John Hulsman, an analyst at the conservative think-tank Heritage Foundation

*"The presumptive Democratic presidential nominee focused less on criticizing the president's policies than on whether he could provide the international leadership to implement them. 'That's the principal difference at this point in time,' said Rand Beers, the Kerry camp's national security coordinator."*

Los Angeles Times, May 27, 2004

"For the people of the world, this moment in history crackles with both danger and opportunity," the *Revolutionary Worker* wrote in our May 1, 2004, issue. Today, millions sense that irreparable harm may result if the U.S. juggernaut of war and repression isn't challenged and stopped.

This is a presidential election year—a time when, according to democratic myth, the people are supposed to have their say in the direction of the country. Yet even in the middle of a monstrous mess of an unjust war in Iraq, there seems to be little difference between the two major candidates.

The widespread "anybody but Bush" sentiment reflects the deep hatred that many people have for the Bush agenda. At the same time, many people simply don't know what Kerry's position is on the war. Many simply assume that he is "anti-war," opposed to the Bush doctrines of preemptive war and domestic repression. But that is not the reality.

In the 1960s Bob Dylan sang, "Let us not talk falsely now, the hour is getting late." With such high stakes for the whole world, the people have to dare to confront reality as it is and to cast off illusions.

This article will examine John Kerry's positions on the war in Iraq, domestic repression, and the overall international agenda of the U.S. government.

## Kerry on Iraq

*"While we may have differed on how we went to war, Americans of all political persuasions are united in our determination to succeed. The extremists attacking our forces should know they will not succeed in dividing America, or in sapping American resolve, or in forcing the premature withdrawal of U.S. troops."*

John Kerry in an April 13, 2004, op-ed piece in *Washington Post*

Kerry voted for the 2003 Congressional resolution authorizing the war with Iraq. He voiced the same lying justification for war as Bush—accusing Iraq of possessing chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.

"These weapons represent an unacceptable threat," Kerry said. "Iraq has some lethal and incapacitating agents and is capable of quickly producing and weaponizing a variety of such agents, including anthrax, for delivery on a range of vehicles such as bombs, missiles, aerial sprayers, and covert operatives which could bring them to the United States homeland."

Even now, Kerry won't even say he was wrong about the U.S. going to war against Iraq. What he does say is that *the way* the Bush administration went to war was a mistake. Kerry argues that the U.S. should have put more emphasis on drawing in other countries and the United Nations to support the war.

And Kerry is firmly *against* any pullout of U.S. forces from Iraq. "We will persevere in that mission," he insists—regardless of who is elected in November.

And we should be clear that for both Bush and Kerry the "mission" in Iraq is the same—setting up a stable U.S. client state in the heart of a strategically important region by shaping Iraq's future, economically, politically, and militarily in ways that favor the U.S. This mission has nothing to do with "liberating" the people of Iraq.

Kerry's main criticism is that Bush has been "stunningly ineffective" in advancing this mission by not providing enough forces to successfully conquer Iraq—not enough U.S. forces, and not enough forces from allied imperialist powers.

Kerry says Bush should have sent *more* troops in the first place to invade and con-

quer Iraq. Speaking on June 3 in Independence, Missouri, Kerry said, "We went into Iraq with too few troops."

And Kerry thinks the U.S. should pour in a lot more troops now to stabilize Iraq. In an op-ed piece on Iraq, Kerry wrote, "To maximize our chances for success, and to minimize the risk of failure, we must make full use of the assets we have. If our military commanders request more troops, we should deploy them."

Kerry hopes that additional troops in Iraq will come from U.S. allies. "We also need to renew our effort to attract international support in the form of boots on the ground to create a climate of security in Iraq," Kerry writes.

But Kerry has also made clear that he will quickly enlarge the size of the U.S. military as a whole if he wins the election. He said on June 3: "My first order of business as commander-in-chief will be to expand America's active duty forces. Not to increase the number of soldiers in Iraq, but to add 40,000 new soldiers to prevent and prepare for other possible conflicts..."

"As president, I will double our Special Forces capability to fight the war on terror. That's the second part of my plan to modernize the military."

Kerry declared his intention to create what he called a "New Total Force": "Our military must be prepared to defeat any enemy, any time, any place. And our soldiers must be capable of success in any conflict."

Two things must be said about Kerry's position that the UN and allied countries must be drawn in more to help in Iraq. First, this in no way challenges what Bush and company are doing in Iraq. In fact, as the U.S. has gotten into deeper and deeper trouble in Iraq, Bush himself gave the UN a role in pulling together a puppet government for Iraq.

Second, Kerry makes clear that his idea for recruitment of more allies doesn't mean giving them an equal partnership in imperial plunder. He stresses that any UN force in Iraq must be "under the lead of a U.S. commander."

Pictures of tortured prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison have given people all over the world a sense of what the U.S. occupa-

tion of Iraq is all about. Yet it takes a long and hard search to find *any* comment by Kerry on the crimes committed by the U.S. at Abu Ghraib.

Kerry's remarks make Bush and Rumsfeld's damage-control apologies seem strong. In one of his few public comments on the torture, Kerry criticizes "some American troops [who] under some circumstance have engaged in behavior that ... is absolutely unacceptable." When some people in Kerry's campaign used the prison torture as a campaign issue, Kerry quickly apologized.

## Kerry's "National Security" Team

A look at Kerry's main foreign policy advisors gives a picture of the politics and interests that would shape a Kerry administration.

Rand Beers is the Kerry campaign's main advisor on matters of "national security." Beers is often mentioned as a possibility for the position of National Security Advisor (Condoleezza Rice's post in the Bush administration) in a Kerry administration. Beers served under not only Clinton but also earlier in the Bush administration as Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs.

Beers was one of the architects of the program to spray deadly chemicals from the air in southern Colombia—in the name of wiping out coca fields. In reality, this has been a key part of the Colombian government's anti-insurgency war. The U.S. hired private contractors to fly crop dusters at high altitudes, spraying poison on all the vegetation and, often, peasants below. Beers testified under oath that anti-government armed forces in Colombia had received training in al-Qaida camps in Afghanistan. He later backed off of this allegation, which had no basis in fact.

Beers was appointed Special Assistant to President Bush and Senior Director for Combating Terrorism in August 2002, replacing Richard Clarke. Beers served in the Bush administration until last year.

Also on Kerry's national security team is

Continued on page 15

## From "Democracy: More Than Ever We Can and Must Do

The RW/OR presents an important series based on a major 1991 article by Bob Avakian, "Democracy: More Than Ever We Can and Must Do Better Than That."

RCP Chairman Avakian's polemical essay takes head on key arguments and questions that have been raised in opposition to the overall historical experience of socialist states in the world. He defends the crucial essence of that historic experience from attack, and, in doing so, brings new insights into learning from the achievements of the proletariat in power, as well as the mistakes, to carry forward with communist revolution in today's world.

In various excerpts that will appear in this series, he examines the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin and in China under Mao and draws out lessons for the future. He discusses why the proletariat needs a vanguard party and a specific kind of state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to carry out this rule and carry forward the all-around transformation of society and the world. He examines how the masses rule, and the complexities and contradictions involved in that — all of which has origins in underlying economic and social factors in socialist societies and in the world as a whole, which only the continuing proletarian revolution can uproot and transform. He also explains how the proletarian concept of freedom is different from bourgeois notions of electoral democracy.

Chairman Avakian's article originally appeared in the international journal *A World To Win* in 1992. It is a critique of the document "On Proletarian Democracy" by the CRC—a Marxist-Leninist formation in India whose main leader, K. Venu, launched an attack in 1990-91 on Leninism, Maoism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat and later abandoned revolution. What is at stake in this argument over the dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing less than the right of the proletariat to rise up in revolution and establish their own rule, and carry through the long revolutionary transformation of society until the abolition of classes, communism, is achieved. Without the hope of that path—and the leadership to take it—the masses would be left, as Bob Avakian wrote in his article "under the domination of an economic system of capitalist exploitation and a corresponding political system where, as Marx put it, they have the opportunity to choose, every so many years, which set of exploiters will rule over and oppress them."

The entire article by Bob Avakian is now available on line at [rwr.org](http://rwr.org), and the CRC article it is criticizing will also soon be available there.

# The Paris Commune The Bolshevik and as Its Continuation Revolutionary Comm

This series begins with several segments of Bob Avakian's article which discuss the Paris Commune of 1871.<sup>1</sup> Marx hailed the Commune as the first historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Here Bob Avakian takes on the argument of the CRC, which upholds only the Commune as a legitimate exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat and pits the Commune's experience—which was very important, but brief and initial—against the entire historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist society beginning with the October 1917 Soviet Revolution.<sup>2</sup> This is the third excerpt on the Paris Commune.

<sup>1</sup>The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first successful seizure of power by the working class. For 76 days, between March 26 and May 30, the revolutionary workers held the city of Paris.

The French bourgeoisie had been defeated in war by neighboring Prussia, and the two governments conspired to disarm and suppress the population of Paris. In defiance, the people formed an armed militia—the National Guard—and launched a struggle for power. On March 26, a city-wide council of workers and soldiers declared the *Paris Commune*.

While fighting courageously at the barricades and ramparts that defended the city, the revolutionary Communards took farsighted steps toward the social transformation toward classless communist society. They declared the abolition of the military draft and the standing army and police. They enacted the separation of church and state, nationalized church property, abolished night shift, abolished interest on debt, and canceled rents owed by the people. The hated guillotine was publicly burned and state execution was abolished. The workers reopened factories closed by the capitalists and ran them cooperatively. Schooling was made free and open to all. The Vendome Column, a monument to France's wars of aggression, was pulled down. It was announced that no one leading or working for the Commune would make wages above the workers'. Immigrant residents of Paris were declared full citizens of the Commune and held many posts in the revolutionary government—and it was declared that "the flag of the Commune is the flag of the World Republic."

At the same time, the working class had not yet formed a Marxist vanguard party to lead this revolution. The Marxist internationalist currents were still only a small minority among the many different utopian socialist and radical democratic trends.

The reactionary French government launched an invasion from the nearby town of Versailles. The heroic fighters of the Commune, including many women and youth, defended the revolution with arms, street by street. Finally they were overrun by enemy troops. Tens of thousands were murdered in a bloodbath of mass executions.

The founder of modern communism, Karl Marx, who supported and closely studied this great struggle, wrote afterwards: "Workingmen's Paris with its Commune, will forever be celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society."

<sup>2</sup>Throughout this critique of the CRC document, where I speak of how it repudiates 'the entire historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat,' I am referring specifically to the experience beginning with the October 1917 Soviet Revolution. While the CRC document claims to recognize certain achievements of this historical experience, it is clear in examining this document that—even on its own terms and without considering the logical implications of its position, it regards this entire experience as fundamentally flawed and insists that a whole different orientation should be adopted. And it should also be said that, in pitting the limited experience of the Paris Commune against the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat since then, rather than recognizing and emphasizing the essential unity between them, this CRC document in reality rejects the fundamental spirit and lessons of the Paris Commune itself."—Bob Avakian



The declaration of the Paris Commune, March 1871.



Mao Tsetung at a 1965 rally in Beijing in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism.

**“Better Than That”**

# Commune in Perspective: and Chinese Revolutions in Perspective and Deepening Communist Leadership

by Bob Avakian

Here it seems important to speak to another practice of the Paris Commune that Marx identified as a matter of decisive importance: the “replaceability” or “revocability” of leaders. Once again the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat has shown that it has not been possible to apply this principle in the strict sense in which Marx spoke of it, drawing from the Paris Commune, where officials were elected by the masses and subject to recall by them at any time.

It must be said straight-up that it does not get to the essence of things if the masses have the formal right to replace leaders, when the social conditions (contradictions) are such that some people are less “replaceable” than others. To give an extreme example, if the masses in socialist China had had the right to vote Mao out of office, and if they had exercised that right foolishly and voted him out, they would have been confronted with the stark fact that there wouldn’t have been another Mao to take his place. In reality, they would find themselves in a situation where someone would have to play a role which, from a formal standpoint, would be the same as that of Mao; that is, someone would have to occupy leading positions like that, and the division of labour in society – in particular between mental and manual labour – would mean that only a small section of people would then be capable of playing such a role. Voting Mao out of office would only mean that somebody less qualified—or, even worse, someone representing the bourgeoisie instead of the proletariat – would be playing that leadership role. You can’t get around this, and adhering to the strictures of formal democracy would be no help at all.<sup>3</sup>

This, of course, does not mean that the division between masses and leaders should be made into an

absolute, rather than being restricted and finally overcome; nor still less does it mean that the leaders and not the masses should be seen as the real masters of socialist society. In revolutionary China great emphasis was given to the role of the masses in criticizing and in an overall sense supervising the leaders. And this found expression on a whole new level through the Cultural Revolution, which, Mao stressed, represented something radically new—“a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below.” (Mao, cited in *Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press [FLP], p. 27) Yet, as important and pathbreaking as this was, the fact remains that throughout the socialist transition there will not only be the need for leaders—and an objective contradiction between leaders and led—but there will be the possibility for this to be transformed into relations of exploitation and oppression.

Given the contradictions that characterize the transition from capitalism to communism, worldwide, if the party did not play the leading role that it has within the proletarian state, that role would be played by other organized groups—bourgeois cliques—and soon enough the state would no longer be proletarian, but bourgeois. It must be said bluntly that, from the point of view of the proletariat, the problem with the ruling parties in the revisionist countries is not that they have had a “monopoly” of political power but that they have exercised that political power to restore and maintain capitalism. The problem is that they are not revolutionary, not really communist—and therefore they do not rely on and mobilize the masses to exercise the dictatorship

of the proletariat, and to continue the revolution under this dictatorship.

As spoken to above, through the Cultural Revolution in China new means and methods were developed for attacking the differences and inequalities left over from the old society—means and methods for restricting bourgeois right to the greatest degree possible at any given time in accordance with the material and ideological conditions. Yet it will remain a fundamental contradiction throughout the socialist transition period that there are these underlying differences and inequalities and their expression in bourgeois right, which constitute the material basis for classes, class struggle and the danger of capitalist restoration. This is a problem that cannot even be fundamentally addressed, let alone solved, by a formalistic approach. It has to be addressed through waging class struggle under the leadership of revolutionary communists—making this the key link—and in no other way. And this is exactly how it was approached under Mao’s leadership.

Specifically with regard to income distribution, through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution a basic orientation and, flowing from it, concrete policies were adopted to gradually narrow wage differentials—in accordance with the development of common affluence and mainly by raising the bottom levels up. As an important part of this, there was an orientation of keeping the difference in pay between government officials and ordinary workers as little as possible—the fundamental spirit of the Paris Commune on this was proclaimed and upheld in practice—although such pay differences still existed and were viewed as something that had to be further reduced. But, once again, as important as it was to apply such principles, in correspondence with the actual conditions at any given time, this could not change the essential fact that, for a long historical period, there will persist differences and inequalities in socialist society which contain within them the potential to develop into class antagonism if a proletarian line is not in command in dealing with them.

TO BE CONTINUED



Mass rally in Beijing during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

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[A communist artist]

**"He was showing the kind of system we live in and what it does to all humanity... he was inviting people to rise up their sights, their views and look at things at this moment of history we're in and the need to transform and change things."**

[A young construction worker from Latin America]

**"He speaks from the heart and at the same time with such a sweeping understanding, with total resolution, and not just with hatred for the bourgeoisie but confidence in the masses of people."** [a young immigrant woman from South Asia]

**"A journey to be savored."**

[a veteran communist]

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## Talking About Bob Avakian on the Mexican Border

Continued from page 6

were challenged by his words and wanted to know more. She said that what we should do is lead with the Chairman's article. As we made plans for Saturday, we were determined to do just that.

On Saturday, four more YBers drove in to join us. We shared some of our stories with them and what we'd learned from the day before. Today we drove out to Calexico which is about two hours away from San Diego, a border town in the middle of the desert. I was told it could get up to 110 degrees out there, but today we were told we were lucky—it was only about 102 degrees! The 102 degree heat was pretty intimidating, but we all said if the farmworkers could do it and these are the conditions they slave and break their backs under, then we can take the paper out to them in these conditions as well!

A comrade from San Diego talked to us about the people we would be selling the paper to in Calexico: how the majority are farmworkers; how they have to come into the U.S. to sell their labor; how they have to wake up at 2 in the morning, work their asses off for the majority of the day, then go back home around 8 p.m. just so they can eat, shower, sleep a few hours, then do the same thing all over again the next day.

When we got to Calexico, we broke into teams once again. One team stayed at a supermarket. The other team, which I was on, went chasing after buses that bring in farmworkers from all over California and Arizona. When we would see a bus coming, we would look at where it parked and we would run to catch it. It was pretty fun but tiring, especially running in 102 degree heat!

We got onto a couple of the buses and sold the paper to literally every person on the bus. We had one agitator, two people passing out the paper, and one person passing the hat around for donations. While one person was agitating in Spanish about how horrible this system is and how we must change the world, almost everyone on the bus nodded his or her head in agreement. Like I said, not one person did not get a paper. There was one instance where the bus driver gave us a dollar donation and thanked us for coming onto his bus and bringing this to the people. That particular bus was going to Coachella where they would pick onions.

We finally found a station where the buses would stop and drop off the workers. The farmworkers there told us they were bused to places like Coachella, Yuma, Westmoreland, and other places. They picked onions, melons, watermelons, and corn. When we talked to them, we once again got a sense of their hatred for the world they live in but, once again, that they could not imagine another world. Many said that all they could do is work and try to live the best they can.

One lady I spoke to said that no one cared about how she had to work hard all her life and struggle to survive. No one gave a shit. I then told her that if people knew what was going on, they would be outraged and would do something about it. The problem was they didn't know, and this paper brings the truth to people and it lets them envision another world, a world without such oppression. She said that it could be true, and that if we were out there trying to change things and we cared, then there could be something to it. She said, "I care, too! Give me a paper." She took a paper and a bundle. She said she was going to take the paper out to her friends.

One elderly man got very emotional when we spoke about the tortures in Iraq. He yelled and pointed to the front of the paper: "I don't know why they do this! Why do they have the right to do this?!!" He was very upset. There were a lot of people who got angry.

When we took out the Chairman's article, many people asked who was Bob Avakian? And they would try to pronounce his last name as best as they could. Most of the time it would come out as "Abakanan." One YBer found it very inspirational hearing these farmworkers trying to pronounce our Chairman's name. They would say, "Quién

es este Abakanan y qué clase de líder es él?" Not only trying to pronounce his name, but also asking who this leader was. One farm worker asked why hasn't he heard of this person before? He's been around for a long time! Most people loved the idea of revolution.

There was a man who didn't know how to read. But after someone spoke to him about the Chairman and what he said about revolution, his eyes got bigger and bigger. He was really digging what he was hearing. He told us that he himself couldn't read but he knew a family member who could read it to him, and so he got the paper.

Some people wanted the paper but didn't have money, so there were two instances when one comrade got melons for the paper. People didn't have money, so they gave her fruit. It was pretty cool.

All the YBers said that almost everyone they spoke to was surprised we were communists. They couldn't believe it. They couldn't believe there was a communist party here in the U.S.

This was our first experience going onto buses and taking out the paper to farmworkers, and it was pretty emotional. One YBer said she almost felt like crying because people on the bus really dug what we had to say and not one person disagreed that a whole different world is needed. When people told us their stories, it was very inspiring and heart-wrenching at the same time. I know I got a little choked up.

One time, as I was running towards a bus, I ran into a teacher who came from Fresno with a couple of his students. He asked me if I was going to pick corn. I told him, no, I was running to the bus to take out this revolutionary communist newspaper that had an article from our chairman, Bob Avakian. He asked to see the paper and we spoke about revolution a little. He said he worked with a lot of people who picked fruit in Fresno, that he was down here checking things out. He said that he wanted to read the Chairman's article to see what his thoughts were about changing things. He took a paper and a bundle. He said he was going to give one to all his students so they could read it on the ride back home.

Now, this is pretty funny. It was the end of the day and we were about to leave when suddenly a bus drove right by us. We decided to drive after it. When it stopped, we all jumped out of the car and got into our positions...but only two people got off the bus. One YBer started to go onto the bus, saying he wanted to show people this paper. Everyone on the bus said "nooooo!" They wanted to leave. So the YBer jumped off the bus, we all got back in the car and chased the bus until it stopped again. Again, we all



Bus stop at San Ysidro.

got out of the car, and this time we all just ran onto the bus and started taking out the paper. The farmworkers apologized after they learned why we were there. They said they'd wanted to get home and take a shower because they were really tired and dirty from working in the fields all day, but after we spoke about the paper most of them wanted it and put a donation in our can. It was pretty cool! All together, we hit about 11 buses that day.

I noticed a change in everyone's practice when it came to taking out the paper, even in myself. Everywhere I turned, there was a YBer opening to the centerfold with Bob Avakian's article, boldly taking out the paper, and discussing revolution, our Chairman, and communism to farmworkers who, before they met us, couldn't even imagine a bright future. We made a difference by taking out the paper in San Diego and espe-

cially to the farmworkers and the people of Mexico. Getting the paper into Mexico will let people there know that there is a real communist party with a great leader who is fighting for a different world, a communist world.

I would say that this was a great experience for the YB. We learned a lot from the farmworkers, how their lives are full of struggle and hardships, how this system has failed them and nothing short of revolution can take them out of their misery. It was a reality check for us, I would say, like a slap in the face. By the end of the weekend, we'd gotten out over 700 *Obrero Revolucionarios*. We came back to L.A. with a little more pride, knowing that the majority of papers we'd sold were crossing the border and that hundreds of our sisters and brothers in Mexico would now be able to meet Chairman "Abakanan."



Farmworkers in an onion field in California.



A tomato field in southern California.

# Webmaster Charged with "Terrorist" Weblink

It was 4:30 in the morning in February 2003, and the University of Idaho campus was asleep. But lurking outside of the student housing in Moscow, Idaho—located midway between Spokane, Washington, to the north and Boise to the south—were 120 FBI agents armed in riot gear who had been flown into town to carry out a raid. The target of the raid was Sami Omar Al-Hussayen, a graduate student from Saudi Arabia. Al-Hussayen was arrested for visa fraud and then later charged with supporting terrorism.

A University of Idaho professor described how the FBI went after not only Al-Hussayen but a larger community of students on the campus: "At least 20 other students who had the misfortune to either know the suspect or have some minor immigration irregularities were also subject to substantial, surprise interrogations (four plus hours) although none were detained... A witch hunt is on for additional unnamed suspects who supposedly helped the guy who was arrested. The INS and FBI are working together, using gestapo tactics to question students... Reading about this stuff is one thing. Having it happen in your backyard is another. The international students at the University of Idaho are terrorized and threatened."

At the time of his arrest, Sami Omar Al-Hussayen was a few months from completing his doctoral studies in computer science. Like most of the people targeted in recent federal "terrorist" cases (for example, the Lackawanna 6), Al-Hussayen is not charged with carrying out any specific acts. Instead, he is accused of "material support" of terrorism—a charge increasingly used by the government to go after its targets and chill the wider political climate.

The twist in this particular case is that the "support" alleged by the government is Al-Hussayen's work as a webmaster—helping to create and maintain web sites that promote Islam and debate questions surrounding that religion.

Al-Hussayen went on trial in April of this year and faces a 14-count indictment. As we go to press, the case has gone to the jury.

## Targeted by the Government

The most serious government charge against Al-Hussayen claims that he "provided and conspired with others to provide material support and resources, expert advice, assistance, communications equipment, currency, monetary instruments, financial services and personnel by, among other things, creating and maintaining internet web sites and other internet media designed to recruit mujahideen and raise funds for violent jihad in Israel, Chechnya and other places."

Al-Hussayen maintained a number of

web sites, including those associated with the Islamic Assembly of North America (IANA) (a non-profit charity organization) and the Al-Haramain Islamic Foundation (a charity group based in Saudi Arabia). The government charges that some of the content on these web sites included articles, links, and posts to content "justifying and encouraging violent jihad." And, according to the government's twisted argument, Al-Hussayen's work as webmaster for those sites makes him guilty of "material support" for terrorism.

In addition, the government charged Al-Hussayen with supporting a foreign terrorist organization. The government's "evidence" for this charge is that one page within a site that he maintained had a hyperlink to the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), a Palestinian fundamentalist group.

Al-Hussayen also faces nine "visa fraud" charges. The government claims that because Al-Hussayen helped maintain web sites, he violated immigration papers he signed that said his "sole purpose" in staying in the United States was to "pursue a full course of study" at the university.

The visa violation charges play a dual role. On the one hand, the government is trying to beef up the indictment to heighten the chance of a conviction. On the other hand, the government is sending a message more widely to students from other countries that they should not do *anything* but attend class, do their course work, and keep their mouths shut. One University of Idaho official told the *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, describing what international students are facing, "What can you do outside your subject and not put yourself at risk?"

Samir Omar Al-Hussayen was arrested after months of government surveillance. According to the *L.A. Times*, "Federal agents had been monitoring his e-mail account and phone records for months after a bank teller noticed large cash transactions in his accounts and called the FBI." The bank activity reportedly had to do with transactions Al-Hussayen did on behalf of the IANA, for which he was the designated agent in Idaho. This in itself violated no U.S. laws. The IANA is a legal non-profit charity. The Associated Press reported that neither the IANA nor the Al-Haramain Islamic Foundation "was listed as a terrorist organization by the federal government during the years before Al-Hussayen's arrest on Feb. 26, 2003." (Since then, the government has moved to put Al-Haramain on a list of alleged terrorist financiers.)

The FBI's focus on Al-Hussayen reportedly began soon after 9/11. After Al-Hussayen's arrest, Idaho Governor Dirk Kempthorne told the media that he had been informed about the FBI investigation shortly after 9/11—and that was why he

had put concrete barriers around the Statehouse and stationed armed state troopers and National Guard troops around the building. The AP quoted him saying, "You realize I could not talk about these concerns in the state and the region. I did take significant heat for the measures I took. I think today shows those concerns were borne out." The fact that Al-Hussayen was not even being accused of planning any specific acts—let alone any plots against the Idaho state government—seems to have flown over the governor's head. But more to the point, the Idaho governor's words and actions are part of the reactionary, paranoid atmosphere and repressive attacks that have been whipped up against Arab, Muslim, and South Asian people after 9/11.

The FBI raid and Al-Hussayen's arrest had a chilling effect on the Arab and Muslim community on campus. Many Middle Eastern students sought attorneys. The *Lewiston Morning Tribune* reported, "Some even considered leaving school, according to UI law professor Elizabeth Brandt, who helped organize legal counsel for people being questioned and asked whether their civil rights had been abused."

A lot of the government's case during Al-Hussayen's trial could be described as absurd or even laughable—if the situation weren't so serious. At one point, for example, Al-Hussayen's lawyer noted to an FBI "intelligence analyst" that one translation of an e-mail used as evidence against the defendant said "Islamic library project"—while another translation had the phrase as "Islamic Libyan project." The agent called it a "typo."

The government's own witnesses admitted that Al-Hussayen himself did not write the calls for "jihad" that appeared on the web sites he maintained. One former military intelligence expert conceded to the defense (as reported in the *Idaho Statesman*), "Al-Hussayen did not compose the articles, but took them from other sources and simply posted them on the Web site."

The prosecution tried to use two men—already convicted on "material support" charges—to testify that things they saw on the web sites maintained by Al-Hussayen moved them to action. These two men—caught in the post-9/11 frenzy against Arabs and Muslims—had been coerced into guilty pleas simply because they attended al-Qaida training camps; *not* for planning, let alone carrying out, any specific actions.

The judge only allowed one of these government witnesses to testify. Under defense cross-examination, this witness admitted that the web sites tied to Al-Hussayen did *not* influence him to go to a training camp in Pakistan. The other man (who is one of the Lackawanna 6) let it slip that he didn't even have access to the Internet until after

he returned from Pakistan.

The only witness the defense called was a former CIA agent who pointed out that postings justifying suicide bombings could be found on any number of web sites—including the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, which is operated by the U.S. government. He also said that one of the sites Al-Hussayen maintained "has and has had since 2001 a clear, unambiguous, almost emotionally written condemnation of terror."

## Dangerous Implications

The *L.A. Times* pointed out in relation to the Al-Hussayen case, "The U.S. Supreme Court held in a landmark 1969 case the government could not punish advocacy of illegal action unless it was directed at 'inciting or producing imminent lawless action'." The government is attempting to circumvent the 1969 Supreme Court ruling through a convoluted argument. They charge that Al-Hussayen "supported terrorism" because he posted on web sites what *other* people wrote—which, in turn, allegedly moved *others* to support or carry out terrorist acts.

It doesn't take a paranoid mind to see the dangers of this logic—how this could be used by the government to target and suppress all kinds of political speech.

As the *RW* has pointed out, the use of the charge of "material support" for terrorism allows the government a lot of flexibility in snaring those it politically sets its sights on. Right now, it is being used against Islamic fundamentalist forces and those accused of associating with those forces. But clearly, such charges—and more overall, laws like the USA Patriot Act—can be used to launch a broadside against leaders and organizations of revolutionary forces within the U.S.

A particularly alarming development has been the attempt by the U.S. government to conflate communist-led revolutions against reactionary governments with movements guided by reactionary ideologies. For example, the U.S. government has listed the Communist Party of Peru and the Communist Party of the Philippines as "terrorist" organizations. And the U.S. has added the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) to a secondary list (of groups not yet "officially designated"). Also, the U.S. State Department recently added the Maoist Communist Centre (India), a participating party in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People's War) to one of its lists of "terrorist" organizations.

Whatever the particular results of this trial, the way the government has pursued the case has wider—and very dangerous—implications for all those who want to speak out against injustice and stand with the struggle of oppressed people around the world.

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## From A World to Win News Service

Guerrillas of the Maoist Communist Centre of India.

# The Indian Elections and the Prospects for Revolution

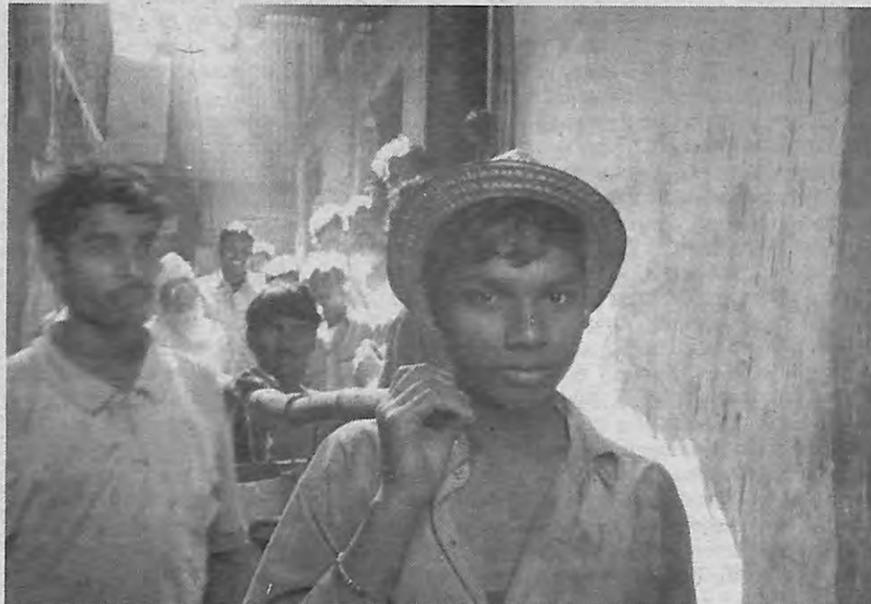
We received the following article from A World to Win News Service about the elections which took place in early May in India.

May 31, 2004. A World to Win News Service. (By a South Asian correspondent.) India, one-sixth of the world's population, had been busy with parliamentary elections for several months. Also some of the assembly (state) elections scheduled at the same time had drawn people's attention further towards the electoral process. But the outcome was quite unexpected. Not only the losers but the winners too were dumbfounded. It is obvious that no matter who ascends to office under this system, no real changes will take place in people's favor. But the result of these elections has revealed many things that are very important for the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces in India as they sketch out the future course of their revolutionary practice.

Firstly, the results show that people in India hate and are opposed to the Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) communal (Hindu chauvinist) fascism. Led by defeated Prime Minister Atal Behar Vajpayee, the BJP had been most associated with attempts to whip up hysteria and mob attacks against Muslims and other minorities in India. Their attempt to dupe people with hollow phrases like "Feel Good Factor" and "India Shining" basically failed. These slogans proved to mean nothing to the masses who live miserable lives of poverty, deprivation and oppression under the crushing weight of feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, represented by the BJP and its allies. It should be noted that the votes other parties collected were not because of any pro-people policies on their part. In fact, they benefited because people felt they were discarding the worst.

The other trend noticeable in this election is that with some exceptions, candidates holding big ministerial posts in the central and state governments were defeated irrespective of the party they represented. This includes the Congress Party, which while winning overall suffered defeats in areas where it was in power. This shows the people are frustrated not only with the parties but also the system they are confronting.

Secondly, the election result signifies that Indian masses are consciously opposed to those parties that have most openly flouted their role as stooges of imperialism, mainly US imperialism, and its policies such as privatization, globalization, economic liberalization, etc. In the assembly election in the southern Indian state of Andhra Pradesh,



Streets of Mumbai, India.

the humiliating defeat of the Chief Minister Chandra Babu Naidu's party, the Telugu Desam Party (TDP), signifies new heights in people's hatred for imperialism and its policies that have severely victimized the urban working poor and the peasants. In this sense, TDP's defeat in Andhra Pradesh is also the failure of imperialist policies and the system itself. It is noteworthy that Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh, had been chosen by Bill Gates, the president of the U.S. software giant Microsoft, as one of its main international centers. Naidu had been the champion of the policy of encouraging imperialist development in isolated pockets of the state while the majority of the population sunk deeper into poverty. Naidu also led efforts to try to crush the revolutionary struggle in the rural areas of Andhra Pradesh, led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People's War).

Thirdly, another important point to note in this election is the very low turnout, only 50%. Mainly three factors can be assumed to be responsible for this. The first is the frustration of the conscious urban petty-bourgeois masses with the electoral fray. This section of the people showed no interest in this election and boycotted it consciously but in an unorganized way. The second factor was the relatively conscious and organized election boycott following the call of revolutionary parties like CPI(ML)(PW), Maoist Communist Centre

(India), Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (Naxalbari) and other communist forces, as well as militant nationalist forces in Kashmir and the North East region of India. In Kashmir, the total turnout was only 15%. In a number of states, the Indian government used the elections to launch attacks on revolutionary forces. In Andhra Pradesh, five air force helicopters were dispatched to try to terrorise the masses and attack fighters led by the communist revolutionaries. The third factor was the organized boycott in some of the constituencies, even if it was on the basis of a low level of consciousness, where people boycotted this election en masse with the complaint that no candidate had fulfilled his/her promises made in previous election campaigns.

Whatever the factors behind this election, as a result one reactionary government alliance has been replaced by another one. The new governing Progressive Secular Alliance is led by the Congress Party, the traditional pillar of the Indian ruling class since independence in 1947. In this situation it would be wrong to expect positive changes in favor of the people's interests. But there are grounds to believe that U.S. hegemony over India is likely to be shaken by the rise of the alliance under Congress leadership. Historically Congress had close political, economic and military ties with the U.S.'s chief rival, the ex-USSR, as well as warming up to the European Union. Yet

we cannot forget that under Rajiv Gandhi, the Congress Party presided over the "realignment" of India in line with the new international realities after the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of the U.S. to undisputed world hegemony. The rejection of the openly pro-U.S. BJP by the voters and the increasing conflict within Indian ruling circles is likely to create more favorable conditions for anti-U.S. struggle in India and internationally.

The present situation of a hung parliament in India will make the coalition government comparatively weak. The two largest revisionist parties in the Alliance, the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist), both made significant electoral gains. They are supporting the new Congress-led government while at the same time refusing to participate in it for fear that would lead to even more exposure of their anti-people character.

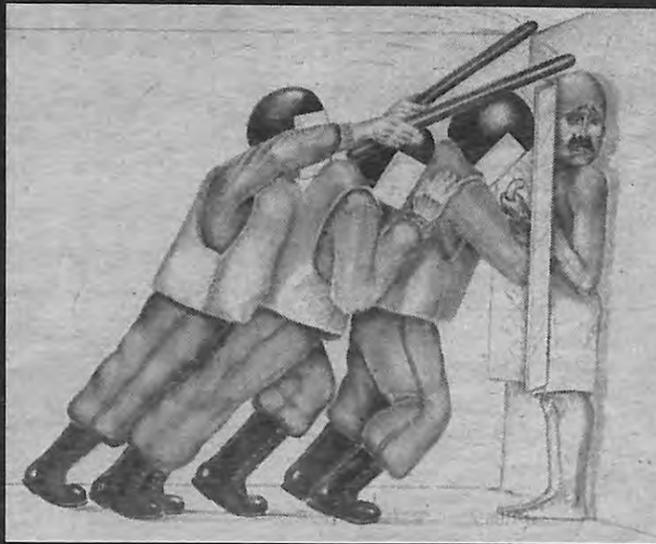
Most importantly, people's frustration towards this system, the conscious and unconscious boycott of the elections mainly on the part of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the rising tide of discontent of the masses against this system have created a very positive situation for the revolutionaries in India. This situation further shows the possibilities of uniting various sections of the Indian masses in a powerful people's war. In this sense, the elections present a challenge to Indian revolutionaries to further develop a correct ideological and political line that can bring together the vast masses, thirsty for revolutionary change, within the fold of a revolutionary united front. The ongoing struggle of the Maoist parties to build up a single Maoist vanguard in India firmly based on a correct ideological and political line will definitely address these issues and develop a correct line for leading the broad Indian masses under proletarian leadership.

The Indian ruling class has tried to isolate and attack the communist revolutionaries by calling them "terrorists" despite the support these forces have among millions of people. The U.S. State Department recently added the MCC(I), a participating party in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, and the CPI(ML) (PW) to one of its lists of "terrorist" organizations. This points to the real fears of the reactionaries that the genuine communist revolutionaries in India are attracting and leading wide sections of the people. It also shows the danger that U.S. imperialism will step up its assistance to the counter-revolutionary terror of the Indian ruling classes.

Photo: Simone Bruno

## Correspondence on Abu Ghraib

**“I’ve  
Seen  
This  
Before”**



Drawing: Braulio Castellanos



Abu Ghraib.

Drawing by a prisoner showing guards brutalizing a prisoner at Pelican Bay SHU in California.

The following is a correspondence from a reader:

All of us by now are aware of the Abu Ghraib Prison prisoner abuse “scandal.” While it is something the capitalist media and its political leaders could not hide, still we have been told again and again that this is an aberration or an exception—that these were the actions only of a few lower rank “bad apples.” While further evidence that has come to light has shown these statements by the mainstream press and our so-called “leaders” to be outright lies and deceptions, there are still people in the U.S. and around the world who do not understand that this abuse flows from the nature of this system—or think that this is generally a “free and democratic” nation that tries to respect human rights.

I’ve seen the racism that’s blatant in this society—the culture of white supremacy, the idea that people in the U.S. are better than people in other countries, and the kind of power trips that leads to. This kind of abuse flows from the class divisions and white supremacy that this system is based on. Millions of Black, Latino, and other poor and oppressed people living in the ghettos and barrios inside the U.S. and the over two million people inside prisons know through firsthand experience that this system has no respect for human rights.

When I first saw the pictures of U.S. soldiers torturing prisoners at Abu Ghraib I was outraged. I started tearing up. I had something in my hand and I threw it to the floor in a fit of anger. *I’d seen this before.* This is how they treat people who are not them. This is the nature of the military and the police apparatus of the state. This is what they do. I thought back on injustices I had seen and experienced when I was in prison and was deeply disturbed by the connection. The torture at Abu Ghraib—I mean it just pissed me off. It made me want to go out and fight the system a thousand times harder. It brought on a sense of urgency that this system needs to come down.

When I first went to prison, I was sent to the SHOCK program. SHOCK is a six month, military-like boot camp program. In theory the program “shocks” young first-time non-violent offenders from “coming back” into the prison system. In reality, it is a program where prisoners are forced to take verbal abuse and degradation from the pigs running these camps, forced to take part in military exercise programs, taught they are worthless and to blindly follow authority.

One of the rules is that when you enter into the mess hall and get your food, you have to eat everything on your tray. If you do not finish what is on your tray by when it is time to leave the mess hall, you must eat what is left—standing up—before you leave.

Under normal circumstances I would comply with these rules, wait for my transfer and complete my bid with as little contact with the correction officers (C.O.s) as possible. This is what the old timers had taught me in county prison. One day inside the mess hall I decided I couldn’t eat what was on my tray and threw it out. The C.O.s looked at each other and smiled sadistically. One told me, “You’re gonna wish you had ate that.” I did not respond.

My house (group) was then taken out of the mess hall. I was handcuffed and forced into a vestibule away from the other prisoners. The steel doors were shut but I’m sure my screams could be heard. They told me to get up against the wall with my hands up. I did. One C.O. took my left arm, pulled it up, over and down in a sort of counter-clockwise motion. It literally felt like my arm had come off. Another correction officer punched me in the head. I immediately went down to the floor to try and protect my face. Half a dozen C.O.s proceeded to kick my ribs and head, hit me with their batons (and, yes, there were senior C.O.s present). Finally a C.O. took his baton and drove it into my elbow joint. For the first time I screamed out in pain. These pigs pulled me to my feet and brought me to the “Special Housing Unit (SHU).” I had no feeling in my arm and wondered if it was pulled off!

I was brought into the intake and sealed off from other prisoners. There were again about half a dozen C.O.s in this room with me. When they took the handcuffs off, my arm was numb but I saw that it was still there! I was smacked in the face. Finally I said out loud in a sort of sarcastic manner (but not joking), “OK, I am kind of scared now.” The C.O. continued to hit me.

I was brought to an isolation cell where I was held for over 30 days. Wait—I was allowed out once—to be hit with a disciplinary ticket for “assault on a correction officer”—an obvious excuse for keeping me in isolation for not eating! I was brought tampered food and not allowed to shower. I had no contact with the outside world. When I got out I was transferred to a medium security prison briefly and then to a maximum security prison.

I saw other prisoners put into strip cells

butt naked and left in those conditions until they were forced to cooperate with doctors and guards. I witnessed bloodied prisoners being taken from SHU to the hospital after being beaten by these pigs. The October 22nd Coalition to Stop Police Brutality cites thousands of examples of individuals and families that were not as lucky as me—where victims lost their lives.

As RCP Chairman Bob Avakian wrote in “Hill Street Bullshit, Richard Pryor Routines and the Real Deal” (in his book *Reflections, Sketches & Provocations*): “Pigs are pigs. Of course, that’s an image, a symbol—in the most literal sense they are human beings, but they are human beings with a murderer’s mentality, sanctioned, disciplined, unleashed by the ruling class of society to keep the oppressed in line, through terror whenever necessary and as the ‘bottom line.’”

So when I see these photos of what went down in Abu Ghraib and I hear our “so-called” leaders describe these incidents as “isolated,” do I buy that shit? I know different—and it burns. I know that the defenders of this system must act in this manner in order force billions of people around the world to live under the miserable conditions that they enforce. But I also know that this treatment produces hatred for the very system it upholds. And that there is potential for this hatred—if guided by the correct political line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism—to become part of a revolutionary struggle to transform these miserable conditions to a radically different world without any oppression or exploitation.

In *Reaching for the Heights and Flying Without a Safety Net*, Chairman Avakian says: “Revolution opens up these possibilities, it creates the basis on which, through

continuing struggle, these things can happen, and must happen, if we’re going to keep going forward. And just think about that. Think about the fact that every day we’re going out working among people of various strata, from the basic masses to people in the middle strata who suffer under this system in different ways, who even to the degree they don’t suffer so much personally are outraged by the fact that things exist that they can see are unjust and unnecessary and they are frustrated because these things keep going, and there doesn’t seem to be anything that can be done about them—which fundamentally, there isn’t under this system. But all those things can be changed, transformed. A whole bunch of things which are impossible under this system, but are essential for the masses of people, become possible with revolution and the establishment of a new, revolutionary state power.

“So this is something we have to keep clearly in mind—both sides of this contradiction—that without state power all is illusion, but with state power a lot of things that are illusory become possible. And that’s a very important contradiction, or unity of opposites, that we have to grasp firmly and bring out to masses of people. It’s not like we’re some religious nuts or something—we don’t go out ‘glowing,’ talking about supernatural nonsense—this is based on material reality and the actual necessity of masses of people, and it conforms to the way the world is tending, even though the tendencies in the world and society are sharply contradictory.” (Part 2: “We Want State Power—and We Should Want It!”)

A reader



An Iraqi artist working on a wall painting of Abu Ghraib torture and the Statue of Liberty wearing KKK hood and symbol.



Israeli tank and bulldozer destroying Palestinian houses in Hebron. Kerry has expressed strong support for Israel, including Sharon's plan to annex West Bank settlements.



Grand Central Terminal, New York City, March 2003. Kerry voted for the Patriot Act and calls for further repressive measures domestically.

## JOHN KERRY AND THE MISSION OF WAR

Continued from page 7

Richard Morningstar, a former advisor to President Clinton on energy resources in the Caspian Sea region. Morningstar was instrumental in pushing for the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline which will run through Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey. The pipeline would bring oil west to the world market—and keep it under U.S. control. This is an important U.S. strategic goal, supported by both Democrats and Republicans. Last year, Amnesty International released a report noting that the project would cause severe environmental damage and violate the human rights of thousands of people. (For more on the pipeline and the geo-political and economic interests behind it, see "Afghanistan: The Oil Behind the War" in RW #1125, available online at [rwor.org](http://rwor.org).)

Rounding out Kerry's team is William Perry. As Clinton-era Secretary of Defense, Perry spearheaded U.S. imperialism's post-cold war plans to restructure the military and the defense industry. He had worked as a paid consultant for defense contractor Martin Marietta immediately before joining the Clinton administration.

### "The Cause of Israel Is the Cause of America"

Recently Bush announced a major change in U.S. policy in the Middle East. He publicly expressed support for Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's declaration that his government intends to formally annex land in the West Bank stolen from Palestinians by Zionist settlements. These settlements are in violation of numerous UN resolutions, and even illegal by Israeli law—and the U.S. government's official position had been to oppose them. So Bush's backing of the Sharon plan was a White House move to openly support Israel's armed land grabs in the West Bank—and a major reactionary break with previous official U.S. policy.

What was Kerry's response to this outrageous escalation of Israel's attacks on the Palestinian people and robbery of Palestinian land? He strongly backed Bush's support of Sharon's plan.

Kerry also supported Israel's assassination of Palestinian leaders—which often involve missile attacks in crowded streets that kill many nearby people in addition to those specifically targeted by the Israeli military.

In an editorial Kerry wrote that the U.S. must "reaffirm our belief that the cause of Israel must be the cause of America."

In Latin America, Kerry argues that Bush has not been aggressive enough in pursuing U.S. interests. The U.S. backed a failed coup attempt against Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez in April 2002. Since then the Bush administration has backed Chávez opponents who have been organizing to oust him. Kerry accuses Bush of not being tough enough on Chávez and of "sending mixed signals...in our hemisphere." Kerry has also called for the intensification of the U.S. embargo against Cuba.

### National Defense America Initiative

"It's very clear that they're creating,

*openly declaring, an open, unlimited war and they're creating a situation of a country that is more or less permanently at war—that's a permanent feature of the U.S. now. And then what has to go along with that is a lot of police-state repression and a whole repressive and intimidating atmosphere, because you can't carry out the one without carrying out the other."*

RCP Chairman Bob Avakian

Just six weeks after 9/11, the U.S. Congress passed the USA Patriot Act. This extremely repressive law treats the "homeland" as another front of an international "war on terrorism." It further undermines legal protection against unlawful search and seizure, along with the distinction between law enforcement and political suppression. Everything from our e-mail traffic, to the videoed images of our daily life, to formerly secret grand jury testimony is now available to local cops and the CIA alike. (See "The Danger of the USA Patriot Act," RW #1242.)

The Patriot Act is not about "keeping us safe"—it's about strengthening police-state repression to keep the U.S. government safe. It's about the U.S. rulers stepping up their efforts to keep tabs on and suppress domestic opposition while they carry out their conquests and wars around the world.

Kerry voted for the Patriot Act. He boasts that he *authored* most of the law's money-laundering provisions—which can be used to attack political support of movements and groups abroad.

In fact, Kerry insists that the Patriot Act needs to be *strengthened*—and he criticizes Bush for not being tough enough on domestic security. "When it comes to protecting America from terrorism, this administration is big on bluster and short on action," Kerry said in March of this year.

Think about this: With all the fascist moves that have been carried out by John Ashcroft and the whole current administration, Kerry says that Bush *hasn't gone far enough!*

On his campaign web site, Kerry lays out his policy of domestic repression—the "National Defense America Initiative." Among the proposals are:

- A "Community Defense Service" to enlist hundreds of thousands of people as spies for the domestic "war on terror." Kerry says that these "service captains" would act as a 21st century Neighborhood Watch. "Somebody in the neighborhood speaking Arabic? Reading the Koran? Not flying the flag on the Fourth of July? Didn't stand for the national anthem at the Little League game? Kerry's "service captains" will be there to report. Kerry also says that Americorps should be doubled in size and its mission expanded to include "homeland security"—and that "homeland security" should be a central mission of the National Guard.
- Kerry wants increased federal funding to add 100,000 new cops. And Kerry criticizes Bush for not drawing the local police forces enough into the "war on terror." Kerry calls for modernizing and further developing government databases and making them more available to local police forces.
- Kerry wants to further break down the separation between domestic and interna-

tional intelligence.

In some ways there is clearly a "consensus" within the U.S. ruling class—a broad agreement that now that they have "thrown down" in Iraq and elsewhere around the world, they can't pull back without major consequences. At the same time, the deepening quagmire in Iraq, the puncturing of promises of easy victory, and the sense that the Bush team made a mess of the war have encouraged all kinds of "advice and critique" in bourgeois circles about how to fix the war effort and *finally, decisively win* this conquest of Iraq.

Kerry's stand on war and domestic repression fits well within this ruling class framework of consensus-and-debate. He expresses a broad unity with Bush and the current government on the overall "mission" of their class: The ruling imperialists of this country think this is "their time" and that no one can stand in their way—and they want to grab for a permanent dominant position around the globe.

At the same time, Kerry has some critiques (a few of which are major, most of which are petty) about how this imperialist mission is being carried out. These are differences over *how* to pursue a policy of global domination, not *whether* to pursue it.

This does not mean that there aren't sharp divisions within the ruling class, including over the situation in Iraq. While an analysis of these ruling class divisions is beyond the scope of this article, two things should be pointed out. First, this infighting cuts across party lines. For example, Brent Scowcroft, the first Bush's National Security Advisor, has sharply opposed aspects of the second Bush's Iraq policy. Second, the divisions have intensified (and will continue to intensify) as the U.S. confronts enormous difficulties in Iraq and faces the real possibility of a strategic defeat.

Those who want to concentrate the efforts against the Bush agenda in the electoral arena need to confront the reality of what Kerry stands for.

### Kerry's Challenge... and Ours

*"For the Democrats, a big part of their role is to keep all those people confined within the bourgeois, the mainstream, electoral process...and to get them back into it when they have drifted away from—or broken out of—that framework. Because those people at the base are always alienated and angry at what happens with the elections, for the reason I was talking about earlier: they are always betrayed by the Democratic Party, which talks about "the little man" and poor people and the people who are discriminated against, and so on. And at times they'll even use the word oppression. But then they just sell out these people every time—because they don't represent their interests. They represent the interests of the system and of its ruling class. But they have a certain role of always trying to get people who are oppressed, alienated and angry back into the elections. You know: 'Come on in, come on in—it's not as bad as you think, you can vote, it's OK.' This is one of the main roles they play. But the thing about them is that they are very afraid of calling*

*into the streets this base of people that they appeal to, to vote for them."*

Bob Avakian, from "The Pyramid of Power and the Struggle to Turn This Whole Thing Upside Down"

A key contradiction that Kerry faces is that most people in, or influenced by, the Democratic Party oppose the war in Iraq—and are livid about the way Democratic leaders have shamelessly and repeatedly fallen in behind the White House on this question.

A big part of Kerry's political role for the bourgeoisie is to keep these people confined within the system's framework of electoral politics. Kerry, and the ruling class forces around him, do not want a big debate in society over the war itself, over the larger "war on terrorism," or over the new extreme levels of domestic repression and surveillance. And they certainly don't want millions in the streets opposing the war and occupation in Iraq.

Kerry's challenge is how to keep these forces in line while continuing to support the war. This contradiction is bound to intensify for Kerry.

Part of the way that Kerry deals with this is to only offer extremely vague proposals around Iraq and other major policy issues. For example in a major speech on national security delivered on May 27, Kerry only mentioned Iraq at the end of a long talk and offered no concrete proposals about how he would deal with the situation in Iraq.

On May 26, former Vice President Al Gore gave what was described as a "fiery speech" blasting Bush's Iraq policy, calling it "a catastrophe." Gore denounced the Bush administration's "twisted values and atrocious policies" and called for the resignations of Donald Rumsfeld, Condoleezza Rice, and CIA Director George Tenet. Gore also denounced the abuse and torture of prisoners in Iraq.

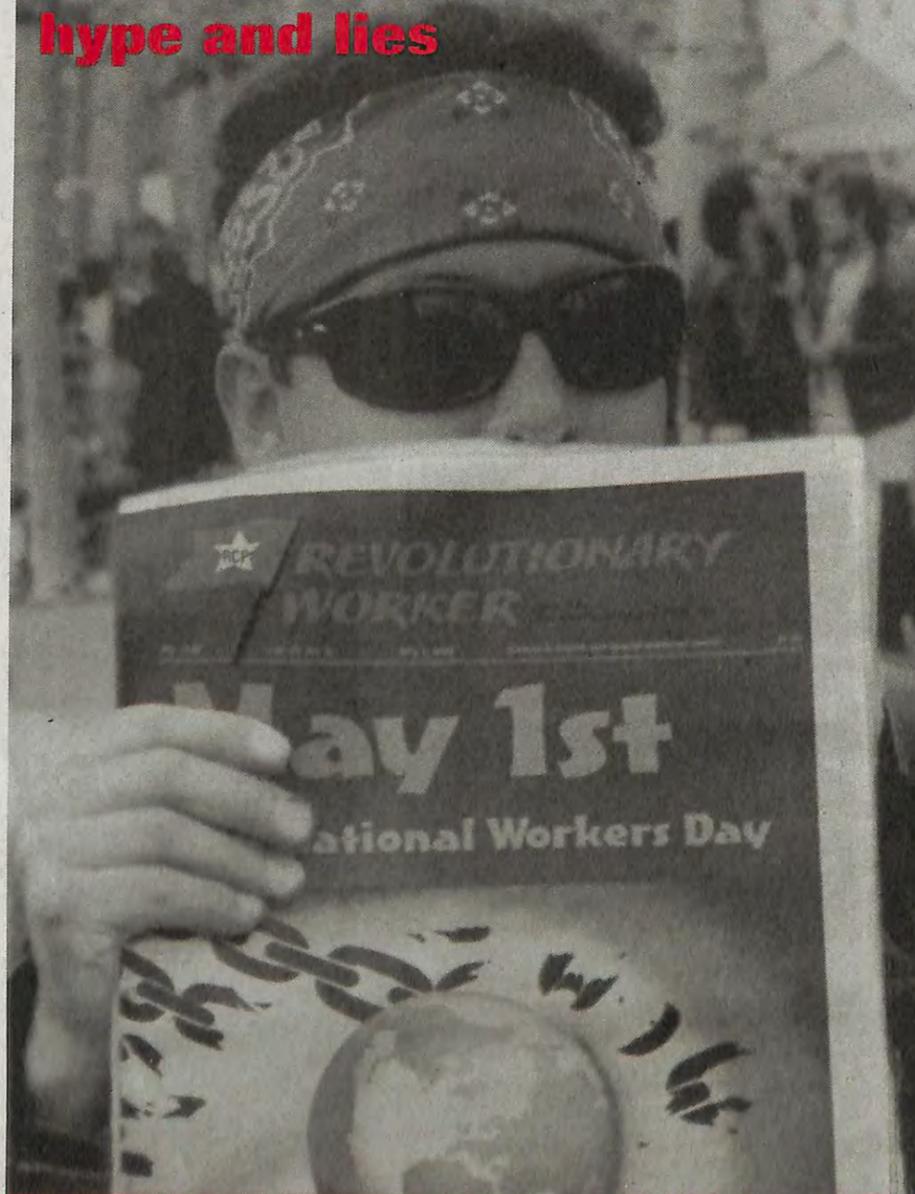
Some have contrasted Gore's talk with Kerry's and urged Kerry to take a more Gore-like tone. This misses the point that there is a political division of labor between Gore and Kerry. Democratic pundits have pointed out that Gore helps Kerry by keeping antiwar forces within the Kerry camp. As one of them said, "It is better that Gore says this, inside the Kerry campaign, than that Nader does from the outside." Gore's role is to speak to people who oppose the war and convince them that there is a place for them inside the Democratic Party and to keep them from leaving the fold. A key point of Gore's speech was that electing Kerry was the first step toward changing things in relation to Iraq.

Kerry, as the candidate, has a different necessity. Kerry's role is to contain debate and dissent in terms that are within the consensus of the ruling class.

This system wants to channel people into an electoral circus where real opposition is forbidden and suppressed. To wrench a different future than the one that Bush, Kerry, and their whole class have planned, we cannot be confined to this electoral framework. It's crucial for us to unite in doing what *will* actually make a difference—millions of people delivering an unmistakable NO to their whole agenda through a massive outpouring of opposition, an outpouring of opposition that cannot be denied, ignored, or covered up.

# Looking for TRUTH

in a world of unjust war, censorship, patriotic hype and lies



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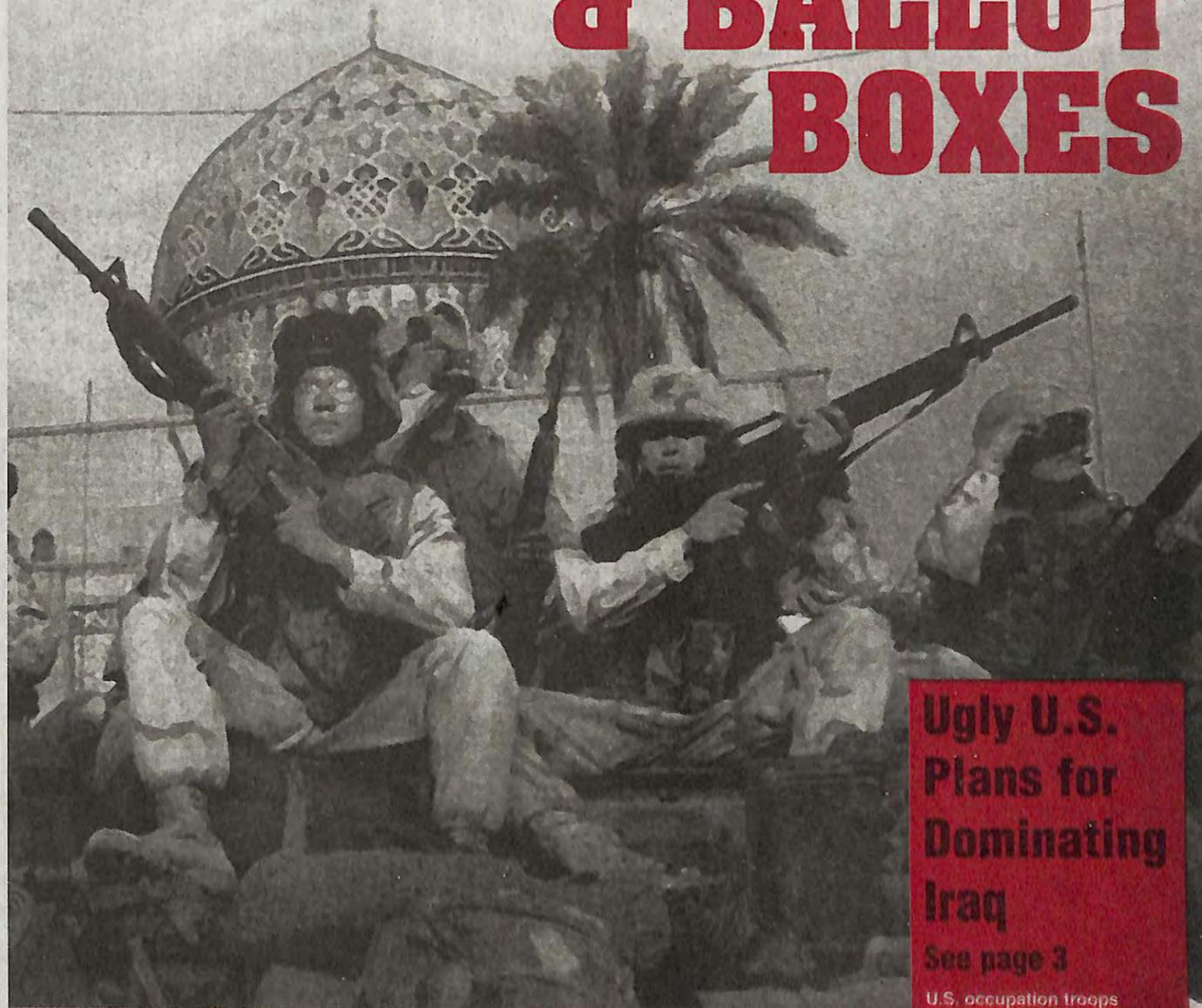
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**The Paris Commune in Perspective: The Bolshevik and Chinese Revolutions as Its Continuation and Deepening Revolutionary Communist Leadership**

by **Bob Avakian**

Page 8

# GUNS, PUPPETS, & BALLOT BOXES



**Ugly U.S. Plans for Dominating Iraq**

See page 3

U.S. occupation troops in central Baghdad.

7 John Kerry and the Mission of War