

# Arm The Spirit

For Revolutionary Resistance

Oct.-Dec. '91  
No. 10



## Turkish Army Offensive In Kurdistan

In response to recent and repeated guerrilla actions by the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) and the ARGK (Peoples Liberation Army of Kurdistan), the Turkish army, under the command of Gen. Dogan Gures, has launched a major offensive into south Kurdistan (northern Iraq).

Since October 25 fighter bombers, reportedly using napalm, phosphorous and poison gas, have been bombarding Kurdish civilian settlements in northern Iraq. The reason for the bombing is to depopulate the area, as it is of great strategic importance to the guerrillas. According to a PKK statement of August 7 1991, the PKK, which enjoys great support in the area, is planning to establish a provisional government in the near future.

It was on October 24, that the PKK launched attacks on two border outposts and a military centre, killing 17 soldiers and wounding 40 others. Further reports stated that during the week of October 24, 208 Turkish soldiers had been killed in attacks on military bases by the ARGK and 4 Turkish soldiers had been taken prisoner.

In spite of the Turkish army's massive operations, the ARGK has during, September and October, launched its own offensive. Beginning with the destruction of a television station on the Cilli mountain, and the September 13th takeover of roads in the Dogubeyazit area where they conducted pass controls and political agitation, the ARGK has carried out a number of successful actions and inflicted great losses on the colonial forces. Other actions have included the September 19th destruction of an oil refinery, the occupation of several mines by ARGK members in order to hold meetings with the miners to discuss the exploitation of mineral wealth by the colonialists (after which a mine was destroyed), and the October



*Kurdish guerrillas of the ARGK (People's Liberation Army Of Kurdistan)*

3 occupation of a village during which the house of the mayor was attacked, a fuel depot was destroyed, and meetings were held with villagers.

In response to all this, the Turkish government has intensified its campaign of lies about the Kurdish rebels. Newspapers have recently quoted Turkish sources as saying that Saddam Hussein has been arming the PKK guerrillas to avenge Turkey's role in the Allied Coalition

in the Gulf War.

In the final analysis the real aim of the Turkish state is quite clear; in the words of General Dogan Gures: "If we did not take democracy into account, we could finish this off in 6 months. I compare these people to sharks. They live in water... A little time will pass, we will cut off the water."

## Repression Of Kurdish Political Prisoners

To revolutionary and democratic public opinion and all humanity:

**LET US RAISE OUR VOICES TO STOP THE TURKISH STATE'S NEW PLANS FOR MASSACRES IN THEIR DUNGEONS!**

The colonialist fascist Turkish state is increasing state terror against the people of Kurdistan. Following the elections of 20th October the intention is to intensify the policy of violence introduced by the Motherland Party, this time with a war government under Suleyman Demirel.

The Turkish state tries to justify its policy of violence and massacre in Kurdistan by showing the guerrilla war waged by the PKK-ERNK-ARGK. It claims it only uses force against our Peoples Liberation Army, but in reality the Turkish republic has declared war on the people of Kurdistan. Recent statements by both the Head of the General of Staff and Demirel have been full of threats of massacres. They have already started these activities, killing civilians in southern Kurdistan with napalm and taking people from their homes in the north and killing them through their counter-insurgency special forces (death squads).

The preparations of another aspect of this policy

have been out into practice in recent days. Systematic torture has been restarted in the prisons.

A few months ago nearly all political detainees were released conditionally, with the exception of Kurdish revolutionaries charged under article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code. This is a racist measure whereby the Kurdish revolutionaries are being held hostage and does not conform to legal norms. Furthermore, the detainees are not recognized as prisoners of war.

Eskisehir special prison has been renovated recently specially to house the Kurdish detainees, with one person cells and one person exercise areas. Transfers of prisoners to these death cells have begun, the intention being to facilitate the political and physical annihilation of these Kurdish fighters who have not bowed to Turkish fascism.

It is our duty as human beings to oppose this inhumane treatment of the Kurdish revolutionaries. We call on all revolutionaries and democrats to oppose the policies of the Turkish state and support the demands written below.

1. European states should end their military, political and diplomatic support of the Turkish Republic and stop nourishing Turkish racism and fascism.
2. The revolutionaries charged under article 125 are

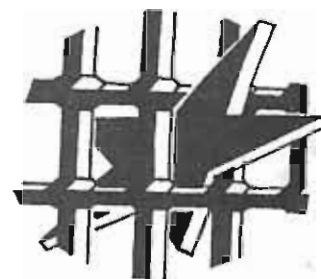
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## Editorial Notes

With this bulletin, we close out 1991 with our largest issue yet. As usual it's been difficult to put this bulletin out due to financial considerations. So yet again we're asking for money!

The increased size of the bulletin is due in part to our improved translation capabilities. We would thank those comrades who have been able to help us with this and in particular imprisoned comrades whose aid has been invaluable.

In our last issue we forgot to credit the RARA interview to the Dutch magazine *Konfrontatie* (issue #1). As well the RAF communique came from *Clash* #3 and the Revolutionary Cells communique on the Reichstag action from *Interim* #152.



# Attacks On Bio-Tech In The Netherlands

On the weekend of July 27/28, 3 fields of genetically manipulated plants in the Netherlands were destroyed by a clandestine action group calling itself the Razende Rooiers (the Raging Diggers). In the town of Rilland, a field of genetically manipulated corn, owned by a subsidiary of the Dutch corporation Suikerunie, was razed while fields of genetically altered potatoes, from the Belgian firm Plant Genetic Systems, were destroyed in the towns of Wageningen and Bant. These two last fields were operated by the Hettrema corporation in conjunction with Prosperina BV. In total, the attacks caused tens of thousands of dollars damage and set back the genetic tests by one to two years.

The Dutch press, of course, reacted furiously to the attacks. What's more, they made note of the fact that the Dutch autonomist paper *NN* had listed the addresses of corporate testing fields of genetically manipulated plants in its issue No. 89.

To explain their actions, the Razende Rooiers issued a lengthy communique which was likewise published in *NN*. The Razende Rooiers defend their militant approach in their communique:

*"The destruction of a test field is designed to both start a discussion on the subject of biotechnology, as well as to offer a direct counter to pro-biotech propaganda in the form of sabotage.*

*Resistance - in whatever form - to biotechnology is not only necessary, it is also legitimate.*

*And you don't have to be an expert to use a shovel."*

But the group not only defend their tactics in the communique, but they go on to further discuss the theoretical necessities of offering concrete resistance to biotechnology.

Technology is playing an increasingly greater role in food production. This means multi-national corporations are controlling a greater and greater share of the world's essential resources. At the same time, the uses of biotechnology reduces the multi-national's dependence on local resources, thus opening the door to total artificial food production. Thus, local populations become increasingly dependent on the products of multi-nationals. But do consumers really want food production to be entirely artificial and, thus, corporate owned? To ensure that the public does wish such a 'luxury', bio-tech multi-nationals spend millions of dollars annually on their public relations/propaganda budgets.

Just as with the Green revolution, the use of biotechnology will bring great gains to the food production sector, yet it will also carry with it newer and bigger

problems. Far from solving the world's hunger problem (which actually stems from unequal distribution and not from under-production), bio-technology will simply serve to further marginalize the Third World. The use of bio-technology will be destructive to the environment, as genetically manipulated fields require certain 'necessary' chemical applications (which the multi-nationals can themselves gladly supply). What's more, the proliferation of manipulated plants will result in a drastic loss of genetic diversity. Already, 50% of the world's population are fed by three plants: wheat, rice, and corn. Bio-tech would drastically reduce the number of naturally occurring varieties of these plants. Also, 93% of the present world's supply of genetic data is stored in the gene banks of western corporations and scientific institutes.

What will result from this, of course, is a highly paternalistic and grossly racist attitude on the part of multi-nationals towards indigenous farming peoples. The use of bio-technology is racist against the Third World, because societies which had long since grown accustomed to reaping harvests with locally available labour and with tried and trusted farming techniques will suddenly be cast off as primitive and inefficient. For in comes the 'benevolent' multi-national with its highly-skilled staff of white western employees, its stocks of chemicals, and its immense reserves of capital...All of this will result in the environmental, economic, political, and cultural marginalization of Third World societies.

The topic of bio-technology has not, as yet, become a central focus for the environmental movement or the autonomous-left in North America. And yet, because of the diverse issues which are related to bio-technology - environmental, political, social - it is an issue which will become increasingly significant in the years ahead. Indeed, the threatened destruction of the Audobon Ballroom in New York City (the site of Malcolm X's assassination) and its replacement with a multi-million dollar Columbia University genetic research facility has started raising the awareness of both environmental and social-activist groups of their common ground on this issue.

It is important that both the autonomous-left and the radical environmental movement begin to formulate a coherent critique of bio-technology and begin to work out an effective and concrete strategy to resist its implementation. Though the Razende Rooiers attacks were carried out in Europe, the relevance of their message and the issues raised in their communique are clearly just as relevant to our movement here in North America.

And after all, you don't have to be an expert of use a shovel...

# Three RAF Prisoners End Hungerstrike

On September 23, 1991, three Red Army Faction (RAF) prisoners, Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Lutz Taufer, and Knut Folkerts began a temporary hungerstrike in Celle, Germany. They initiated the hungerstrike to protest the fact that the Ministry of Justice would not allow Radio Bremen to hold a radio interview with them. The lawyers of the three men stated that the ruling was further evidence of the State's plan to completely isolate political prisoners. In their statement, the three prisoners called for regroupment, and also that "RAF prisoners be allowed to take part in open and unhindered discussions, even via the media".

On October 4, 1991, Dellwo, Taufer, and Folkerts ended their hungerstrike. They claimed to have had a "good" conversation with the Ministry of Justice, though nothing concrete has materialized since. In their statement announcing the end of their hungerstrike the three prisoners discuss the terrible state of isolation in which

Germany's political prisoners find themselves at present. They mention Irmgard Moeller, Western Europe's longest-held political prisoner, who has been imprisoned for 20 years. They also reiterate their demand for "regroupment and free discussion with one another, as well as with those on the outside", so as to arrive at a perspective of their common history since the '68-period. The German State, of course, far from moving towards the demands made by the prisoners during the '88 hungerstrike has in fact been intensifying its campaign of repression against the prisoners by forbidding visits, forbidding the copying of letters, raiding prisoners' cells and confiscating reading materials, and carrying out a campaign of media lies about RAF actions being planned from inside the prisons, with the lawyers being used as "terrorist couriers". [See *ATS* No. 9 - ed.]

We at *ATS* would have liked to have reprinted the statements by the RAF prisoners and their lawyers which

# News Briefs

A trial against 1,243 members of the revolutionary organization Dev Sol ended on November 1 in Istanbul. The event was used by the Turkish state as a show-case trial against Turkey's fighting left, although the prisoners themselves continued to struggle by means of several hungerstrikes (which cost four Dev Sol members their lives). Although Turkey has executed 573 political prisoners since 1982, from this trial, only one death sentence was handed down. This should be seen as an attempt to present a "cleaner" image to the European Community, and it in no way represents a lessening of repression against Turkey's revolutionary left. Of the other defendants, 41 received life sentences, 553 were jailed from 3-20 years, and 582 were set free. This military trial against Dev Sol had as its goal "to wipe out armed resistance" in Turkey. Nevertheless, on the last day of the trial, some of the prisoners unfurled sheets reading "Long Live Dev Sol!" and "We Are Justified, We Shall Win!" (*Angehörigen Info #79*)... On October 1, 1316 political prisoners in South Korea began a hungerstrike demanding their immediate release and demanding that South Korea scrap a law which forbids South Koreans from having contact with communists from the North. Although 1083 prisoners were soon pardoned and set free, those detained under the anti-communist provision were not released. We at *ATS* do not know of their current situation... On November 20, a shootout occurred in Athens, Greece between police and suspected members of the November 17 guerrilla organization. Accounts in the capitalist press state that police were informed that 4 individuals were attempting to break into a parked truck in the inner-city working class district of Sepolia. When police approached they were met by gunfire and a grenade was thrown at them. More police arrived and gunfire was continued to be exchanged until the four managed to escape on foot. Four cops were injured and one the suspected guerrillas was wounded. The police claimed that the 4 were members of November 17 because the weapons used were the same as the ones used in an attack on a police van earlier in the month. The attack, claimed by November 17, injured 7 cops of which one died later... On October 16, ETA detonated three bombs in Madrid. One person, a police lieutenant, was killed, and four others were wounded when a device exploded under a police commissioner's car. Earlier in the week, three GRAPO bombs failed to cause any damage when they exploded outside a government office in Madrid-Sevilla... An "Anti-racist Group" fire-bombed five buses in Berlin on October 18. The buses were to be used to transport asylum-seekers to newly created refugee camps which lie outside urban areas. The attack was in protest against the German government's increasingly racist approach to the refugee question... Former Red Army Faction (RAF) member Silke Maler-Witt was recently convicted of murder, attempted murder, kidnapping, extortion and robbery for her role in the 1977 RAF kidnapping and execution of German industrialist...  
*continued on the back page...*

were issued before and after the hungerstrike, however news of the hungerstrike was slow to reach us. In future we hope to reprint, in full, statements issued by prisoners during hungerstrikes.

"And of course we want to achieve our freedom along with everyone else. The prisoners should have been free long ago." -Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Knut Folkerts, Lutz Taufer Celle, 4.10.1991

# "The Puerto Rican woman has always been an important part of the struggle."

An Interview With Puerto Rican Independentista Margerita Mergal

Your name and occupation.

My name is Margerita Mergal. For the past thirty years I have been active in the struggle for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico. Presently, I do not belong to any political party. I am working as a Social Science Professor at the General Studies Department of the University of Puerto Rico in Río Piedras, where I have been teaching since 1959. I am also working with the Puerto Rican Organization Of Working Women (OPMT) and with *Ofensiva '92*.

Briefly describe your objective in visiting the U.S.

I have come to the United States on a tour to promote the release of all Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners Of War from prison. At the same time I am conducting interviews and documenting the story of Puerto Rican women Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War at Pleasanton, California, and at Dwight, Illinois. We plan to publish this work in Puerto Rico so that Puerto Ricans may know and understand the situation of a woman who is in prison, not because she committed a crime but because she tried to liberate her country.

What is your opinion of the Bureau of Prisons and the U.S. prison system in general after they turned down your request to visit the women Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War?

The U.S. Ministry of Justice and Federal Bureau of Prisons' procedures are very complex and difficult. This was to be expected since they purposely placed these women in prisons located a long way from home so that they cannot easily communicate with their communities. If one wants to visit one of these prisoners, if one wants to break into the walls that they have erected around these prisoners, one must go through a series of very difficult procedures. We have been doing that and we communicate continuously with the federal and state authorities in our efforts to obtain permission to talk to the prisoners.

They have created all kinds of bureaucratic obstacles. I am completely sure, however, that in the long run they will give us permission to enter the prisons.

Tell us about the struggles' current juncture in your country.

It is very important to notice how the workers' movement maintains its stance in the struggle. The victory against the proposed sale of the telephone company to a private company represents a good idea of how the workers' struggle is "alive and kicking." A general strike was organized, and we paralysed Puerto Rico for 24 hours. This is not a small accomplishment. This is something that must be said over and over again since there is very little that appears in the U.S. press about what is happening in Puerto Rico.

In addition to the workers' movement, we continue, of course, to struggle for independence. Sometimes we march together, like we did against the sale of the telephone company; other times each group has its own issues and its own tactics, as in the case of the plebiscite in which we were divided. Some of us thought that we should not participate in that deceitful process while others, such as the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) decided to participate. Anyway, like some of us had said from the beginning, what happened was that the trick of the plebiscite died in a committee of the U.S. Congress because the whole thing did not make sense at the time it was proposed. Everything was a promotional trick orchestrated by some in Puerto Rico.

In addition to those kinds of struggles, we are also involved with environmental, anti-militarism, and peace struggles. These struggles have attracted many supporters. Religious groups, subscribing to the theology of liberation, are also involved in community work. In different ways, by different means, we are all very involved in all of the different aspects of the Puerto Rican struggle. The work for the liberation of the Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War provides all independentists an opportunity to work together with other groups and individuals who are not independentists but who are willing to support this kind of struggle for humanitarian reasons. Not all the people who struggle for justice are independentists. In other political movements there are people who could be mobilized to support this kind of issue. This campaign to liberate our prisoners is invaluable because of its potential to unite the independence movement.

How do you see the women's struggle in your country?

The first women who struggled against colonialism were the Taínas. Since then the Puerto Rican woman has always been an important part of the struggle. On the one hand, there is the daily struggle to improve terrible living conditions which we were forced to

## From Clandestinity- Ojeda Ríos And Colón Osorio Speak

From somewhere in Puerto Rico - On Tuesday, August 27, Channel 11 presented an interview with Puerto Rican Patriots Filiberto Ojeda Ríos and Luis Alfredo Colón Osorio. The interview was conducted by reporter Daisy Sánchez in an undisclosed location. The two compañeros reintegrated themselves with the revolutionary clandestine struggle on September 23, 1990, the date commemorating the Grito de Lares. Rafael Cancel Miranda, Nationalist Hero, read the communique issued by the EPB-Macheteros wherein the two publicly stated their decision.

It is important to note that the interview coincided with the sixth anniversary of the arrests of these and other independentists accused of being members of Los Macheteros, an armed clandestine organization, and also of participating in the \$7.5 million Wells Fargo expropriation in Hartford, CT. Some have called these arrests the second invasion of Puerto Rico by the U.S. - more than 500 FBI agents and local police officials participated. Dozens of homes and businesses on the island were illegally raided.

As a result of the interview, the FBI has subpoenaed Channel 11 and reporter Daisy Sánchez to appear before a grand jury on September 25. Daisy Sánchez will base her defense on the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Channel 11 and Daisy Sánchez have received widespread support for their stand from journalists as well as other members of the news media on the island.

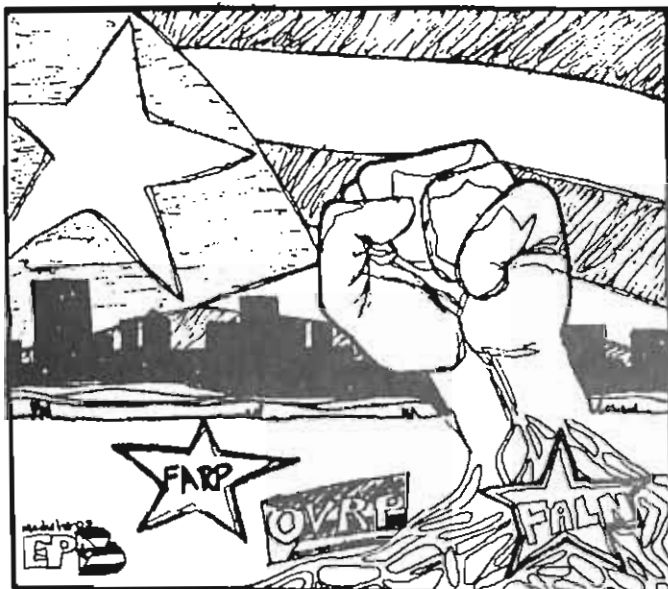
(La Patria Radical, August/September 1991 - Vol.4, Nos.1-2)

Update: After the above article was published a federal district court in Hartford, CT suspended its subpoena of Daisy Sánchez to appear before the Grand Jury. Days later, on Oct. 22nd she was subpoenaed again with the same demand to turn over video and audio tapes of the interview. Sánchez has agreed to appear before the Grand Jury but continues to refuse to hand over the tapes. With this new subpoena she now faces the possibility of an even longer period of imprisonment because this new Grand Jury has a different expiration date. We hope to have more information in our next issue.

(Info taken from *Nicaragua Solidarity News Update #91*)

tolerate under the current system that we live in, a product of capitalism and colonialism. On the other there is the political struggle to achieve independence and socialism. We are now organized not only in political parties, from the left and the right, but also in unions and in groups working with women issues within unions as well as in universities and study groups. Women are also organized by the government in women commissions, both at the city and state level, and in private centres that provide services to women. For example there is the Centre for Victims of Rape and *Casa Julia de Burgos* for battered women. We are also organized within the independence movement, in political parties as well as various movements and in autonomous organizations such as *Toller Salud*, which primarily studies health issues affecting women; the Puerto Rican Organization of Working Women, which mainly works with working class women and their problems, and other organizations such as *Feministas en Marcha*.

continued on page 4...



# International Campaign For Puerto Rican Political Prisoners And POWs

Amidst signs of a possible U.S. initiated change in Puerto Rico's political status, pro-independence forces have launched a campaign seeking amnesty for their political prisoners and prisoners of war by the end of 1992.

The campaign focuses on four demands; the release of all 18 Puerto Rican political prisoners and POWs; dropping charges against eight more activists in a Hartford, Connecticut "robbery conspiracy" case; amnesty for activists underground or in exile facing pending charges; and cessation of harassment and repression against the independence movement.

## "Independista" Prisoners

The 18 prisoners, all serving life or near-life sentences, include 13 members of the clandestine Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) who have demanded protection as prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention, which was expanded in the 1970's to cover anti-colonial combatants. The group claimed credit for dozens of anti-colonial bombings of government and corporate targets in New York and Chicago in the 1970's and 1980's. The 13 were arrested in the early 1980's and convicted of "seditious conspiracy" and various weapons and bomb charges.

The other five jailed activists have declared themselves political prisoners. Four are defendants in the Hartford case, convicted of complicity in an armed action claimed by the underground group Los Macheteros. The other, a former member of the FALN, was convicted of a bombing.

The U.S. government has rejected both political categories, labelling all the activists "common criminals". Many of the imprisoned "independistas" have endured extremely abusive prison conditions, including small group isolation, solitary confinement, behaviour modification and sexual harassment.

## A New Status For Puerto Rico

Since February, when a U.S. senate committee defeated a proposed referendum on Puerto Rico's status,

"all indicators" point to a push by Washington to impose an "association republic" status on the island, according to Julio Rosado of the U.S.-based Movimiento de la Liberación Nacional (MLN). That status - given to the Pacific colony of Micronesia in the 1980's - would guarantee continued U.S. control of foreign policy and ensure maintenance of many key U.S. military bases on the island, while placing all social and economic responsibilities onto an "independent" regime and loosening trade barriers for U.S. corporations.

The pro-independence forces intend to exploit this probable transition period to insert the issue of ending repression. "We can't conceive of a process of change placing power in the hands of the Puerto Rican people without release of all the political prisoners and POWs", said Rosado.

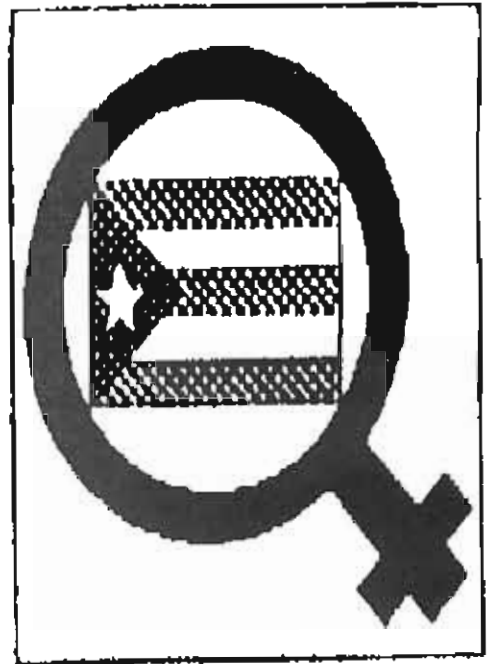
## Countering Columbus Hoopla

A wide range of pro-independence groups, both island and U.S. based are involved in the campaign, including the MLN and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The campaign's target date of 1992 coincided with the hoopla over the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival in the Americas. Organizers highlight Puerto Rico's status as one of the last remaining colonies in America.

In July, the campaign's first mobilization brought out hundreds of people to marches and events in 10 U.S. cities, marking the 93rd anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico. Approximately 1,500 people participated in a national march in Washington, on October 12.

For more information about the Puerto Rican Political Prisoner And Prisoner Of War Campaign write to: MLN, 1671 N. Claremont St., Chicago, IL, 60647 USA or National Committee To Free Puerto Rican Prisoners Of War, P.O. Box 476698, Chicago, IL, 60647 USA.

*(from New Liberation News Service Vol 2, Packet #4 via DC SCAR News)*



... Margerita Mergal interview continues from page 3

How could you contribute to the development of the campaign to liberate the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War?

I think that we could help by letting others know about the situation of the prisoners. We could be of assistance to other international campaigns, like the one I am currently implementing. During the month of June I participated in a conference dealing with empowerment for human rights organized by the World University Service in Costa Rica. People from all of Central America, the Caribbean and Mexico attended the conference. As part of that event I made a presentation about the prisoners. In September I will be participating in a national conference with fellow fighters from Asia, Latin America and Europe to be held in New Delhi, India. There again I will talk about the situation of our Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. In Puerto Rico, in the United States or in any other country we need to move this campaign forward so that every person who is touched by this serious injustice will contribute to the prisoners' liberation. In Puerto Rico, there are many individuals who are working very hard to organize committees in solidarity with our Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War

*(La Patria Radical, Aug./Sept. '91, Vol. 4, Nos. 1-2)*

## ... Richard Williams interview continued

forget to teach history, meaning that new people coming into the movement may not know about COINTELPRO. They need to be educated about COINTELPRO. The government says that they stopped it, and that's a lie. They say they are not imperialists, but they are, you know. So for the government, which is totally corrupt, to say they've stopped the program just means they've found a way to cover it up even more.

Of course, we had the revelations in the mid-1980s, which were not as widely publicized as COINTELPRO (which came at around the time as the Watergate scandal), that the FBI again was monitoring and infiltrating the Central American solidarity groups and anti-intervention groups. A very similar kind of operation, and one which was only exposed five years ago.

Well basically it was a successful program for them because they did sow a lot of bad seeds in a lot of good organizations by infiltrating them. They were able to turn brother against brother and sister against sister. They were able to infiltrate organizations and kill key people. They killed a lot of Black Panther people and Black Liberation Army people. They totally disrupted a lot of other organizations. So for them it's been a successful program, so they're not going to discontinue something that's been successful to that degree, they're just going to

cover it up more. Just like you said about the Central America solidarity committees, it came to light in the 1980's that they're still doing this. For us to think that they have stopped would be totally crazy.

Do you think that we'll see a resurgence in clandestine organizing?

It's hard to say. I think it is necessary for the reasons I gave - to be able to have any kind of successful organization could not be done publicly. It could not be one which follows the rules that the government says down for people to organize, because the rules that they lay down make it easy for them to subordinate any kind of organization. So we have to make up our own rules, and one of the ways to make up our own rules is to have groups, meetings, and organizations that function clandestinely. I think that there's a need for it. If your're asking if I see a resurgence in it, I haven't yet seen a resurgence but that doesn't mean that it isn't happening. I hope it is happening.

*Transcribed from a radio interview on CKLN in Toronto, July 30/91*

*Late Update (by A.T.S.): We recently learned that the jury in Richard's trial came back with a guilty verdict on December 13/91. More info next issue.*

## Buy Our Stuff!!

Books: Toward People's War For Independence And Socialism In Puerto Rico: In Defense Of Armed Struggle \$2.50, Armed Struggle In Italy 1976-78: A Chronology \$5.00, Strike One To Educate One Hundred: The Rise Of The Red Brigades In Italy In The 1960's-1970's \$8.00, Workers Autonomy \$4.00  
Magazines: Kurdistan Report \$2.50, The Black Panther \$1.00, Resistance \$1.50, Love And Rage \$1.00, Prison News Service \$1.00, No KKK, Fascist USA \$1.00  
Newsletters: Out Of Time, Walkin' Steel, Ecomedia, Kurdistan Newsletter, Prisoners' Legal News (All newsletters are free except for postage)  
Postage is 20% of the total cost of the literature. Overseas is 30%. As always no cheques, just cash or a blank money order (don't put 'Arm The Spirit'). The whole list will be finished soon: Honest.

Below we have reprinted several communiques and discussion pieces from the radical left in Germany. They have been translated from two German autonomist magazines, *Agitare Bene* and *Interim*. The discussion pieces, which are concerned with armed actions we have covered in previous issues of *A.T.S.*, are part of the ongoing debate within the German left around armed struggle and the revolutionary movements.

We will continue to reprint these discussion pieces as we feel that the issues addressed within them are important and the debate and discussion they encourage is necessary. In this spirit, our next issue will include the recent RARA communique, as well as some of the discussion pieces which have arisen out of the Dutch left concerning this communique in particular and RARA in general. As well, we will have two other discussion pieces and a Revolutionary Cells communique.

# This Is Not A Love Song!

(Almost like in real life)

In the early summer, in a former FDJ retirement home, three no longer very young people met each other: HerMann (with a capital M), Arthur, and Zorro.

After they had all broken the ice, and HerMann and Zorro had partook of the Crimean champagne which had been brought along, then Arthur, according to his daily ritual, sat himself in front of his black and white television set. It was only just after ten thirty when Arthur thought the unofficial servants of the Bonn government were playing a joke on him. And even hours later, when both his friends had sobered up again and the first brawl since their meeting had ended up in HerMann's favour, Arthur swore that he had not dreamed it all. Fredrichs had reported, with a particularly cunning grin, that, concerning the question of where to locate Great Germany's capital city, that the Revolutionary Cells had also just cast their vote in favour of Bonn. The Reichstag - the nation will be glad to know - was not badly burned, and no one had been hurt, but rather part of the area housing the exhibit of German history had been burnt through to the aluminum girders.

For a few moments, the power in the FDJ home went out, and incredible laughing broke out in all the housing units, and the three friends began discussing the just-mentioned incident. Arthur, out of fear lest someone should have been injured, became so enraged that he threw an ash tray at the government official. HerMann and Zorro smashed in the TV, because this jeopardized the security of their town. Meanwhile, Arthur had screamed, and then somewhat more explained what had happened in Berlin, and then a terrible argument ensued, in which Arthur explained the problem of such an action given the history of the Reichstag fire of 1933. Zorro thought that the target was inappropriate, since the real struggle is against urban restructuring, so they ought to have attacked Daimler, and not done just an isolated action, but rather one out of a mass campaign, like against the project in the Potsdamer Platz. When HerMann added, Bonn or Berlin, Daimler or whoever, the action must be anti-patriarchal, and they should have first asked the Rote Zoras to define the problem according to male domination, then something suddenly struck Zorro...

(In real life...)

...these people, of course would not laugh about us. The situation for us is also bitterly serious.

We think that what militant groups have done over the last few months represents the unfortunate side of what several generations of militants since the beginning of the 70's have struggled for.

We are referring to the shooting of the US-embassy in Bonn by a RAF commando at the beginning of February, and the blowing up of the Victory Pillar in Berlin and the fire-bombing of the Reichstag by the RZ's in recent weeks.

And especially we refer to the fatal letter-bomb attack on the Berlin city-planner Klein. Since the anonymous statement of responsibility made clear that the authors come from out of the Left, we felt it was critically necessary to draft a piece on the connection between

politics and morals.

Given the current political situation, in which the Left has become almost meaningless, this discussion is almost existential. Given the social marginalization of leftist politics, and militant politics especially, violent revolutionary tactics need to be exceedingly responsible and precise. It's our mission in this situation to display an essentially exemplary character.

The above-mentioned actions did not display such responsibility. They all claim to give correct answers to some of the pressing questions of our time, nonetheless they can simply be reduced to revolutionary violence.

The shooting of the US embassy in Bonn by a RAF commando was described in the decidedly bankrupt communique as an action of a united fraction of Germany's armed Left.

Not only were uninvolved people endangered by this meaningless shooting, but, to make matters worse, these people were part of the anti-war movement, people who must be seen as potential allies. It would be better if an armed group with such "terrorist scare-tactics" weren't in the scene at all. The reference in the communique to having ruled out any danger to those not involved by using tracer ammunition is nothing more than unsurpassable cynicism.

With their attack on the politically insignificant memorial to German militarism of 1871, the Victory Pillar in Berlin, a group from the Revolutionary Cells showed how insignificant and misplaced in time and space they are.

The attempt to remove the golden monument from its base was, considering the outbreak of the Gulf War, inappropriate and ridiculous. Apart from that, since the action was mis-timed, our comrades proved that they have no answers to the objective questions which their attack raised, namely the connection between nationalism, racism, and sexism and their own political praxis. There is no political orientation in their communique - which reveals our comrade's false label. They mistakenly see clarity where it does not exist - for example the connection between militancy and anti-patriarchal resistance by men.

As for the fire-bombing of the German history exhibit in the Reichstag at the beginning of June, the old militant wisdom is here appropriate, namely that an action against a false object is a false action, even if the communique explains it otherwise.

In the piece with our name entitled "A vote for Bonn", it states that a precondition to any struggle should be that we "maintain some political ground and that we name and pursue concrete goals".

At least that's what they said, but neither this action nor the content of their communique really point to this. As for a concrete political goal or a crystallization point - something which those struggling against restructuring could orient themselves towards - neither were named. What remained after the action was the reference to the ruling-power's debate about the "capital city question". And considering the Reichstag fire of 1933, this action was nothing but a farce.

This place, considering its historical significance, is not at all a good target for militant political attacks. The



## CONCERNING OUR ATTACK ON DRECKS-KAISER ON JULY 17:

The Tenglmann/Kaiser chain has been making great advances into the ex-DDR. Presently there is a fight going on over the plan to build a new supermarket in front of the towers of the former concentration camp Ravensbruck at Furstenburg. We are among those who are struggling against this construction - but we aren't confined to peaceful means of protest. The Kaisers chain - which profited under the Nazi's beginning in 1933 - is now dragging the considerations and memories of countless anti-fascists through the dirt of New German Consumerism. To this, there can be no non-violent response which is strong enough.

Our fire-bomb in the new store in Ravensbruck and the burnt-out consumer temple in the Conrad-Blenke Street in Berlin are our response! We demand that Kaisers and all others halt construction in Ravensbruck and Sachsehausen!

But we aren't simply going to wait until they halt construction, we are going to fight against them. Kaisers can be hit anywhere - and we will hit them!

In honour of all those who were murdered and persecuted under the Nazi Regime!

Revolutionary Cells

Reichstag is a symbol of German nationalism, this is true, but it is also a symbol of the defeat of the Left in Germany.

As for their allusion in the communique to the "lone deed of Marinus van der Lubbe, nevertheless the detailed relevant circumstances of the fire bomb attack to today were not clarified. It is "foolish" to do an action against such an object whose symbolism is not unambiguous and which itself does not convey a clear message.

The death of the Berlin construction official Klein by an explosion from a letter-bomb provoked discussions as to the goals and motives of the attackers.

In the communique from an anonymous group on June 15, it was stated that Klein's death was not intentional, but was the result of an "inaccuracy", but nonetheless, the risk to anyone not involved while the letter was in the air was "ruled out 100%". They can hardly have known that the construction official himself, and not some secretary, was to have opened the letter.

For punishment actions, as for any other action, the same rule of political critique applies, namely that it must be ruled out entirely that the person attacked could be accidentally killed, or that uninvolved person stand any chance of being endangered, even if such risks mean increasing the risks to ourselves.

In the eyes of the State, people are just chess figure; but our struggle does not play with the lives of people!

The coldness with which the authors of the state-

*continued on the next page...*

# Letter Bombs As An Action Form For Leftist Groups?

This piece is being written under the assumption that the statement released concerning the death of Hanno Klein was written by the same people who in fact sent the letter bomb, and that the statement reflected their political position. I'm also assuming that the action was carried out by comrades from our movement.

Just when I thought I could say of the attack, "it seems the construction mafia have killed off their talented chief themselves", what should happen but on the following Monday a communique appeared which greatly shocked me. The authors stated that their intention had not been to kill Klein. That things turned out other than they had hoped didn't seem to bother the authors that much. Nevertheless, they didn't simply hospitalize someone for a few weeks, rather they killed him. There is quite a substantial difference as far as I'm concerned. With plenty of rhetoric ("He had lost...his right to physical security.") they try to explain everything away. They felt no need to discuss the positive effects on people's current situation which the death of Klein has brought about. Not a word about whether the action was a correct one given their political outlook. It seems it never occurred to them that such actions don't always go as one plans. They write that a premature detonation was impossible, but this contention seems utterly foolish to me. That's simply untrue. Even when you've gone over everything again and again, there are still situations which you can't anticipate, but which you nevertheless must allow for. (Ever heard of the dangers of surviving

fragments from such bombs, something even AKW-agents concede?)

They write, only the person who actually opened the letter was in any danger. They're lucky that the person for whom the letter was intended in fact opened it. What if, being concerned that "his life might be in danger", he had questioned what was in the package? What if the thing hadn't fit through his mail slot, been returned to sender, and then been detonated by someone there? And so on... I don't think they considered any of these possibilities, otherwise they wouldn't have chosen this method for their action.

I just can't understand what made them go and use such a method. What sort of discussion are they trying to initiate? To my knowledge, until now there have not been any leftist letter bomb attacks which have wounded individuals in West Germany, West Berlin or East Germany. And for good reasons. There have been discussions on whether such actions are appropriate or not. Bomb-scares (and not actually placing a device) are a tactic commonly employed by right-wing groups, and these have the effect of striking fear into those not directly intended. We must not start thinking: it can happen to anyone. No, just the opposite: only the bastards (and, yes, it's difficult to establish "borders between people and bastards") should have to fear for their safety and property. The only previous leftist attack which in any way resembles this letter bomb attack was the fire bombing of two banks where the bombs were deposited as if they

*continued on page 7...*

## *... This Is Not A Love Song continued from page 5*

ment dismiss the fatal results of their action reveals their incompetence, as neither the intended political effect of the action, nor any ideas as to how the action might contribute to the further development of resistance to the restructuring in Berlin were mentioned by the authors.

This incompetence characterizes itself in a disastrous tendency towards militarism. So its not surprising that "war" is the central theme in the communique.

This fatal tendency towards militarism has always resulted in actions with negative political consequences: the Karry action, the shootings on the Starbahn, and the murder of the US soldier Pimental. This list should not be lengthened.

This tendency is the expression of the desperation of one faction of the Left which refuses to learn from history; a faction which only grounds itself in a subjective connection to the State and Capital, and whose praxis is not oriented towards the political goal of the anchoring and broadening of revolutionary politics in the social processes of the society.

We reject political assassinations as a revolutionary political method, because we feel that the position of social struggle in this country is far from that point, and because liquidating political opponents reduces everything to a power/survival question. We are struggling for people's consciousness, as well as for our own - not for power.

Political assassinations are not legitimized by merely looking at the functions of our opponents, as the RAF has been preaching for some time. This political approach must be wholly disregarded, because the only basis for this is that a previously anonymous typewriter-culprit can be called a murderer. Their death doesn't give anyone time to breathe, and the act has nothing liberating

or mobilizing about it. Quite the contrary - the inflationary effect of this method causes the revolutionary appeal to liberation to collapse upon itself. This method in revolutionary struggle is nothing but spectacle.

A militant left which lightly brushes off the absolutely compulsory considerations of politics and morals and which loses its scruples - this symptom of conscience which, which distinguishes revolutionary women form men - loses its credibility and its ability to call for a revolutionary struggle for an unhierarchical society.

Many people will probably ask what the subjectivism, the militarism, and the damaged revolutionary moral which displayed themselves in the Klein action have to do with our criticizing of the above-mentioned actions of the Revolutionary Cells. What they have in common is their character of irresponsible activism, which turns militant action into a fetish.

This praxis aims at spectacle., it replaces political intervention with publicity-getting. It does not convey any hope of liberation, but rather diffusely displays in public some explanations of the uses of fire, explosives, or weapons. It has given up criticizing revolutionary methods, or rather has forgotten to, since it has long since lost that orientation. It becomes a tragic figure, because it becomes the victim of its own mythology.

Militant actions have as their goal the sharpening of social contradiction, the advancing of social structures, and the protecting or widening of struggled-after free spaces. They should expose the violence of the System, giving name to injustice sabotage projects of the ruling powers, and disrupt the repressive social control of the System. They should confront the ruling powers politically, making them either insecure or making them appear ridiculous.

Militant actions - as we understand our actions

## *... Basque Hungerstrike continued from page 12*

overlook all sorts of things because of their political interests. Through solitary confinement and by cutting us off from our friends and families they deny us even the least of our fundamental rights. In this way, the policy of dispersal is mutated into an instrument of punishment which - although arbitrarily inflicted on us - is directed at the entire Basque nation and all those associated with us in society.

## A Variety of Repressive Measures

We would also, like to declare that the Spanish government and its Basque and Spanish reformist allies (PNV, PP, EA...) lack any real political will to seek a solution to the problem of recognizing the national sovereignty of our people.

They lack the will and they are incapable of resolving a conflict initiated by the historic right of our people to exercise their free right to self-determination against the irrational stubbornness of the Spanish government. A government which has not hesitated to use all of its available means of violence (both legal and illegal) against us, so they must be held solely responsible for the continued levels of political confrontation and violence which still exist. In this light, the dispersal of the prisoners must be seen as a power instrument in a host of already existing repressive measures, and its use must mark their definitive break from their self-proclaimed "democratic principles".

They are mistaken if they think they won't repeat their past mistakes. They will never succeed in breaking us through the use of power and violence, and never will we relinquish the historic right which our people have to nationhood. Neither deception nor distortion, nor manipulation will be able to hide the true reality: that we are a people fighting to survive and struggling to have our bespoiled rights recognized.

We wish to openly renew our unity and our political identification with the project of winning national liberation, the project to which we are bound, even though we are members of a collective of militant political prisoners which is split us all across the Iberian peninsula, seattered and unprotected.

With the beginning of this phase of the struggle, we would like to reiterate our three foundations: our unity and togetherness against the dispersals; our collective solidarity against isolation and individualization; and our duty, which we will continually renew until we have achieved full sovereignty for our people against the intransigent Spanish State.

The collective of Basque Political Prisoners  
30.9.91

*(from the Basque newspaper Egin)*

*Late Update (by A.T.S.): We have learned that the Basque prisoners ended their hungerstrike on December 15. The hungerstrike was entering its 11th week with a total of 525 prisoners participating through rotating shifts. In the last week all of the prisoners took part. On December 6th a demonstration with over 50,000 people took place in Bilbao, Euskadi in solidarity with the prisoners. We hope to have more information next issue.*

against Germany's racist and sexist Asylum politics - are a means to political intervention which we won't renounce.

We don't advocate that all the Left arm itself - quite the contrary, the militant and armed resistance movement is but an important, clenched-fist pledge for future struggles.

-a group from the traditional line of the Revolutionary Cells.

# Solidarity Action With French Prisoners' Hungerstrike

## Fire-bombing of Renault in Bruhl, Germany

On 28.7.91, we attacked a Renault agency in Bruhl.

We have done this action so as to support the hungerstrike of the Action Directe members and of the other prisoners in France. The struggle for regroupment is an international struggle presently being waged by all political prisoners in Western Europe, because all of these prisoners across Europe face the same conditions of isolation. So we took this action to give the struggle for regroupment a living continuity and to strengthen a new discussion around the issue of the struggle for regroupment here [in Germany -ed.].

During the '89 hungerstrike, in spite of a broad political mobilization, the regroupment was not enacted. So since that time, we have been concerned with redeveloping the political quality of this process. In concrete terms, we have come up with two ways to change this situation.

The first is, to stop being slack and to forge a real continuity. In years past, we had difficulties because our resistance only sporadically reached our proposals, so we need to redevelop a concrete societal discussion of this issue. So we propose building open contacts with different people, and that we not get hung up on ideological conflicts, but that we reach a common understanding. And we don't mean for this to be a reductionist approach to the question of regroupment, but rather we'd like to see this sort of process take place with all questions.

The second is, we must be concerned with organizing a resistance, so we must build a centre of counter-power. We must see to it that from out of all the various initiatives and groups a common organization comes into being, one which can take up the burden of political mobilization and thereby assert our common goals and lend some effect to our actions and attacks.

So we are concerned with the general discussion and approach of the RAF, to build a common revolutionary movement which can evolve into a counter-power, through which we can achieve our goal.

The hungerstrike in Spain was a turning-point for us in this matter. During that period, we sought to achieve some continuity in the struggle for regroupment, to build structures and to achieve a new quality in our dealings. And we think this actually happened initially - the struggle grew very potent, even if it was not very massive. In contrast to here, where it's very disappointing just to how narrow a sector of society the notion of regroupment is a clear demand to. Nevertheless, it was hoped that the developments and possibilities of the last hungerstrike could be built upon. But the hungerstrike in Spain was unable to push through the demands of the prisoners. The prisoners are again in isolation.

Nor did we think that we could push through their demands from here [in Germany] - from here, we could simply support the struggle for regroupment in Spain. The Spanish State, seeing to enter the EEC with its modern form of capitalism, took the matter seriously. But the reality remains: isolation-torture is now the norm, stronger than the resistance movement.

When we examined this situation to see how to get a new political movement off the ground, we realized then and we realize now that we have to push harder for regroupment here in Germany - because we could again take up the political developments from the strike, because we feel the demands of the prisoners here can be pushed through. And this, of course, would have ramifications all across Western Europe, if the pressure on the ruling powers became so intense. Just as the reversal of the regroupment in Spain had an effect all across Western

Europe...

Because to take up this struggle means more than just having the prisoners in mind. Of course the struggle for the demands of the prisoners, who daily have to contend with the imperialist prison machine, and political discussions with prisoners make up part of the struggle in the cities, and since they are "a little more", more self-evident, this is damn well necessary!

But we are concerned with new initiatives, which tackle the problem of organizing a resistance movement - including outside the jails. The political process which recently pressed for regroupment must be made creative.

We think that, from the beginning, initiatives with our goal in mind, which we want to bring about, must connect with who we are struggling against and how we are struggling. No abstract steps, but a practical mobilization process. We want to be involved in this and talk with other people and other groups.

On account of the widespread lack of hope of pushing through the regroupment, which is the goal of all of us, we think that the lasting conclusion and the repeated problem of seeing a possible political process - and how to put this into action - are a sham. This just leads to a sense of resignation, to dreaming instead of living - some think that ending guerrilla-politics would bring us further, but if that were so, they'd see instead that if there were no resistance, if there were no one pushing at the seams, then the repression would be thousands of times harsher if it needed to be, and the prisoners would be totally destroyed. He [or she -ed.] who does not struggle, perishes from conjecture.

We chose to attack the Renault company because Renault is a dominant European corporation, one which directs West European reality and from this draws profit. Renault is the largest state-owned company in France. They produce, in addition to automobiles, military equipment and high technology, and they are a major player in all organizations relevant to West European capital.

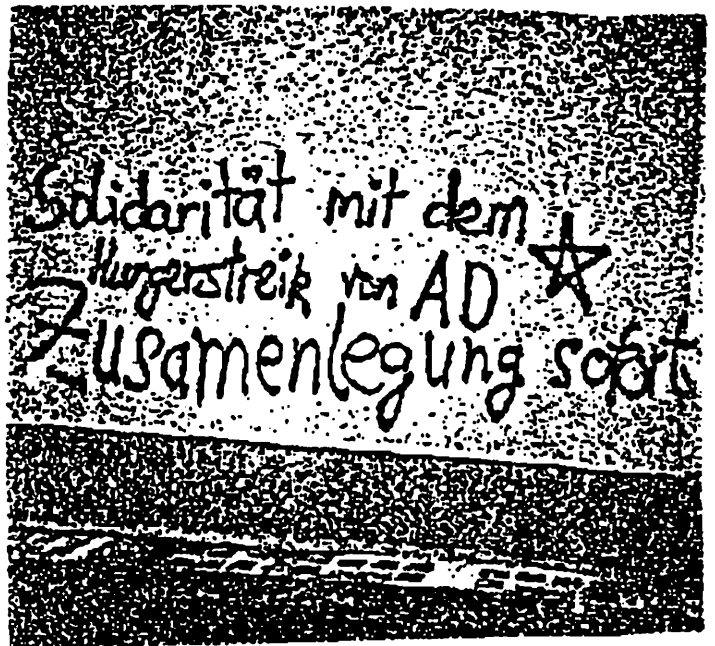
We attacked them because they are responsible for Western European imperialist murder across the globe, through war, economic collapse, hunger...and they are for the dehumanization of life, for increased poverty, and for sharper exploitation in Western Europe.

Corporations such as Renault, like Daimler, Siemens, Thomson, Fiat, and whoever else, propagate the ruling elites. They are the dark men of the Western European beast; they have set the new standards: yuppi-fication, high-tech isolation, compulsion to unskilled labour. Free-thinking (anything which doesn't enhance their profit-making life-style) is denounced, repressed, destroyed.

At the same time, a wonderful facade of glimmering consumption, democracy, freedom - "the best in the world" - is maintained.

And with this, they peddle themselves across the globe and fence in people's minds.

We want to break through this facade - and that's why we attack them. To fight for our goal of a humane, unhierarchical society, a just world, is to fight against the power of the corporations.



And in reality, they want to expand their control into the East, and put in place there the political developments which came about here in the '80's.

Renault is a prime example of the modern capitalism of the West European bloc. When Action Directe executed Renault chief Besse in 1986, they gruesomely described these politics.

Renault has been at the forefront of Social Democratic restructuring. In the factories this has meant breaking the worker's power through massive layoffs, automation, and individualization. At the same time, declining social benefits increase the compulsion to work, just as work grew harder and harder to find. All this and suitable conditions for repression, cops, social upheaval...

**SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLITICAL PRISONERS AGAINST THE STATE'S ATTACKS AND LIES!!**

**FOR THE REGROUPMENT OF THE PRISONERS FROM THE RAF AND THE RESISTANCE!!  
SOLIDARITY WITH THE FRENCH PRISONERS ON HUNGERSTRIKE!!  
STRUGGLE TOGETHER!!**

a group for a strong revolutionary movement

(from *Agitare Bene* #47)

... Letter Bombs continued from page 6

were letters. These never got into the hands of bank employees because they had been fitted with acid fuses, but those are actually very imprecise. And after the action, this fact was openly discussed. The recent letter bombers must have known of this discussion, unless they only moved to Berlin yesterday.

As for their last sentence ("Through our inexactness, we didn't anticipate the full force of the blast..."): the blast could not have been that big. Anyone who saw the photos in the daily papers could see the window panes were still intact and the furniture was hardly damaged, much less destroyed.

I can understand that one wouldn't necessarily go into all these matters in a statement designed to be read by the mainstream media. But for internal discussions, which obviously can't be conducted in person, one has to be a lot more thorough. I hope that such a discussion is possible in this paper.

Until then!

(from *Interim* #153)

# Meanwhile, In New Jersey...

## Richard Williams' Trial Continues

As we reported in *Arm The Spirit* no. 7, anti-imperialist political prisoner Richard Williams is now being re-tried on charges that he shot and killed State Trooper Philip Lamonaco in New Jersey in 1981. In 1987, Tom Manning was found guilty of the self-defense killing, but the jury could not reach a verdict on Williams and a mistrial was declared.

During testimony Manning has steadfastly denied William's presence at the shooting, and has refused to answer many questions from the state; arguing that to do so would violate "revolutionary principles of non-collaboration with the enemy, which in this case is the U.S. government."

In October, prosecutors used results of advanced blood tests as evidence, claiming that the blood from the car is "consistent with the profile of Mr. Williams' blood." These DNA tests are the only new evidence in the trial of Williams, and such tests have never been used as evidence in a "criminal" trial in New Jersey until now.

Tom Manning began his testimony in November, and on November 8th he demonstrated to the jury his shoot-out with Trooper Lamonaco. Manning has refused to answer questions about other comrades, stating that "I'm not going to talk about anybody other than myself and Richard. If it has to do with the armed clandestine movement, which is something we are participants in, I can't talk about it."

This principled stand on the part of Tom has meant increased repression and harassment for Tom and his supporters. In a letter to a comrade Tom writes that "In one 6 week period I was in 5 different cells, each move an opportunity to ransack and confiscate more of my property. At court, I was kept chained in a cell while the metal walls were continuously pounded by as many as ten state troopers using boots and clubs - continuously for two and a half hours before I'm brought into court to testify.

In the first week of December, over the objection of the Federal Marshals and the Bureau of Prisons, Ray Levasseur was allowed to testify. Originally, the Federal Marshals and the B.O.P had argued that Ray was "too dangerous to move from Marion to New Jersey"; however, after some legal wrangling, Ray was brought in under extremely heavy security and allowed to testify. Ray was on the stand for about forty minutes, and like his comrades refused to answer questions which could compromise others.

Below we present interviews with Richard and Tom in which they talk about, among other things, the trial and discuss the repressive conditions in New Jersey's Trenton State Prison (where they are serving their sentences).

## Interview With Richard Williams

Your retrial on these charges is coming up this fall and to start off could you give us an update on the trial status and a description of the charges?

My second trial, the retrial, will begin September 23. That's when we're going to start picking the jury. We figure that might take a week or two and immediately after that we'll start the trial, which will be sometime in the beginning of October. The trial should take about two months.

The charges stem from the death of a state trooper in December 1981 in New Jersey on Route 80. The charges specifically are murder and a related robbery and escape. It sounds like more than what it is. The prosecution came up with this hypothesis that Tommy (Manning) stole his gun back, but I don't even want to get into that. It all has to do with the death of the trooper. There was no robbery as in a store being robbed or anything. They're all rolled into the death of the state trooper.

This is the second trial as you said before. We were tried at the end of 1986 and 1987 in Somerville, New Jersey - that's where the new trial will be held as well - in front of the same judge, Judge Imbriani. At that trial Tom (Manning) was convicted of felony murder charges and was sentenced to life in prison plus ten, I think. Five or ten. When you get life, it's hard to keep track of anything after that. I got a hung jury, which means that they couldn't come to a unanimous decision. To be convicted or acquitted the jury has to be unanimous. The majority of the jurors voted for acquittal, but because they were not unanimous, that makes it a mistrial. We're hoping to win the second time around. The state has come up with some new blood testing, DNA testing, that is very dubious and is just something more to add into the trial to try and convict me. At the end of the last trial, the prosecution asked the judge if they could change the indictment and delete where it named me specifically as shooting the cop. In essence, what that's saying is that they know that I didn't shoot the cop, but I'm still being retried on these charges.

In political trials in the United States, it is common for the state to try and prosecute the defendants as many times as possible - in order to both "send a message" to other activists as well as to try to set precedents which can be used in future political prosecutions. We've certainly seen this with you and your comrades, the OHIO 7, who have all been tried a number of separate times - in the case of the Seditious Conspiracy/RICO trial in Springfield you were tried on many of the same specific charges which you had been previously prosecuted. How many trials have you been through at this point and how long have you been imprisoned awaiting the trial?

I was captured on November 4, 1984, which happened to be my birthday - happy birthday, right - so I've been in almost seven years. We had a trial in Brooklyn on specific bombing charges in 1985-86. That trial took about six months. We were all convicted of the various charges, ranging from at the most 3 years and the women getting 15 years. Then Tommy and I were tried in New Jersey on the cop shooting, and I've just explained that trial. Then we were all taken up to Boston and they were going to try us in Boston but through a lot of struggle we got a change of venue. They kept it in the same district but they moved it to Springfield, Massachusetts because basically the judge agreed that there had been too much publicity.

The Springfield trial took a year to pick the jury and a year for the trial. In the process of picking the jury the judge and the prosecution worked it out that having all of us there was really too bulky - too hard for them to try the case - so the judge basically asked the prosecution if they'd like to cut loose some of us who were doing large amounts of time already, so that's what happened. Carol (Manning) pleaded guilty to a deal - she didn't rat on anybody or anything, she just pleaded guilty to charges and was sentenced. Barbara's (Curzi-Laaman's) charges were dropped. The charges against Tom and Jaan (Laaman) were dropped because they both had a large amount of time, Jaan having 48 years on a state charge



Richard Williams

and 53 years on federal charges. They figure he's going to be jammed up for quite a while. It was only Ray (Levasseur) and I who had the federal charges against us. The trial lasted two years. This is my fourth trial coming up, which we think will take a couple of months. So I've been busy.

Of course, the Seditious Conspiracy/RICO trial in Springfield ended with the acquittal of yourself and your comrades Ray Levasseur and Patricia Gros Levasseur.

The funny thing about that was that we were charged with Seditious Conspiracy and RICO charges. RICO is basically criminal charges, racketeering charges, which we strongly denied. The Seditious Conspiracy charges were basically political charges, and going into that trial we saw the most important charges to fight were the RICO charges. If we were to be convicted of anything, the Seditious Conspiracy would be the lesser of the charges to be convicted of. We don't look at Seditious Conspiracy as being criminal charges, although they specifically are to the state. We fought all the charges and what happened was that we were found not guilty of the Seditious Conspiracy and we had a hung jury on the RICO charges, but the trial took two years. It was a defeat for the prosecution and they decided not to retry us on the RICO charges. So it was a victory.

The state has shown quite plainly over the past number of years that one of its main counterinsurgency strategies is the attempt to create a situation where it can define political opposition itself as criminal activity. It was clear in the Seditious Conspiracy/RICO trial that the state was attempting to use yourself and your comrades as a test case to try and expand the "legal" parameters of "criminality" into political activities, whether above-ground "legal" activities or clandestine activities.

That was our main task in these trials, and still is even in this new trial. They always tried to say "This isn't a political trial", even in the Seditious Conspiracy trial. Now I don't know what a political trial is if you charge somebody with trying to overthrow the government by force of arms - and that's not a political trial? That's sedition. That's treason actually and we put that to them. We said "Why don't you try us for treason?" But they tried to downplay the politics and tried to say it was a

straight criminal trial, and our major task in all these trials has been to fight criminalization. That has been first and foremost. Of course we want to win the case, but you're duelling on the enemy's ground.

We do have faith in people and we do have faith in the jury itself. I don't know if I have faith in the jury system and the courts the way they are, but we do have faith in the jury as people. We always try to talk to and work with the jury, and it's worked out sometimes. In the Seditious Conspiracy/RICO trial, if you want to go by their laws, we were guilty because we were charged under RICO with some of the same things that we were charged with and convicted of in Brooklyn. In the Seditious Conspiracy/RICO trial they only needed to have two convictions of those same charges we had been convicted of in Brooklyn to show a pattern of "criminal" activity, i.e. RICO. But we were able to talk to the jury, explain to them our politics and let them see a little bit of ourselves, and they chose not to convict us of the RICO charges.

I think they did it, basically, because they believed in us. They were just basically white middle class people, and we were able to actually get to them and show that we were at least sincere. If they didn't agree with our politics, at least we were sincere and the government throughout the trial showed how insincere they were. They did a lot of lying and a lot of manufacturing of stuff and we were able to bring that out. They have to show some of their true colours in front of a jury to try and convict you, and it is very vindictive what they're doing. In a comparison between us and the prosecution, the jury went with us. They weren't going to convict us.

And after that trial you were sent back to New Jersey to face the retrial this fall.

Right. I was sent back here in December of 1989 and for various reasons the prosecution stalled trying to get time to do this DNA blood testing, and then finally they did it this spring. Tommy and I refused to give blood but they basically took it. We fought them and they just got a whole bunch of guards and they were able to pin us down and strap us to a gurney and stick needles in us.

Well, that leads into my next question about the conditions in Trenton State Prison, where both you and Tom Manning are being held. Tom is in the Management Control Unit (MCU) in Trenton and you were as well up until recently. There have been more and more reports coming out over the past year about the conditions at Trenton and the brutalization of the prisoners by the guards and the administration. What are the conditions which you are facing, especially since you are held under a special status called 'Special Housing' which in some ways places you in a different situation than most of the prisoners?

They're turning Trenton into the maximum control prison for the state of New Jersey. Supposedly they send the "baddest of the bad" here and they've sectioned off parts of the prison and put up barbed wire and fencing, really turning it into a Control Unit. To put me in a state prison - basically I should have been put in a county jail - the governor had to sign an executive emergency order basically declaring martial law in my case, which means it suspends my rights. So they sent me to a state prison. Normally you can't be sent to a state prison unless you're doing time, unless you've been convicted, and of course I haven't in the state of New Jersey. Originally when they sent me here I hadn't been convicted of anything.

In putting me here they labelled me 'Special Housing', basically a pre-trial status. With that Special Housing status they have suspended all my right which I would have normally as a prisoner in Trenton State Prison. Not that we have a whole lot of rights, but there is due process, meaning that before they can sentence me to any isolation

or segregation they have to give me a special hearing. Well in my case, being Special Housing, there's no such thing as that. They don't give me hearings, they just do it. Even Tom, once he was convicted of the charges, they had to give him a hearing to put him in the MCU. Basically what happened was that they put me in the MCU for a number of years.

This time around, when I come back, they put me in administrative-segregation, which is a punishment unit, and I beefed about it. I said "How can you put me in a punishment unit. I haven't done anything wrong." So they shifted me off to the Protective Custody Unit which is a place where there's a whole lot of informers and people who, because of the crimes that they've done or because they've informed on people, are really not considered people that the general population would let walk around without doing some serious harm to them. So they put me in the Protective Custody Unit, which I strongly objected to. It took me eight months, but I finally fought my way out of it and they put me in the Management Control Unit. It sounds weird to want to be there, but the Management Control Unit houses most of the political prisoners, and if I want to be kept any place, it will be where other political prisoners are.

A couple of months ago they came in the middle of the night with the goon squad, which is a bunch of guards all dressed up in protective clothing and cameras, and took me and brought me here. I'm back in Protective Custody. My status as Special Housing means that basically they can punish me without having to give reasons for the punishment. They usually say, when you press them, that its for matters of security or its to protect the population from me - depending on who you talk to and what kind of mood they're in you get different stories.

Basically, I'm in non-congregate status. What that means is that I'm not allowed to associate with any prisoner here. Basically that's solitary confinement, I'm even recreated alone. Being non-congregate status I'm not eligible for any hobby programs, meaning that in general population and even in MCU if I wanted to paint or if I wanted to do different things for recreation in my cell, I'm not allowed to do that. I'm not allowed to associate with anybody, so I'm basically locked down in my cell 24 hours a day except for two hours on alternate days when I'm put out for recreation. I'm put out in a yard all by myself and I'm recreated. Now recently they brought in a couple of other people who are in Special Housing status and they go out to recreation with me. But basically I'm in a type of solitary confinement with no due process. I've appealed to the department of "corrections" and I get various answers back like "You're pre-trial", or "you're a security risk", whatever.

My visitors have to get prior approval from the prison. If and when they are approved, and some of the people have been disapproved, if they're approved they must make an appointment 24 hours in advance to be able to come in and see me at a window visit; that's a non-contact visit. When they come into the prison they have to submit to a thumbprint and a photograph before they can come to see me. I'm allowed no contact visits whatsoever. Just for a point of reference, everybody else in the prison is allowed contact visits - MCU, everybody is allowed contact visits. Nobody's visitors have to make an appointment beforehand. Anybody can come in and visit anybody in the prison, that includes MCU people.

So my status is a status that is a special punishment, it seems logical if you look at it in a sane way - you can't really look at it in a sane way because their minds are not sane in the way they rationalize their treatment of me. Basically, I'm being punished for not being convicted. As I said, my co-defendant Tom, who has been convicted, has to be given due process before they take away his contact visits or before they can restrict his "freedom" within the confines of the prison. Not so with me. I'm allowed no hearings. I have no contact visits. My visits are through a telephone and a window, and that goes for

family. I applied for my mother, who lives in Florida, to come up and see me, and I wanted a contact visit just like everybody else. She comes in and she gets an hour at a window. So of course I said its not worth it. My people don't have any money. For her to come up from Florida it would have to be a worthwhile visit, and I don't see an hour in front of a window with a telephone as a very worthwhile visit.

Other places where we've been held have allowed contact visits. All of us have had contact visits in other prisons where we've been held and at no times were there any problems with the contact visits. So this is to basically try and break my will and interfere with my frame of mind in getting ready for this trial. It hasn't worked yet, and it won't.

We've been seeing in the United States during the last ten years especially, increased state attacks against progressive organizations and liberation struggles - a continuation of the COINTELPRO-type programs we saw in the 1960's and 1970's. I know that you as well as your comrades have a long history in above-ground activism before choosing to go underground and join the clandestine movement. Would you talk about why you made that decision to go underground.

As you mentioned, COINTELPRO taught us a big lesson, or it should have, which I think a lot of people have actually forgotten. What COINTELPRO has done is shown that the United States government and its agencies will stoop very low and infiltrate all above ground organizations. Any progressive organization has been infiltrated. The fact that it was exposed and the state said "now that you've busted us, we're not going to do it any more", is full of it. They just intensified it and covered it up more.

A lot of us felt that to function in any kind of above-ground organization you might as well just write a report for the police, because you've been infiltrated. A lot of us figured that the best way to function would be beyond the eyes and ears of the government. The only way to be able to do that is to join the armed clandestine movement and to go underground and assume different identities which also means cutting yourself off from the rest of your family and friends. Anyone who didn't come with you, you didn't contact ever again because you were putting them in jeopardy. Basically that why. A lot of us felt that we could function better underground - do more, accomplish more, and not really have to worry about the informers as much by going underground.

Do you think that lesson, the revelations about the organized state attack on the movements has been to a large extent forgotten by the Left in North America?

Well, I don't now if it's forgotten, but the problem is that you don't know who in these organizations are informers. You don't know who in the Left are paid informers. So the problem with being above-ground is that anybody can infiltrate the organization, any above-ground organization. An effective informer - i.e. a mole - to use their spy-talk, the state inserts someone into an organization and into a lifestyle early on so that they establish extensive credentials and they would be the last person that you would look at as being an informer. Now I'm not naming names. I'm just saying how they do it in the spy-world, so lets interpret it and let's put it into the civilian world. You won't know who's reporting, it may be that the person with the best credentials is the one who's an informer. They have their fingers on the pulse of what every organization is doing and we shouldn't think otherwise for a minute. And I do think that some of the people on the Left do forget that there's a lot of informers out there paid by the government to inform on you and they've infiltrated a lot of organizations.

Another problem that I see in the Left is that they

*continued on page 4...*

# Interview With Tom Manning

A lot of people are probably not aware of control units or what types of prisoners are held within control units. To start off could you tell us what a control unit is, what the conditions are, and what kinds of prisoners are held within them?

This particular control unit, like most, is a 24 hour a day lockdown. They say 23 hours a day, but the fact is that you're locked down 24 hours a day. When you do get to go out to the yard your movements are so controlled and it's with so few prisoners at a time that you can't really say it's not locked down.

The kind of people they keep in control units are the people who they feel will have some influence on the general population. It's mainly ideas that they're trying to lock up here rather than individuals. There are few people locked up here for actually acting out anything that they call a "disciplinary problem". It's the people who have the ideas that they're afraid of.

During the last year or so in Trenton State Prison, we've seen a series of provocations by the prison administration which they're using not only to increase the tensions within the prison, but also to serve as a justification for the expansion of the MCU (Management Control Unit, the control unit at Trenton), and to then obviously confine more people within it. Could you give us a brief history of these provocations to establish the context for what's going on now?

You have to understand that this is part of a national move. The same shakedowns and moves and other stuff that they're doing here are also happening at Marion right now. I hear from Ray (Levasseur) that they're moving people every thirty days confiscating property and stuff, and that's also what they're doing here. They are trying to create provocations to justify their longterm goals. Eventually they want to turn the whole of Trenton State Prison into a lockdown unit for this state, and with each move they're doing that deeper and deeper. More blocks are being turned into control unit blocks. What is left of the general population is getting cut down to basically a service corps of prisoners that serve all the other prisoners that are locked up, doing the cleaning up in the corridors and stuff like that. As a matter of fact, nobody get to use the corridors these days except the crews that clean up, and basically that's what you see in places like Marion where the whole prison is locked down. The only movement is those prisoners who are in trustee status out there buffing the floors and stuff, that that's what it's coming to here.

No programs, nothing to occupy yourself with except being locked up. Midnight moves, all night shakedown, physical frontal assaults in full combat gear every time they move you for a medical move or anything like that, they come dressed up in riot gear with their clubs. It's all a series of moves. Nothing's coincidental. It's all brought about to provoke and intimidate.

What do you think is the Bureau of Prison's agenda in trying to lock down this huge number of prisoners, as you say not only within the state of New Jersey but increasingly around the country as a whole?

You know about the rate that they're building new prisons. Just since George Bush has been president, the feds have built forty new prisons. To control that number of prisoners they have to have a large percentage of them locked down at all times, not just so that they can control them but also so that they can use that massive control unit as a psychological threat to control the ones who aren't in control units. That's what they're doing here in

New Jersey. At one time they used the control unit within Trenton to scare all the prisoners in the state, almost 30,000 now just in the state prisons, that they're using the whole idea of Trenton State Prison as a threat over all the other prisoners in prisons around the state. They're using it to say to the prisoners, "If you mess up here you're going to Trenton." To accomplish that they've got to make the threat of Trenton a reality and that's what they're doing now. This is not a fun place to be right now.

Could you tell us about the struggles that are going on right now with you and the other prisoners within the control unit at Trenton particularly around this new cage, which the prison Orwellianly terms the "activity module", where all MCU prisoners are now required to be held when allowed outside of their cells for things like medical visits and haircuts.

Well basically what they did is built this small tiger cage, a 14' by 14' tiger cage out in the middle of the floor. You have to remember that they have very few programs here. One thing that they do to threaten people is to tell them that if they don't cooperate in the behaviour modification programs, which means basically going out and talking to a psychologist every 90 days, if you don't do that then you'll never get out of MCU. Getting out is very arbitrary anyway, because before they had this cage program they would tell you that if you don't talk to them you were never getting out of MCU, but when they need an empty cell they'll find somebody to move out so they can put somebody else in here.

Because there are no other programs, they are basically using the cage as a very physical, very visual thing to demonstrate that you're giving in to them. When you step into that cage, you take all your clothes off and step into the cage and this fat white man sits outside the cage and asks you a few questions while you stand inside this cage. That's a very visual sign to them that you're ready to dance to whatever tune they want you to dance to. So there are very few prisoners doing it. They're saying it's for security and making it look that way but all these other moves like the midnight moves and the all night shakedown were coming anyway, they're just using the cage as the central point for the new and deeper repression here.

Has there been strong solidarity among the prisoners in MCU against the cage? I know that many of you have been refusing to leave your cells at all rather than be forced to be put into the tiger cage.

There's probably less than 5% of the prisoners that are using those cages, and even then under very limited circumstances - guys that are told that they have to do a psychological review before they see a parole board or before they are considered for a transfer out of MCU. Like I said, there are less than 5% of the prisoners doing that. There's no other activities going on in the cage. Those guys who do break and go into the cage have to make a whole lot of justifications within themselves before they take that step. It's a constant everyday thing, having this thing sitting out in front of your cell looking at you. It's a very visual thing to focus on when you're focusing on your resistance.

As you say, prisoners in MCU come up for review every 90 days to determine whether they can be moved out of the control unit and back into the general



Tom Manning testifying in court

population. Most of the prisoners in the control units across the united states are there because of their political consciousness or because of their abilities to educate or organize other prisoners politically. You are engaged in a lawsuit at the moment in which you're trying to expose the political nature of your confinement in MCU. Could you tell us about that?

If you look at my suit, the purpose is not so much to have me moved out of the control unit as it is to challenge the concept of the control unit itself. I don't ask for any kind of program to be laid out for me to follow so I can get out of MCU. I challenge the whole concept of putting me in here in the first place. I don't participate in anything here any more, the hearings or anything like that. I'm going to challenge it in the suit or try to agitate in here to cause enough resistance to break it.

And the times you participated in the hearings, the prison has stated implicitly that the reason you're in MCU is because of your political beliefs and affiliations.

Well, you've seen the copy of my suit. We're going to use the suit as a central point in the trial that's coming up here this winter that comes out of the uprising here in August 1990. The suit demonstrates clearly the fact that I'm treated differently because of my politics, because I'm identified as political. That will be one of the things that I will be testifying to at the trial of those people who are being tried for the uprising. They have been put in the situation that they're in because of their politics: singled out, pressured, harassed. That's what brought about that uprising. It's the same thing that's going on now.

*Transcribed from a radio interview on CKLN in Toronto, October 18/91.*

*We have available copies of Tom's above-mentioned lawsuit. For those who are interested in reading it, please send us \$2 to cover postage and copying. We also have available info-packages on the Ohio 7 as well as on other prisoners of war and P.O.W.s in the U.S. Please write us for more information.*

# Attica

by Raymond Luc Leveseur

Twenty years after the uprising and massacre at Attica Prison, a civil rights suit filed on behalf of the ATTICA BROTHERS is set for trial - September 30th. Akil Al-Jundi, et. al. (plaintiffs) vs. the estate of Nelson Rockefeller (defendants).

The suit seeks to hold Nelson Rockefeller and his co-conspirators in the New York State Police and Department of Corrections responsible for atrocities committed against Attica prisoners on September 13, 1971.

On September 9th, 1971, prisoners at Attica prison took guards hostage. The prisoners then took control of D block yard. The prisoners caught the attention of the world as they stood their ground and declared that they were human beings and refused to be treated as beasts. They released a manifesto of human rights, which included these fundamental issues: an end to brutality by guards; humane medical care; adequate family visiting; an end to pervasive racism (the majority of the prisoners were Black and Latino, the guards and administration white); decent food; and an end to slave labour.

Negotiations began and outside observers were brought in at the request of the prisoners. On September 12th, the hostages were interviewed by the media and said they were humanely treated.

On September 13th, observers and the media were prevented from entering the prison. Amidst a growing cacophony of racist taunts by police, a massive assault force was assembled.

The prisoners had no firearms.

The attack came without warning. CS gas was dropped on the prisoners from a helicopter. Although CS gas incapacitates in 10-15 seconds, the police, including guards, began firing their weapons at the moment the gas was dropped. They fired into the crowded D block yard without conscience or restraint. They shot to kill.

The police used .00 buckshot, the largest and most lethal pellets. Given the expanding nature of shotgun fire, unintended victims were sure to be hit. Police snipers fired from rooftops, executing prisoners with high powered .270 calibre "dumdum" bullets. This ammunition expands on contact and is outlawed by the Geneva Conventions.

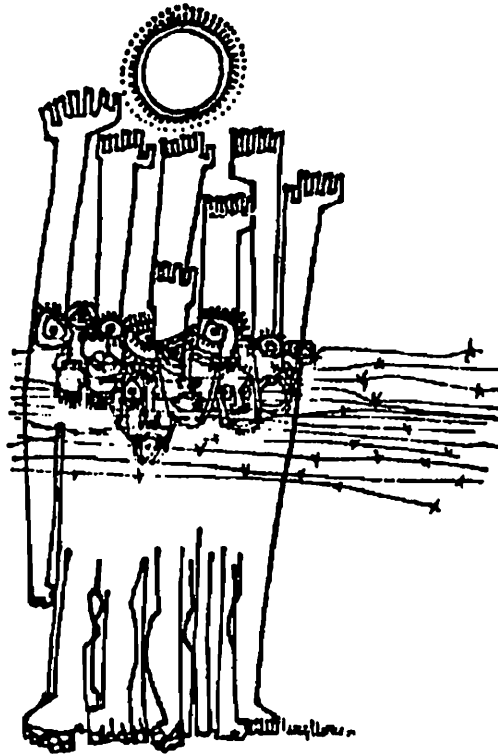
29 prisoners and 10 hostages were killed - all by police gunfire. An additional 85 prisoners and 5 hostages were wounded - all by police gunfire.

Records show that up to 3,132 bullets and shotgun pellets were fired into the prison yard. 46 .00 pellets were removed from 32 bodies. .357 magnum pistol slugs were removed from 3 bodies. 14 .270 calibre bullets were removed from 14 bodies. Four 12 gauge slugs (deer slugs) were removed from 3 bodies.

Standard police procedures for issuance and accountability of firearms and ammunition was not followed at Attica. This thwarted subsequent use of ballistic examinations to identify "shooters".

The commander of the State police forces destroyed all his notes, writings, correspondence, and other materials pertaining to Attica. He failed to see that evidence was properly collected and preserved. With the intent of obstructing the investigation and prosecution of police, specific physical evidence was altered or destroyed. The cover-up of unjustified killings was facilitated by fabricated accounts of how and why weapons were fired.

An enormous amount of firepower was unleashed upon the prisoners, yet those who planned and commanded the attack did nothing to prepare for basic medi-



WE ARE MEN! WE ARE NOT BEASTS AND DO NOT INTEND TO BE BEATEN OR DRIVEN AS SUCH...WHAT HAS HAPPENED HERE IS BUT THE SOUND BEFORE THE FURY OF THOSE WHO ARE OPPRESSED...

WE CALL UPON ALL THE CONSCIENTIOUS CITIZENS OF AMERICA TO ASSIST US IN PUTTING AN END TO THIS SITUATION THAT THREATENS THE LIVES OF NOT ONLY US, BUT EACH AND EVERY ONE OF US AS WELL.

-FROM THE FIVE DEMANDS OF THE INMATES OF ATTICA

cal needs - no medical equipment, blood, ambulances, technicians, or doctors were assembled.

Protection from police reprisals was a major concern of prisoners during negotiations. The commanders of the assault force not only allowed reprisals, they encouraged them. They issued orders that alleged leaders of the uprising (including negotiators and those who drafted the Human Rights manifesto) were to be marked with an X on their backs. These prisoners were taken to a special unit within Attica and forced to run naked through a gauntlet of guards. They were severely beaten with sticks, clubs, gun butts, and screwdrivers (among the witnesses - National Guard medics who arrived later on the 13th).

Eight days after the massacre and police rampage, the Goldman Commission examined 700 prisoners who had been in D block yard at the time of the attack. They determined that 45% still bore bruises, broken bones, lacerations, and other marks on their bodies - clear evidence of the beatings and torture they suffered.

Acts of brutality and torture were systematic, retributive, and frequent:

- \* prisoners burned with cigarettes and shell casings heated in fire.
- \* wounded prisoners dumped from stretchers and beaten with nightsticks.
- \* IV tubes pulled out of the arms of injured prisoners.
- \* gun butts and nightsticks jabbed into the wounds of prisoners.
- \* contra-medical treatment given to prisoners, resulting in infections, complications, and amputation.

This suit should have been tried years ago, but the Rockefeller estate and other defendants sought to block it through a variety of legal tactics available to those with money to blow on lawyers. Among other legal fictions, Rockefeller, et. al. sought complete immunity because all the blood that was shed was done while they acted in "an official capacity". In other words, they were just being good Nazis.

In February, 1991, a Federal appellate court ruled that the defendants would get qualified rather than complete immunity. The court stated that the defendants could not be prosecuted for death and injury caused by

negligence or deliberate indifference because the attack was part of their official duties!

However, the court also ruled that qualified immunity did not protect officials from liability for: 1) Unnecessary and excessive use of force AFTER the prison had been taken by police, and, 2) Deliberate denial of critical medical care resulting in unnecessary death and suffering. The appellate court decided these two issues must be decided by a jury.

Police, prison officials, and the wealthy Rockefeller family have lied for 2 decades about the uprising and the massacre at Attica. The light of truth sends them scurrying like cockroaches as they see to avoid public guilt and paying damages. If they are ordered to pay the families in dollars, it will help those families, but not enough. Since the mid 70's, the civil and human rights that prisoners fought and died for have been steadily taken away from us. The proliferation of control-unit prisons throughout the US is a clear sign that confrontation and troubles loom ahead. The powers that be are preparing our burial grounds, for the message of Attica is that we will not be treated as beasts of burden.

*Update (by A.T.S.): So far, the trial has heard testimony by both inmates and prison guards. On Tuesday, October 29, testimony of a National Guard medic (they played a medical role only) reaffirmed much of the Attica inmates' charges. His testimony revealed that medics were prevented by guards from treating inmates in the prison hospital and were forced to treat prisoners in unsterile hallways and supply rooms; blankets put on prisoners to prevent the onset of shock as well as bandages on inmates were constantly pulled off by guards; guards prevented medics from replenishing medical supplies; when National Guard medics turned wounded prisoners over to medics and guards, they were beaten - in one case, a man with a head injury was beaten repeatedly in the head; 4 to 6 inmates died in a prison corridor after guards refused to heed pleas by National Guard medics that they be evacuated; Prison Commissioner Oswald, one of the defendants, oversaw the gauntlet scenario described above.*

*The defense strategy has been to challenge the credibility of prisoners testimony rather than actual*

*continued on the back page...*

# Hungerstrike Declaration Of The Basque Political Prisoners

On September 30, approximately 478 Basque political prisoners began an indefinite rotating hunger-strike. Thus far, this action has been totally ignored by the press. The reason for the hunger-strike was the breaking up of prison collectives and the dispersal of Basque political prisoners to prisons spread all across Spain. The State's reason for the renewed campaign of prison repression was ostensibly the detonation of a bomb inside a prison in Sevilla on June 28. This attack, which killed one prison official, two social prisoners, and one prisoner's relative was later linked to ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna - Basque Homeland and Liberty, an urban guerrilla group fighting for the liberation of the Basque nation. The majority of the political prisoners are members of ETA). The package-bomb was discovered as it entered the prison, but for some reason it exploded before Guardia Civil bomb experts arrived. After the explosion, Basque prisoners were placed in total isolation and denied all contact (visits, mail, phone calls) with the outside. For ETA, the failed attack, which was to have killed the prison warden, was disastrous. An alleged group of social prisoners published a letter in a Spanish daily paper condemning the "murder-commandos". Later, it was discovered that this letter had been written by the son of a Guardia Civil member. Herri Batasuna (Basque political party which struggles for full independence) declared that this was further evidence of the building of a "GAL (right wing death squads with ties to the police forces and the government) in the jails". In a communique dated July 12, ETA apologized for the unintended death of those "who had nothing to do with the conflict between Euskadi and the Spanish State". Yet they also pledged to continue attacks on prison functionaries "so long as their treatment of the Basque prisoners does not change". ETA also vowed never to repeat the disastrous outcome of the Sevilla attack.



We, all of the Basque prisoners, have, for more than four years now, been subjected to what one might term the "mechanism of political dispersion of the collectives". From out of the various jails of the Spanish State, we find ourselves once again forced to turn and address the Basque public.

We stress the words "one might term", because, on the one hand, it's clear that the PSOE government has been trying to destroy the collective structure which we devised in the previous political phase by spatially dispersing us, but on the other hand, they have failed to break our political identity, as not a single one of us has renounced our political principles for which we were prosecuted and which landed us in prison.

We can easily summarize these principles: the recognition of the right of Euskadi to national sovereignty through means of political negotiation. These principles define our dynamics of collectivity and solidarity as a political prisoner's collective.

## The Outcome of the Dispersal: A Defeat for the Government

The dispersal of prisoners is one instrument which the Spanish government hopes to use as part of its strategy of using "political means" to get us to capitulate and to bring about defeat for the MLNV (Basque National Liberation Movement - ed.). So they are trying to implement a tactic to undermine and dissolve our political duty by oppressing us and by trying to sow dissention and weakness in our collective, in our families, and in the social movements aligned with us.

In our opinion the implementation of this strategy by the Spanish government can only be seen as a political victory for our Basque political prisoner's collectives; it represents an increased degree of political development which manifests itself in the form of the Spanish government needing to intervene in the realm of political negotiations.

This line which the PSOE government has chosen to take regarding the prisoners - apart from the fact that it has introduced a new political phase - has not achieved its stated goal, nor will it achieve its goal. After more than four years of dispersals inside the prisons, we can only conclude that they have not achieved their goal; their plan has failed. So the question remains: Where are the results, where are the numerous tribunals which were so boldly

announced? Where is the political split in the collective of Basque political prisoners?

The only answer to these questions must be that they have clearly and categorically failed and that they shall fail again. They shall fail again, because we see more clearly day by day that behind their policy of reintegrating us into prisons and giving prisoners individual treatment lies an attempt to make individuals capitulate, and yet not a single one of us will do that.

They have tried using differential treatment in the prisons; they have tried dividing us into different grades; they have tried other measures, like improving prison conditions or alternatively inflicting punishments. But that is something that we, as Basque political prisoners, will not submit to. The use of these measures springs from

their claim to "legality". Something which they have not managed to do, nor will they ever manage to do, is to collapse our political togetherness and homogeneity, and still less, our political duty to the process of liberating and restructuring our nation, Euskal Herria (Euskadi - ed.), of which we are a pure representation.

## The Struggle: A Sign of Our Participation and of our Duty

Considering the recent state of affairs, and as a sign of our participation and of our duty to the process of Basque national liberation, we announce openly to the Basque people the beginning of a new initiative in the struggle, the prison front, wherein we find ourselves. The initiative will consist of an unbroken, rotating hunger-strike by the entire collective with two goals in mind: on the one hand, we demand that the political prisoners be regrouped in Euskal Herria, and that this lead to a total amnesty. We can realize these demands; these are our rights as prisoners. It's even in their own regulations that we not be punished through the use of dispersals. But they

*continued on page 6...*

# Shoot To Kill Policy In Euskadi

On August 17, three members of the armed Basque liberation group ETA were killed by a massive force of Spanish Guardia Civil in the town of Donostia-San Sebastian. Initial police reports stated that the three were killed after a "four-hour exchange of fire", but a subsequent autopsy, when made public, gave conclusive proof that the three guerrillas - Paixi Itziar, Inaki Ormaetxea, and Jokin Leunda - were in fact executed at close range by the police. Though indeed injured in the gun battle, none of the three had injuries which could have proven fatal. The autopsy revealed that the three had in fact been killed by point-blank pistol shots to the heart and head.

Only two weeks later, a similar massacre took place in Bilbao. This time Juan Maria Ommazabal, surrounded by a dozen police cars of the elite "Ertzantza" commando team, was made to surrender and lay face down on the pavement. According to authorities, Ommazabal was killed in the shoot-out as he tried to commandeer a civilian's car in order to escape. Several eye-witnesses, however, later said that a police officer fired a shot into Ommazabal's head at point-blank range as he lay on the road. Another ETA member who was wounded in the incident, Jose Mari Mendinueta, said that the three ETA guerrillas (one escaped) did not fire on the Ertzantza police, although they themselves were soon showered with a barrage of weapons fire. In the incident, one police officer was seriously wounded and later died in hospital. His death (a la Oka) was the result of shots fired by other

police officers, as forensic evidence later proved, although his death was blamed on the ETA members nonetheless. Also in Bilbao, several suspected ETA-collaborators were arrested and detained (and tortured). This prompted a widely-observed general strike which was called by the leftist-nationalist coordinating group KAS. Demonstrations over the next few days were forcibly dispersed with tear gas and rubber bullets. One demonstrator in the town of Elgoibar lost an eye from a rubber bullet.

It is clear that Spain's PSOE-controlled government has begun a newer, harsher phase of its "anti-terrorist" campaign against Basque separatists. It seems that Spain is now utilizing the "shoot to kill" policy first put into action by British forces in Northern Ireland. Spain's jails are presently overflowing, including housing over 500 Basque political prisoners. This, coupled with the embarrassment of such police scandals as the recent GAL trials, has prompted the Spanish authorities to use the quicker and more efficient "shoot to kill" policy. Why bother with the hassles of a trial, when an on-the-spot execution can just as easily be carried out without fear of reprisals.

Although this tactic has been used in the past against ETA suspects, these two recent incidents make it frighteningly apparent that "shoot-to-kill" is now the rule in Spain's dealings with ETA.

*(info from various issues of Angehorigen Info)*

# Kurdistan Will Become A Grave For Imperialism

U.S. imperialism's plans for Kurdistan are gradually becoming clearer still. Kurdistan is becoming an area of struggle where the revolution and counter-revolution are joining battle on an international level. In this battle the revolutionary forces, first and foremost the people of Kurdistan, and the region's progressive forces are facing a serious test. This battle is characterized by its identification of those with the will to survive and those without. The developments are lowering all the masks one by one. The bloody and disgusting faces of those who engage in the basest collaboration using the name of the Kurdish people and see their future under imperialism and in the defeat of the revolution are being exposed.

The imperialist forces that moved into the region during and after the Gulf War have shown that, contrary to their claims, their presence is not temporary. They came claiming to be on a mission to restore order to the region. From their point of view the danger was the revolutionary uprising of the peoples in the region. For this reason they eagerly grasped the opportunity to deploy in Kurdistan. And they did this under the guise of protecting the Kurdish people. Since they were aware of the meaning of the revolution in Kurdistan for the peoples of the region they have taken on the task of isolating and crushing the national liberation movement in Kurdistan. The deploying of tens of thousands of U.S. troops in Kurdistan and their stationing near areas where guerrillas are based, plans for security zones and talks with Kurdish collaborators have all been part of this plan. For imperialism, which as a condition for its survival aims to crush all revolutionary forces in the world, the Kurdistan revolution has become a target that must be crushed.

This, of course, coincided with the aims of the colonialist Turkish state. Since the Turkish Republic has bound its very existence to the liquidation of the national liberation struggle in Kurdistan it saw the imperialist forces intervention to suppress the rising revolutionary situation in the region as a life saver. In parallel with this it has introduced various measures like the so-called lifting of the ban on the Kurdish language, debates about autonomy, the conditional amnesty and the "anti-terror" law and the talks with Kurdish collaborators which are all part of the broad counter-revolutionary plan. Turkey's main aim is to crush the guerrilla struggle and the joint struggle in the prisons, mountains and the popular resistance, and to perpetuate its dominance in Kurdistan based on Kurdish collaborationism. For the imperialists, especially the U.S., after Eastern Europe, it is now the turn of the Middle East to have order restored and the greatest threat to imperialism there is the national liberation revolution in Kurdistan.

While implementing its plans to liquidate the Kurdish revolution imperialism is calling on all its counter-revolutionary experience. It has neither directly gone on to the attack like in Vietnam, nor left everything to local collaborators like in Eastern Europe, it has combined the two. It realized its military buildup under the guise of protecting the Kurdish people and attempted to strengthen the Kurdish collaborators by relying on this military power. In the name of humanitarian aid to the Kurds discussions began relating to a "solution to the Kurdish question". Attempts have been made to reduce the Kurdish people's demands for independence and freedom to so-called solutions based on human rights demands. By endeavouring to legitimize the Kurdish

collaborators on the international stage they have tried to gain support for their solution. The bringing to prominence of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iraq (KDP) and its latent use as a militia force against the Kurdish revolution are all part of this scenario.

Today in southern Kurdistan it is clear that the KDP is in league with the U.S. military forces and acting on their orders. The KDP of Iraq is now being used by the U.S. and other imperialist military forces who are strangers to the geography of Kurdistan, as a force to locate the People's Liberation Army of Kurdistan (ARGK) camps and as a strike force ready for use in attacks on those camps. If one takes notice of the propaganda emanating from the petty-bourgeois Kurdish reformists to the effect that "the PKK will only last a couple of months", and "the PKK made a mistake of opposing the U.S. and KDP" then it appears that attacks should occur in the near future.

To defeat the "divide and rule" tactics of imperialism and prevent internal conflict the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) behaved with great care. It did everything it could to win over the KDP to a position in line with the interests of the people and away from its collaborationist position that is oriented to strangle our people's longing for independence. The PKK strove for unity against attacks but the KDP of Iraq, which represents this feudal, collaborationist line, inevitably took a position opposed to the revolution on account of its own class interests.

Imperialism's approach to Kurdistan, the U.S. goal of using Kurdistan as a base to crush the peoples of the Middle East, the parallel manoeuvres of the Turkish state and the use of the KDP as an assault force against the revolution show that Kurdistan has become the scene of the most violent revolutionary and counter-revolutionary struggle in the whole world. The PKK and its army and front forces are determined to protect the honour of the Kurdish people whatever the cost. This battle is a struggle to defend and achieve the independence aspirations of the Kurdish people but this also entails the defeat of imperialism's new world-wide counter-revolutionary assault and a struggle for the victory of the world people's anti-imperialist front. So it is an honourable resistance to the policies of the U.S. and a struggle that is not confined to national dimensions but concerns the destiny especially of our region. Imperialism is attempting on all fronts to liquidate the Kurdish revolution, whether militarily or in Germany with the PKK trial. We, too, are fighting back on all fronts. It is here that very important duties fall to those who claim to be on the anti-imperialist front. It is our duty and right to remind them of these duties and demand that they are forthcoming.

It is clear that, despite all the developments in Kurdistan, for those who have described themselves as anti-imperialist for years not to understand the significance of attacks on the PKK in Kurdistan can only be called blind. They should realize that the attack on the PKK is not just a matter that concerns the PKK and Kurdistan. Success of the counter-revolution in Kurdistan means the slaughter of independence, freedom, democracy and socialism in the whole Middle East. In this case the real measure of who is anti-imperialist will be seen from the position taken against the imperialist assault on the Kurdistan revolution.

Our concrete call to the anti-imperialist forces of the region, especially the left-wing forces in Turkey and the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in Europe is for

*Since the onset of the Gulf War awareness of Kurdistan and its struggles has slowly risen. Generally the Kurdish struggle has been portrayed in the media as being only an uprising in Northern Iraq, whereas in reality Kurdistan spans five countries: Russia, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. It is in Iraqi Kurdistan that the KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party) is seeking merely an 'autonomy' status for Southern Kurdistan, within the Iraqi borders. Another Kurdish group, the PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) has a similar line. PUK leader Jalal Talabani has stated that "I think that most people realize the impossibility of changing the borders of the five countries in which the Kurds live".*

*This is not the whole story. Within Kurdistan there does exist a popular national liberation struggle which seeks not merely an 'autonomous' status; but rather true self-determination and independence for all of Kurdistan. While the struggle for Kurdish liberation has existed in many forms for many years, it has only been in the 1970's, that the struggle for self-determination took on a new, more unified character in the form of the PKK (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan - Workers Party of Kurdistan). In a declaration dated November 27th 1978, the PKK laid out its program, stating that "The revolution is two-fold, i.e. national and democratic... The revolution's task is "to put an end to all forms of domination by Turkish colonialisation, to set up an independent economy and to strive for the unity of Kurdistan".*

*In 1984, the PKK organized Kurdistan Liberation Units (HRK), "to conduct an armed struggle to put an end to fascist colonialism, and achieve the national and social liberation of the Kurdish people". 1985 saw the emergence of the ERNK (National Liberation Front of Kurdistan); created "to organize and lead our people's struggle for a national liberation which embodies the promise of an independent and free future for our people in North-West Kurdistan". In 1986 the PKK created the Kurdistan People's Army for National Liberation (ARGK) which carries out military operations against the Turkish army.*

*We hope to continue our coverage of the Kurdish struggle in further issues of A.T.S.*

concrete action. It is our duty to oppose this attack with united resistance. Imperialism may be determined to turn Kurdistan into a hell to strangle the Kurdish revolution. However, as we consider an enslaved Kurdistan to already be a hell and as our people are enslaved and humiliated, we are determined to raise the struggle for freedom and honour against this hell and humiliation. We will never permit our country to be a place where imperialism can impose its own solution, relying on its collaborators. With the watchword "independence or death" we will defend our people's honour to the end. This determined struggle of ours is our most telling call to all anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and democratic forces. Believing we will receive a concrete response to this call we say victory will belong to united resistance forces.

***Kurdistan will be the grave of imperialism and its collaborators!***

***Down with imperialism, colonialism and all kinds of reaction!***

***Long live the people's anti-imperialist resistance front!  
Long live the independence and freedom struggle of the people of Kurdistan!***

***Long live the PKK, ERNK and ARGK!***

PKK-European Representatives

3 June 1991

# We Are Fighting A Guerrilla War

Interview with Ali Hewal, Central Committee member of the PAK (Partiya Azadiya Kurdistan or Kurdistan Freedom Party) concerning the founding of the party in south Kurdistan (Iraqi occupied Kurdistan)

When was the Partiya Azadiya Kurdistan (PAK) founded?

The cadre group set up in 1988 constituted the basis of the party. After strengthening and developing this basis and after a perspective and programme was worked out by the cadre group, the party was officially founded on 8 June 1991.

What are the aims and objectives of your programme?

The PAK bases itself on a protracted-people's-war strategy. We are fighting a partisan war, a guerrilla war in south Kurdistan for the independence and unity of all parts of Kurdistan. That is why the PAK aims to expose imperialist plans and abolish its artificial borders. But the PAK doesn't limit its struggle simply to south Kurdistan. We will fight them not just in all parts of Kurdistan but - and we can say this quite openly - everywhere where there are colonialist forces. Our theoretical starting point is Marxism-Leninism. Our leadership is the leadership of the working class. We are enemies of every form of reaction. In brief, PAK stands for the independence and freedom of south Kurdistan and the building of a united Kurdistan. Based on the strength and will of our people PAK will lead the struggle successfully until victory.

What is your relationship to the PKK?

Generally our strategies are the same. But concretely there exist differences. And this is because of the peculiar and specific conditions of south Kurdistan. But we believe that the PKK is the vanguard party of all parts of Kurdistan. As I said our common strategy is the unity of all four parts of Kurdistan and the abolition of its artificial borders. And on this road we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with our people.

You said that you are a new party. Is it joining the guerrilla units? What do the people think about you, the PAK?

We are fighting a guerrilla war on a political and military level. In south Kurdistan conscious people, intellectuals and others, are starting to discover their reality anew, in the light of Marxism-Leninism. They see the bankruptcy of the feudal, collaborationist and reformist leaders and their ideology. The intellectuals in south Kurdistan grasp this reality with great clarity. The intellectuals, workers and all other social groups recognize the necessity for such an organization and a struggle such as ours and full support it. They are already participating in organizing in south Kurdistan. Women too are taking their place in the ranks of the guerrillas of the PAK. We can say the following: if we do our job scientifically and democratically then there will be no difference between men and women among the guerrillas. A popular war is fought with the participation of the whole people from the youngest to the oldest. The highest expression of a popular war is the national front uniting the patriotic and revolutionary classes which conduct the war on this basis. If you look at the struggle in south Kurdistan up to this day then you will recognize that this region of Kurdistan is centuries behind such a revolutionary struggle. In the past the struggle always ended in defeats and in the end death, deportation and exploitation remained the fate of

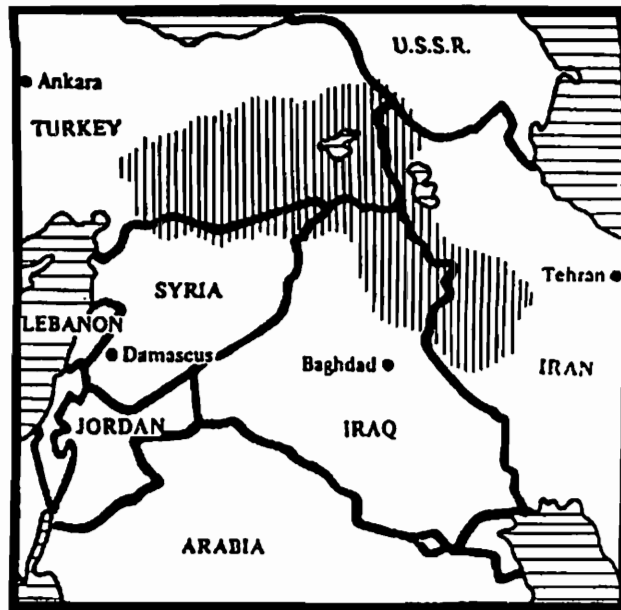
our people.

Why was this always like that?

Because until this day there has been no new form of struggle, no new leadership or the leadership was not given any chance to survive. The PAK believes in the popular war in south Kurdistan and fosters it. That is why we have started to go our road together with the whole of our people, women, men, children and the old. We know our task in south Kurdistan is very difficult. Imperialism aims to carry out its plans. And it can still find its supporters. They base themselves mainly on the KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Part in Iraq). The KDP wants to enslave the Kurds. Today the KDP and their sympathizers are bankrupt. The Kurdish people are not satisfied with autonomy. It looks with great displeasure at the negotiations between Barzani, Talabani and the Iraqi Baathists even before the blood of the people has dried yet. One of the aims of the Kurdish peoples' uprising was to bring down Saddam, to liquidate the Saddam regime. We have friends in south Kurdistan who are with us. If we work and fight together we will come closer to revolution and we will improve our position. And the people will embrace us.

What are the relations between you and the people, do the people accept you?

We are guerrillas, the guerrilla of the Kurdistan Freedom Party. The regions of Amediye, Sidika, Rewanduz, Salklava are already areas of operation of our guerrilla units. In all those areas we have united with the people. We have already become a considerable force which is accepted by the people. The people sees its liberation with us. I repeat: We will defend our people in the mountains, cities and valleys. Through the reality of the guerrilla we possess, on the one hand a revolutionary



KURDISTAN

vanguard and on the other hand the organization of the people. Essentially the guerrilla struggle in south Kurdistan is new.

We have a scientific world view, a class basis and we lead a new and conscious struggle. For this reason the people like us. Our situation is that the poor, the working people, the workers who support and respect us. The belief of the PAK in the struggle is very strong. If we succeed in the guerrilla war together with the people then we will be able to do away with the reactionaries, feudal collaborators and the reformists. This will advance the struggle, and this is entirely possible. The wish and desire of the people is the liquidation of Saddam and the unity, freedom and independence of Kurdistan. The PAK guerrilla takes the hopes and desires of the people as the basis for its struggle. These are: the independence of Kurdistan, the fight against imperialism, the war against colonialism.

(from Kurdistan Report, October 1991 - No.5)

## Honduran Guerrillas Surrender Their Weapons

The leftist Lorenzo Zelaya Popular Revolutionary Forces (FPR) Movement today (9/10/18) renounced the political-military struggle in Honduras and decided to take the amnesty offered by the government of Rafael Callejas.

In a communique given to the press, the group states: "Taking into account the real aspiration of our peoples for demilitarization, democracy, peace and considering the new international situation, we have decided to dissolve ourselves as a political-military group."

The document also states: "We take the broad and unconditional amnesty decreed by the National Congress in July hoping that the Armed Forces and the government will respect the rights and physical integrity of all of our members based on this agreement."

This notwithstanding, it states that the inequality, social injustice, poverty, hunger, exploitation, violation of human rights, popular repression and the absence of real democracy that inspired their struggle "continue intact, but now we will struggle from another perspective and under peaceful and civic means."

The renunciation of the armed struggle on the part of this Honduran guerrilla group is added to the announcement in early January by a faction of the

Cinchoneros movement after a period of intense negotiations with the government.

In December of 1990, the Callejas government initiated a dialogue with leftist armed movements. Thus, a faction of the Cinchoneros movement renounced their military principles before the governmental promise of total respect to its guarantees, as citizens, of free association and travel.

The Lorenzo Zelaya forces are one of the most belligerent guerrilla movements in Honduras, founded in 1980, when the repression supported by the national security doctrine of the Army's paramilitary groups was at its height. The Movement took responsibility for various bank robberies, bomb explosions, kidnappings and the execution of various persons considered "collaborators" with military intelligence. According to the local press there are five guerrilla groups operating in Honduras but the best known among them were the Cinchoneros, the Lorenzo Zelaya Movement and the Morazanista Front. The last group still carries out isolated actions and shows itself unwilling to have demobilization talks with the government.

(from the Uruguayan paper Brecha, 9/10/18)

# Kurdistan: Seeking The Opportunity

An interview with comrade Botim, representative of the ERNK (National Liberation Front), founded by the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party)

**What are the foundations and aims of the PKK?**

The PKK was founded on November 2, 1978 with the aim of building up a free, united, independent and democratic Kurdistan. The leading ideology of the PKK is Marxism-Leninism.

Unlike other Kurdish organizations such as the KDP (Kurdish Democratic Party), which say "we are the Iraqi KDP, or "the Iranian KDP", the PKK does not take it upon itself to represent a particular colonized area of Kurdistan. We are not the PKK of Turkey, we are the Party of the working class of all of Kurdistan and we are revolutionaries.

The PKK was formed in the North-West of Kurdistan; that part of Kurdistan which is being occupied by Turkey, and it's the area where it is best organized. However, this doesn't mean that the PKK only wants to liberate this part of Kurdistan, it wants to liberate the entire nation, which is now occupied by Turkey, Iran and Iraq.

**What is the PKK's position with regards to the Gulf War?**

The administration of Saddam Hussein has shown itself to be a spoiled child. Saddam has been financed and armed by Western countries, but now he has revolted and has bitten the hand that feeds him.

Turkey has an old and persistent dream; to invade Kirkuk and Mossul. Iraq cultivates a similar dream, i.e. the invasion of Kuwait, in order to seek huge sources of oil, the possession of which would ensure Saddam an important standing in the world. The ERNK is against the occupation of Kuwait, this occupation is the work of the army of Saddam Hussein, not of the Iraqi people. We are opposed to the occupation of Iraq also.

The imperialists want to suppress whatever would upset the status quo and their own exploitation of the oil. They are making plans to occupy the region under the pretext of punishing Saddam Hussein, and are in this way imposing a new oppression and new borders on the people of the region. The imperialists are keeping busy, trying to silence their creation and divide up the region amongst themselves.

**Did the PKK carry out any actions during the war which were beneficial to your struggle?**

The war created a great opportunity for us, it allowed us to further develop by organizing forces in Southern Kurdistan (Iraq). The problem for us is not armed struggle, as that is something we can always do, our greatest challenge is organizing the people and turning the imperialist war into an anti-imperialist war; into a national insurrection. At the same time, we are carrying out many operations against the Turkish army, shooting down helicopters and killing hundreds of fascist officials.

**Some Kurdish organizations have merely requested an autonomy status inside Iraq. What is your position on this?**

This situation gives us a chance that we might not get again for many years.

In 1917 the war between Czarist Russia and Germany gave to the revolutionary forces a great chance, now there is a similar chance in the Middle East and

Kurdistan. I don't think the Kurdish people want only autonomy; this is the view favoured by the media and by those who want to divide the Kurdish people. We can tell that the Kurdish people are joining each other. In order to support this, the PKK has called up all the organizations for a national congress. It will be a great international event. All the Kurdish organizations will be represented. The petty bourgeoisie, we communists, everybody.

It will be a real national congress, like the Palestinian one, a united front.

**Some British Trotskyists would condemn this, saying that a party of the working class shouldn't join itself with the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie political organizations. What do you think?**

Our cause is an national cause, first we must arrive at national liberation, and then the liberation of the classes, and socialism. We must bring together all the sections of society that are oppressed by imperialism and colonialism. We follow the experiences of the revolutions in Vietnam, Mozambique, and Bulgaria.

**The major imperialist governments and the Soviet Union are committed to guaranteeing territorial integrity for Iraq. Why is imperialism opposed to the Kurdish liberation movement?**

Kurdistan is a rich source of oil, water and fertile soil; our country holds an important place in the Middle East. Historically, it's a transit route from China to Europe, from Africa to Russia. Because of this, many nations have tried to rule this territory. This is because the Kurdish people have never been an organized nation, they have always been used by others for their own conflicts. As the PKK secretary [Abdullah Ocalan -ed.] said: no other people has provided soldiers for so many other nations for so long a time. Kurdish people have fought for Islam, Iran, Iraq, for Turkey, but they have never fought for Kurdistan.

During the Gulf War, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey wished to use us yet again, and they made plans for this, with talks of blocs, alliances, and concessions. The imperialists in this process sought to have a bourgeois section of the Kurdish movement under its control. But now that the war is over, they don't need the Kurdish people anymore and they have stopped talking about our requests.

**The collapse of the socialist bloc has made the imperialist system even more fierce and steadfast in its attempts to divide and conquer the world. Has this affected your struggle?**

We agree with you, the imperialists can now do what they want. The collapse of the socialist bloc means that there are no obstacles in their path. During the war between Iran and Iraq they couldn't do the things they are doing now in the Gulf because the socialist bloc would not have stood for it. However, we don't believe that this means the death of socialism. It is those who would have stopped socialism, the bureaucrats, who have died, not socialism.

Marxism-Leninism is alive elsewhere, as in the practice of the PKK.

**There are Kurdish people in the Soviet Union. What is their standing?**

There are about 500,000 Kurdish people in the Soviet Union, but there is no national issue because they are a minority and there is no part of Kurdistan in Soviet

territory. Most of these Kurdish people are living in Yerevan, in Armenia. As Kurdish people they have many rights, they have radio, schools, and journals.

**What is the position of the PKK concerning Islamic fundamentalism?**

There is Islamic fundamentalism in Kurdistan, but it is not much of a problem. It could slow down the struggle if it were not dealt with in the correct manner. Many people go into the streets to demonstrate when they come from the mosque, but they don't shout "long live Islam", they shout "long live a free and independent Kurdistan".

We think it is necessary to first solve the national issue, and then look at issues such as religion, language and culture. In the Middle East, Islam is a great matter for the movement. Some organizations neglect the religious issues, i.e., they leave it in the hands of the bourgeoisie. This is not a good way to deal with this matter.

**What about the relationship between the struggle of the Kurdish people and the struggle of the working class in Turkey, Syria, Iran, Iraq?**

We know that in the struggle against Turkish fascism we must unite with the Turkish working class. We need each other.

It is our duty to fight in the revolts in our own country. This is the solidarity which we can offer to the Turkish working class and also to the international working class. Moreover, many Kurdish people have fallen fighting side-by-side with the Palestinians, and with the people of Lebanon and Turkey. You cannot compare the Kurdish revolution with the ones in Vietnam, Mozambique, or Cuba, because Kurdistan is separated into four parts. We are fighting on four frontlines, and in this way we keep in contact with four different peoples.

If we establish an independent Kurdistan, it means that the other four nations advance towards liberation. For this reason our struggle is immediately an internationalist struggle. The Kurdish revolution can play a role similar to the one of the Russian people in October 1917. It can inspire new revolts and change the horizon.

When our international congress takes place, we want to meet all the international Marxist-Leninist organizations in order to reinforce the links. This is our perspective. After the collapse of the socialist bloc, the reinforcement of our international links among the revolutionary forces is more important than ever.

(from *CONTROinformazione internazionale* #5)

... *Repression Of Kurdish Political Prisoners continued from page 1*

POWs. They should either be treated as POWs or the discrimination should be ended and they should be released immediately.

3. No human being should be put in the death cells in Eskisehir prison.

4. Racist and chauvinist measures and laws in Turkey must stop.

5. Humane conditions should be created in the prisons.

6. Demand an end to the activities of the death squads in Kurdistan.

7. Demand an end to massacres and evacuations of villages.

7th November 1991 ERNK (National Liberation Front of Kurdistan) Europe

# Letters

Dear ATS:

Greetings of solidarity!

Thank you for sending your bulletin. The information, and interviews with the various anti-imperialist revolutionary forces is invaluable. If one is left to read the U.S. left press one would think that all revolutionary resistance has been decimated. In this period (the results of worldwide changes of the last decade) the need for international and internationalist dialogue and analysis is crucial. This is particularly true for resistance inside the U.S. empire.

Again, thank-you. Your publication is important.

Venceremos, Susan Rosenberg  
anti-imperialist political prisoner

Dear ATS:

Hello again! Received ATS numbers 8-9 which were very good.

You might be interested to know that after receiving the bulletin we went to an El Salvador info night where a representative from the FMLN was speaking. I asked about the recent turn to negotiations in Guatemala, Columbia, and Chile and how that affected the FMLN's current dialogue - which he said actually has a lot of support in the government, even from ARENA members. Well he didn't really answer my question but was kind of defensive about the FMLN's negotiations saying they hadn't strayed from their principles. (he did mention that in his opinion this may be the case with M-19). But what was really interesting was what he mentioned in his presentation, and that was in relation to the continental free trade zone now being pursued amongst the Americas. Clearly, in my opinion, the existence of political instability and guerrilla struggle in Central and South America conflicts with the pursuit of increased economic activity. The negotiation process, denied by the fascist regimes in the past, while they were intent on destroying the insurgencies, has become a major path towards establishing some level of stability in the region, so as to increase economic stability. I'd also say that the negotiations are encouraged by the U.S.; they - and some elements of the rightist parties in Central America - see that on the ground the guerrilla forces cannot be completely annihilated. That is clear after 10 years of war in El Salvador, for example. If it's true that, as Raul Gutierrez (Canadian representative of the FMLN) has indicated; the current FMLN-El Salvadoran government negotiations in Mexico may yield some major concessions, then I'd say this "new found" interest in negotiations on the part of the regimes can be found in this economic transition to free trade.

As Anna Cotone said in issue 9, the Gulf War is really the beginning of a new stage - not automatically for the "international class struggle" (that remains to be seen in practice) - but in imperialist exploitation. The clear shifting of total dominance to the G-7 and in particular the military capabilities of the U.S. means one thing for revolutions in strategic locations; intervention and counter-revolutionary war of intensive destruction. The limitations of national liberation struggles in the three continents has now taken on a new dimension: their possibilities for revolutionary change have been significantly diminished.

These new realities are reflected in the current move towards negotiations, in Central and South America as well as South Africa, and the shifting from revolution to a negotiated democratization and de-militariza-

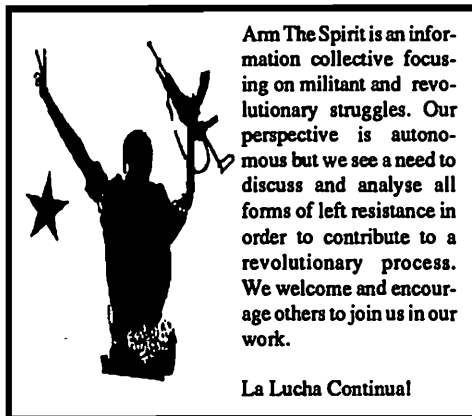
...Attica continued from page 11

events. In one case, the cross-examination of a prisoner focused almost entirely on his membership in the Nation of Islam. (from *Ecomedia* #108)

The suit undertaken by the Attica Brothers and their families is incurring great costs and financial donations are greatly needed. Send money to: Attica Justice Committee, 605 Richmond Avenue, Buffalo, NY, 14222 USA.

Meanwhile, at Marion, the most repressive prison in the U.S., a new warden, Cecil Turner, is making life even more hellish for the prisoners. Cells are "shaken down" frequently and without warning or reason, forced cell moves are common, again happening arbitrarily and without warning or reason, and art materials have been confiscated from prisoners. As well, Turner has lengthened "the program" that ostensibly governs a prisoner's progress out of Marion so that most prisoners know they won't leave Marion in time to avoid being sent to the new control unit at Florence in 1993. Some prisoners have stated that they think that Turner is deliberately trying to cause a riot or some type of incident.

The Committee To End The Marion Lockdown is asking that people write to express their outrage at these additional assaults on prisoners at Marion. Write to: Warden Cecil Turner, US Penitentiary, P.O. Box 2000, Marion IL 62959, USA; Representative William J Hughes, Chair: Subcommittee on Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration, Washington D.C. 20515, USA; Michael Quinlan, Director: Federal Bureau of Prisons, US Department of Justice, Washington D.C. 20534, USA.



Arm The Spirit is an information collective focusing on militant and revolutionary struggles. Our perspective is autonomous but we see a need to discuss and analyse all forms of left resistance in order to contribute to a revolutionary process. We welcome and encourage others to join us in our work.

La Lucha Continual

Arm The Spirit is co-published with the U.S.-based Autonomie Forum. The editorial group is based in Canada and all correspondence, subscriptions and literature should be sent to the Canadian address. Subscriptions for this bi-monthly bulletin are \$10 for 10 issues. Donations are always welcome. We accept cash (conceal it well) or money orders but no cheques. If sending a money order do not put 'Arm The Spirit', just leave it blank.

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tion - one of the main thrusts of the FMLN negotiations.

In some ways I'm only repeating what Anna has already said - but I'm taking into account the contents of ATS no. 8.

Well, these are some of my thoughts on this discussion. You asked for contributions, hopefully we can expand on this in Resistance no. 16.

In solidarity,  
Friends of Durruti

## News Briefs continued...

alist and former SS officer Hans Martin Schleyer, and in the 1979 RAF failed bomb attack on Alexander Halg. Maler-Witt was one of the 9 former RAF members who were captured in East Germany in 1990. For her role in the RAF actions, she was given a 12 year sentence by the Supreme Court in Stuttgart, Germany... According to a report published in "Spurer und Motive - Informationsdienst fur Innere Sicherheit", a publication of the German government, the network of info-shops across Germany (and the rest of Europe) are functioning as a semi-legal communications network for the RAF. What's more the report states that "RAF-Umfeld" [a term referring to people who are associated to the RAF in one form or another - ed.] were the organizers of a European tour of two Puerto Rican comrades from the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueño (MLN). This tour, according to the German authorities, is proof that there is substantial contact between German anti-imperialists and persons in the U.S. Since Monika Barberich (former RAF prisoner who is described by the German authorities as belonging to a RAF "travelling cadre") recently visited the U.S. and brought back greetings from the two Puerto Rican comrades to political prisoners in Germany, the government report therefore concludes that the info-shop network is involved in "terrorism" (N.N.#93)... Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action (RARA) claimed responsibility for the bombing of the home of the Junior Justice Minister Aad Kosto and the Interior Ministry in the Netherlands on November 14/91. The attacks, which took place in Den Haag and Groot-Schermer (a small village north of Amsterdam), were directed against the racist refugee and immigrant asylum policy of the Dutch government. We will have the communique in our next issue... Power pylons and feeder lines were downed early in the morning of 13/11/91 in Puerto Rico leaving much of the island without power. The U.S. government-run Energy Authority is blaming the Electricity Workers Union with whom they have been involved in a 30 month-long contact dispute (*Nicaragua Solidarity Network*, #94)... On 13/11/91, four Chilean political prisoners ended their 45-day-old hungerstrike. Their announcement, made from the intensive care ward of the El Salvador Hospital, came a day after a large street demonstration in their support was broken up by police using water cannons and tear gas. Dozens of protesters were arrested at the demonstration, which was called by political prisoners' families and human rights organizations. The hungerstrike was launched in an attempt to pressure the government of President Patricio Aylwin to release Chile's 83 political prisoners. When Aylwin took office in March 1990, there were 380 political prisoners who had been arrested for acts taken in the struggle against the Pinochet dictatorship. Aylwin says his government is doing "everything possible" for the remaining 83 but that their cases have been held up by Chile's judicial system. (*Nicaragua Solidarity Network*, #94)

Friends Of Durruti publish Resistance, an excellent autonomist/anti-imperialist magazine. Their most recent issue contains articles on the Gulf War, a PFLP interview, a dossier on Native struggles in Canada and more. Their next issue, due out in early '92, will focus on Indigenous People's resistance to 500 years of colonialism in the Americas. They have a new address: P.O. Box 2881, Vancouver, B.C., V6B 3X4, Canada.