

# THE INSURGENT

Newsletter of the Committee to Fight Repression Vol. 5, No. 1 Spring 1989



## SUPPORT THE RESISTANCE CONSPIRACY DEFENDANTS

### In This Issue:

Resistance Conspiracy Trial to Begin

Sedition Trial Opens

Hungerstrikes in South Africa & West Germany

75 ¢

# Table of Contents

Editorial: What's on Trial here?..... 3  
 Resistance Conspiracy Case..... 6  
 Seditious Conspiracy Trial Opens..... 9  
 Political Prisoners on Hunger Strike.....11  
 U.N. Human Rights Commission .....14  
 Tribunal on Puerto Rico in Barcelona.....15  
 Guillermo Morales in Cuba.....16  
 Grand Jury Resisters.....17  
 BOP "Mission" Continues.....18  
 Updates.....21



## Committee to Fight Repression: Who We Are

The Committee to Fight Repression is an anti-imperialist organization that analyzes, exposes, and confronts political repression. We believe that in order to build effective resistance movements we need to understand the u.s. imperialist state and the dialectic between REPRESSION and RESISTANCE. People don't automatically resist government repression. We need to learn what we're up against and learn how to resist--from each other and from movements all over the world who are fighting the same enemy.

In any movement, political prisoners are living examples that political struggle requires courage and sacrifice. We believe that creating strong bonds with political prisoners can help to strengthen and mature political movements. Who would dare to struggle if their movement did not protect and defend those who were captured? We believe that we must consistently try to break through the state's isolation of political prisoners, so that we can learn from people who went before and who currently are in a high level of confrontation with the state.

For the last four years, our collective has actively worked to support political prisoners and POW's - from bringing support to political trials, to participating in campaigns to fight human rights abuses, to put-

ting out the Insurgent. We believe that support for political prisoners and POW's -- from the national liberation movements, the northamerican anti-imperialist movement, the Plowshares, Sanctuary and peace movements -- is a critical aspect of all current activities for human rights and social justice in this country.

The over 100 political/social activists and revolutionaries in u.s. prisons today are in jail for their activities and actions, their commitments and beliefs, their politics and their refusal to back down. Many of them have led struggles and organizations. Some were captured trying to build revolutionary organizations that were armed and clandestine. Some of the Black POW's and political prisoners have been imprisoned since the 1960's, targets of u.s. COINTELPRO.

From behind the walls, they each share our visions and concerns. They daily re-affirm their commitment, sharpened by the sacrifices they have made, and the abuse, isolation and degradation they experience at the hands of guards and prison officials.

As the imperialists develop their strategies to repress resistance inside prison walls and outside, our resistance, too, must grow.  
**DARE TO STRUGGLE! DARE TO WIN!**  
**FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POW'S!**

## Editorial:

# What's on Trial Here?

In the Seditious Conspiracy Trial in Springfield, Massachusetts and the Resistance Conspiracy Case in Washington, D.C., anti-imperialists are fighting vindictive, politically motivated indictments. In the process, they are condemning the war crimes and human rights violations carried out by the U.S. government, and defending the necessity for people to resist. The Justice Department has constructed these conspiracy indictments primarily around political bombings of military/corporate targets. These acts of armed propaganda were carried out by clandestine groups (The United Freedom Front, the Armed Resistance Unit and the Red Guerrilla Resistance, among others), with warning calls to the occupants, as part of a broader resistance movement.

Clandestine armed resistance is a controversial topic. There is a current debate about pacifist vs. militant tactics going on in the Central American solidarity movement and elsewhere, and the question of armed resistance should be more of a part of that debate. Since we are part of a network of groups and individuals who are defending those involved in these two trials, we want to contribute to the debates that are going on.

Two things have made this debate less productive than it could be: 1) the susceptibility of our movement to the Bush/Reagan anti-"terrorist" campaign, and 2) one-sidedness about what form of struggle is necessary. In our organizing around these two trials we have been asked "are these people terrorists? I understand they're charged with bombings -- I don't support terrorism."

"The ideological scaffold for expanding domestic counterinsurgency is 'anti-terrorism,'" writes Laura Whitehorn, one of the Resistance Conspiracy Case defendants, in the January 1989 issue of CovertAction, "wherein all militant leftist or anti-imperialist resistance, and all national liberation struggles become 'terrorist.' Anti-terrorism is the McCarthyism of the 1980s, sweeping a wide spectrum of left groups and positions into one category of evil, and justifying the curtailing of civil liberties and abrogation of democratic rights."

Within this overall campaign, the government's most frenzied propaganda is reserved for those movements and organizations that employ armed means of struggle. The government's definition of "terrorism" is not even

the internationally recognized description of terrorism as a military strategy where armed attacks on civilian populations are carried out to attain political goals. Theirs is a caricature: when they say "terrorist" they try to conjure up an image of a blood-thirsty, inhumane, dangerous person who has no real respect for human life. This creature is defined by cruelty, not by any cause they might in fact be fighting for. This makes "terrorism" into a buzzword, a psychological signal designed to get a predetermined response.

We believe that this campaign has had its effects, and has set back the political debate in our movement. It's been hard for us to get past the caricatured image to talk about the real content of armed resistance. Armed resistance is a well-established form of struggle for people around the world. It would help our movement develop if we can shift the terms of the debate so that all forms of struggle used by progressive movements are considered legitimate and can be analyzed and discussed.

Secondly, elevating any form of struggle - be it militant/armed struggle or non-violence - to be the only legitimate way to resist won't help us build the most effective resistance movement we can. Our experiences in the anti-war and anti-imperialist movement over the past twenty years has left us with the view that real mass movements are complex and involve a wide range of tactics. In the movement against the war in Vietnam, hundreds of thousands of people took part in marches, campus sit-ins, civil disobedience. Thousands took part in the burning of ROTC headquarters on campuses and attacked war corporations and banks with rocks and sometimes firebombs. During the late 60s and early 70s there were literally hundreds of bombings of government, military and war-corporate targets. It was the full range of these activities that contributed to the power of the anti-war movement and made it a real ally of the Vietnamese people. We need to work to build again a resistance movement with that full range of tactics.

---

" If we accept revolution we must accept all that it implies: repression, counter-terrorism, days filled with work, nervous strain, prisons, funerals."

George Jackson

---

The two trials that we are commenting on are about the activities of anti-imperialists in the 70s and 80s who built collectives in clandestinity, trying to develop guerrilla fighters and structures beyond the eyes and ears of the police and the FBI. We think that these activities raise some good issues for our whole movement to consider.

These groups took to heart the level of destruction and genocide that imperialism perpetrates in the Third World, among Third World population within the U.S. and on other oppressed people. They tried to overcome the conditioned complacency and racism of white people, understand the roots of white supremacy and identify with the peoples around the world who are struggling for survival and human rights. They understood the question of self-determination as a critical one in this period in history.

They made a call to action through action and urged people to build a revolutionary resistance movement. They expressed their thinking and their goals in communiques (see the ad on p. ) and in internal documents (which were captured by the FBI and have been used in prior trials). These writings expressed objectives that are similar to those of serious guerrilla movements worldwide. They claimed responsibility for bombings of military and corporate targets (including the U.S. Capitol, IBM, the South African Consulate and many others) in solidarity with other peoples and nations who are fighting imperialism.

In the communiques, these groups laid out their political analyses. They were committed to organizing within the white community to fight racism, to respect peoples' and nations' right of self-determination; to support human rights; to build principled relationships with Third World organizations and individuals; to fight for women's liberation and -- in some cases -- against gay and lesbian oppression. They argued for the development of cadre (experienced, dependable, thinking political workers), often with a strong commitment to the building of women cadre and leadership. They studied Marxism-Leninism and they struggled to develop the skills necessary for political and military growth. They developed the resources of an underground: false identification, safe houses, military equipment, networks of support. They debated about how these skills and resources could relate to the development of an aboveground movement. They also made political arguments in their communiques for people to take action against U.S. war crimes. They contributed to the movement's understanding of the government's repressive technology and techniques. They debated about the responsibility of using forms of struggle that have so much potential for harm, how to protect innocent people and how to minimize violent confrontations with the state. They discussed the need to expropriate money and supplies.

These writings are from serious revolutionaries who understood the weight, consequences

and responsibilities of engaging in armed levels of struggle. The women and men in these groups were willing to take personal risks and make personal sacrifices for what they believed in. This kind of commitment (which is seen among Ploughshares activists, sanctuary workers and many who are willing to put their money where their mouths are) is essential for our collective will to win. We think that their examples are inspiring and make accessible to more of us the possibility of making such personal sacrifices.

And people have certainly made sacrifices, serving long prison sentences and facing longer ones, being separated from family and friends. The cost of repression is great and hurtful to many. George Jackson, Black revolutionary and political prisoner, said "If we accept revolution we must accept all that it implies: repression, counter-terrorism, days filled with work, nervous strain, prison funerals."

Another quote, this one from Brazilian revolutionary Carlos Marighella, describes our approach to these trials: "It is better to err acting than to do nothing for fear of erring. Without initiative there is no guerrilla warfare." The comrades who formed the armed organizations (and we don't accept the government's accusations and identifications as the truth) as well as those people on trial, have our profound respect. We believe that they are part of a tradition of revolutionary resistance among white people in this country that must be claimed, valued, carried on.

This article is not meant to be a full evaluation of these developments. Great losses have been suffered; armed clandestine developments have apparently been set back. Errors were made. We aren't whitewashing that, nor are we putting the "good" on a balance scale with the "bad" and judging the result. What we are trying to do is help open up the political discussion within our movement to include all of these aspects, to examine this experience, to take from it what is valuable. We think that there are many valuable lessons to be drawn.

In that light, we want to look at two common arguments against developing armed resistance that we have heard. The first is that the time is not right because the movements are not very developed, and the masses of people are not mobilized.

More than at any other time in history, the state is organized for counterinsurgency, with high-tech surveillance methods, large amounts of resources and intelligence, and an extraordinary propaganda/information system at its disposal. The state can readily identify, observe and crush or control opposition before it becomes effective, unless at least some part of that opposition is organized clandestinely. We don't think this is a "small-group mentality," as some have said. We think it simply recognizes the inherent vulnerability of open political organizing. The day will come when even our "legal" or-

ganizing is made formally or informally illegal. The time is right to develop a clandestine mentality and capacity; we don't think any time is wrong to learn those lessons.

We do agree that timing in the use of a clandestine military capacity is a critical consideration. Whether armed action is appropriate at any particular time depends on a careful analysis of the period of history, a clear understanding of the goals of the action and a view of whether those goals will be advanced. But, unless our movements have that capacity, we won't ever have to figure out how to use it.

We think the second criticism, like the first, tends to miseducate people about the nature of the government and its repressive apparatus. The example of the massive FBI investigation of CISPES (The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) is a good case in point. A solidarity organization which operates publicly and legally was targeted for massive surveillance and infiltration. It was targeted because the government assessed that the organization had a potential to disrupt U.S. plans for Central America. The government saw activists learning about and working with a very advanced national liberation movement and, in the process, becoming more conscious, more committed, more activist.

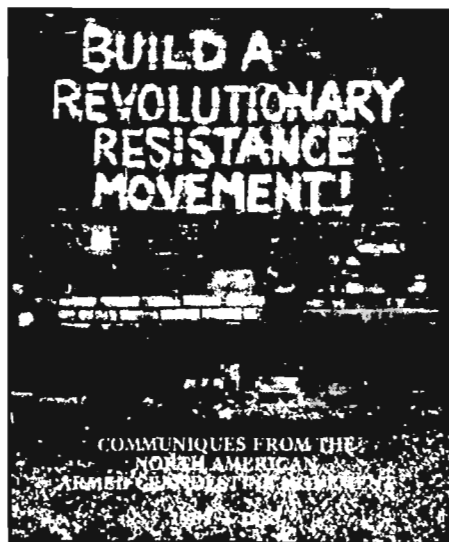
The fact that during this same general period of time there were armed actions in solidarity with the movements in Central America was not the reason for the CISPES counterinsurgency operation. We don't think that the FBI expected to find armed guerrillas within the legal left organizations it infiltrated -- they had other operations (like BOSLUC and Operation Western Sweep) going for that. But they used that activity to try to drive a wedge between the guerrilla and the rest of the movement: "We're doing this because of terrorism," said the FBI about the CISPES investigation. They threatened the Central American solidarity organizations with the "terrorist" label. They hoped that people

would spend all their time denying it. Well, it's true, they're not terrorists, and neither are the guerrillas in Central America and neither are revolutionaries here who carry out armed actions.

Where the U.S. government has been successful in driving that wedge home, they have decided for our movement what tactics are legitimate. Now, the government has defined armed actions as illegitimate and "terrorist, and civil disobedience as, by and large, "tolerable dissent." If we accept these terms, when will the time come when civil disobedience will earn you the "terrorist" label?

We also think that arguing that only non-violent tactics are appropriate is to see with amerikan blinders on. The same people who might denounce armed actions in the U.S. would probably not denounce the FMLN (the people's liberation army) in El Salvador or the guerrillas in South Africa fighting apartheid and settler colonialism. Why can we understand when an Azanian/South African freedom fighter bombs a government building in Johannesburg but not when the United Freedom Front bombs the South African consulate in New York City in solidarity? Why are the Nicaraguan people in their resistance to contra terror heroes and heroines to many of us, but those who bombed the War College in Washington, D.C. in solidarity, "terrorists" or provocateurs"? Is our level of resistance in the U.S. only determined by our own timetable, or do the conditions and struggles of oppressed peoples who are at war with our government and its partners affect our tactics and strategy?

The political prisoners who are involved in these two trials may not have chosen the courtroom as the arena in which to confront the state, but they have accepted that this arena is what their fate has presented; they are resisting there with courage and principle. They believe in something not yet proved, and they underwrite that with their lives. This is the only way to leave the future open -- for all of us. Don't let them stand alone.



**BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE  
MOVEMENT: Communiques from the  
Northamerican Armed Clandestine  
Movement, 1982-85**

The Committee to Fight Repression has published this collection to make available the words of the organizations which have made a critical contribution to the development of anti-imperialist resistance. The 54-page book includes all communiques issued by the United Freedom Front, the Armed Resistance Unit, the Revolutionary Fighting Group and the Red Guerrilla Resistance, which accompanied armed actions. It also includes a foreward by political prisoner Dr. Alan Berkman.

\$2.50; discounts on bulk orders

# Resistance Conspiracy Trial to Begin: Take Down the Bulletproof Wall

The Resistance Conspiracy Case will come to trial this spring at the Washington, D.C. federal courthouse. The six activists in the case, Alan Berkman, Tim Blunk, Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, Susan Rosenberg and Laura Whitehorn, are charged with being part of a conspiracy which the government alleges was responsible for bombing several military and government buildings, including the U.S. Capitol after the 1983 invasion of Grenada. The government makes no pretense of knowing who, specifically, carried out these bombings, which were claimed in communiques by the Armed resistance Unit and the Red Guerrilla Resistance and in which no one was injured. Still, they are charging these six based on their political beliefs and associations. All have been active in support of national liberation movements, in the anti-racist and anti-war movements, and in support of women's and lesbian/gay liberation for years.

The defendants, along with their supporters and families, are building a strong counter-offensive. The Washington Area Committee for Political Prisoners' Rights (WACPPR) held a press conference on February 15 to protest the government's plan to try the case in a specially constructed courtroom with surveillance cameras and a 20-foot-high bulletproof wall separating the defendants from the spectator section. The WACPPR said "The government has always tried to label people struggling for change in this country -- terrorists. It reserves polite judicial treatment and a hero's welcome for contra supporters and big-time drug dealers like Ollie North. There won't be any walls or surveillance cameras in that courtroom." Speaking at the press conference were Adjoa Aiyetoro, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Dacajaweah, Leonard Peltier Defense Committee; Eve Faber, Oppression Under Target (OUT); Elizabeth McAlister, Jonah House; and Jonathan Smith, D.C. Chapter, National Lawyers Guild.

The defendants argue in their pre-trial motions, which were filed in January, that the case should be dismissed because:

- 1) the prosecution is politically motivated and vindictive (i.e., for revenge);
- 2) the indictment wasn't brought for three years after all the defendants were in custody and all the evidence was available. This was done for political reasons, and has prejudiced the defendants;
- 3) the investigation of these defendants and of the specific charges has been characterized by government misconduct, continuing to this day;

4) the government has injected the taint of "terrorism" into the pre-trial process and seeks to influence the trial itself.

The defendants issued a document summarizing these arguments, which we are excerpting. First, the vindictive nature of the indictments is shown by the fact that "...4 of the defendants had the equivalent of federal life sentences and one has a sentence of 12 years; the 6th was facing charges that carry a potential of 33 years." These sentences were imposed because "5 of the defendants had already been tried on conspiracy charges that now constitute the vast majority of overt acts listed in the current case..." They go on to say "The government's actions are so unusual that the issue of the motives behind them is inevitably raised...it is clear that the Justice Department's motivation is political in nature."

Secondly, the delay in bringing the case has prejudiced the defendants. The government has been able to do "dry runs" of the major charges. Their resources are depleted and "[e]ach of the defendants has spent long periods in isolation: Susan Rosenberg was sent to the internationally-condemned High Security Unit at Lexington; Tim Blunk and Alan Berkman were housed at the infamous federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. The government, unsuccessful in its attempts to 'break' these defendants, now attempts to take advantage of the debilitating affects of the past four years by bringing them to trial on a broad-ranging and highly political conspiracy case."

Thirdly, the government tainted both the investigations and prosecutions of these defendants with the notion of "terrorism." 5 of the defendants were associated with the May 19th Communist Organization and the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, organizations which became targets of repression following the 1981 attempted expropriation of a Brink's truck in Nyack, N.Y. "The FBI investigation was turned into a program for 'fighting terrorism.'... The concept that people fighting for human rights, social justice and national liberation are 'terrorists' became the defining propaganda thrust of the FBI...When one member of May 19th was arrested in the Brink's incident, the FBI put out a story that the 'May 19th Coalition' was a 'terror network' linking the FALN, the BLA and the Weather Underground (which no longer existed)...Tactics used by the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's offices in pursuing 'terrorists,' and specifically in the post-Brink's investigation, included massive and obtrusive sur-



Credit: Tim Blunk

veillance, illegal break-ins, abuse of the subpoena power of the federal grand jury and abuse of the indictment process itself.

They continue: "There was no such thing as the 'May 19th Coalition.' What united these groups was not joint clandestine activity, but rather political agreement on self-determination, the right of oppressed people to secure their human rights by any means necessary, and the need to build mass social movements to struggle for these goals."

They also outline a link between the investigation in this case, and the FBI investigation of CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) which has been publically exposed as unconstitutional and illegal. "Not only does the FBI's behavior in the CISPES investigation mirror government misconduct in the instant case, there is also a direct relationship between that investigation and this case...When it served the FBI's purpose, the bombings charged in the Whitehorn indictment became the pretext for investigating May 19th, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, Salvadoran refugee groups, individuals outspoken in their criticism of the Reagan administration, and CISPES.

Finally, the Resistance Conspiracy Case defendants outline how the FBI has systematically tainted the investigation and the prosecutions with the concept of "terrorism." This effort has included describing these defendants as "terrorists" in FBI interviews with potential witnesses and in FBI testimony to grand juries; statements to the press by U.S. Attorney Jay Stephens that the defendants are 'terrorists'; and informing the personnel at the D.C. jail that the six are 'terrorists' who kill civilians.

Also, "[t]he U.S. Marshals and the FBI use the false 'terrorism' label to justify massive, paramilitary displays of force when the defendants are moved. This includes the use of armored cars, massive numbers of agents, automatic weapons, helicopters, flak jackets and SWAT teams. In the current case this has been taken one step further and a special bulletproof glass partition has been erected in the courtroom itself and surveillance cameras installed. There is nothing in the past history of the defendants that can justify such arrangements; it is simply another step in the distortion of the legal system to political ends. It will not only have an impact on the jury and a chilling effect on spectators, but it is also a step toward ending public trials for political defendants.

The U.S. v. Whitehorn case directly involves only 6 defendants, but there are lessons for any group or individual involved in organizing popular opposition to governmental practices and policies. We hope that the above analysis will serve to expose some of the very concrete ways that the criminal justice system is being used as a tool of political control, just as the exposure of the CISPES investigation should serve as a warning that the FBI has reconsolidated its powers to function as a political police force.

Exposure is not enough. To date, the only result of the Congressional hearings into the CISPES investigation was the reprimand of six mid-and low-level FBI agents. William Webster become the head of the CIA. Oliver Revell is now considered the most powerful single figure in the FBI, and five of the six agents who were publicly reprimanded have since been promoted. The less restrictive Smith FBI guidelines of 1983 have not been changed, nor has the FBI's sense of its own 'mission' altered. This will happen only when there is a mass demand that such measures be taken.

Similarly, we believe that the progressive movement will benefit from supporting the efforts of the 'Resistance Conspiracy Case' defendants to fight the indictment both in the courtroom and in the court of public opinion. Public exposure combined with a legal defeat will set back the Justice Department's program of politicizing the criminal justice system."

For more information on court dates, campaigns, activities and issues, contact:

Washington Area Committee for Political Prisoners' Rights  
P.O. Box 28191  
Washington, D.C. 20038-8191

Emergency Committee to Defend the Human and Legal Rights of Political Prisoners  
(same address as above)

Committee to Fight Repression  
P.O. Box 1435  
New York, NY 10025

**RESISTANCE  
NOTE CARDS**



7.



6.



9.

1. Design by Timothy Blunk

2. "botánica salvadoreña 1" by Timothy Blunk

3. "botánica salvadoreña 2" by Timothy Blunk

4. "Mourners at Queenstown" by Timothy Blunk

5. "Palestine Lives!" by Laura Whitehorn

6. "Azanian flower" by Laura Whitehorn

7. "Palestine Will Win!" by Linda Evans

8. "Roots of the Tree" by Susan Rosenberg

9. "Solidarity" by Susan Rosenberg

10. "Resistance is not a crime!" by Timothy Blunk

Black ink on Ivory  
(linen finish)

Price: \$1.00 each,  
10 cards for \$8.00

Available from:

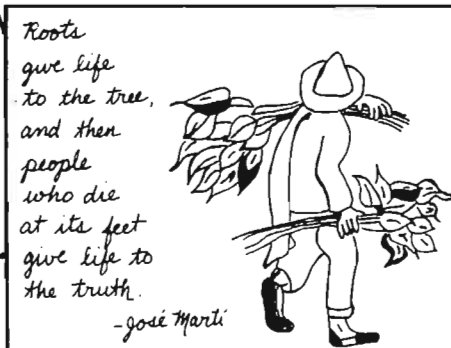
Comm. to Fight Repression  
P.O. Box 1435  
Cathedral Station  
New York, N.Y. 10025



1.



4.



8.



5.

Ca  
A:  
my  
co  
er  
of  
fo  
si  
th  
pc  
Ca  
he  
th  
ti  
pl  
wr  
di.

# Sedition Trial Starts: Sedition? No! Fighting for Freedom

"I freely admit to being a part of a revolutionary movement. The government can't tolerate serious opposition to its own criminal policies, so they do what the prosecutors are trying to do here. They want to criminalize my life, my ideas, my values, and the organizations that they allege I've been a part of."

These words were part of the opening statement delivered by Raymond Luc Levasseur on January 10, 1989, at the start of the Seditious Conspiracy Trial of the Ohio 7. Ray stood before the jury with great dignity. They had been charged with looking at the facts and determining the truth. He told them a great deal, as he constructed a framework for them to understand this case. He explained why the government was going to such lengths to imprison him and his comrades forever and ever.

On the opening day of the trial, only three of the initial eight defendants were left in the case, Ray Levasseur, Pat Gros Levasseur, and Richard Williams. Tom Manning and Jaan Lamaan were dropped from the case in the summer. Kazi Toure had been dropped last year. Then one week before openings Barbara Curzi Lamaan was severed from the case because she was awaiting an appeals court decision. The government was appealing a ruling by Judge Young that suppressed evidence seized from her home at the time of her arrest because the search warrant was not obtained. Since then the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld that decision! Finally, within days of the openings, Carol Manning pled guilty to 2 counts of RICO and 1 count of Seditious Conspiracy. Judge Young sentenced her to 5, 5 and 2 and a \$300,000 fine. The sentence is to run concurrent with the 15 year sentence she is already serving from the Brooklyn trial.

Carol took an Alford plea. She wrote, "The Alford plea is a plea in which I maintained my innocence on the charges but admit to the court that the government does have evidence enough so that a jury could find me guilty of something within the charges and therefore convict me." Carol reached this decision after long consideration and felt that this was consistent with her principles and political beliefs. While urging support for Carol and supporting her sincerity, one of her comrades, Ray Levasseur disagreed with this position of pleading to RICO and seditious conspiracy charges. (Kazi Toure also pled to these charges a year ago.) Ray has written a discussion document to create a dialogue around these issues, which can be

obtained along with the opening statements from the Sedition Committee.

Carol was taken within 48 hours to Marianna, the new maximum security women's federal prison in Florida. Barbara was taken to the federal prison in Pleasanton, CA.

The trial is proceeding daily in Springfield. We urge you to take the time to come to court to show your support. It's a political education. As Robert Boyle, attorney for Richard Williams said in his opening statement. "We will show that this entire prosecution is part of a government program to criminalize political dissent by labeling militant opposition to U.S. policies at home and around the world a racketeering enterprise."

For more information contact the Sedition Committee: In Massachusetts, 413-586-4407, PO Box 4690, Springfield, MA, 01101. In N.Y. 212-969-0448, PO Box 1418, Cathedral Sta, New York, N.Y. 10025.



Jaan Laaman and Barbara Curzi-Laaman

Victory! On March 20, the government announced that they are dropping all remaining charges against Barbara Curzi-Laaman!

## Ray Levasseur's Opening Statement

You heard about overt acts from the judge during the instruction.. My first overt act in this alleged conspiracy is I was born into a particular class of workers that was severely exploited and subjected to certain kinds of conditions. And that left an imprint on my mind that I was going to have to do something about it, when a factory owner puts more value on his profits than your health and life. I think that those are priorities that need to be changed.

I enlisted in the Army in 1967. I went to Vietnam and I served a full tour of duty, 12 months... I saw another side of U.S. foreign policy. Bombings, killings, search and destroy, devastation, poverty, hunger. I was part of a foreign occupation Army. I saw human rights violations when I was there, and I saw violations of international law... I was trained to kill. And I was fully armed and sent to Vietnam... I didn't suffer any mental illness or syndrome when I came back. I came back enraged by what I saw.

After Vietnam I asked the most seditious question of all: WHY? Why is this government committing crimes in our name? Why were so many of us from poor and working class backgrounds; why so many Black and Latino GI's over there told to do the killing and fighting...? I wasn't coming back to a university. I was going to come back and face the prospect of going back and making some more heels for those shoes.

The blood of innocent people stirred my conscience and I'm going to ask it to move your conscience during this trial. This is how the struggle for social justice has become my life. I've gone into those factories, those mills, those fields; I've sweat for the boss and know what it's like. I was in the Army. I was in Vietnam. I had to serve this government when they required it. I've been in their jails and prisons. This is how I came to understand what I refer to as the class struggle and class conflict and this is how I became a revolutionary.

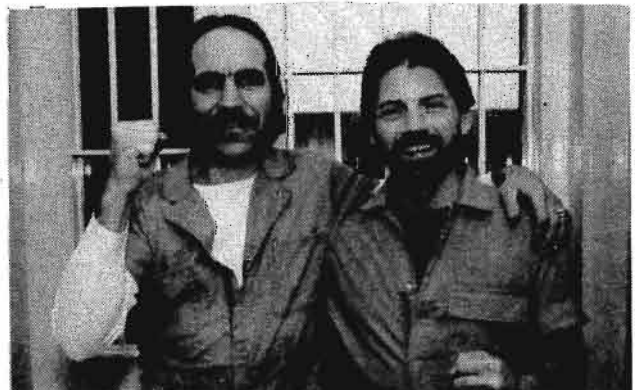
I would like to digress for a minute and tell you why I'm choosing to defend myself. ...What I'm simply trying to do is to add my voice to that of millions of others who cry freedom from South Africa to Central America to the south Bronx in New York. They don't have much choice about it, and I don't have much choice... I want to defend myself and I want to defend the issues that I think are important. And the important issue here, is the issue of human rights. I see that as a central part of this trial.

...Sedition laws in general have always been designed to break what has been a tradition of resistance and political activity in this country, whether it was Native American people resisting the theft of their land or

slaves trying to be free, or union leaders or anti-war activists... The government wants you to believe that three people are going to conspire to overthrow the most powerful government on the face of the earth. Or eight people as the original indictment says. Or 80 or 800 for that matter. That goes against my political thinking. Because I don't think there's going to be a significant social change in this country unless a lot of people participate and make it happen. That's what self-determination is all about.

...I can't tell you how insulted I am these prosecutors charge me with being a racketeer. Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations I do not believe has the word revolutionary in it, or political dissident... You cannot be a revolutionary and be a racketeer. It's a contradiction. It's either one or the other. You cannot support freedom struggles in South Africa or Central America or the Black nation within this country from the foundation of a criminal enterprise. It can't be done. History shows that.

I believe that the evidence will show that there is a war in Central America and that it's a U.S. sponsored war. This trial's going to have a lot to do with bombings. The United Freedom Front took responsibility for bombings of U.S. military contractors and facilities. The evidence is going to show the UFF objected to the U.S. shipping bombs and armaments to the government of El Salvador which uses them to slaughter its own people. One of these particular bombs is a 750 pound fragmentation bomb...It's dropped by an A-37 Dragon Jet made by GE...I still remember the children of Vietnam, the suffering of those children that I saw there. But I also remember the beauty of their smiles. And I never have lost sight of what human potential there is in people. This is at the heart of what motivates me - my intent, my purpose, my goals, my values... It's my commitment to a future that holds the human potential of poor and working class people as a great asset to be developed. A commitment to a future in which no child will ever have to suffer from racism, poverty, or war. A future where justice brings peace for our children and generations to come.



Ray Levasseur (l) and Richard Williams (r)

# Hunger Strike: Weapon of Resistance By Political Prisoners

January 23, 1989 - Hundreds of detainees in South Africa begin a hunger strike to end preventive detention.

February 1, 1989 - Over 50 political prisoners from the Red Army Fraction (RAF) and the resistance movement in West Germany begin a hunger strike to end isolation torture and to be put together in one or two large groups.

March 15, 1989 - More than 500 political and social prisoners in the U.S. join in a one-day fast in solidarity with their sisters and brothers.

Since 1986, the South African government has placed over 30,000 anti-apartheid activists in preventive detention without trial or charges -- including numbers of children. Over 1,000 detainees are now in jail. They are like the "disappeared" of Latin America -- taken from their homes or jobs to unknown locations without notice to family or political comrades. It is reported that over 15 are already hospitalized, and many more are ill from the hunger strike. The South African government has responded to the pressure of the strike by releasing 200 of the detainees, after promising to meet the demands of the strikers. At that point, the strike was suspended. When it soon became clear that the government was going back on its promises, the strike resumed in full.

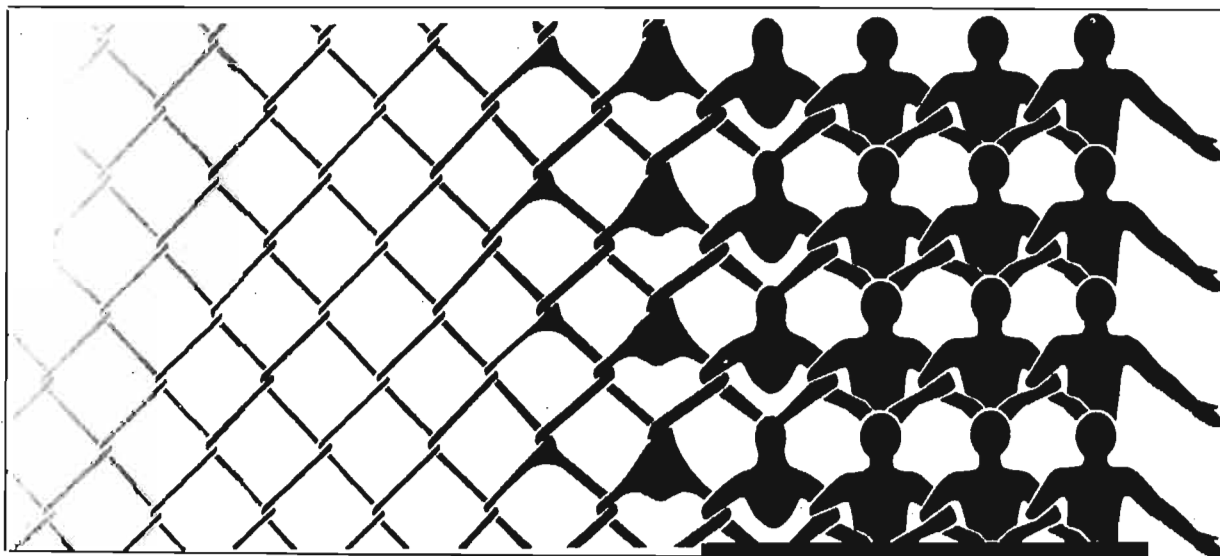
This is the tenth hunger strike for the prisoners of the RAF (usually called the "Baader-Meinhoff Gang" by the U.S. press after Ulrike Meinhoff and Andreas Baader, two of the founders of the armed clandestine organization). For eighteen years, political prisoners in West Germany have been held in isolation/sensory deprivation condi-

tions that are a model for the control units of Western Europe and the U.S. They are sometimes held in "small-group isolation," in 3s, 4s or 5s; and sometimes in total isolation from other prisoners in what are appropriately called "dead wings."

The resistance of the RAF prisoners to isolation torture has been an example for prisoners in the U.S. who are increasingly facing similar conditions; and for the anti-imperialist movement. The solidarity fast in the U.S. -- which took place at federal prisons at Lewisburg, Leavenworth, Pleasanton, Washington, D.C. and Marianna and at state facilities in New Jersey (we haven't yet received information from other prisons) was a historic show of international solidarity among political prisoners, and was one of the first times that social (non-political) prisoners joined in such an action. Political and social prisoners in the U.S. will be continuing their one-day fasts in solidarity with the prisoners of West Germany and South Africa. The fasts will take place on the 1st and 15th of every month, until the hunger strikes are over.

The Insurgent sends our heartfelt solidarity to the sisters and brothers in Azania/South Africa and West Germany. We urge our readers to send messages of support to:

African National Congress (ANC)  
801 2nd Avenue  
New York, New York 10017  
Hungerstrike Information Office  
c/o G.A.L.  
Bartelstrasse 30  
2 Hamburg 36  
Federal Republic of Germany



Credit: D.C. CURE

## RAF Statement

We are, as of today, on hungerstrike.

We're not letting go anymore; we have to get our association together now.

Everyone who wants to know what isolation is; it is understood and defined internationally as torture.

Isolation has become the rule for imprisoned revolutionaries here, whether from the guerrilla, the resistance or foreign comrades; and they are using it against social prisoners who struggle. And it is being increasingly adopted internationally as the clean perfidious method of the fine West German-Europeans.

So isolation must be broken here.

We have been on nine hungerstrikes during which two prisoners have died; many of us have impaired health. This eighteen year long torture must end now. That is our definitive decision; that is how we will fight.

There is not much more to explain. Our situation and our demands are clear. We have gotten sick meanwhile of talking about isolation and the fact that we want to be together. Those meager words and their repetition have already become a mockery of the reality in the prisons. We will be saying something now and again during the strike, so now just a few main points which it is for us all about.

We will not go on this way any longer. From the beginning, the goal of isolation was to destroy the prisoners in order to choke off the politics of the RAF. They failed in that because of us -- but we won't put up with it any longer. We don't want to put up with it any longer; that's how it is. That is our political and existential decision now.

We are not going to add just another hunger strike to that now. That is no longer possible; for us, there is nothing now but the material goal.

We want our association together now, and we want also to close this whole long phase with that -- and then we want to go further. We will no longer agree to a foreseeable reaction of "isolation will be abolished," that is -- cosmetic, differentiated adaptations with which the FRG state only wants to get the attacks against isolation off its back and to basically change nothing for us. Not again after this long time. That shall be clear from the very beginning. We always used every little change. We were always ready to take steps. But now there is nothing else except association together.

It is a mistake to believe that the ground can be knocked out from under our fight to come together with a new opening which would

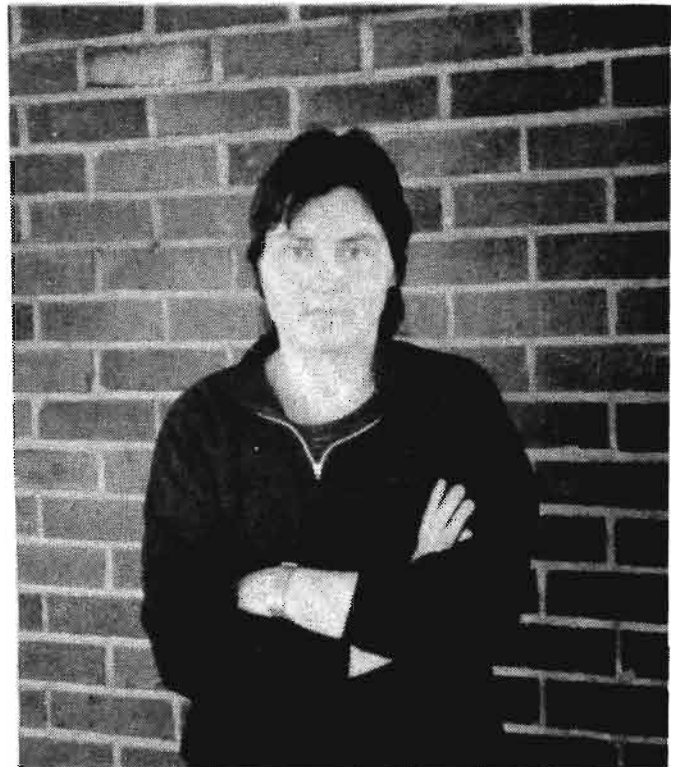
maybe be called "general population." That only means a new round. There is absolutely nothing possible except association together.

It is also not only the old any longer -- the necessity against isolation and the possibility of a counterstructure under these conditions -- nothing remains as it has been in this kiln. Over time, the demand has taken on a more far-reaching materiality for us.

We have only been able to make it through these times because of our relationships to each other and their permanent living development; and in that, our interconnectiveness has become a part of us like an arm or a leg.

Today, no one can take that away from us -- no one can turn that back. It is a materiality created through the struggle against destruction -- and thus one can now simply say: it is the dialectical product of their measures. And after these measures have existed for 18 years in all variations and no "normality" was able to be executed with them, they have to swallow the bitter pill that our association together is for them.

It is already a question of more, not only subjectively but also in respect to the political development. In reality, there has for a long time been a huge gap between our situation, and with that our possibilities, and what the real situation as a whole demands in order to continue to move forward. Even though we don't have our association together yet, the question of a further, more far-reaching perspective for the political prisoners is already developing. It is about us. They are wanting something



Christa Eckes, the first RAF prisoner (with Karl-Heinz Dellwo) on hunger strike.

from us from all sides. But we can't talk to each other and can barely take action. For us, it only works together. And without us, it doesn't work. That should have become clear in the many attempts over the years to do things while bypassing us. We want to take part in the whole political discussion now. That is the other side of association.

New questions have arisen out of a whole series of developments here and internationally. On the whole, a new stage has been reached in the conflict in which everyone, on both sides, the goals, the formulation of politics, the formation for the struggle is being taken up anew. It is also a reflection of the fact that the question of prisoners is being raised anew from both sides here. The state is bringing pardons, state-conforming groups want amnesty -- and the revolutionary resistance is again raising that freedom for the political prisoners must be won.

We also think the time is ripe for this debate. But it will only be moved forward in a process of discussion and practice where revolutionary politics becomes a new real factor.

Our struggle for association together shall now become part of that. Out of many beginnings in the last year, out of the openness and the will which cuts across the various groups in the resistance, we believe a new unity in revolutionary struggle is possible.

The degeneration of the left since the end of the 70s is now showing a reversal already. The struggle in the metropolis can also come into the international struggle as a new factor. And then real new possibilities will also be opened up in the FRG. We hope so.

For us, association together comes first now. Then we want the discussion about the whole situation -- and about our freedom. For us, the situation is intensifying in practice around this.

We believe it is possible to take on our freedom as a realistic goal. There is consensus among us around that point. In order to see how it should develop further, how that can be made concrete, we have to be together. We have determined association together as a transition.

We are now taking on a new form of collective struggle. In the last strike, they made a new law with which they wanted to eliminate hungerstrikes as a means for us. The "coma law." That means that the will and the decision-making power to keep on struggling should be taken from the ones in a coma in a long, drawn-out medical-technical manipulation in an intensive care unit. That means, furthermore, for the struggle as a whole, that they want to bring the critical development and decision onto a narrow time frame, practically onto the one point where many of us, after two or three months are simul-

taneously close to the edge. Then maybe several would die, but then in a short, frontal confrontation -- and they would "endure" it -- like they said last time. And then, as they see it, it is over. And that would also mean that the means of struggle would be turned against us politically. Because, in this simultaneous culmination for us all, the question of the sense and the goal would be thrown back at us. When many are dead, how then will the others then want to be together. We will turn that against them and carry on a long drawn-out struggle. Each of us is the collective.

We are going to begin together. Then after two weeks, we are going to go into a chain. All except two will temporarily interrupt the strike; then, after two more weeks, the next two will join in again, and the next two after two more weeks, and so on.

We're not letting go any more until we have association together

We demand:

Association together of all prisoners from the guerrilla and the resistance in one or two large groups, in which new prisoners would be integrated, with access to common yard privileges with all prisoners. Association of all prisoners who are struggling for that.

Release of all prisoners for whom a return to health after sickness, injury or torture through isolation is impossible under prison conditions. Release of Gunter Sonnenberg, Claudia Wannorsdorfer, Bernd Rosser and Angelika Goder. Free choice of medical care for all prisoners without state control.

Open political information and communication for prisoners with all groups in society.

For the prisoners from the RAF

Helmut Pohl  
february 1, 1989



RAF prisoners: Lutz Taufer, Karl Heinz Dellwo ( first on hunger strike) and Knut Folkerts, from left to right.

# Existence of Political Prisoners In U.S. Presented to U.N. Human Rights Commission

The second general meeting of the National Human Rights Campaign was held in New York City on December 10, 1988. The body decided that the official name would be FREEDOM NOW: Amnesty and Human Rights for Political Prisoners. One immediate task coming off that meeting was to prepare to send representatives to Geneva to give testimony before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. The following is an interview with Ahmed Obafemi, who gave the statement in Geneva on behalf of FREEDOM NOW.

**INSURGENT:** What were the goals of the trip to Geneva in mid-February, on behalf of political prisoners held in the United States.

**A.O.:** An important goal was to be able to intervene into the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. We intervened under what was called Item 10 -- the place where they talk about the detainees and political prisoners. The purpose was to raise the fact that there were political prisoners in the United States. What you have in this session is a number of nations talking about the political prisoners situation and the treatment of detainees. And the question of political prisoners in the United States never has gotten raised, although on a number of occasions individual cases, or maybe a group of cases may have been raised. For example, the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War might have been raised, or Filiberto Ojeda Rios might have been raised, and the Native Americans have raised Leonard Peltier and others since they have been going to Geneva for the last 12 years. But this was an opportunity for us to raise very broadly that there are political prisoners inside the United States.

**INSURGENT:** How did FREEDOM NOW get the opportunity to make the intervention?

**A.O.:** We were invited by Indigenous World, which is an organization which has had NGO (Non-governmental Organization) status for quite a while. They invited us to intervene under their NGO status.

**INSURGENT:** What did you understand about the workings of the Commission on Human Rights?

**A.O.:** It meets from January 30th to March 10th, and in the same period every year. The Commission has approximately 43 nations that were represented and then it has observer status for NGOs (like national liberation movements like Palestine, PAC, ANC,...) and then other NGOs like Amnesty International.

**INSURGENT:** What was the response to your statement?

**A.O.** Actually, the response was very great. I had occasion to look up as I was reading at one point. Generally, depending on who's giving a statement, there's a lot of hubbub. However, when our statement was being given, it was quiet. Everybody was listening. When we finished at least 25 of the delegates came over and asked for statements. Probably others wanted the statement, but they might not have wanted the United States to see them going to get the statement. Because eventually we gave out a lot more in the course of the period we were there. We had dialogue with different people and we also distributed packets that we had on the campaign itself and on respective cases involving political prisoners and Prisoners of War.

**INSURGENT:** What was the response from the United States?

**A.O.** First of all the minute that we opened, the moment that we mentioned that we were here to bring up the case of political prisoners in the United States, the U.S. representative got up and walked out. We understood there's a process by which, when people make accusations about human rights violations in your country, you can respond. Initially we heard the the U.S. was going to respond to our statement, which would have been great because it would have been a defensive move. But ultimately they decided not to do this because they didn't respond.

After our statement, a number of people said it was very important that we had made that intervention and raised up the question of human rights violations in the United States because a lot of the nations have been wanting to do that and have been a little afraid because of whatever economic reason there might be...But now they can say that the Commission must look at what's going on in the "democracies" because the U.S. tries to claim that all these other countries are dictatorships, like Cuba or Nicaragua.

We talked a lot about Cointelpro. The Counter Intelligence Program was a major part of how we laid out the basis of political prisoners. And we talked a lot about the Black Panther Party since historically they are well-known and a lot of people asked us if there were still people from the Black Panther Party in Jail? So it was very good.

# International Tribunal Rules in Favor of Puerto Rican Independence

The case for Puerto Rican independence was heard in January in Barcelona, Spain by a prestigious international tribunal, the Permanent People's Tribunal of the Lelio Basso Foundation for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples. The tribunal agreed that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States and recognized Puerto Rico's absolute right to self-determination.

The tribunal grew out of the Bertrand Russell International Tribunal on Vietnam, convened in the 70s by that British socialist philosopher. The recent hearings were held as part of a series on Latin America.

The seven judges heard testimony from representatives of a broad range of independence organizations from Puerto Rico. A delegation from the U.S. included Julio Rosado of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN); Shelley Miller of the Free Puerto Rico! Committee; Michael Deutsch, attorney for several Puerto Rican Prisoners of War in the U.S. and an expert on the application of international law to the case of Puerto Rico; and Arthur Kinoy, noted progressive attorney.

An atmosphere of unity and mutual respect surrounded the testimony given by various individuals and organizations about the effects of U.S. colonialism on the nation of Puerto Rico: on the ecology and culture of the island; the effects of militarization of the island by the U.S. military; and the history of colonial repression against the

independence movement since the U.S. first invaded the island in 1898.

The seven judges sitting on the tribunal issues a "sentence" which:

- recognized the colonial nature of Puerto Rico's relationship to the United States;
- supported the right of Puerto Rico to self-determination, and noted that this right has never been exercised by the Puerto Rican people "without the fetters of the U.S.";
- supported the right of Puerto Rico to combat colonial domination;
- recognized the status as political prisoners for Puerto Ricans imprisoned for fighting for independence, including the Puerto Rican POWs in U.S. prisons, and called for amnesty for them;
- identified the conditions for a true referendum among the Puerto Rican people, which include the unconditional transfer of power to Puerto Rico before such a referendum is held.

The tribunal was composed of seven people, including Richard Falk, professor of international law in the U.S.; Amar Bentoumi, President of the International Association of Democratic Jurists, from Algeria; George Wald, Nobel Laureate in Biology; and representatives from Italy, Honduras and other countries. Their ruling will push forward the presentation of the question of Puerto Rican independence in the international forum, and has helped to establish the fact that there are political prisoners in U.S. prisons.

## Can't Jail the Spirit

### Political Prisoners in the U.S.

A Collection of Biographies of Political Prisoners in U.S. Prisons.

Order from: Committee to End the Marion Lockdown: 343 S Dearborn, Suite 1607, Chicago, IL 60604; \$10 + postage.



## Jacobin Books

Box 416 Van Brunt Station  
Brooklyn, New York 11215

**Revolutionary literature by mail.** English-language books, pamphlets, and periodicals from Africa, England, Ireland, the Caribbean and the present US empire. JACOBIN is non-sectarian, but partisan: dedicated to all those struggling for national liberation and socialism, and in particular those who have taken the path of armed struggle. Send \$1 for **JACOBIN REVIEW & CATALOG**. Prisoners get free catalog, free postage and 20% discount on all books.

# Visit with Guillermo Morales in Cuba

On Friday, June 24, at 12:45, William Morales was led out of his cell by a silent group of Mexican police. Five years earlier at the time of his original arrest these same officers or others like them had participated in torturing Morales with electrical prods attached to his genitals. Now, they led him rapidly to an unmarked car behind the prison. In the meantime Rafael Cancel Miranda, the Puerto Rican Nationalist hero, and other members of a Puerto Rican delegation waited at the front of the prison. The delegation had come to supervise the Mexican government's release of William Morales to political asylum in Cuba. Originally, the Mexicans had planned to have Morales at the door of the prison, but the Cubans had insisted that the Mexicans were responsible for his safety until he was in the Cuban airplane ready to leave Mexico. After all, his original capture in Mexico had been a bloody shoot-out involving Interpol, the international police force that works under the direction of the United States. Morales' torture had also been supervised personally by members of the Joint Terrorist Task force from New York City.

For the Puerto Ricans waiting outside the prison, the tension mounted. Would the Mexicans deliver Morales to the airport, or would the CIA or Interpol get him en route? The United States was furious with Mexico's decision to release Morales.

In the car with the Mexican police William Morales wondered what was happening also. His car was part of a long chain of unmarked police cars that tore through the streets of Mexico City in a crazy pattern. Sometimes his car was at the front, sometimes in the middle or back of the line. Finally at the airport the police raced him up the ramp of the airplane. A Cuban official embraced him saying, "Welcome to the only liberated territory in Latin America!" Finally, William Morales knew he was free!

Who is William Guillermo Morales? A man that government's have negotiated over; a man that the United State's repressive apparatus has seen slip from their grasp twice, a Puerto Rican hero and patriot. Morales was born in New York City in El Barrio. He became an activist in the 60's within the mass student movement for Puerto Rican Studies in the CCNY system. The example of the Vietnamese and Cuban Revolutions led him and many others to see people's war for independence as a solution for his nation; a

better solution than lobbying for crumbs from a racist, colonizing government.

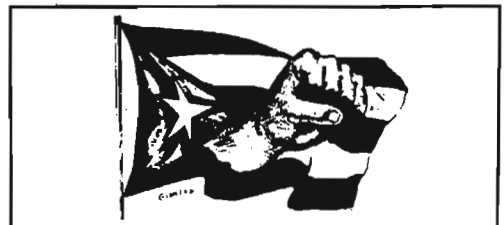
William Morales became a founding member of Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN). This organization is clandestine and has carried out many actions of armed propaganda demanding Puerto Rican independence over the years.

Recently, a delegate from the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN), Julio Rosado, was invited to Cuba's 30th Anniversary Conference in Havana. There he was able to meet with William Morales and give us an update on Morales' condition, Julio Rosado said the people from all over the world ask to meet Morales. "He is serving as an international representative of the Independence Movement, and we can be very proud of him!" Rosado gave as an example that Morales often asks other Latin American revolutionaries to explain to him what they have done in their country on the issue of Puerto Rican independence.

Morales has been receiving expert medical attention from the Cubans as well as warm hospitality. He has refused new surgery on his hands, as he is used to working with them as they are. But the doctors are removing the original gun powder from the old wounds on his face. Recently, the Cuban government offered Morales a job as a film director in their film department. Morales had been by occupation a film director in New York.

Morales recounted to Rosado a story about going running one early morning in Cuba. He encountered a carload of U.S. officers from Guantanamo who started to follow him. At the crossroads, a Cuban police car started to follow the U.S. car which turned rapidly down another street. Another breath of freedom on liberated soil!

In January, William Morales sent a message from Cuba in which he extended his gratitude to all those who worked to secure his freedom. Long live William Morales! Long live a free Puerto Rico!



# Grand Jury Repression: Nelson Ramirez Freed, Samuel Sanchez Faces Jail

On January 31, Nelson Ramirez, a Puerto Rican independentista from New York, was freed by court order after 7 months in federal prison for refusing to cooperate with a subpoena to provide fingerprints and a voice sample to a Brooklyn, N.Y. federal grand jury investigating the clandestine Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) and the independence movement overall. Ramirez had been jailed for "civil contempt" and could have been held for 8 more months -- until the grand jury expires. Judge Thomas Platt ordered Ramirez freed after the prosecutor failed to file reply papers to a habeas corpus motion (demand to justify continued jailing) for Ramirez's release. Ramirez, a 28-year-old ambulance worker, returned to his wife and a young daughter born last August while her father was home on a hard-fought three-week furlough from prison.

The motion for Ramirez's release was an aftermath of a December 16 hearing on a "Grumbles" motion arguing that Ramirez's continued incarceration, in the face of 7 months of principled resistance, was not "coercive," but actually punitive, which is illegal under civil contempt law. The motion was backed by legal briefs submitted by the Center for Constitutional Rights, National Lawyers Guild, National Conference of Black Lawyers, and human rights groups in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. The courtroom was packed with community supporters.

At that hearing, Assistant U.S. Attorney Charles Rose responded by threatening to charge Ramirez with criminal contempt, an undefendable charge with a potentially unlimited sentence, if the judge releases him. (In the mid-1980's, nine pro-independence grand jury resisters prosecuted by Rose received 2-3 year sentences for this charge.) At press time, Ramirez remains free and has not yet been charged.

Meanwhile, on January 24, Ramirez's friend and a member of his support committee, Samuel Sanchez, was held in civil contempt for taking the same stance of non-collaboration. Sanchez, 28, is a mental health worker, and like Ramirez, had been politically inactive (until Ramirez's subpoena) since his work in the early 1980's with the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. Sanchez had been subpoenaed January 4, just after he underwent skull reconstructive surgery, which was a follow-up to brain surgery last May for a cerebral hemorrhage. Two

days before the May operation, FBI agents entered Sanchez's hospital room and attempted to interrogate him, saying, "You're going to die, so you might as well talk anyway." Sanchez not only held firm in noncollaboration, but confounded the FBI by fully recovering. (Sanchez was just one of over 70 Puerto Rican activists, friends and relatives visited by the FBI in 1987-88. One of those, seminary student Carlos Alejandro, another friend of Ramirez, has been explicitly threatened with a grand jury subpoena after he refused to answer FBI questions.)

At his January 24 contempt hearing, Sanchez told Judge Eugene Nickerson, "We have a history of grand jury resistance in the Puerto Rican independence movement. But there has also been resistance and perseverance against grand jury repression from many other struggling peoples in this country. With this political understanding I am guided and led to step forward and join this resistance with my political principles of non-collaboration and non-recognition of this federal grand jury. I find these proceedings to be nothing but a farce.... Therefore I say no to the grand jury."

Sanchez's lawyer presented letters from his respected neurologist and neurosurgeon stating that his medical condition would not be stable for at least 12 months. Based on that, Judge Nickerson ordered prosecutor Rose to appoint a doctor to examine Sanchez's medical records and come back with a recommendation on sentencing. No date has been set yet for the sentencing hearing.

You can send letters to Judge Nickerson urging him not to incarcerate Sanchez, and letters to the U.S. Attorney urging him not to prosecute Ramirez and to stop the harassment of independentistas, at the following addresses:

Judge Eugene Nickerson  
225 Cadman Plaza East  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201

U.S. Attorney Andrew Maloney  
225 Cadman Plaza East  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201

For more information on the grand jury resisters, please contact: Committee of Friends and Family of Grand Jury Resisters, P.O. Box 20068, New York, N.Y. 10025-1510.

# Lexington HSU Closed but Bureau of Prisons' "Mission" Goes On

On March 17, arguments were heard in the D.C. Court of Appeals in an attempt by the U.S. government to overturn the federal court decision which held that the Lexington High Security Unit was unconstitutional.

As our readers will remember, the Unit was a small-group isolation unit designed for the observation of, experimentation on and psychological torture of women political prisoners. The women housed there included Alejandrina Torres, Puerto Rican Prisoner of War who is serving a 37½ year sentence for seditious conspiracy; Susan Rosenberg, a Northamerican anti-imperialist political prisoner who is part of the D.C. Resistance Conspiracy Case; Silvia Baraldini, an Italian national and political prisoner; and several non-political prisoners. Alejandrina, in taking the Prisoner of War position, has taken the position that the U.S. colonial courts do not have jurisdiction over her, a combatant in the Puerto Rican independence struggle. As a result, she did not participate in the law suit.

The government argued that the Bureau of Prisons has the right to take "pre-emptive" action based on people's activities before they were in prison. They admitted that neither Susan nor Silvia had engaged in any conduct in prison which would have caused them to be designated to high security conditions. The BOP relied solely on Silvia's conviction for aiding in the prison liberation of Assata Shakur in 1979; and on Susan having been charged with the same thing -- although her charges were dropped. The government admitted that they relied on pre-sentence reports which are prepared by government agencies and which contain unsubstantiated charges which have never been brought to trial.

Legally, the government was trying to get the court to agree that prison administrators have a free hand in deciding what prisoners are designated to high security facilities. They hope to clear the way for the designation of political prisoners to control units without any interference from the court system.

In addition, they argued that the political associations of the women who brought the suit were not political associations at all, but rather "criminal activities" -- despite the fact that the Bureau of Prisons made it very clear to both Susan and Silvia that they could only have been released from Lexington if they renounced their political identities.

The political prisoners were represented by Adjoa Aiyetoro of the National Prison Project of the American Civil Liberties Union. She argued that the Lexington Control Unit had been established to punish prisoners for their revolutionary political beliefs and associations. She pointed out that, although the Bureau of Prisons had said that people were designated to Lexington because of a threat of "external assault" to aid in their escapes, that no real information has ever been presented by the government to show that such a threat exists. In fact, women who have been aided in escapes by outside forces were not designated to Lexington because they were not political prisoners. She also emphasized that Silvia Baraldini had been held in normal general population conditions at the federal prison in Pleasanton for over two years before being transferred to the Lexington HSU -- if she presented such a danger of escape, why hadn't the Bureau of Prisons imposed any restrictions on her during that period of time?

The U.S. government has a big stake in the appeal of Judge Parker's decision -- as do all progressive people. They have already argued that there is a pressing need for special prison conditions for political prisoners. In fact, they specifically raised that four women currently in Pleasanton would have been transferred to the new facility at Marianna, Florida but for Parker's decision. Although they mentioned no names (they said they were protecting the prisoners' privacy!), it is clear that they were referring to Puerto Rican Prisoners of War Haydee Torres, Lucy Rodriguez, Carmen Valentin and Dylcia Pagan.

The Bureau of Prisons has also transferred political prisoner Carol Manning of the Ohio 7 to Marianna -- this despite the fact that her security classification makes her eligible to be held at Pleasanton.

Even while celebrating the victory in the law suit that, those of us who had participated in the international campaign to close the Lexington Control Unit understood that we had won only one battle against the isolation and warehousing of political prisoners. The government's appeal of Judge Parker's decision is another skirmish. The U.S. government will not give up its 'mission' to destroy the effectiveness of political prisoners, and we cannot give up the fight to defend and protect them.

# Silvia and Alejandrina Fight MCC Designation

A national campaign has begun to force the federal Bureau of Prisons to transfer Silvia Baraldini, Italian national and political prisoner, and Alejandrina Torres, Puerto Rican Prisoner of War, to general population prisons. Silvia is currently held at the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York City, and Alejandrina is at the MCC in San Diego, California.

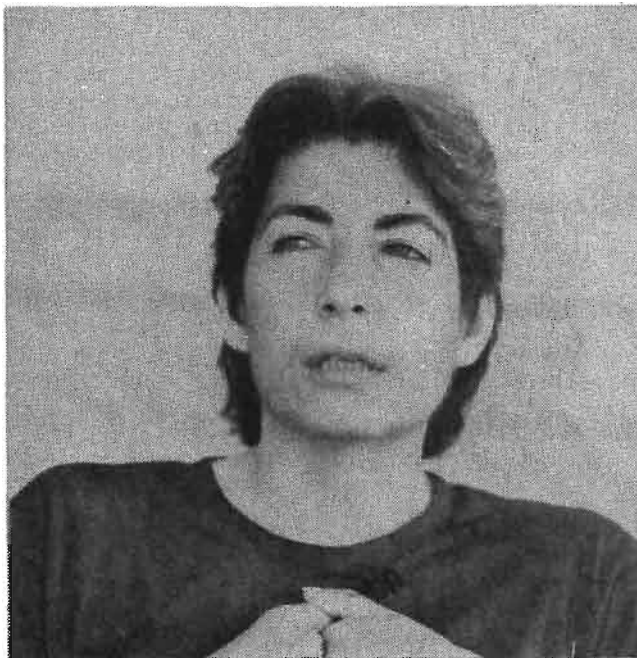
Both women were transferred to these jails in an attempt by the BOP to evade the July 1988 decision by federal Judge Barrington Parker, in which he ruled that the designation of prisoners to the Lexington Control Unit on the basis of their political beliefs was unconstitutional. He ordered that Silvia and Susan Rosenberg be transferred to general population prisons. Judge Parker's decision was the result of a law suit brought by Silvia, Susan and Sylvia Brown, one of the social prisoners held in Lexington. (Alejandrina, in taking the POW position, rejects the jurisdiction of the U.S. colonial courts. She, as a result, did not join in the law suit.) Susan Rosenberg is held in the D.C. Detention Facility, awaiting trial in the Resistance Conspiracy Case.

MCCs are specifically designed for short-term prisoners awaiting trial, sentencing or in transit between different prisons. They do not offer the opportunities for work, education or recreation that are available in regular prisons. They also don't have full medical staffs, which is particularly dangerous for Silvia and Alejandrina. Silvia is recovering from a complete hysterectomy which was performed because she had ovarian cancer. She needs constant medical monitoring, which she is not getting at MCC/NY. Alejandrina's attorney had to call MCC/San Diego 30 times to get her client a long-overdue doctor's appointment. Both women are suffering serious physical affects from having been in the Lexington Control Unit.

The sole reason that these sisters are in MCCs rather than in standard general population prisons is because of their identities as political prisoners. This is how the government is continuing the isolation and persecution. In 1987 the government said that it would close Lexington and transfer the women there to a new facility at Marianna, Florida. Because of the loss handed to them by the women at Lexington, by the campaign that supported them and by the court decision that resulted -- Marianna has not been turned into the "new Lexington." Still, Carol Manning of the Ohio 7 has been designated there although she was eligible by Bureau of Prisons standards to have been sent somewhere other than this new "Maxi" women's prison.

We urge our readers to join the campaign to have Silvia and Alejandrina designated to general population prisons. For info:

Women's Committee to Shut Down the Lexington Control Unit  
P.O. Box 2512, Cadman Plaza Station  
Brooklyn, New York 11202



Over 300 members of the Italian legislature have joined to urge the U.S. government to release Silvia Baraldini from prison. Recently, five representatives of the group met with Italian President Francesco Cossiga, to press him to raise this request with President Bush.

There has been a mobilization of public support in Italy for Silvia since she was held in the Lexington Control Unit. The Control Unit drew international attention, with the Italian people particularly concerned that Silvia, who is an Italian citizen, was being held in Lexington's conditions of isolation and psychological torture. The legislators have also raised concerns about the conditions in MCC/NY, where Silvia is currently incarcerated, and the lack of medical care and fresh air available to prisoners there.

The legislators' action is one of the deepest expressions yet of international support for a political prisoner held in a U.S. prison. We sincerely hope that the government of Italy will make the request for Silvia's release and deportation to the U.S. government -- and that the U.S. sees it as in its best interests to grant it.

In another development, the U.S. Congress is about to begin a debate on a treaty between the United States and Italy. One of the provisions of the treaty permits the exchange of prisoners. If the treaty is ratified by Congress and signed by Bush, it will provide a possible avenue for Silvia's deportation to Italy.

# Update on Shewangunk Prison Lock-Down

In the last issue of the Insurgent we reported on a rebellion by prisoners at New York state's Shewangunk Correctional Facility. We recently received the following report from a prisoner there, Lawrence Epps.

In April of 1988, the New York State Department of Correctional Services (DOCS) announced the creation of a new Close Supervision Unit (CSU) within the Shewangunk Correctional facility, the state's new maxi-maxi prison. The CSU was uniquely designed and implemented to monitor the movement and activities of politically oriented prisoners. For example, all outside phone calls are monitored, and electronic listening devices are strategically located throughout the 64 cell unit. Movement throughout the prison is severely limited for those designated Close Supervision. Moreover, men housed in the CSU are disciplined much more frequently and much more severely than prisoners in general population.

On October 5, 1988 all 64 men housed in the CSU refused to participate in normal programming. The lock-down was precipitated by conditions in general coupled with the fact that two men were unjustly placed in isolation the day before by the regular area supervisor. In the initial list of grievances, we demanded the release of the two men placed in isolation along with a dismissal of all charges lodged against them (this was done); the transfer of the area supervisor (he has since been reassigned); no retaliation for engaging in the protest; and a dismantling of the CSU. Although DOCS steadfastly refuses to dismantle the unit, or to afford residents so designated a hearing before placement there, we have disrupted the concept to such an extent that roughly 40 of the 64 cells now stand empty.

On October 25, 1988, a number of individuals considered key to the protest due to organizational skills or personality traits were transported to isolation. However, this had no immediate affect on the protest.

On January 5, 1989 after protesting three months, some prisoners on the CSU signed a tentative agreement to end the protest. This has led to some confusion. The agreement in question is extremely tenuous due to the fact that at least some of the 20-plus men on the unit, as well as the six purported leaders still in isolation, maintain that the conditions for a settlement have not been met. The fact that 40 cells remain



empty more than a month later attests to the fact that the state is acutely conscious of the fact that without full agreement on the part of those designated CSU, any agreement is extremely fragile.

In addition to our expressed grievances and demands, the protest has two long-term objectives: 1) to focus attention on the unit concept in order to expose it for what it is; and 2) to organize and focus the collective frustrations of the men designated to the CSU. We have had some success with regards to the former; the latter objective is an ongoing process.

The reason the protest lasted as long as it did was due to its political character. However, it would be incomplete -- and totally criminal -- to fail to mention the principled assistance afforded us by lawyers and legal assistants employed by Prisoners' Legal Services, in particular: Ken Stephens, Elijah Williams, Jr., Geri Pomerantz and Rosalind Becton, without whose assistance and representation we would have achieved much less.

The reason the protest ended when it did was primarily due to the administration's strategy of physically separating the leadership from the rank-and-file as well as effectively disrupting our internal lines of communication. In sum, the state was able to weaken the morale of the men by sowing disinformation and confusion amongst them.

Achievements include the fact that we've effectively disrupted the state's intentions and time-frame with regard to the CSU. They may very well be 2 to 3 years behind schedule. Also, we are rebuilding -- albeit slowly -- and we will not allow ourselves to lose sight of the nature and intent of the CSU -- and all our efforts will be geared towards its permanent disruption.

# UPDATES

As Geronimo Pratt entered his 19th year in prison, several developments are giving new hope for his eventual freedom. The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, which had used a technicality to refuse to reopen his case, announced in January that it reversed this decision. It would now reconsider whether the technicality ( a late defense motion) was a sufficient bases to reject his appeal on the merits of his case. If the court rules that the technicality was sufficient, then that's a final ruling. However, if the technicality was not sufficient, then there are several options. The court can order a new evidentiary hearing, a full-blown hearing on the merits of the case, a new trial or they could order his release.

Geronimo, who has formally changed his name to Geronimo jiJaga, has a new, expanded grouping, working on behalf of his freedom, called the Justice for Geronimo Campaign. The Campaign is holding monthly vigils at state and federal buildings, and has organized many other political programs. They have a 30 minute video on Geronimo and the history of the Black Panther Party, which can be rented or bought. The Campaign is also demanding that Geronimo be released on TCRs (Temporary Community Releases). He has received many invitations to speak by many organizations, if he is given these releases. Recently, he was invited by the Freedom Now Campaign to speak in Geneva before the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.

More more information, contact: Justice for Geronimo Campaign, 214 Duboce Ave., San Francisco, CA. 94103. 415-381-8424.

We extend our condolences to political prisoner Judy Clark on the death of her father Joseph Clark in December, 1988.



In a dramatic development in the trial of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15, federal Judge T. Emmett Clarie directed a verdict of not guilty for four out of five defendants now on trial. This means that Isaac Camacho Negron, Norman Ramirez Talavera, Carlos Ayes Suarez and Roberto Maldonado now face only less serious charges while only Juan Segarra Palmer still faces bank robbery charges. The case grows out of the expropriation of \$7 million from a Hartford, Connecticut Wells Fargo depot by Los Macheteros, an armed clandestine Puerto Rican independence organization. Another defendant, Lucy Berrios Berrios, previously pleaded guilty to conspiracy charges and was sentenced to five years in prison. As the In-surgent goes to press, summations in the trial are going on.

The judge's action arose out of a motion, made before closing statements and the case being sent to the jury, in which defense attorneys argued that the government had not presented sufficient evidence to warrant consideration by a jury.

## INVISIBLE MAN

Larry Cooper, Holmesberg Prison  
Philadelphia, PA.

"A Soldier who lives and will die for his freedom.:

This poem is in commemoration of my brother Bobby Sands!

These are large shadowy oak trees  
and a half of broken swing The sky is a  
denim blue The leaves are scattered at my  
feet The wind blows through my hair dan-  
gerously  
As if nature threatened it to do so The  
ground lays empty before me Waiting for me  
to fall upon it There are people here star-  
ing  
at me as though I were insane They reach  
for me But instantly pull away They  
watch me run to my freedom My face full  
of pain and fear As the police try to cap-  
ture me They walk away Never look back  
The police man shoots. Have become  
invisible.

Dedicated to my comrade, Bobby Sands

Long Live the Irish Struggle

# WRITE TO THE PRISONERS OF WAR AND POLITICAL PRISONERS:

## PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

Edwin Cortes \*92153-024  
Alberto Rodriguez \*92150-024  
Ricardo Jimenez \*88967-024  
P.O. Box 1000  
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Elizam Escobar \*88969-024  
FCI  
Box 1500  
El Reno, OK

Oscar Lopez \*88765-024  
USP Marion  
Marion, IL 62959

Adolfo Matos \*88968-024  
P.O. Box 1000  
Lompoc, CA 93438

Dylcia Pagan \*88971-024  
Lucy Rodriguez \*88973-024  
Haydee Torres \*88462-024  
Carmen Valentin \*88974-024  
FCI Pleasanton  
5701 8th St.  
Camp Parks  
Dublin, CA 94568

Alicia Rodriguez \*NO7157  
PO Box C  
Dwight, IL 60420

Luis Rosa \*NO2743  
Box 112  
Joliet, IL 60434

Alejandrina Torres \*92052-024  
MCC  
San Diego, CA 92101

Carlos Alberto Torres \*88976-024  
FCI  
902 Renfroe  
Talladega, AL 35160

## PUERTO RICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Luz Maria Berrios Berrios  
FCI Lexington  
Lexington, KY 40511

Dora Garcia \*94735-024  
FCI Pleasanton  
5701 8th St.  
Camp Parks  
Dublin, CA 94568

Jaime Delgado \*94736-024  
P.O. Box 33  
Terre Haute, IN 47808

Filiberto Ojeda Rios \*03167-069  
MCC  
150 Park Row  
NY, NY 10007

## NEW AFRIKAN/BLACK PRISONERS OF WAR AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

Kalima Aswad s/n Robert Duren \*B24120  
CMC  
San Luis Obispo, CA 93401

Albert Nuh Washington \*77A-1528  
P.O. Box 1187  
Alden, NY 14004

Abdul Majid \*83-A-0483  
Attica Cor. Facility  
P.O. Box 149  
Attica, NY 14011-0149

Herman Bell \*79-C-262  
Basheer Hameed (s/n James York)  
\*82-A-6313

Mohaman Geuka Koti \*80-A-808  
Box 700  
Wallkill, NY 12585

Kazi Toura (s/n Chris King)  
Cecilio Chui Ferguson  
FCI, P.O. Box 1000  
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Mark Cook \*20025-148K  
3901 Klein Boulevard  
Lompoc, CA 93438

Haki Malik Abdullah  
s/n Michael Green \*C-56123  
Ruchell Cinque Magee \*A92051  
Hugo Pinell \*A88401  
Folsom Prison  
Represa, CA 95671

Robert Seth Hayes \*74-A-2280  
Jalil Muntaqin \*77-A-4283  
Greenhaven Prison  
Drawer B  
Stormville, NY 12582

Kojo Sababu-Bomani (s/n Grailing Brown)  
\*39384-066

Richard Thompson-EI \*20080-101  
James Miller \*00124-054  
USP Marion  
Marion, IL 62959

Geronimo Pratt \*B-40319  
Charles Scott \*C-19320  
San Quentin Prison  
Tamal, CA 94976

Jah s/n Teddy Heath \*75-A-0139  
Box A-G  
Fallsburg, NY 12733

Sekou Odinga \*05228-054  
Sundiata Acoli \*39794-066  
USP Leavenworth  
P.O. Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048

Mutulu Shakur \*83205-012  
P.O. Box 1000  
Lompoc, CA 93438

Richard Mafundi Lake \*79972  
100 Warrior Lane  
Bessemer, AL 35023

Comrade Rikke Green \*84244  
Oklahoma State Penitentiary  
P.O. Box 97  
McAlester, OK 74501

Gary Tyler \*84156  
Louisiana State Pen.  
Angola, LA 70712

Ed Poindexter  
7525 4th Avenue  
Lino Lake, MN 55014

Dhoruba Al-Mujahid Bin-Wahad  
\*72-A-0639  
P.O. Box 338  
Napanoch, NY 12458

Monda Langa  
s/n David Rice  
P.O. Box 2500  
Lincoln, NE 68502

Johnny Imani Harris \*Z-372  
Holman 37  
Atmore, AL 36503

Sababu Na Uhuru s/n William Stoner  
P.O. Box 326  
Mercersburg, PA 17236

Robert Taylor \*88-A-8613  
Downstate Correctional Facility  
Box 7  
Fishkill, NY 12524

Abdul Haqq \*141-88-0173  
a/k/a Craig Randall  
H.D.M.

14-14 Hazen Street  
East Elmhurst, NY 11470

Arthur Majid Barnes \*88-A-7424  
Sing Sing Correctional Facility  
354 Hunter Street  
Ossining, NY 10562

## MOVE Prisoners

William Phillips Africa \*4986  
Edward Goodman Africa \*4974  
P.O. Box 200  
Camp Hill, PA 17011

Debbie Sims Africa \*6307  
Consusuella Dotson Africa  
Ramona Johnson Africa  
Alberta Wicker Africa  
Janine Phillips Africa  
Merle Austin Africa  
Janet Holloway Africa  
P.O. Box 180  
Muncy, PA 17756

Charles Sims Africa \*M4972  
Delbert Orr Africa \*M4985  
Carlos Perez Africa  
Drawer K  
Dallas, PA 18612

Mumia Abu Jamal \*M8335  
Michael Africa  
Drawer R  
Huntington, PA 16652

## Virgin Islands Five

Hanif Shabazz Bey s/n B. Gereau  
\*96544-131  
P.O. Box 1000  
Marion, IL 62959

Malik El-Amin s/n Meral Smith  
\*96557-131  
P.O. Box 1000  
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Raphael Kwesi Joseph \*96558-131  
P.O. Box W  
Lompoc, CA 93436

Abdul Aziz s/n Warren Ballentine  
\*96521-131  
P.O. Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048

# WRITE TO THE PRISONERS OF WAR AND POLITICAL PRISONERS:

## NATIVE AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

Rita Silk Nauni  
Box 11492  
Mable Basset Cor. Inst.  
Oklahoma City, OK 73136  
Leonard Peltier \*89637-132  
P.O. Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048  
Standing Deer (s/n Robert Wilson)  
\*83947  
McAlister State Prison  
P.O. Box 97  
McAlester, OK 74502

## NORTH AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Alan Berkman \*233-315  
Tim Blunk \* 233-410  
Marilyn Buck \*233-396  
Linda Evans \*233-411  
Susan Rosenberg \*233-412  
Laura Whitehorn \*220-858  
D.C. Detention Facility  
1901 D Street S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003  
Kathy Boudin \*84-A-171  
Judy Clark \*83-G-313  
Bedford Hills Corr. Facility  
247 Harris Road  
Bedford Hills, NY 10507  
David Gilbert \*83-A-6158  
P.O. Box 367B  
Dannemora, NY 12929  
Richard Picariello \*05812  
Walpole State Prison  
S. Walpole, MA 02071  
Silvia Baraldini \*05125-054  
MCC  
150 Park Row  
NY, NY 10007

Larry Giddings \*10917-086  
USP Leavenworth  
P.O. Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048  
Ed Mead \*251397  
P.O. Box 777  
Monroe, WA 98272  
Gilliam Kerley \*01988-090  
FPC Leavenworth, Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048  
Bill Dunne \*10916-086  
Box 100  
Marion, IL 62959

### Ohio 7

Ray Levasseur \*10376-016  
Richard Williams \*10377-016  
Federal Detention Center  
P.O. Box 178  
Hartford, CT 06101-0178  
Barbara Curzi-Laaman \*18213-053  
FCI Pleasanton  
5701 8th St., Camp Parks  
Dublin, CA 94568  
Jaan Laaman \*10372-016  
P.O. Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048  
Carol Manning \*10375-016  
FCI Marianna  
Marianna, FL 32446  
Thomas Manning \*202873-4B  
CN-861  
Trenton, NJ 08625

### Plowshares Prisoners

Jean Gump \*03789-045  
WFCI, Box A  
Alderson, WV 24910  
Helen Woodson  
c/o The Greenhouse  
622 Water Street  
Ashland, WI 54806  
Richard Miller \*15249-077  
FCI  
P.O. Box 33  
Terre Haute, IN 47808

Fr. Carl Kabat \*03230-045  
Joe Gump \*04468  
FCI  
Box 1000  
Sandstone, MN 55072  
Larry Morlan \*03788-045  
FPC  
P.O. Box 1000  
Marion, IL 62959  
Greg Boertje  
Chester Cty. Jail  
501 S. Wawauset  
W. Chester, PA 19382  
Katya Komisaruk  
P.O. Box 19202  
Spokane, WA 99219  
Jim Albertini \*79564-022  
FPC  
3600 Guard Rd.  
Lompoc, CA 93436  
George Ostensen  
Oak Hill Corr. Inst.  
Oregon, WI 53575

### Vancouver 4

Ann Hansen  
Prison for Women  
Box 515  
Kingston, Ont., Canada K7L 4W7  
Doug Stewart  
Kent Prison  
P.O. Box 2000  
Agassiz, BC, Canada V0M 1A0  
Brent Taylor  
Milhaven Maximum Institution  
Box 280  
Bath, Ont., Canada K0H 1G0

### IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

Joe Doherty \*07792-054  
MCC-9 South  
150 Park Row  
NY, NY 10007

## Literature from the Committee to Fight Repression:

*Build a Revolutionary Resistance Movement—*

*Communiques from the North American Armed Clandestine Movement 1982-1985*

Subscription to **THE INSURGENT!** 6 issues/year (free to prisoners)

Foreign subscription

Ohio 7 Sentencing Statements

Women Political Prisoners

Pamphlet on Resistance Conspiracy Case

2.50

6.00

12.00

2.00

1.00

1.00

**Committee to Fight Repression**, P.O. Box 1435, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025

---

CFR PUBLICATIONS SERVICE  
P.O. Box 1435  
Cathedral Station  
New York, New York 10025

BULK RATE  
U.S. POSTAGE  
**PAID**  
NEW YORK, NY  
PERMIT NO. 7302