

Open Borders For All!

As the East-West tensions of the "Cold War" era disappear into the annals of history, Third World people are now coming under the even more chilling grasp of the New World Order. After the dissolution of the "Cold War", we are seeing a new war being further developed - clearly it has been in existence for decades, but it is now becoming more visible and defined - and that is the current North-South struggle. One aspect of this struggle is the current situation facing Third World refugees and immigrants in the northern industrialized nations. With this issue of Arm The Spirit, we are focusing much attention on the new asylum-policies being implemented across Europe. We have reprinted documents and communiques on the issue of refugees and migration politics, but as these issues are also of relevance to the current situation in North America, we would also like to offer an overview of the ideological issues involved in the question of refugees and asylum-politics. As well, we touch upon the organizing efforts of refugees/immigrants and the autonomist-left to thwart both these specific policies and the growing tide of right-wing extremism across Europe in general.

Asylum Politics In The New Europe

Just by looking at the statistics, it's clear that the paranoid fear which is sweeping Europe with regard to the present "flood" of immigrants has been carefully crafted by the ruling powers to serve their ideological needs. Most migration takes place within the nations of the Three Continents themselves; only a very few people ever reach the wealthy northern metropolises.

Although life in the northern metropolises provides refugees with obvious material advantages over their life back in the Three Continents, their situation is hardly enviable. They face new (and sometimes not so new) forms of an oppression which manifests itself within the entire social-political-economic framework of society. Upon reaching Europe, many refugees and immigrants run into immediate obstacles. For example, in many European countries they are not allowed to have jobs for anywhere up to 5 years. Denied any economic self-sufficiency, they are forced to seek State assistance. This economic assistance, which is minimal at best, invariably forces them into camps run by both the State and private agencies such as the Red Cross. These camps cut off their freedom of movement and ability to organize, and in some cases allows for their use as cheap labour. Outside the camps the situation is not much better. Institutionalized racism forces refugees and immigrants to assimilate into a European society that does not take into account their different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This makes getting jobs or job training, access to proper education, seeking social assistance, etc., difficult or almost impossible to obtain. Women, in particular, must cope with the double oppression of being both refugees and women. Indeed, Europe's asylum-policies, in addition to their obvious racist overtones, are also inherently sexist. Women who seek divorce or separation from their immigrant husbands, for example, cannot seek an individual asylum request if their initial entrance into Europe was granted as the spouse of an asylum-seeker.

Inside the 12 European Community (EC) nations, there are residing at present, out of a total of some 340 million persons, only about 6.1 million foreigners - less than 2%. Nonetheless, politicians in Europe are screaming about how "The Boat is Full!" But it's not only Christian Democrats and the parties of the right who are to blame for the rise in racism. Cries from politicians, very often social democrats, for stricter immigration controls have led to tacit support for right-wing extremist violence. Far-right political parties such as the National Front in France, the Vlaams Blok in Belgium, and the Lombard League in Italy have actively campaigned on anti-immigrant political platforms. Both the National Front and Vlaams Blok have openly called for the forced removal of refugees and immigrants and further curtailment of their rights. Recent electoral successes by these parties shows that their policies are being met with growing acceptance. Indeed, the National Front, under the leadership of Jean-Marie Le Pen, recently captured an average of 15% of the vote nationwide in recent municipal elections, in some areas capturing a higher percentage than France's ruling Socialists. In this atmosphere, other political parties are using anti-immigrant hysteria to bolster their popularity. Rightist political candidates such as Parisian mayor Jacques Chirac have complained

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Oka Is All Of Us

Warriors Go Down But Oka Ain't Over

The so-called Oka crisis opened a new chapter in the history of indigenous resistance in Canada, igniting a prairie fire of anger and renewal that spread to aboriginal communities from coast to coast. Other Nations were inspired to blockade roads, topple hydro-electric towers and take their own militant stands in solidarity with their Mohawk sisters and brothers in that long hot summer of 1990.

Despite the "military defeat" by the Canadian Army, the Mohawk Nation emerged victorious. They managed to put sovereignty firmly on the agenda and galvanize other First Nations to up the ante in their negotiations with the federal government. At that time we thought nothing could stop us - if the Mohawks could do it, so could we all.

After almost a year of court proceedings, the two Mohawk Warriors codename Lasagna and Noriega (Ronald Cross and Gordon Lazore) were convicted of a total of 29 charges in relation to the defense of Kanasa-take Mohawk Territory in the summer/fall of 1990. On February 19, Ron Cross was sentenced to 4 years and 4 months in prison. Gordon Lazore was handed a sentence of 2 years less a month for his role in the Mohawk rising.

Roger Lazore, who faced trial alongside the other two, was acquitted of all 10 charges against him. "We were right for what we did over there," Roger Lazore told reporters as he walked out of the courtroom. "We protected our land, the people, and we'd do it again if we had to."

Following five days of deliberations in St. Jerome,

an all-white jury in the Quebec Superior Court found Cross guilty of 20 of 40 charges, and Gordon Lazore guilty of 9 of 17 charges. Both were convicted on charges of assault causing bodily harm and several counts of weapons possession. Only Cross was convicted in relation to incidents during the standoff with the Canadian Army, on counts of assault and uttering threats against a Canadian soldier (several similar charges were dismissed). The charges of rioting and obstructing Quebec police (S.Q.) and soldiers were thrown out by Justice Benjamin Greenberg after the prosecution "failed to properly disclose all evidence". The evidence in question involves hundreds of hours of videotape of the siege now in the hands of S.Q.

Despite daily courtroom support from solidarity organizations, the press-whiteout on the trials has made it difficult to inform and mobilize people. The Canadian left has been placative at best and at worst, unresponsive to pleas for support and donations for their defense. The many political divisions which have rent the Mohawk communities before and since the crisis are exacerbating the isolation of the detainees.

The rich legacy of Oka - where Mohawk women, children, elders and men overcame deep political differences, and for a short time united against occupational forces in defense of their lands - was all but forgotten during the first trial of those who fought, were vilified and faced the possibility of death at the hands of the Canadian Army.

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Big Mountain Under Siege

The Dine (Navajo) people of Big Mountain, Teesto, Mosquito Springs, Coal Mine Mesa, Red Lake, Jeddito, Cactus Valley and other communities on Black Mesa in northern Arizona are facing a critical time in their 17 year struggle to resist forced relocation from their ancestral lands. Harassment from Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) rangers has been increasing significantly over the past few months. Confiscation of livestock, upon which the Navajo families depend, has become commonplace. Demolition of buildings and homes has also begun. On November 15th the community roundhouse at the Survival Camp at Big Mountain was torn down, and the community roundhouse at Mosquito Springs and the Sundance Arbor at Camp Grey Hills at Big Mountain are now threatened. This is justified by a ban on any new construction or maintenance of buildings on land affected by Public Law 93-531, the relocation order which Congress passed into law in 1974. This law also specified the reduction of up to 90% of the livestock owned by the Navajo people on the former Joint Use Area. PL 93-531 divided this land between the Navajo and Hopi tribes, forcing all Navajo and Hopi people living on "the wrong side of the fence" to relocate from their traditional lands.

This relocation campaign is the largest peace-time relocation effort in U.S. history. Over 2500 Dine and Hopi families are effected by the relocation order. This law was supposedly passed as a means of settling a "land dispute" between the Hopi and Navajo tribes, despite the fact that Navajo and Hopi have lived together as neighbours for centuries, and inter-marriage between the tribes is not uncommon. While many Hopi, especially the "progressives", do support relocation, many others, including many traditional spiritual leaders, strongly oppose relocation. They suspect, with good reason, that the removal of their Navajo neighbours is but a first step towards the strip-mining and destruction of the land they hold sacred.

It has become clear that the real force behind the relocation order is the desire of multi-national corporations to exploit the rich coal seam and other energy resources lying beneath the lands of the Dine and Hopi at Black Mesa. Recent information has surfaced confirming the plans of Peabody Coal Company to open two massive strip mines at the very heart of the Big Mountain area. Peabody plans to transport by water-powered slurries and by rail to Los Angeles where it will be shipped to Japan. Peabody currently operates two mines in the Black Mesa area, and since 1970 it has pumped 30 million gallons of water out of the aquifer underlying these mines in order to slurry coal to the giant Four Corners Power Plant near Page, Arizona. In 1970, Peabody claimed that its pumping would have no effect on these nearby wells and springs. Since that time water levels in wells and springs throughout the area have dropped from between 20 to 200 feet. The new mines would double or triple Peabody's water consumption in the area. This would completely dry out many wells and springs in the area which the Hopi and Navajo depend on, and its effect on the entire regional ecosystem would be devastating.

Both Hopi and Navajo elders and traditional leaders have consistently opposed the mineral exploitation and environmental destruction of their sacred land. The "land dispute" between the two tribes is in large part a fabrication created expressly to gain access to the mineral wealth underlying both tribes' land. The Hopi Tribal Council was, in fact, created by the federal government in 1936 for the sole purpose of signing mining leases. Many Hopi, particularly the traditional clan and spiritual leaders still refuse to recognize the validity of the Tribal Council. Since none of the traditional clan leaders would agree to sign mineral lease agreements for their land, the Tribal Council has been and remains controlled by Hopi who have converted to the Mormon religion and rejected

Hopi spiritual tradition. Despite a lack of support from many if not most Hopi, the Tribal Council continues to press for the relocation of the Dine in the name of all the Hopi.

Navajo traditional elders and spiritual leaders are also excluded from their Tribal Council. While the Navajo Tribal Council has paid lip service to supporting their people resisting relocation, its policies overall are as pro-development and pro-mining as those of the Hopi Tribal Council. Realizing they would not receive support from the politicians in their tribal council, nor anywhere else, in 1979 the traditional elders and their families at Big Mountain declared themselves a sovereign independent nation.

The creation of the Independent Sovereign Dine Nation (SDN) marked a key point in the people's resistance to relocation. They had seen their relatives and neighbours who cooperated with the government's Relocation Commission moved into tract housing in the racist border towns surrounding the reservation and, lacking any job skills or experience, quickly lose the houses and what little money they received for moving. Knowing that relocating would mean misery or even death for many of the elders, they declared that they would never move, nor sign away the land that rightfully belonged to them and their children. As a sovereign nation who had never given up the title and claim to their land, they further declared that the federal government had no claim to this land, and if the government wanted to negotiate with them it would have to do so on a nation to nation basis.

Public Law 93-531 had set July 8/86 as the deadline for relocation to be completed. Families who did not relocate by this time would be denied all relocation benefits, and it was also feared that these families would be forcibly evicted by federal marshals. Between 1979 and 1986 widespread support for the resistance was generated, with much of the support centred on the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee. After the relocation deadline passed without incident in 1986, much of the support for the resistance slowly dried up, with many people assuming that since no physical confrontation had occurred, the threat was over.

The government, however, had simply bided its time, while continuing to carry out a drawn out campaign of low intensity harassment designed to make it impossible for the people to survive on their land.

By the late 1980's pressure began building to get the relocation completed soon. Peabody is very anxious to open its new mines in order not to lose out on the lucrative Japanese market. Since selling all this coal to Japan will also help to moderate the trade imbalance between the U.S. and Japan, the Bush administration has also been pushing for the immediate completion of relocation. Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan has called for relocation of all the Navajo resistors to be completed by 1992. In October of 1990, Secretary Lujan instituted a new policy which denies families who have relocated any of their relocation benefits until all the remaining resistors have left their homes. This policy is causing even greater suffering among the Dine refugees who have already been forced off their homelands.

Recent events indicate that the government's final push to relocate the last of the resistors is on in earnest now. Support for the people is therefore more critical than ever at this time. In the last two years there has been an increase in support activity. Much of this activity has been organized by the Veterans Peace Action Teams (VPAT), a San Francisco based Veterans group dedicated to social justice and anti-militarist causes. VPAT has done much work aiding the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador, and is now attempting to aid the people at Big Mountain in a similar manner - through direct aid and



"THE WHITE MEN MADE MANY PROMISES TO US BUT THEY NEVER KEPT BUT ONE: THEY PROMISED TO TAKE OUR LAND, AND THEY TOOK IT."
RED CLOUD

direct action. VPAT currently maintains and staffs a support house/ranch in Winslow, Arizona, located to the south of the Big Mountain area. This ranch has been used as a base for organizing supply runs to deliver material aid to the resistors, and is also used as an orientation base for supporters who wish to help the people directly by working and witnessing the situation on the land.

Due to increased harassment the people at Big Mountain and other areas have put out a call asking for self-sufficient people to come to the land to help support the people and witness what is happening there. Anyone considering this, however, must be self-sufficient; i.e. have sufficient transportation, food, money and be able to live without telephones, electricity or running water in a harsh environment. No one should travel to Big Mountain without receiving some orientation to the situation there. Interested people can contact Support for Native Sovereignty and/or VPAT (see contact addresses below).

People from Seattle are planning to travel to Big Mountain in mid-December and again in the Spring. Both funds and materials are badly needed for these trips. The two most immediate needs expressed by the people on the land are building materials, particularly roofing supplies, to help winterize houses and hogans for severe weather, and communication equipment, such as CB radios and walkie talkies, to help people communicate with each other and respond when harassment occurs. Another vital need is tools and handles for axes, picks, etc. Other needs include good quality winter clothes and blankets, and bulk non-perishable foods such as flour, rice, beans, salt, coffee and oil. In general, if money can be donated instead of material, that is preferred. The materials can then be bought in Arizona, thereby cutting down on transportation costs. All money donated toward direct aid will be used only for buying and transporting materials.

For more information or to donate contact:
Support For Native Sovereignty/Big Mountain Support Group
P.O. Box 2104
Seattle, WA. 98101
(206) 547-3983

For more information on VPAT contact:
Veterans Peace Action Teams
P.O. Box 170670
San Francisco, CA
(415) 753-2130

(Reprinted from On Indian Land #1)

Mohawks...

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"My life is in such a shambles," Ron Cross told Canadian Press. "I just want people to forget about me." Cross was arrested several times during the course of the trial for failure to appear. Police said they found and arrested him at "a known crack house". His despair may well be due to a lack of support, a feeling of criminalization and abandonment.

Defense for the Mohawks proved problematic from day one. Owen Young and Julio Peris, Native lawyers who provided defense for the first trial, have withdrawn from the second trial citing unpaid bills. They claim the Mohawks owe them \$80,000 and \$45,000 respectively for their services. Some observers speculate that resentment over fees was at the heart of the petering out of the sovereignty defense. There is some scepticism about the handling of first trial, concern about a lack of clear strategy and follow-through.

In the beginning, a sovereignty defense was pursued. The Two-Row Wampum Treaty was cited in conjunction with the International Treaty on Sovereignty and U.N. Convention on Prisoners of War, creating a clear political context for the trial. These treaties were rejected by the court. The three defendants, in keeping with their non-recognition of Canadian courts' jurisdiction, refused to participate in the proceedings. Following the dropping of some of the charges, the defense team called no witnesses, but neither did they publicly challenge the courts' legitimacy. It has been ventured that by the end all sides wanted to fast-track the trial, as it had been drawn out to nearly a year by this time.

The Regroupement de Solidarité avec les Autochtones has said that "after ideological bombardment by governments, police forces and the media, it is necessary to re-emphasize what was really at stake at Kanehsatake and Kahnawake, and what is at stake as Mohawks stand in the prisoners' dock...The issue was land." They maintain "the Canadian government has always tried to confine the struggle of Native people to a mechanism of claims and negotiations. Through the trials of the Kanehsatake and Kahnawake prisoners, it is trying to



Ronald Cross



Gordon Lazore

destroy any possibility, for Mohawks and all other Native peoples, of breaking out of this stale process." They have concluded that "solidarity with aboriginal nations requires us to support Mohawk political detainees."

The Mohawk 39 will be tried on charges of obstructing peace officers, participating in a riot and possession of firearms for a purpose dangerous to the public peace. Jury selection begins on March 2 and will screen 500 prospective jurors for each of the 39 defendants. It is unlikely that the jury composition will differ from the all-white jury that convicted Lasagna and Noriega.

The prosecution has withdrawn 16 of the 28 criminal

charges faced by the 39 remaining defendants. Prosecution says that this will "simplify and shorten" the upcoming trial, safeguarding "the most important counts" against the Mohawks. He explains that because the standoff was a "common venture" he did not want to break it up into a series of individual events. The withdrawn charges singled out men and women charged with assaults or uttering threats against members of the Canadian Army or the Sureté de Québec. Defense for 37 of the remaining 39 is being handled by a progressive Quebecois lawyer. Defendant Kahn Tineta-Horn is handling her own defense, and one other is undecided on how to proceed.

It is important to point out that no police officers, army personnel or white racists who stoned Mohawk convoys carrying children and elders out of the territories were charged with criminal conduct. White supremacists in neighbouring Chateaugay burned effigies of Mohawks, stormed police lines leading to the Kahnawake Mohawk bridge blockade and were responsible for the stonings which caused one Mohawk elder to die of a heart attack.

The racist trials continue. More Mohawk lives hang in the balance, their fates to be decided by colonial courts they do not recognize. Cross and Lazore--now political prisoners--and the other Mohawks facing trial in March need all the support we can muster.

Two defense funds exist and are serving distinct purposes. Outstanding debts to the Young-Peris team are being paid off by contributions to the Liberation of the Mohawk Nation Defense Fund, based in Kahnawake. Funds generated towards the upcoming trial are being administered by the Akweks Fund. Both funds need contributions desperately. Cheques and money orders can be sent to: the Akweks Fund c/o the Canadian Federation of Rights and Liberties, 323 Chapel St., Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7Z2 and the Liberation of the Mohawk Nation Legal Defense Fund, Caisse Populaire Account #80186, P.O. Box 1987, Kahnawake, Quebec J0L 1B0, Canada. For more information about the upcoming trial, contact Akweks Defense Information, P.O. Box 633, Kanehsatake Mohawk Territory, Kanehsatake, Quebec J0N 1B0, Canada.

...And Lubicons On Trial

The trial of thirteen Lubicon Lake Cree Nation members accused in relation to the torching of a Buchanan Lumber logging camp in late 1990 has been delayed until sometime in the fall.

The thirteen were charged with arson, possession of explosives, mischief and disguise with intent, after a highly questionable "investigation" which involved storm trooper tactics such as denying the accused access to legal counsel and dragging people from their homes in the middle of the night and interrogating them in a garbage dump. The charges relate to the fire at an unauthorized logging camp engaged in clearcutting unceded Lubicon Nation territories. The loggers, operating under contract for the transnational paper manufacturer Daishowa, had been warned that developments in those territories not authorized by the Nation would be removed without further notice. After the fire, which caused between twenty and fifty thousand dollars damage, logging activities in Lubicon territories were called off for the winter.

The confrontation between the Lubicon Nation and logging interests is the latest development in the Nation's fifty year history of struggle for recognition of their aboriginal land rights. The nation's traditional territory, located in northern Alberta just east of Peace River, has been overrun by oil companies during the last twenty

years, destroying the community's hunting and trapping economy and forcing 95% of the 500-member nation onto welfare. The Lubicons have reacted with strong and effective resistance which has brought them recognition and support across the country and around the world.

The thirteen Lubicons charged with the Buchanan raid were to have gone to court December 7/91, but due to procedural arguments raised by Lubicon lawyers the Lubicons have agreed to forgo a preliminary hearing and proceed to trial in the fall. The agreement was made in order to give the Lubicons some breathing room and time to prepare. The nation maintains that the Canadian courts have no jurisdiction on their territory, since they have never ceded their sovereignty in any treaty or war.

Lubicon advisors say that the charges are being pursued aggressively in order to divert Lubicon attention from the highly successful public campaign against the transnational Daishowa. The Daishowa boycott campaign, announced last November at a press conference in Ottawa, has forced the transnational to postpone plans to clearcut this winter in Lubicon territories. However Daishowa still owns leases to most of the Lubicon land base and plans go ahead next winter. Lubicon supporters have convinced several companies, including Cultures Fresh Foods, Ho-Lee-Chow, Knechtel's Grocers, NOW maga-

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U.S. Political Prisoners Update

Richard Williams

Richard Williams, found "guilty" of murdering a New Jersey state trooper as reported in last issue of ATS, was sentenced to 30 years to life imprisonment on Friday February 6/92 in front of a courtroom filled with so many cops that it was described by one supporter as a "pork-fest". Despite the over-representation of police in the crowd, the courtroom was silent as Richard gave a strong and passionate political statement to the court. In fact his statement was so powerful that the judge felt the need to spend ten minutes trying to refute its contents before pronouncing sentence. The judge went to great lengths to "prove" that Richard and Tom and their comrades were not comparable to those who fought in the American Revolution because those people had no choice but to take up arms, whereas today the U.S. has the ballot box as a tool for political change. This statement was apparently made in all seriousness.

Joe Doherty

Irish political prisoner Joe Doherty lost an eight-year legal battle with the U.S. government on Wednesday, February 19th, and was deported back to Northern Ireland, where he faces 30 years in a British prison for killing a British soldier in Northern Ireland. Doherty was convicted in absentia in June 1981 by a British court for killing a British special forces trooper who was shot in a firefight between his unit and Doherty's IRA squad. He escaped British custody and made it to the U.S. in 1982, where he was arrested by FBI agents on June 18/83 for entering the U.S. illegally. The Supreme Court ruling which cleared the way for Doherty's deportation overturned an appeals court decision that Doherty deserved a hearing on his political asylum claim, based on "a well-founded fear of persecution for his political actions and beliefs."

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)

Five former leaders of the Black Panther Party broke a 21-year silence on January 2/92 to demand a new trial for former party member and present political prisoner Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). Ji Jaga, who was expelled from the party in 1971, has been in prison since 1972 when he was framed for a 1968 murder/robbery in California. The five former leaders stated that ji Jaga had been with them at a meeting of the Party's central command on the day of the murder. The reason for the long silence was, according to Kathleen Cleaver, "a split in the party, with some party members banned from speaking to each other. The whole organization was divided." In November/91, the state Superior Court in Los Angeles refused to hear ji Jaga's request for a new trial, and in December/91, the state parole board denied his release for the 11th time. On a more positive note, however, early in January, Amnesty International's International Secretariat called for a new trial. For more information contact: the International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), P.O. Box 3585, Oakland, California, 94609.

Attica Brothers

On February 4th in Buffalo, New York, the jury in the Attica trial returned a mixed verdict as to whether New York State officials were responsible for the massacre that left 43 dead and more than 90 injured when the state police retook the prison. The jury found Attica's former deputy warden, Karl Pfeil, liable on two counts of having overseen brutal reprisals against inmates, but failed to reach verdicts on the responsibility of former

Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald and Attica's former warden Vincent Mancusi for the operation to retake the prison. The jury also ruled that the 1,281 inmates who filed the \$2.8 billion civil-liability suit in 1974 had proven not only that they suffered "cruel and unusual punishment" and reprisals, but also that the state generally failed to provide adequate medical care. According to Akil al-Jundi, a former Attica inmate in whose name the civil suit was filed, "We've got a partial victory in that we got Karl Pfeil. It would have been momentous to have gotten Oswald and Mancusi or one of the other big fish." Lawyers for both the inmates and the state officials have said that they will appeal the verdicts and a new trial will be held on the claims on which the jury was deadlocked.

Puerto Rican Independence Movement

On December 10, a Federal District Court in Hartford, Connecticut ruled that Puerto Rican journalist Daisy Sanchez did not have to surrender the original videotapes of the interviews she conducted last summer with two underground leaders of the Macheteros, a Puerto Rican guerrilla organization. Sanchez had refused to testify before a grand jury or turn over her originals. Her lawyer, Jon Schoenhorn has said that the U.S. government has been harassing Sanchez because it is embarrassed that it has been unable to catch the two independentistas, Filiberto Ojeda Rios and Luis Colon Osorio. During the trial hundreds of people demonstrated in support of Daisy at the Federal Building in San Jose, Puerto Rico. In a related incident, on January 13th Puerto Rican independentista Elias Castro Ramon had charges of conspiracy to rob and transport stolen money dropped by the courts, and a second defendant in the case, Isaac Camacho Negrón, pled guilty to minor charges in exchange for a reduced sentence of 5 years and a \$10,000 fine. Both men had faced sentences of 15 years in prison for their role in the 1983 expropriation of \$7.1 million dollars from a Wells Fargo bank in Hartford, Connecticut claimed by the Macheteros. The trial for the other defendants is expected to begin in April.

Queens 2

On December 19/91, an appeal in the cases of former Black Panther Party members Bashir Hameed and Abdul Majid was rejected by the appellate division of the New York State Supreme Court. Both were framed in the 1981 killing of a New York City police officer and received 30+ years, with recommendation that they never be paroled. Since his conviction, Bashir Hameed has faced particularly harsh prison conditions, including a stretch of over two years and seven months in solitary confinement - locked in a 6' by 8' cell for 23 hours a day. The reasoning behind this repression is obvious, according to Mark Gombiner, attorney for both Hameed and Majid, "The reason which they [the prison administration] themselves gave, even in a written statement to Mr. Hameed, was that you are being held here because the other people in the prison look up to you too much and we think that you are a radical and have too much leadership ability."

Dhoruba Bin Wahad

On February 12/92, Dhoruba Bin Wahad went to court, facing a bench warrant for a failure to appear at a court hearing on February 5th which could have resulted in his re-imprisonment due to a December 19/91 New York Supreme Court decision. Dhoruba had refused to attend the February 5th hearing since his lawyers could



not attend and the judge refused to cancel the hearings. On the 12th the judge decided to let Dhoruba remain free until another hearing in April. The aforementioned December 19th decision re-instated Dhoruba's conviction and paved the way for his possible re-incarceration. While Dhoruba's 19 year long imprisonment ended after it was proved that critical evidence had been withheld at all three of the trials it took to convict him, the state is now saying that Dhoruba must prove that the withheld evidence would have changed the jury's verdict. For more information on this critical case contact: Campaign to Free Black Political Prisoners and POWs in the U.S. P.O. Box 339 Kingsbridge Station, Bronx, New York, 10463-0339, U.S.A.

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zine, Safeway's, Mr. C's Donuts and the YMCA to boycott Daishowa paper bags, a move that has forced Daishowa Vice-President To Hamaoka to admit publicly that the boycott is hurting them. Friends of the Lubicon, the Toronto organizers of the boycott, state in letters to Daishowa that the boycott will continue until Daishowa makes a clear, public and unequivocal commitment not to cut or buy wood cut in unceded Lubicon territories until a land rights settlement has been reached with both levels of government, and a harvesting agreement negotiated with the Lubicon Nation which takes into account Lubicon wildlife and environmental concerns.

The boycott has also been successful in uniting many different organizations behind the Lubicon struggle and spurring people into action for aboriginal land rights. Its continuation and expansion is essential to bringing about a resolution of Lubicon land rights and stopping the transnational Daishowa before the Lubicon society is wiped off the map.

For more information contact Friends of the Lubicon (Toronto) at 485 Ridelle Ave., Toronto, Ontario, M6B 1K6 Canada, tel: (416) 783 4694.

of the "noise and smell" of immigrants and former president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has likened immigration to an "invasion". These sentiments are not exclusive to the right, however. The French Communist Party, for example, supports tougher immigration laws in order to "protect French jobs for French workers", and in many countries it is the Social Democrats who have been sounding the cry for stricter border controls and tougher asylum policies to crackdown on the "parasitic illegals" who are milking Europe's welfare system. Even the Greens have not taken a resolute stand on the issue. Some Green parties feel that the boat truly is full, and that Europe's already fragile ecosystem can't bear the burden of thousands more immigrants. Despite their vague wishes for a "multi-cultural society", Greens across Europe have taken part in the parliamentary discussions on curbing immigration numbers, and they have not taken up the slogan of the radical-left: "Asylum Rights for All!"

Europe, in fact, has been hit on all sides with the complexities of the refugee situation, a situation which makes clear the contradictions of capitalism. With the collapse of the East Bloc, the fallen State-socialist economies have left in their wake high unemployment and economic despair, and tens of thousands of East Europeans have begun heading westward. But no longer are these people welcomed as political refugees; now they, like so many others from the Three Continents, are labelled as "economic refugees" and told to leave.

With European unity just around the corner, Europe's ruling powers have gone into high gear in their attempts to successfully prepare Europe for its role as a world economic super-power. But their preparations for the harsh realities of unity were in fact started years ago, behind closed doors. Their goal has always been - as more and more people are now beginning to realize at the last moment - to establish a system of regulation, selection, and control to safe-guard the European fortress. Through various treaties like the Schengen Agreement and the Dublin Accord, Europe's member nations are preparing to take the final steps towards harmonizing the asylum policies of the various individual EC states and to thereby put an end to what they see as the most pressing problem of the '90's: "uncontrolled" migration.

Again, this line of policy is not exclusively right-wing. In fact, what we are almost seeing is a crude re-definition of the social democratic credo, an attempt to make the most of "the potential of society" (as RARA note in their communique). Strict asylum-policies, which are obviously racist, are not necessarily exclusively so. Again, Europe's ruling powers do not want to eliminate the migration of cheap labour to within their borders, rather they want to control it better. Europe's welfare abundance was built, to a large degree, thanks to the people of the Three Continents. In addition to the obvious fact that the capitalist imperialism of European multi-national corporations has, for decades, been exploiting the nations of the Three Continents to feed the European production sector's insatiable need for raw materials, also within Europe as well, cheap and illegal migrant labour has been a widely-utilized base in the labour market, even if official statistics never record this fact.

Europe needs this expendable labour base now more than ever, especially as unification will bring increased demands for better production in order to stay competitive in the global capital market. For one thing, Europe is faced with a demographic time-bomb, namely a declining birth-rate. Thus, the capitalist economy in Europe in the '90s will require migration, so the goal of Europe's ruling powers is to control and maximize the efficiency of the influx of foreigners. No longer will skin-colour alone be the deciding factor. What will be sought after, however, is flexibility, adaptability, and political submissiveness.

But what will the effects of this harmonized policy be? For one thing, Europe will indeed begin to resemble a fortress, as the EC's outer borders become more and more militarized, like the Rio Grande in America's south-west. In fact, army units are already being used to aid in border controls across southern Europe, and the Austrians are leading the way out East by increasing patrols to stop the flood of East European immigrants. And in line with the TREVI Agreement, international cooperation in data collection and policing efforts will be greatly intensified. The goal of this is two-fold: firstly, to create EUROPOL, a European-wide police network, united by a massive computer system, the Schengen Information System (SIS); and secondly, to also use this harmonized data collection to strictly control immigration.

Soon, Europe will have in place a "one-shot" policy with regard to asylum applications. This means that a person seeking asylum in the European Community must apply at the nation he/she arrives at, and the decision handed down by this nation applies for entrance into all other nations. In other words, refugees and immigrants will only have one chance to enter Europe, and if they fail at one port of entry, they won't be allowed in at any other European port of entry. This is designed to clamp down on the inter-European migration of "illegals". Currently, "illegal" immigrants can move between various nations in Europe in the hopes of finding one with a more lenient asylum policy. This is soon to be halted, both with har-

nized external regulations, and also with the use of greater numbers of immigration police who will search Europe's inner-cities in an effort to gather up "illegals" for deportation. And in an effort to stop people from trying to enter Europe in the first place, the Schengen and Dublin Accords seek to cut down on flight from the nations of origin themselves. Already, there are visa requirements for entering Europe from about 60 nations. Also, Germany, for example, dresses immigration police in Lufthansa [German airline - ed.] uniforms so they can more easily check exit papers and stop certain people from trying to enter Europe before they ever leave their nation of origin.

Resistance to Europe's Asylum-Policies

Again, the sudden prominence of the "refugee problem" in Europe has unleashed a tide of xenophobia and racism which has manifested itself in countless attacks by right-wing extremists upon refugees and immigrants all across Europe. As a result, resistance to these events has had to be two-fold: resisting the EC's new asylum-policies in general and also actively confronting active neo-Nazi groups.

Across Europe, refugees and immigrants have been organizing and taking action against immigration policies, as well as actively defending themselves from fascist attacks. For example, in France, there have been over 4000 self-help associations set up by immigrants, many



The buses used to transport refugees, against their will, after a late night visit.

Refugees are often transported, against their will, from places deemed too dangerous for them on account of the rising tide of racism.

Every day, in both old and new parts of Germany, there are attacks on refugees and immigrants.

Before these recent incidents, such attacks and humiliations did not occur to such a degree in Berlin, because most refugees are here for the first time.

We stand in principle behind the right to freely choose where people wish to live; and this includes immigrants and refugees!

Mannheimerstraße, Wednesday night:

Buses belonging to "Bayern-Express", the company which is primarily responsible for the transportation of refugees out of Waterloofer [a part of Berlin - ed.] - these buses are burnt, and they won't be used again soon.

Our action won't end racism or the implementation of asylum policies. But hopefully we did help to disrupt things, because otherwise the whole racist apparatus would operate without any friction.

So let's attack this apparatus with a variety of actions!

ARAG (an anti-racist group)

On the order of the branch of the Refugee Administration in Waterloofer, refugees, against their declared will and despite all of their legal rights, have been "removed" to the former DDR [East Germany - ed.]. Their subjection has been used as a means of showing that life for them in West Germany is impossible.

Tolerance of racist attacks is one of the clearest forms of the State's cold refusal to deal with the problem. And then there's the so-called "normal" living conditions which range from inhumane living accommodations to inadequate nursing care to the complete denial of medical treatment. And with the new measures - intern centres, quicker deportations, the recording of police records, and the increased cooperation between the police and social workers - the system of deterrence, control, and expulsion is being perfected. The repressive character of the West German state is made clear by this attack on the weakest segment of the population.

But the refugees are resisting all of this, by struggling for concrete improvements in their care, by organizing their self-defense against racist attacks, and, like in Schwalbach, where they are resisting their removal to the former DDR. Over the last few weeks, many groups of refugees have abandoned their appointed residences and decided for themselves where they wish to live. We support these efforts.

On the other hand, it's necessary to attack the organs and functionaries who carry out this inhumane treatment of refugees.

That's why, on 21/10/91, we smashed the windows of five travel agencies belonging to "Bayern-Express" and made the offices unusable by tossing butyric acid inside. Bayern-Express has for the past two years, and especially over the last two weeks, carried out several "removals" of unwilling refugees to the former DDR.

For the right to stay and the free choice of where to live for refugees!

For a strong anti-racist struggle!

Autonome Groups

(Fond greetings to the anti-racist group ARAG!)

with the explicit aim of fighting racism. Others have taken direct action to protest their treatment. During the many attacks by fascists, police have refused to intervene, so it is only when they actively defended themselves that refugees have been able to repel the attackers. For example, in Norderstedt, in northern Germany, a group of 70 refugees who had occupied a church in Neumünster for 6 weeks in an attempt to halt their forced transfer to a refugee shelter in the ex-DDR were forced to accept the offer of an allegedly "safe" refugee shelter in the ex-DDR. Within one week this shelter was attacked by over 200 fascists with fire-bombs and knives. The 15 policemen at the scene fled, leaving the refugees to stop the fascist attack themselves. The refugees then reoccupied the church in Norderstedt, were again forced to leave, and have now sought refuge in Schalom Parish, also in Norderstedt. This Parish is also demanding that the refugees leave immediately, and it will not provide any food or medical supplies to them. On February 8, the refugees began a hungerstrike. This is just of one of many initiatives that is being organized and carried out by refugees in their fight for the right to determine for themselves where they shall live.

Within the radical-left there have been many initiatives undertaken in solidarity with refugees and immigrants, on many different levels. The clandestine movement, most notably Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action (RARA) in the Netherlands and the Revolutionary Cells

(Revolutionaire Zellen - RZ) in Germany, have been attacking the State apparatus that dictates immigration policy and its implementation. The most recent RZ action was their attack on the Refugee Division of the provincial administration building in the town of Boblingen on August 2, 1991. This attack caused over \$375,000 damage and destroyed data files on over 10,000 refugees - a concrete hindrance to the State's deportation schemes. And there have been similar smaller attacks throughout Germany by autonomous groups on administrative targets designed to both protest Germany's asylum policies and to express solidarity with all peoples of the Three Continents seeking material aid in the wealthy northern metropolises. Indeed, the RZ quote refugees who speak of a "migration war" being declared on the imperialist northern powers by the refugees from the Three Continents. After decades of exploitation, the people of the Three Continents are now coming to claim what is theirs, a justifiable claim made by many immigrants. And much of the (white) left in Europe, while gladly expressing feel-good solidarity, has had trouble coping with this explicitly anti-imperialist outlook on migration.

Ever since Germany's reunification on October 3, 1990, there has been a dramatic rise in right-wing nationalist extremism. And more recently, this has been spurred on by the paranoia surrounding the refugee "problem" decreed by the politicians. Racist attacks by right-wing groups on foreigners - in the form of gangs of youths with

bats attacking foreigners, fire-bomb attacks on foreigner's houses and asylum-centres, etc. - became daily events by the end of August 1991. The politicians did little but verbally denounce these pogroms - indeed the ruling powers tolerate the existence of neo-Nazi groups for their functional value, in this case, of adding to the media hype/hysteria around the refugee issue - and all the left could manage was whimpering cries for more police protection. So it was really only the autonomist scene which actively sought to provide real concrete solidarity and support.

The name Hoyerswerda has become synonymous with asylum politics in Germany. In early September 1991, Hoyerswerda, a quiet East German city whose coal industry is about to go completely bankrupt, was the site of nightly attacks by right wing extremists on an apartment building housing primarily Vietnamese immigrants. The attacks were so repeated and so vicious that the immigrants had to be taken out of the city. But what was most frightening about the ordeal was the fact that the nightly attacks had the silent, and also the active support of Hoyerswerda resident. This signifies deep-seated racism, but it also points out something the ruling powers actively try to exploit, namely the economic frustration felt by so many working-class Germans, particularly in the now-defunct DDR. This is an effective means of preventing mass protest from the German proletariat against the State, namely turning the lower-classes onto the only segment of society more vulnerable and exploited than them: the refugee population. On September 29, a huge anti-racist convoy headed out from Berlin and convened a huge demo in Hoyerswerda. The march, which was plagued by internal problems which resulted in confrontations with the police, was nonetheless important because of the concrete cooperation which took place between autonomists and refugees.

The anti-fascist resistance (more commonly known as ANTIFA - Anti-Fascist Action) in Germany has, in its internal discussions, been trying to tackle two potential pit-falls in its organizing; the first being that the ANTIFA movement must not become merely an anti-Nazi movement, but should keep a broader, anti-imperialist perspective. Obviously, street-level confrontations with Nazis - "Attack The Nazis Wherever They Appear!" is one popular slogan - must continue, but ANTIFA organizing efforts have to keep a broader view as well, because the State, again, merely utilizes the extreme right to push through its own capitalist ideological agenda. As many ANTIFA discussions make note of, the State itself is not fascist - it's a big mistake to think this - but it does utilize fascist tactics and groups. Bearing this in mind, autonomist groups have tried to remain active on both of these fronts. For example, on October 18, 1991, 5 buses used to forcibly transport refugees out of Berlin against their will - ostensibly "for their safety" - were destroyed in a fire-bomb attack by an anti-racist group who were expressing solidarity with the refugees' wishes to freely decide where they want to live. Similar attacks on bus and travel agencies responsible for forcibly relocating refugees have occurred recently in Berlin. And as for the Nazis, one of the best recent actions was the October 28, 1991 attack on Karl Polacek's house. Polacek, the leader of the extreme-right Freedom Workers Party (FAP) is one of the many neo-Nazi politicians whose electoral support has been growing recently. In the attack, approximately 40 masked autonomists drove up outside the house and attacked with stones and molotovs as Polacek and 30 other Nazis were having a meeting inside. 15 right-wing extremists were injured in the attack and no autonomists were arrested. Other effective efforts include the publishing of photos, names, addresses, and car-descriptions of known neo-Nazis.

The second thing to be avoided in an anti-racist/anti-fascist organizing around the issue of asylum politics is the tendency (particularly of the white left) to

Declaration Of The Refugees In Norderstedt

We are the Norderstedt refugees who have recently become rather well-known publicly.

Our fight began on September 12/91 in the An-scher Church of Neumünster, and continues.

We've left our lands because of war, political persecution and oppression to seek asylum in this country.

We're angry that political oppression and violent attacks on us are continuing.

In the ex-DDR, where we were sent by force, we lived in fear for our lives. Some of us have lived through several attacks.

For these reasons, we declare that we want to go where we feel secure. We don't want to return to the ex-DDR.

We know that we are not the only group that is against forced placement.

Because our fight is symbolic in its nature, the politicians don't want to deviate from their hard position.

In the beginning, the Schalom Church expressed solidarity with us. But on account of outside pressure, especially by the governments of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Schleswig-Holstein [two states in the Federal Republic - ed.], and by neo-Nazis (threats, telephone terror), the Schalom Church has changed its opinion.

The church board wants us to leave the Schalom Church.

The church board has passed strong resolutions and has tried to strongly influence us through words and deeds (advertising for places in the ex-DDR, individual talks), in order to break our resistance. The church board has declared that the refugees only continue with their resistance because of pressure from an inner-core group and that some of us actually want to return to the ex-DDR. It is true, that some of us, families with children, have gone back to the ex-DDR. But with these people it wasn't a free decision. They returned only after three months of resistance, under the strongest physical and psychological pressure, because they couldn't withstand the combined pressure of the church and the governments.

What has been said about us in the media, namely

that we're political footballs without any will of our own, is not only false but deliberate distortion of the facts. We are nobody's football. We can think for ourselves and resist injustice.

The proof of this is that we are here, to find asylum, because we have resisted in our own countries. We greet all those who have solidarity with us.

We want the church, the responsible politicians and the media:

Stop trying to criminalize our supporters and some of our people!

Don't just talk about us!

Don't handle us in a patronizing way, as if we can't act!

That's racism!

We can decide for ourselves.

In this declaration of December 4/91, which we have decided upon as a group, we state:

Our fight is directed against racist violence and discriminatory laws.

Therefore we consider our resistance here as anti-racist and anti-fascist.

We call upon all democratic forces to show solidarity with us!

**NO TO FORCED PLACEMENT OF REFUGEES!
NO TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND ISOLATION FROM SOCIETY!
NO TO THE PLAN FOR A EUROPEAN CENTRAL REGISTRATION OF REFUGEES!**

**FREE CHOICE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE!
FULFILL THE GENEVA CONVENTION WHICH GERMANY SIGNED IN 1951!
THE REASONS FOR REFUGEES ARE WAR, STARVATION, POVERTY, MISERY... THESE ARE POLITICAL REASONS!
THE RESPONSIBILITY ALSO LIES IN COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM OF THE WESTERN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES!**

WE WANT THE RIGHT TO STAY FOR ALL REFUGEES!

continued on page 14...

Red Army Fraction Communique

The following communique by the RAF concerns a number of developments that have occurred recently concerning both the political prisoners and the counter-insurgency against the guerrilla. The VS (German Intelligence Service) recently announced that an individual named Nonne had "defected" from the RAF. They claim that he participated in the planning of the Herrhausen action and was in a cell with two wanted RAF members as well as two persons from the autonomist movement. This sensationalist revelation came just as the German press was also beginning to discuss justice minister Kinkel's proposal to allow the early release of some RAF members, particularly physically ill inmates such as Günter Sonnenberg, from prison. Considering the fact that the German authorities have not been able to capture any RAF members involved in some of the more recent successful actions (especially the attack on Herrhausen), the Nonne-story is probably both an attempt by the security apparatus to seem more in the know about the RAF than they really are, to also to justify State raids on the autonomist scene, especially on the network of info-shops, since, as the RAF note in this statement, the alleged defector Nonne made mention of non-RAF members supposedly providing logistical support for RAF actions.

The entire history of the State's "big pursuit" of us has been nothing but a bunch of lies from beginning to end.

We never made any contacts with a VS spy named Nonne, nor did we live with any such person before the Herrhausen action, nor did any spy know of it beforehand and help us with the preparations. This is nothing more than a lie fabricated by the German secret service, designed to have obvious consequences. OK, so they made their attempt, and now we'll expose their lie!

This method of the State is used against resistance groups in order to make people uncertain by constructing lies. Only in the last 2-3 years has this been used expressly against us: the State's lie about an abortive action against Kiechle; the claim that we held secret negotiations with the State; and the lie repeated a thousand times over claiming that we were following a Stasi-line; and also the letter last summer from unknown RAF "defectors" which stated that we had split up due to internal divisions.

What is the goal of these State lies?

We think they are trying to do several things at once:

- They want to hurt the discussions around the release of imprisoned comrades. After 20 years of struggle against the torture and destruction of political prisoners, segments of the State apparatus are beginning to realize that they need to find a solution to the problem of the prisoners, and at least since the '89 hungerstrike, they know that they can no longer resolve the contradiction of torture, quite the contrary, more and more people have come to understand and support the demands of the prisoners. The very fact that the question of the release of prisoners is now on the table is surely the direct result of all the struggles and initiatives for their regroupment and freedom. But the State's still trying its hardest to find a way to bury us.

When this smoke-screen of lies is presented as a "pursuit", then the question should be asked (as it has



been in the media), if, considering such results, they really still need to release the prisoners. So there's only one possibility: everyone who is for the freedom of the prisoners needs to discuss among themselves, and of course with the prisoners, what we should make of this possibility of release, and which demands we should make and press through so as to stay on the path of demanding freedom for all political prisoners.

STRUGGLE TOGETHER FOR THE PRISONERS' FREEDOM!

It's obvious, that the State's pursuit of the ominous "unknown RAF-members: Peter and Stefan" will lead to the arrest of comrades from the legal resistance - those people not organized in the RAF. They've wanted this for a long time, ever since they showed those city-maps which the VS doctored up to substantiate their claim that comrades from the legal resistance were to act as "look-outs" for an action against the Daimler [German corporation - ed.] chiefs. There was so much fuss made about this claim, however, that they eventually gave up.

That's one of the main reasons we have to continually expose these State lies: to prevent comrades from getting arrested.

- Their claim that we are not actually illegally organized, but rather that we are simply mixed into groups on the fringes of the legal resistance movement, is used, on the one hand, to simply degrade us, but more importantly, they use this claim to justify their massive searches in legal groups and establishments [ie., info-shops - ed.].

- They want to broaden the State evidence statute. The reason why remains their secret.

Perhaps there's more, but that's all we want to say for now - just to repeat once more what the whole situation is regarding the press and the media. Even though this whole campaign of lies about spy contacts with Nonne just reeks of deception, not a single journalist has felt the urge to question the State's motives or sincerity.

The simple question, which the VS confirmed, and which everyone can't help thinking is: "Has the secret service fabricated the entire history?" But no one asks this question.

Who else but the secret service could have put the explosives in Nonne's basement?

24/1/92

Red Army Fraction

GRAPO Communique

On October 16/91 our groups blew up the Campos pipeline as it passes through Sant Vicenc dels Horts and the gas pipeline in Papiol; also, on October 17/91, day of the inauguration of the TAV [high velocity train - trans.], various lengths of rail track were blown up.

With these actions we continue the struggle against the economic interests of the financial oligarchy and the Spanish capitalist state.

The bandits of the big banks and industries have, for several months, launched the big business of mergers and takeovers for the concentration and control of the key sectors of the nation's economy, they are preparing new means for the intensive exploitation of the working class and working masses. Once again, the "experts" talk about savage reconversions, wage cuts, increasing taxes... It is the logic of the new and profound crisis that afflicts the capitalist system: only intensifying the exploitation and throwing into unemployment and misery millions of workers can it continue increasing its juicy benefits.

This dark future can only be changed by revolution. Conscious of that, the Filippista government is preparing an authentic war plan against the popular and workers' movement. The first phase of this plan has already been launched against the organized resistance movement and guerrilla in a desperate attempt to get ahead of the new situation, disorganize the movement and annihilate the most conscious men and women of our people. The massive detentions, torture, the disguised death penalty are measures which together with the dispersion and isolation of the political prisoners

supposes a true qualitative leap in the escalation of the war.

For our part, the GRAPO are also preparing ourselves on all terrains to confront this new situation and we will not permit any crime of the oligarchy to remain unpunished. We are not going to impassively assist the feast they prepare at the cost of the workers' blood and sweat. We will continue to hit them where we can cause them the most damage; we will continue to attack their most important economic centres and other objectives of strategic interest. There is no truce!

**DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!
ARMED RESISTANCE!
VENCEREMOS!**

Central Command of the 1st of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO)

18/10/91



Revolutionary Cells Communique

STATEMENT CONCERNING THE ATTACK IN BOBLINGEN

Tomorrow morning you listen to the news: "Interior Minister Schaeuble says that Western and Eastern European countries should get together to draft a harmonized, all-encompassing defensive strategy to stop the influx of refugees."

You walk by the bakery. Inside, you hear as the shopkeeper tells her customer: "You have to watch out for them, they always steal." She means a man with dark skin who is standing in front of one of the shelves.

In the afternoon, you open the newspaper and read the headline: "Fire-bomb Attack on Refugee Centre." Some of those inside were admitted to hospital suffering from smoke inhalation.

Then you travel into the city-centre. There you meet a Kurdish woman friend. She tells you how her friend, who was deported a week ago, was taken into custody back in Turkey and tortured for several days.

In the evening you go to your favourite bar. A poster there reads: "International Awareness Festival with Foreign Food and African Drum Music."

This is just an out-take of what we hear, see, and read just about every day. Examples of day-to-day racism and genocide, things which refugees and immigrants in this country face on a daily basis.

These are situations which have also angered us and caused us to hate those in power who are responsible.

Nonetheless, through our political work we know that consternation alone is not sufficient reason for continuing political action. Rather, first you have to analyze the way hierarchy is put together, to see, for example, that racism is an integral part of imperialist exploitation, and that through this racist socialization, everyone lives in their own little safe-guarded society. But all of this makes it possible for us to find a starting-point for revolutionary resistance. Being motivated by anger alone can lead you to only see the refugees as victims, instead of seeing any significance in their own forms of day-to-day resistance against repression and the established powers.

It's necessary that we lay aside our own racist outlook and broaden our perspective. Whether it's in crowded asylum-centres or villages in the ex-DDR, whether it's in the administration buildings or on the streets - everywhere the refugees are struggling against discrimination and for the chance to lead decent human lives. They are organizing demonstrations, occupations, hungerstrikes, and other protests.

Safe-guarding Power at the Lowest Level

Immigration officials play a central role for immigrants and refugees. Immigrants and refugees are forever confronted with the institutionalized racism which these officials represent.

Requests for entrance into the country are sorted into three categories: those that may stay, those that may work here for a while, and those that are to be deported.

Alongside this administrative racism, the refugees and immigrants also have to cope with the racism of the typewriter-bastards, who subject them to despotism, harassment, and humiliation. These bureaucrats often like to play with their own sense of power by denying refugees the necessary right to have family members



abroad pay them a visit.

Immigrants and refugees continually feel as if they are not wanted here. The prevalent norms in the metropolises do not speak to them, because they can't fulfil certain criteria: they don't have the right skin-colour, or they're not the right gender, they don't live the right way or conform to the right political convictions, maybe it's their false culture and religion, or maybe it's the useless labour they perform, or the fact that their background is in the Three Continents.

The mechanisms that strengthen imperialist, racist, and patriarchal hierarchy reach to the lowest levels:

The bureaucrats admit refugees according to how useful they can be made to be.

The bureaucrats control the day-to-day political activities.

The bureaucrats deliver the deportation notices when the refugees and immigrants are no longer serviceable.

Even the occasional, socially-minded bureaucrat can't change the fact that he/she is enforcing an imperialist migration policy.

Thought is not anonymous. It has a name and an address. - Brecht

On 22.8.91, we detonated an explosive device at the Refugee Administration Centre in the Steinbeisstraße in Boblingen.

The Attack on de facto Refugees

With the implementation of the new so-called foreigner regulations on 1.1.91, the ruling powers in Germany took another step against peoples not from EC-nations.

This was the foundation for the decision on 3.5.91 at the conference of interior ministers to begin excluding de facto refugees.

More than 50,000 people, who had been admitted to Germany "on account of specific conditions in their nation of origin", are to be deported, only to be hunted down and killed.

Christian and humanitarian groups protested the planned mass-deportations, so much so, that a new interior ministers conference was held on 15.7.91.

The ruling powers changed the modality of the deportation and concentrated on another strategy. The virtual prohibition against deportations to certain countries was done away with.

The fact that this policy only applies to those de facto refugees who came here after 1.1.89 does not in any way alter Germany's cynical conduct of deporting refugees back to war zones and nations in crisis.

Those regulations are full of bureaucratic and organizational possibilities for those who handle the deportation.

We see this as an attempt to pacify the reformist and Christian spectrum and to split up and isolate any resistance to these policies.

The only hope left for those living under the threat of deportation is their individual case study. Many realize that this is virtually hopeless, and so they leave "willingly", usually to live illegally in another country.

War Against the Selection and Division of Immigrants and Refugees

As the Schengen Agreement creeps ever closer, life for refugees and immigrants in EC-nations grows ever more difficult.

France, for example, wants to initiate raids to round up and deport more than 70,000 legal and illegal immigrants. One spokesperson for the French government termed this policy against illegals "an inevitable war."

There's a war going on in Italy at present as Albanian refugees fall victim to brutal repression. The Italian officials didn't think twice about herding thousands of Albanians into a football stadium in Bari. The deaths and injuries which resulted from poor living conditions, a lack of medical attention, and the police's use of weapons didn't upset them much.

Refugees often find themselves in a war-like situation when they are forced to flee life-threatening conditions in Mahgreb and cross the sea to Spain.

Pretty soon, the border between North and South will be a war-zone, much the way it has been in the U.S., where for years shots have been fired at immigrants trying to cross the Rio Grande.

In the meantime, it's plainly visible what this special war looks like and how it's developing in the metropole-states.

The mainstream media are propagating the frightening view of the ruling powers that we are facing a "flood of refugees", as if it wasn't known that the majority of migrants (80% of whom are women and children) are in flight within the Three Continents themselves. Only a handful of people who are on the run make it to Europe. Just the same, it's well known that the imperialist, patriarchal, and racist policies of exploitation of the metropole-states leads to massive disruptions of the subsistence economies of the countries on the Three Continents.

That is one of the major causes of world-wide migration.

The consequences of this exploitation affect both men and women. Women, however, have less hope than men of finding paid work in another country, or on another continent. They are less mobile, because usually they are required to care for families. When they do flee, it's usually to a neighbouring region or to a bordering nation, where they vegetate in a refugee camp, or they try to survive in the slums of the big cities. "At best" the youngest and healthiest of these are given work in some corporation's factory. Many women have no other option but to become prostitutes. Often they have to cater to white sex-tourists.

In the last few years, more women have reached the rich metropolises from the Three Continents and Eastern Europe. Here they find a patriarchal society which treats them as a mere appendage to a man with no individual rights, and a sexist climate which forces them to prostitute their bodies and minds to the sexist interests of white men.

Even in the metropolises, the women have the duty to "reproduce" their men.

Women-specific grounds for flight are not recognized in present asylum-regulations. As wives, they are not entitled to their own guaranteed, individual right to asylum.

Very few men and women have the good luck to make it to the rich nations of the North.

They are concrete results of imperialist plundering, ecological devastation, and the resulting wars and national liberation struggles.

Of this, immigrants write:

"Today, as more than 20 million immigrants are presently residing in European countries, no one can any longer ignore the reality that poverty leads to migration; a migration towards wealth. The causes of this migration are 500 years of colonial history, neo-colonialism, and the present-day export and war-oriented economies. This centuries-long history of colonialist and imperialist exploitation has led to hunger and poverty throughout much of the world. It has also allowed people in the metropolises to live in privileged welfare-societies. Therefore, those people that live in poverty have every right to migrate to places where there is wealth and to live there. Period. It doesn't matter why they're there. This migration can be seen as a type of war. It's a sort of manoeuvre against those things which caused the poverty, and it helps ensure that centuries of injustice become to some degree redressed."

(from Radikal No. 142)

This old 'new' world order, which is allowing the veneer of the ruling power's treatment of refugees and immigrants to be stripped away, points out, to anyone willing to look, just exactly how the imperialist plan functions on a global scale.

The status quo in the rich and relatively pacified metropolises can only be maintained if 3/4 of the world is made dependent. Systematic destitution and extermination are a given. The fact that, meanwhile, several nations and halves of continents just get written off hardly bothers any citizens in the metropolises.

In Europe, Germany's politics sets the standards for the deportation-war which the other European states have to try and match.

The ruling powers are preparing for this war: judicially, politically, ideologically, and militarily.

They want to pick out those people from the Three Continents, and soon from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, whose ideas, language, and appearance make them possibly acceptable, and then exclude all the rest, so far as they can't be made use of temporarily.

Reuter of Daimler-Benz [German multi-national - ed.], and Geibler, of the CDU [Christian Democrats - ed.] agree on the German and European restrictions: "letting in immigrants in the correct proportions" is the way of the future. As to what proportions they think are correct, we can only guess.

Immigrants and refugees wouldn't be any problem if they just resign themselves to a "profit-making life-style".

Either as under-paid non-troublesome hamburger-

producers at McDonalds or as Czechoslovakian or Polish seasonal workers on farms or in the construction or food industry or as forced-labourers working for \$2.50 an hour in the forests near Bayer, or as erotic-exotic prostitutes and/or house-wives, or as service workers catering to the needs of tedious Germans - in these capacities they are more than welcome.

The selection criteria are nothing more than invisible parts of a politics of selection and exclusion.

All across Europe, refugees and immigrants are being sorted out, assigned to certain tasks, utilized in sex-specific ways, exchanged, and controlled.

It's important that their potential uses be discovered as quickly as possible - the European selection-experts are standing by, ready.

Those that are sorted out, like the Roma, will hardly ever be able to enter a rich European metropole-state again.

Roma are always the last to be brought here, they are the least wanted and they are always the first to be deported.

That's how, along side sexism, a multi-cultural, but nonetheless hard-hitting racism functions as an instrument of power.

The Helplessness of the Left

The immigrants and refugees that come here have to worry about their chances for survival, their health, and their dignity.

The ruling powers, unlike the metropolitan left, have known this for some time now.

Of this, immigrants write:

"Unfortunately, most of the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist left in this country can't come to terms with this anti-imperialist approach. This process of migration, which is the result of the banishment and uprooting of millions of people, and which must also be understood as an inherited rage and declaration of war against capital, has left the German left in a state of helplessness and paralysis".

(from: Radikal No. 142)

When the left "only" concerns itself with the offshoots of this migration-politics and merely makes selective adoptions into its post-modern life-style, then it's actually helping to reinforce global exploitative relationships.

"Profit", which is always lacking, corrupts and throws a smokescreen over our view of patriarchal, racist, and imperialist interests.

It allows protests against deportations to be reduced to crocodile tears, and it hinders the development of an authentic, radical approach.

What to Do? What to Do!

The seeds of division which the ruling imperialists

are sowing in the refugee-policy resistance movement are the practical result of our own anti-imperialist understanding.

Solidarity does not end with supporting national liberation struggles, but rather it also manifests itself in our practical solidarity with refugees and immigrants in this country. It finds its natural expression in attacks against those responsible for deportations, attacks on the typewriter-bastards, attacks on the white-collar bastards who seek to ex-

clude people.

Anti-imperialism has only with difficulty come to play a fundamental role in leftist theory and praxis, but the patriarchal and racist foundations of global, exploitative relationships have, in the last few years, become part of the left-radical spectrum of concerns.

We are struggling for a non-hierarchical society.

To achieve this we must point out the different forms of oppression and social contradictions which we seek to abolish. We connect freedom to the abolition of the global exploitation of people and the ending of violent patriarchal and racist conditions.

We are struggling as a white organization for an anti-racist society, and we seek to develop this through our own discussions and praxis. So we're more concerned with asking questions than providing ready answers.

Therefore, our point of departure, our political goal, and our daily political praxis must be continually discussed and reviewed. Our credibility can't merely manifest itself in writings, but must also be shown in our praxis.

We are in solidarity with the refugees and immigrants, and we see our position accordingly. Mistakes and contradictions will always be present, of course.

We aren't struggling on behalf of the refugees and immigrants. Nonetheless, we hope that we can develop a political force along with them, as well as with other social groups.

We see our autonomous organizing and praxis as the basis for this perspective. Those that can work together and work in coalitions and mixed groups will be victorious. The question for us is, how can we add to this, and what initiatives should we take from our side?

As white leftists and white feminists, we profit from racist oppression and we realize that it's simplistic to think that by pushing back against the system we can automatically be on the other side. As white men and women we have to be conscious that we are part of a long history of colonialist and imperialist plunder and that we are part of a diverse resistance of people against this.

We see the difficult, but unavoidable task ahead of us, in our situation as a metropolitan left, of rooting out this history and approaching it critically.

This is both a theoretical and a practical process, one which is not individualized and easy, but one which will have to be developed along with people from the anti-imperialist resistance and with the refugees and immigrants themselves. In this way, international solidarity can be given real life, and if it's practical, we can direct this against those responsible for imperialist destruction, without denying our own metropolitan history.

To bring about this internationalist understanding, we see the need for, and we work toward, the abolition of racist control mechanisms aimed at splitting up and exploiting people. This is part of both our own liberation, and the liberation from all the power structures. Sure, the road will be long and full of contradictions, but we have no alternative.

That's why we have to break through our daily acceptance of racist and sexist attacks, and be sensitive to and active on all levels of political development. That means bringing those in charge of refugee politics out of anonymity, to bring to light and attack the daily forms of racism that refugees and immigrants are continually confronted with. The work of the pigs seeking to deport asylum-seekers must be practically hindered, wherever possible.

We must realize that few people in the metropolises, at present, feel themselves to be in solidarity with the refugees and immigrants. Nonetheless, our struggle has as its goal the development of such solidarity, and to therewith confront the divisive and exploitative devices of the ruling powers.

Revolutionary Cells



Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action Communique

Tonight, November 12/13, there were mysterious explosions at two locations, and the cause of these explosions is being looked into by the Ministry of Justice and State Secretary Kosto in particular. An investigation will reveal that after repeated warnings to the police, fire department, and to the targets themselves (the Ministry of Justice in the Hague, and State Secretary Kosto in Grootchermer), a series of explosions were detonated. That these were only intended to cause material damage is clear from the times and locations chosen. With these actions, we want to put an end to the asylum policy which writes off, excludes, and dehumanizes people. A policy with a signature, but without a face, a policy made by loyal civil servants and political functionaries. Visible and open to attack.

A Chronology

March '91

According to a new policy, the Dutch people are to be required to prove themselves. But this shouldn't be too much of a hassle, because this won't concern white Netherlands, rather there are to be more vigilant patrols for illegal immigrants. So the Dutch can breathe easier now. The new policy won't infringe on their privacy. The new policy is just one in a series which singles out a particular segment of the population - those damned illegals - to be followed and eventually captured.

Some Netherlands may recall the surprise of the post-war historians when they discovered with what ease the Nazis were able to track down Dutch Jews. The very same bureaucratic apparatus and bureaucratic mentality in the minds of our politicians which made it possible for the Jewish proletariat and the Jewish intelligentsia to be handed over to the Endloesung is in effect again today. Of course it's not concerned with setting up a thousand-year reich, free of undesirable. Quite the contrary, the present-day barbarism of Northern/Western Europe clothes itself in the modernist garb of progress, comfort and welfare. There are no hysterical shouts of the need to "cleanse the populace". Instead, very reasonable problems are put forward for our consideration. Isn't Holland too small to receive all of these refugees? Isn't our white welfare-state under a lot of pressure? The man [sic] on the street has to be convinced, so the wheat and the chaff must be sorted out among the refugees. The present-day political establishment is second to none in rigidity and bluntness. The only question is what makes them so zealous.

Who or what are they serving anyway?

May '91

State Secretary Kosto and his associates make a recommendation to the Council of State concerning the Schengen Agreement. The Parliament should give in and accept the definitive - yet to be signed - version. With this, every shred of democratic legitimacy surrounding this monstrous decree disappears. The criticisms of several

social organizations concerning the Agreement's stipulations on refugee rights and asylum policies are hereby neutralized.

The cabinet accepts the recommendations of the Mulder Commission. It is becoming clear that the cabinet is following its own line with regards to advice on such weighty matters. Whenever social organizations try to put their feet in the door, the entire cabinet, and especially Kok [leader of the social democrats - ed.] and Kosto, slam it in their faces.

June '91

Under the judicious leadership of the socialists, France decides to immediately load illegals onto planes and kick them out.

The Amsterdam chief police commissioner, Norholdt, finds the climate right enough for him to add his own words of wisdom. Amsterdam should be wary of race riots as have recently shaken Brussels and Antwerp. Something needs to be done "with those illegals", he says. And wasn't it predicted some years ago that Amsterdam could explode into another Brixton, since the area has a reputation of being one where it's usually a foreigner that gets hit by a police bullet?

Holland's zealous adherent to the faith of the red rose and the raised fist [symbols of the Dutch Labour Party - ed.], Kok, decries the parasitism of illegal immigrants.

July '91

Switzerland celebrates its 500th birthday with, among other things, a fire-bomb attack on a refugee centre. Such attacks are common here. It seems there's more to these people than just a diligent striving after money in the name of neutrality.

A member of the United German government mentions, not entirely by accident, that the German people want the army to be used to stop the flood of immigrants into the country. "The people are calling for order troops."

We haven't heard such language used by German government circles in quite some time...

August '91

The United German government wants to change the clause in its constitution which guarantees universal asylum rights to refugees on German soil. The fact is, this clause, which was made by the Allies to keep alive a memory of the past, is being swept under the carpet. At the same time the European establishment is gearing up for the implementation of the Schengen Agreement.

In Italy, the army has in fact been put into use against immigrants. Albanian refugees are herded like beasts into a soccer stadium and held as prisoners. When they try to resist this inhumane treatment, a battle ensues with the army. Because this is embarrassing for such a "polite" country like Italy, the refugees are given a gratuity, put on a plane, and flown home.



The results of a poll are published: one-half of the Dutch population thinks that foreigners should be sent back to their land of origin. The government's policy is bearing fruit: just like with advertisements, if you hear something over and over again, you eventually begin to believe it yourself.

September '91

At the end of August and the beginning of September, debates are held about asylum policies. The Department of Justice and WVC have much input. The rights of asylum-seekers should be exchanged for quicker deportations: customs officers should decide on the Schengen boundary between Schiphol [Amsterdam's airport - ed.] and the country fled. Euphemistically this is dubbed "pre-flight control". Asylum-seekers are divided between those who have a chance of being granted asylum and those who don't. Luckily, not everything the government wanted has been put in place. There are still not separate refugee centres for those with a chance of being granted asylum and those without. But the policy has pretty much been pushed through nonetheless. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will continue to provide reports on the countries that "export" the most refugees, thus providing the Ministry of Justice with a stream of information to justify its asylum policy.

All-in-all, it's become a non-debate. Lots of words but little content, and as for a debate on the causes of flight and the results of deportation...forget it! By failing to develop any political vision, Dutch politicians have fallen victim to a tendency to develop wholly technocratic means of dealing with a serious problem. This also goes for the Dutch Fukuyama, Bolkestein. In an attempt to play the visionary, Bolkestein has tried to define a refugee - and minority - policy for the future. With the fact that in 2010 about 34% of the Dutch population will be composed of minorities in the back of his head, he argues that white Western values are universal and must, by definition, be taught to immigrants. He embodies the Western fear of a society with a large minority population. This large minority will want political rights; it will make economic demands and try to create its own rules in our democracy. In other words, it will leave its mark on this society which will necessarily differ from the liberal relief which Bolkestein would like to see in our northern communities.

But, with his appeal to the universality of Western white values and his adapt-or-leave mentality, he is, above all, trying to create a light in which the "foreigner question" will be viewed in future. It's a clever attempt. It's trying to take the sting out of the debate surrounding

asylum-seekers by positing a logical argument of just how many refugees Holland can stand to accept and just how those admitted to our country should conduct themselves.

Quotas of just how many foreigners can enter, combined with pressure to adapt to white laws and morals - that's the strategic concept of Bolkestein. And now Dales from the Ministry of Internal Affairs wants to take up this concept and organize a "broad social discussion" under the motto: "concerning you, without you".

October '91

In France, Giscard d'Estang tries to reel in Le Pen's right-wing influence, and he succeeds. By phasing in a "blood right" as opposed to a "constitutional right", France would be able to deprive migrants and refugees of all their rights.

In Germany, countless attacks take place on refugee centres and the homes of asylum seekers. These attacks usually have the passive, and sometimes active, support of the population.

New streams of immigrants, added to the numbers of foreigners already in Germany, create lasting political problems for individual politicians and political parties, and this has dramatic results.

The politicians finally lose their moral qualms and shed their veneer of civility as more and more of Germany's pressing social problems get blamed on foreigners. Housing shortages; higher taxes; soaring unemployment since the Re-unification; all of this is being caused by the arrival of so many asylum-seekers, added to those refugees from the Three Continents [Africa, Asia and Latin America - ed.] already present. What better way to draw attention away from the CDU's failure to live up to its election promises! Promises which did not lead to the Re-unification bringing about a paradise on Earth, but rather to the brutal reorganization of East Germany under the leadership of the Treuhänder [government agency responsible for the restructuring of the East German economy - ed.].

These same politicians who are themselves responsible for the pogroms against foreigners now turn around and blame the rising tide of hatred to foreigners on the Stalinist past of the East Germans. The fact that most of the racist attacks occur in West Germany is not mentioned.

It can all be traced back to the Stalinist past; it's their common brown past that neither the East nor the West Germans have reconciled themselves with. The Stalinists in the DDR had the same roots as fascists.

And now these same politicians are trying to downplay the brown stain on their own coat of arms. They just see it as a bunch of 16-17 year olds getting a little out of hand as they vent their frustrations. Just give them a little spanking and everything will be OK. Too bad not more parents do this, but then, maybe they're too busy trying to survive in the paradise-jungle, or maybe they don't see it as a problem too begin with.

These politicians who would like to present Germany as a true (proven) democracy are the same ones who in our country utilize racism and hatred of foreigners as political tools with the greatest of ease.

The following quotation from the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*...

"(...) In the meantime, attacks on foreigners occur almost daily. Nevertheless, German politicians continue to speak endlessly of 'fraudulent asylum-seekers'. Rather than curbing discussion, this just heightens the debate and makes it more poisoning (...)

... certainly applies not only to German politicians. If you compare the recent statements by Wim Kok, Aad Kosto, Louis Toback, and Giscard d'Estaing, then the only thing that differs is the language they speak in; in all cases the content is the same.

The Potential

On November 13 there's yet another meeting of European Justice Ministers. The goal of this meeting is to further harmonize the various European asylum policies.

For some time now, opinionated elements in the media have been asking the question, why does this cabinet, and Kosto in particular, seem so vehement in its campaign against foreigners and in its wishes for a white, controllable Europe?

From various sides it has even been suggested that the political establishment has gone a bit wild. Not that you see them zooming throughout the streets of the inner-cities frothing at the mouth as they hunt down illegals - but you can see it in their eyes. The paranoia, the look that seems to tell the camera: "You all don't know what's going on! You all don't seem to understand, THEY'RE COMING!"

But their sense of reality hasn't totally lapsed into the paranoia which would cause them to actually say this. But we are slowly being drawn into their hysteria as they try to manipulate us with their sayings and their statistics as they try to convince us of their paranoid world-view.

And just like true politicians, they've made an art of their abnormality as they try to rob the population of reality. It almost leaves us breathless. We are seeing an entirely new interpretation of the social-democratic credo; this whole lot are taking the "potential of the society" literally! Only this doesn't mean protecting the weak or creating possibilities for those people on the bottom: this has all been erased by the new spirit. Not all of this is that new, but its abruptness and absoluteness should be grounds for shame. What kind of society is it that, without a thought, can deny someone their very right to exist? In which those people who have worked themselves to death, suddenly get stuck on welfare and treated like dirt?

The similarity between the campaigns against (illegal) foreigners and on welfare recipients is that both groups are easy prey. The one because it helps relieve a general feeling of discomfort; and the other because it makes a good financial sacrifice in favour of the aggravated middle and higher incomes. But haven't the lower incomes always been the ones to pay? After all, who gave us our economic growth and productivity? Not the illegals, at best they can simply give (without rights) cheap labour; they are just used to keep production costs low, but this, as far as the State is concerned, doesn't mean they deserve any rights. And you'd never see their labour figured into any official statistics.

So this is the way to solve the administrative and political crisis; this is how Holland looks inside a united Europe.

The New World Order Inside The Parliament

The historians of the future will kill themselves in trying to figure out how this growth of political xenophobia came about.

But here and now there are plenty of us trying hard to figure out how and why the rabid anti-refugee attitude of our politicians has come about; we're searching for some political rationale. But the very idea of the existence of a political rationale seems to underscore the notion that there's some logic behind it. A logic which can be reasonably struggled against, that is, with arguments. Something which should offer us hope at being able to influence the decision-making process as it plays itself out inside the parliament. That would be nice. But the hysterical nature of the refugee-phobia of the parliament and the government has surpassed the bounds of deliberative democracy. The decision-makers don't offer up their "product" for discussion. They mystify the "product", their asylum-policies: the immigrant is a strange entity, outside of reality. It's the foreigner that everyone knows and points to and says he's good for nothing. The

foreigner who has come to steal our food; to undermine our welfare system; the fool, huckster, prospective criminal, in short, a modern version of the archetype of the Eternal Jew. It's obvious that any open association with this idea is to be avoided; but it's just as obvious that that threat must be put forward as truly possible.

That goes as follows: Kosto hears from Van den Broek [Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs - ed.] that there's been a decision to harmonize asylum politics on a European level. But how do you sell that? Some suggestions are made at a council of ministers, some mumble about controlling the "problem", they read some reports from police commissioners; then they pick up the reports from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and conclude: they had no reason to flee in the first place! The tone is set; the project can begin. Kosto goes to his office and meets with Nawijn (director of the refugee division). Things are moving along; both men agree that they need to come up with a policy that can easily be made to look good. Kosto gives his staff of loyal, apolitical civil servants the order to develop a policy given the necessary statistics and foundations. Excited, the bureaucrats begin their work: improvisation and selective presentation have been the state of the art of policy making for years now.

But then one of them looks up in amazement; he double-checks the statistics and the reports, and he suddenly realizes it's all bull-shit. Ms. Aalberts of the ministerial Scientific Research and Documentation Centre hands in her resignation. She has broken a golden rule of the bureaucratic establishment: don't cast doubt upon the orders of your superior policy maker, and certainly don't make these doubts public.

But now we've described the political mechanism, but we still haven't dug up a political rationale. If this xenophobia, which has been elevated to a political style, were only limited to The Netherlands, then we might simply wonder if the food they're eating at the Binnenhof [the Dutch parliament - ed.] is OK, all the more so since they often use such dumb excuses themselves.

But there's really only one logic we can find, and that is the coming of European unity and the political crisis in general (both ideologically and administratively). If we look at it in this light, then we can see how these inexplicable happenings can come about. Such as their hard-headed defiance of all protests against welfare cut-backs. The caste of modern politicians could care less if corporatism, so carefully constructed in the 50's, is tossed on the garbage heap. The politicians are on a collision course with the unions and other organizations for the simple reason that there exists the concept of a modern state in a united Europe. When viewed in this light, it becomes clear why the European politicians dare to play with fire in their mobilization of right-wing extremist sentiments. Naturally it's better if foreigners are attacked [by groups of people only slightly higher than the foreigners themselves in the social hierarchy] than that riots should break out of neo-paupers demanding their share of the national welfare.

It's Paytime

The mother of all battles gave birth to a monster which is most difficult to grasp. It's called the New World Order, and one-third of the word is greeting it with elation; the rest with fear and trembling. The monster portrays an image of justice. Justice for the world. No country in the world will again seek to take what is not its own. Expansive dictatorships will be punished. Human rights are suddenly an issue when it comes to considering military intervention. The United Nations has obtained a self-proclaimed and dangerous policing power.

No one should have any illusions about what sort of role the U.S. intends to play in this New World Order. The concept is as follows: wealthy nations that are threatened foot the bill for the military operations, with Japan in the background as permanent financier. Europe, in her role

as the old continent, handles the diplomatic side of things; the U.S. intervenes in accordance with its strategic interests. The New World Order is actually just the continuation of present-day international political and economic relations.

And that's why two-thirds of the world are afraid. Military interventions by the North in the South aren't the beginnings of this process, but rather the climax. Military intervention by the North is simply another means of carrying out an economic policy. The beginnings of this war of the North against the South lie in economic policies.

So the crux of the matter is this: international politics decides the rules and limits of national policy-making.

As long as the conditions which lead people to flee their countries continue to exist, refugees will continue coming. Consequently the welfare gap between North and South will become bigger and bigger.

The continuing economic decline in countries in the South over the last few years has been one of the major causes of the flight of migrants and refugees. But there are difficulties if the person falls in the category of "economic refugee". That this has been noticed at high levels can be seen from the signs that have been given lately. Inside OESO circles there's being more thought put towards opposing migration. A good example of this think-tank is the U.S. The accord the U.S. hopes to sign with various South American nations contains a number of "rules" which apply to refugees. The U.S. would be required to invest a portion of its income in South America, on the condition that these nations see to it that they use these investments to stop the flood of refugees leaving those countries. But it's to be expected that corrupt and half-feudal military regimes will not suddenly become "enlightened" and seek ways to solve the "social question". The money will be used for more border patrols and more control of refugees - repression, thus.

In Progress

The problem:

State Secretary Kosto: "Our borders need to be open so that we can increase our wealth. Don't think that we can close them to people who hope to make a profit."

The solution:

State Secretary Kosto: "Wherever I can, I shall stem the tide of refugees entering our country, by turning away illegals, and by punishing those who try and bend the restrictions." (Elsevier, 12/10/91)

The refugee question seems trapped in ideological terms. It shuffles between the policy decisions in line with the coming of European unity, the reports from Foreign Affairs, and the eventual refusals of entry and deportations.

A policy with a signature but without a face. Put together at international conferences and implemented by ever-loyal civil bureaucrats. Look at the Zeewalking Report. This commission (March '90) had the following task: "To give advice about stopping the use of collective resources by illegals residing in The Netherlands and about starting up a program of domestic refugee control."

The investigation resulted in proposals for an actively discouraging policy in all terrains and manners whereby illegals "support themselves". This includes excluding them from "practically all" welfare benefits. "Practically all" because "it can't be avoided that the illegals will make some use of the public sector." (page 19 of the report)

Refugees, thus, are degraded to non-existence. After the gloomy experience of leaving behind both hearth and home follows the systematic experience of humiliation. It doesn't matter what your story is, the pre-programmed bureaucrats still shove a deportation order in your face. If you make it past them, you still come up against a wall of hostility and mistrust. Your whole

culture perishes. Any attempt to make a positive contribution towards a multi-cultural society is smothered.

It is this policy that dismisses people, that excludes and dehumanizes them, that we wish to expose and stigmatize. That's why we visited the work-place where the diligent Justice Department daily builds up this policy bit by bit, and that's why we visited one of those who is politically responsible for this. We wanted him to momentarily experience humiliation for himself. So we visited him at home; we damaged his property and invaded his privacy. He was himself turned out, you could say, albeit for just one night.

By exposing these people, we want to contribute to (the struggle for) an alternative and to move the discussions past their present positions.

No, of course The Netherlands can't accept all of the world's refugees. There are too many of them, and Holland is just too small a country. But every organization which itself begins by separating "the wheat from the chaff" in the hope that in this way "only genuine refugees" will come in, finds itself in the danger-zone. The definition of a "genuine refugee" changes along with the political winds.

The point is, that along with war, environmental disasters and sex-specific reasons, poverty must also be considered grounds for flight. The solution does not lie in the deportation of refugees, but in making fundamental changes in the international economic order.

Towards that end:

- refugee policy must be taken out of the hands of the police, customs officials, and the Justice Department;
- refugees must not be forcibly placed in camps, they must not be guarded, and we must scrap Article 18a which makes it possible to intern refugees;
- refugees must be allowed free access to all necessary financial, judicial, social, educational and medical resources.

Boundaries

The political situation at this moment is screaming for a clear answer. The increase in race-hatred in Western Europe is being shoved in the faces of migrants and refugees; there's too many of them and they don't want to integrate, so say the officials.

The political policy-makers are sowing the seeds to make more fertile ground for them to utilize hatred of foreigners to harvest a passive approval of their general politics. The so-called correctness of the right is directly proportional to the weakness of the left, and politicians in the middle are using right-wing sentiments to realize things which would otherwise cause too much resistance. We ourselves are very much aware of the weakness of the left at this time. We are conscious of the lack of a common political project and a subsequent strategy. And while the left here in the West has suffered great setbacks, we realize as well that our comrades in the rest of the world have had to adjust to shifts in the balance of power. Old answers no longer apply, but the questions remain the same. In the seventies it was still true that the most significant developments were executed in the liberation struggles on the Three Continents, but now we see this position severely weakened, and the Cuban, Vietnamese and Palestinian people seem wholly isolated since the collapse of the East Bloc.

We aren't mourning the failure of revolution from above; the changing of society by decree; the belief in the ease of changing history just by having a couple of people announce that history is over, the sum-total of uncertainties.

There are definite certainties. There is the certainty that progress for the West (or rather, the North) means a decline for the South (and at present, the East). And there are others. But what we can't do is immediately attach a certain politics or moral to this. The waves of '68 have certainly passed, and in fact are now flowing in the

reverse. The reaction is now in control, and everything the left had made taboo for discussion is once again being discussed. Suddenly everyone thinks it's reasonable to make demands of refugees; you can call them profiteers and bums without being placed in the same category as Janmaat [head of a Dutch neo-fascist party - ed.], Prins Bernhard, or Joseph Luns. Ten years ago, the thought of invading Suriname was just one of Frans Weisglas' wet dreams, but now it doesn't seem like just a fantasy.

If you translate history into the question, What has gone wrong with the revolutionary and radical left in Europe?, then the answer has to be that we have too long held faith in the correctness of the left and neglected the middle which is now reaping the political successes. The masters of compromise, in the centre of power, have time and time again succeeded in making social developments go their way. Sometimes with deception and cunning, like with the cruise-missiles and the broad social discussion on nuclear energy. Sometimes with bloody violence as part of a complicated psychological strategy, like in Italy (the bombing of Bologna) and in West Germany in the fall of '77 (the Stammheim murders).

The belief in the certainty of (militant) left-wing correctness has led to important political terrain being left to the forces of the middle and those only slightly to the left. So, for example, a united Europe could really be important for the left since many artificial borders are now being put in question. A united Europe of peoples would stand in direct contrast to a united Europe of multinationals. One of the most important weak-points of "the middle" is the democratic legitimacy of the system which they represent. And no referendum or "social renewal" can hide the fact that they are headed for big problems. Step by step, the forces of the middle will be pushed back, and for us, this is one such step. We want, along with all others involved, to turn around these politics, to ask questions that aren't being asked, and to pull at the boundaries.

Even we don't have the answer, but what we do know is that we don't want to be part of a society wherein a large portion of the population is pushed aside and denied all rights. Meanwhile, the silent majority are made complicit by their inactivity.

The only solution lies in a common fight for a different future. That can and must be achieved in many ways.

With these actions, which we see as necessary counter-violence, we have sought to add our contribution to the direction of fundamental change.

Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action

...continued from page 15

ber 17th guerrilla organization attacked a riot bus with missiles. One policeman was killed and six more were wounded.

The next day, November 2, 33 people were arrested for posting fliers and handing out leaflets against the police and fascists. They were all taken to police headquarters, both at the anti-terrorist department and at the department for the protection of the State. They were brutally beaten and tortured. One of the girls is pregnant, but they kept banging her head against a wall. They beat up the boys while the girls were made to watch. On November 3, they were taken to the District Attorney's Office, and charges were pressed against them. These charges can lead to a conviction of up to 15 years in prison, or more. All 33 showed visible signs of the torture they underwent. There trial was on November 4. At the time they had not been allowed to talk with lawyers or friends and were refused any medical care whatsoever.

On November 13, 1991, all 33 comrades were convicted and sentenced to 6 months in prison, but they have filed an appeal, and as of November 25, 1991 they were free.

(from comrades in Greece)

Out Into Real Life

The following is reprinted from the Berlin autonomist weekly, Interim, and is a continuation of the debate and discussion that has appeared in previous issues of Arm The Spirit.

A response to "This is not a Love Song" from an RZ-group of the traditional line.

We also think that a discussion about politics and morals, and not just about the praxis, aim, and direction of militant and armed actions is unavoidable.

Nevertheless, we regard the discussion and also the often well-aimed critiques of actions rather differently; for us, it is impossible to lump together and negatively criticize actions which are, for very basic reasons, quite distinct. In our opinion, the RAF attack on the U.S. embassy in Bonn, the RZ attacks on the Victory Pillar and the Reichstag, and the murder of Hanno Klein, have very little in common.

So we would like to briefly sketch out what these various actions meant to us and what thoughts they brought to mind, and we'd like to examine the criticisms which you raised:

Concerning the shots fired by the RAF at the U.S. embassy in Bonn, 2/91:

We were very pleased when we heard about this, because we saw that our comrades from the RAF were adding their part to the anti-war mobilization, and since they were probably as taken by surprise by events as we were, that they sought to do something fast and with the means that were most easily available to them.

Of course, the shots were "only" of a symbolic nature, but shots fired on an American embassy are in line with other sorts of actions, both in and outside the metropolises, against embassies and other U.S. concerns. The fact that the shots were fired on an American embassy in the Federal Republic of Germany was certainly something which must have become known outside our borders. And in this way, people on the Three Continents, and especially in Arab territories, could be shown that, even in the metropolises, there are people in solidarity with them. Such was this action, and though perhaps just a minor one, it must nonetheless be seen as a way of expressing international solidarity. To do anything more at the time was impossible. If pig's blood had been spilt, or if the attack had been a lot more serious, then we wouldn't have found it quite so appropriate. But their action was appropriate, and we approve of how they did it, and as for their assessment of the anti-war movement, we think they wrote a damn good and understandable communique.

Most people, it's true, probably had negative associations in mind when they heard the name of the group responsible. (Why do we get hung up on mistakes?)

And why do you all get so hung up on the allegedly endangered people at the vigil? With your remark that "by means of a pointless shooting people from the anti-war movement were endangered" you make it seem as if the vigil was right in the line of fire. The fact was, however, that the tracer bullets would not have resulted in "fatal shots", rather they were mixed in so that no one would run in the wrong direction, that is, into the line of fire. And whether someone finds the communique correct or not results from looking closely and interpreting it after-the-fact. (Something we did ourselves.) In any case, an "unsurpassable cynicism" it certainly wasn't!

Besides, we don't in any way see how the shooting was supposed to be the "invalid and bankrupt expression of a united faction of the armed Left". What standards

were applied to this faction? What expectations of the guerrilla lie behind this? Aren't they allowed to cause less than 100,000 DM of damage, or to make a rather light action? Or does the fact that a vigil was nearby make the whole communique invalid and bankrupt? Or should these over-zealous formulations only serve to provoke (shoot and we all fall in together)?

However this may be, for us, the guerilla is not a myth of that which we should like to see, a level at which most of us are not involved, but rather the guerilla is struggling people, people who sometimes make mistakes and who can change their methods of action. And that's something we would love to see, if they would adjust these changes and differences, as broadly as possible a little more.

We don't want to write any more about this now, but rather we'd like to leave this discussion be.

Concerning the attempted attack of an RZ on the Victory Pillar in Berlin, 1/91:

Of course this action will hardly make the Top Ten List of Actions for 1991, and the statement released was also not exactly what we expect in an explanation which is supposed to have a mobilizing, clarifying, and adjusting effect. But does this justify such harsh words like "misplaced in time and space" and "inappropriate and ridiculous"? Is your cynical, authoritative condemnation justified? We don't think so, and we don't think you described the situation correctly. The Victory Pillar is not just any old crumbling statue which you might find standing in someone's garden, but rather a definite symbol and token of Berlin. And it's not only a symbol of militarism, which, you're right, did not disappear after 1871, but it also represents a pure glorification of war and especially of German imperialist domination, pure and simple. And the Revolutionary Cell responsible pointed to this continuity, which showed itself in the military build-up of 1936 and in the crowning glory [the Gulf War - ed.] of this past year. You all, however, neglect this point and refer to them as "ridiculous". If the attack had been successful, then certainly it would have roused people's attention outside of Berlin and eventually people could have taken note of this continuity, and social disorder [because of the war - ed.] could have spread.

The fire-bombing of the Reichstag by an RZ, 6/91:

The question which comes to our minds here is not one of a false object; rather we see the problem primarily in a false grounding. The goal we found correct, because the Reichstag, situated as it is under the Brandenburg Gate, is a symbol of the Reunification and all of the developments associated with that. An attack against this, we feel, speaks for itself.

But nonetheless, how do we intervene against placing the seat of government in Berlin? And how do we come to grips with the fact that there has to be some city somewhere for them to sit their fat asses down in? The entire campaign was one of self-interest to begin with. Our Kiez, our city, we must demonstrate against every pig that comes our way... But for those people here in the united Europe, in Eastern Europe, and on the Three Continents who are being exploited and oppressed, it really makes no difference to them whether the decisions are made in Bonn or Berlin. And the wealthy and the speculators, flanked by their Olympia horror, hurl themselves into this city regardless. In other words, our struggle against restructuring, rents, and the Olympics must be oriented towards other points and societal dis-

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News Briefs

In May, 1990, violent confrontations erupted between squatters and riot police in the Dutch city of Groningen as city officials enacted martial law and authorized the use of near-lethal doses of tear gas to evict the WNC squat complex. When the squatters surrendered, well over 100 were arrested and detained for up to several weeks in isolation. All those arrested were charged with Article 140, a Dutch "anti-terrorist" law which makes sympathy for/membership in an illegal organization a punishable offence. But on November 26, a Dutch court ruled that the "crimes" committed, i.e., militant squat defense) were one-off deeds and that the "illegal organization" (i.e., the group of squatters) was not "criminally" active at other times, thus Art. 140 could not apply. Likewise, all 115 persons charged with Article 141 (public violence) were acquitted due to lack of evidence - everyone had been masked during confrontations with the police! Unfortunately, 8 people were given sentences ranging from 3-4 months for violating Art. 141, probably because they gave self-incriminating statements to the police while in detention. (N.N.#97)... On 12/01/92, guerrillas of the Communist Party of Peru-Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL) shot down, with surface-to-air missiles, a helicopter carrying 3 U.S. military advisers and a member of the Peruvian National Police. The helicopter, owned by DynCorp, a U.S. corporation under contract to the U.S. State Department, had just taken off from the U.S. base at Santa Lucia when it was downed. This base, which is located in the Upper Huallaga valley, is home to a number of U.S. military personnel who are allegedly involved in "anti-drug" operations in the region, but in reality are part of U.S. counterinsurgency efforts in Peru. After the attack the American embassy released a brief statement claiming that the helicopter "had to land due to technical difficulties" despite conflicting reports from various press agencies who claimed heavy weapons fire was heard before the helicopter crashed. At the same time this incident was barely mentioned in the North American media. With the situation in Peru rapidly deteriorating, the U.S. is increasing military aid to the Peruvian government and Armed Forces and at the same time is sending more "advisers" into the jungles to fight the growing insurgency. There are currently two guerrilla organizations waging armed struggle in Peru: the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) and the PCP-SL. Sendero is an orthodox Maoist group which considers itself to be the only vanguard of the Peruvian struggle and consequently they seek to eliminate any other sector of the left that is in opposition to them... On October 4th, 1991, 6 Germans and 1 Dutch militant were sentenced to 2 years for their part in the May 11, 1989 occupation of the European Commission for Internal Markets and Internal Affairs in Brussels, Belgium. The 7 were part of an international group of 53 militants which occupied this office in order to call attention to the 1989 hungerstrike of prisoners from the Red Army Faction. The group was subsequently brutally evicted by the Belgian cops under the authority of the B.C. The 7 were originally sentenced in March of 1991 to 10 months and were given heavy fines which were payable to the B.C. and 17 corporations. The prosecution appealed what they considered to be "light" sentences which resulted in this recent trial (*Rote Hilfe* 1/92)... On December 2/91, in a high-security barracks in Istanbul, Turkey, 21 high-ranking military officials succumbed to poisoned soup and coffee. In a communique, the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) claimed responsibility for the poisonings, warning that this action shows they have the

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objectify refugees and to down-play their own organizing efforts. What the autonomist scene has tried to do is to carry out its actions not "on behalf of" the refugees, but rather in support of the refugees' own struggles. Such was the case for example, with the attack on the buses in Berlin. Likewise attacks on neo-Nazi groups are a concrete way the autonomists can provide solidarity and support for the refugees, without using the refugees' cause to further some other political agenda. Autonomists in Stuttgart, and in other German cities as well, have also recently begun actively supporting the immigrants' own organizational efforts by working together with refugee organizations, immigrant-youth street gangs, etc. On October 10, 1991, after a meeting between some 30 autonomists and another 300 or so primarily Turkish youths, the group split up and began patrolling the streets in order to find and attack neo-Nazis. Such cooperation between autonomists and street gang members causes the police great concern, of course.

The left has a gross tendency to be paternalistic and even racist when it comes to comprehending the problems faced by people of colour. The only way to both overcome this and to provide concrete political support as well is to organize alongside these groups, using means which fit the conditions under which they live.

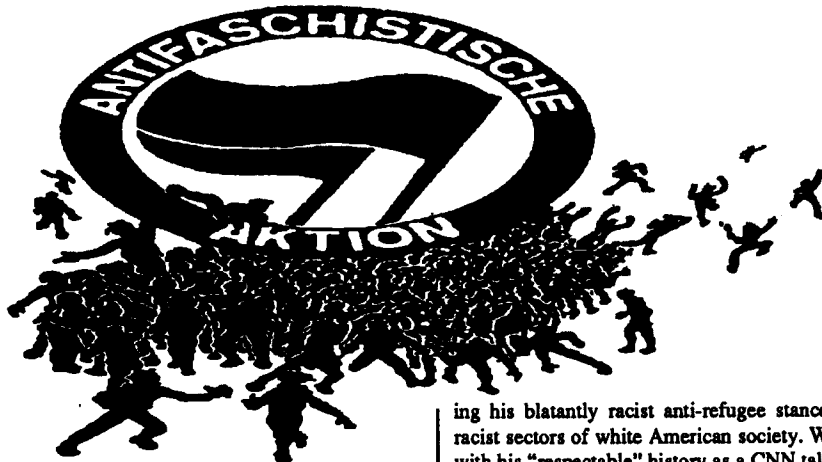
The Current Situation In North America

While conditions are the same here in North America, they have not yet reached the levels that we see in Europe. Recent changes to Canadian immigration policy in the late 80's are designed to make it more difficult for Third World people to seek refugee status in Canada. For example, Canada maintained a list - which has now been eliminated - of countries which they would not deport refugee claimants to. Called the B-1 list, it included countries such as El Salvador and Guatemala. While this list provided a certain measure of protection, the fact that an entry visa was necessary made flight difficult, often with tragic consequences. Upon reaching Canada, refugees have to meet a narrow definition of what constitutes a refugee, one which stresses individualized persecution, as evidenced by an immigration lawyer who has stated "a villager who is shot at because of his or her political opinion can be a refugee; villagers who are bombed from the air because they live in guerrilla-controlled territory are not thereby considered refugees".

Another deterrent in Canada's immigration system is one which, although not yet implemented, could have severe consequences for refugees coming to Canada. The Safe Third Country concept declares as ineligible for refugee status all claimants who, after having fled their country of origin, have lived in a country which the Canadian government declares "safe" (that is, a country which, in Canada's opinion, is not in the habit of returning legitimate refugees to their homelands). This list is as yet partly empty, due in great part to the fact that while the US is a signatory to the UN convention and an ally, at the same time it rejects over 96% of Salvadoran refugees and a United States District Court decided in 1988 that the U.S. is unsafe for Salvadoran refugees. Clearly, if implemented, refugees coming to Canada through the U.S. could conceivably be prohibited from living and working in Canada, due to their having resided in the U.S.

Further, under a new law, it is an offence to organize refugees to come to Canada, to aid or abet a person without valid travel documents, or to aid persons coming into Canada without documents. This is an obvious hindrance to refugees in that many refugees fleeing persecution and repression do not or cannot have valid travel documents, or destroy them for their own protection.

Clearly then, the Canadian immigration system is actively promoting deterrents as a means of dealing with refugees. And in a statement which seems to parallel those made in the Schengen Agreement, the Immigration Commission told its employees just before these new



measures came in that "Prevention of arrival is as important as removal in reducing demand upon the refugee determination process."

For those refugees already in Canada, and for those attempting to enter the country, the rise to prominence of political parties such as the Reform Party and of neo-Nazi organizations such as the Heritage Front gives much cause for concern. The Heritage Front, based in Toronto, Ontario, an explicitly racist organization with a strong anti-immigration platform, is led by Wolfgang Droege, a former Ku Klux Klan recruiter who was arrested a few years ago after an attempt by a handful of Klan members to overthrow the government of Dominica. The Heritage Front has strong ties with fascist skinhead groups, and last year it tried to bring Holocaust revisionist David Irving to Toronto to speak. The Front also runs a racist "hateline" called the "Anti-Immigration Hotline", which has been targeting Native peoples and refugees. The Reform Party, Canada's fourth largest political party, is a right-wing party which on the question of immigration argues that "immigrants should possess the human capital necessary to adjust quickly and independently to the needs of Canadian society and the job market". Clearly, such a policy excludes most Third World people. Further, the Reform Party supports an immigration policy that has as its focus only Canada's economic needs. In a recent development, several members of the Heritage Front who had joined the Reform Party were expelled. This expulsion was no doubt based on the desire of the Reform Party to present a clean image for mainstream Canada, but, as Heritage Front Leader Droege stated, "The Reform Party is perfect for us. We stand for the same things."

The situation facing refugees and immigrants is similarly grim in the United States. On January 31, the Supreme Court voted 8-1 to allow the forced repatriation of Haitian refugees from the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba back to strife-torn Haiti. Although U.S. government officials claim there is no evidence to support claims that forcibly returned refugees face persecution, all returning refugees are photographed and fingerprinted by Haitian officials and there are no U.S. officials in Haiti to follow up on brutality claims.

In the U.S. presidential primary elections, debate has focussed around jobs and the 'middle class', with not a single one of the Democratic Party contenders speaking out against Bush's deportation policy. But conservative Republican challenger Pat Buchanan has made his sentiments known: the U.S. should literally build a fence along its border with Mexico to stop the flood of illegals from "stealing American jobs". Indeed, Buchanan's ability to regularly garner at least 30% of the Republican Party vote is in many ways more frightening than David Duke's - the former Klan leader and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of White People - ability to win over 40% of the vote in Louisiana's gubernatorial election. Buchanan's far-right stand on most issues, includ-

ing his blatantly racist anti-refugee stance, speaks to racist sectors of white American society. What's more, with his "respectable" history as a CNN talk-show host and newspaper columnist, as opposed to Duke's past as a Nazi organizer, Buchanan has succeeded in becoming a legitimate political contender who is able to get plenty of TV interview time to spread his conservative rhetoric. Buchanan feels so confident in his ability to develop a following that he has stated that if the Republican Party continues to "stray from its most basic values" and not dump Bush and nominate him instead for this year's presidential election, then he has vowed to form a new conservative party to challenge the Republicans in the 1996 elections.

The current refugee policy of the United States is already forboding, with most impetus for "change" coming from forces like Pat Buchanan on the right, while most of the liberal-left has been wholly silent on the issue. President Bush continues to justify forcibly deporting Haitians who have entered the U.S. as "economic" refugees. Bush has also come up with an interesting new way to implement the "peace dividend": using Gulf War trucks and jeeps to patrol the Rio Grande border. All of this, combined with a new work-permit card which officials claim is forgery-proof, should help the Bush administration achieve its predicted goal of one million deportations in 1992.

Open Borders? No Borders!

The visible trend in refugee policies when looking at both Western Europe as well as North America is one of prevention, detention, and selection. It's both a racist program designed to protect white society and white jobs as well as a capitalist manoeuvre to insure the continued economic domination of the North over the South, with those refugees which are allowed to enter the "fortress" becoming optimally utilized to achieve total economic efficiency so as to increase the living standards already enjoyed by those in Northern metropolitan society. Indeed, since the motives behind Northern refugee policies are both racist and capitalist, and not solely one or the other, has resulted in a vicious circle of hate and exploitation: the plunder of the South sends a stream of refugees to the metropolises of the North, where immigrants are confronted with racist hate and fascist violence, which is tacitly supported by the State and fed with government-generated paranoia in attempt to win public support for increased controls over refugees, and this is to further protect the North's economic superiority which is the root of the problem to begin with.

Our response to all of this has to go beyond calling for a more "humane" refugee policy. We have to help bring an end to the domination of the North over the South and part of this is demanding that all borders be open to everyone!

The following is a partial list of sources used for this article: Radikal, Konfrontatie, NN, Interim, TATblatt, Toronto Ecomedia, Latin American Connexions, Community Charge, Nicaragua Solidarity Network...

Student Uprising In Greece

The educational system in our days is one of the peak issues, not only of education itself, but also of the whole social evolution. It therefore becomes a question of highest importance for all social movements and its solution is continuously dealt with within the ideological context of every single group or individual.

The educational system in Greece is one of the worst in the whole world. It is obsolete, formalistic and anti-humanistic. It complies, of course with the rest of Greek society, which is highly alienating, especially under the present economic conditions.

In spite of the above, however, Greek society has got a much higher degree of "sociality" than other European countries have. This "sociality" loses ground daily, due to the BEC standards which are being imposed on the country by the IMF and all the other international institutions of the kind.

Children are the first - and the main - victims of this kind of "modernisation". They are losing their playgrounds and their playtime. They are also losing their "sociality" due to their being obliged to live and grow in flats, thus being deprived not only of friends, but even of the very ideas of friendship, community, solidarity, etc. For them, the only room to develop a social personality and to maintain these ideas/values, is the school. During the years that followed the fall of the military junta (1974), we have witnessed an "intensification" of studies which were claimed by the different governments to "cover new sectors of knowledge", like electronics, biology, nuclear physics, etc. in an effort to combine educational and economic needs and perspectives.

So far, the situation is reasonable, at least from a purely capitalist point of view. Irrationalism begins when the nationalist aspects of Greek society appear. Religion - and homeland - matters deeply influence our educational system. Last year, after a short interval (1981-1989) of an "educational reform", the ministry of education announced its intention to force schoolchildren to pray every morning and to wear uniforms. This was the start of the unrest. It was soon followed by other oppressive measures, such as more school hours, re-insertion of ancient Greek lessons into the curriculum of high schools, etc. Schoolchildren reacted, occupying their schools (in January 1990, more than 90% of the schools throughout the country were occupied by their pupils). The government organized an operation - mainly based on the mobilization of parents against their children's will and interests - which led to the assassination of Nikos Temponeras, a teacher who was supporting the children's struggle and 4 other people who were burnt alive by the cops during the demonstrations that followed the first murder.

The outbreak of the Gulf War, finally, put an end to the unrest - if not revolt - which had already infected tech-

nical schools and universities, and which had gained support, thus seriously threatening the government. During the summer, the government tried to gain the consensus of the opposition parties and started a "national dialogue on education". The opposition, but also the teacher's union, and, above all, the students, rejected the government's proposals.

In September, the government went on imposing more oppressive measures, such as exams at the elementary schools, exams at highschool year, more ancient Greek and religion lessons, etc. Starting in October, the students once more began occupying schools to protest and oppose this situation. The government mobilised its followers and incited them to attack the occupied schools. On October 10 the pro-government press announced that a boy of 15 had raped a 12 year old girl at an occupied school! This story was soon proven false, but this fact never reached the front pages. This was the signal for more attacks of "enraged parents and citizens" against the occupied schools. It is characteristic to mention that a teacher at a high schools in Corfu stabbed one of his pupils with a pair of scissors, just because the poor boy was fighting against the government's measures. On October 18, schoolchildren in Athens organized a march to the Ministry of Education. They left the Polytechnic School (a historical place, where most after-junta-demonstrations start from and end up) and they headed to the Ministry. The Minister, Souflias, refused to receive a committee of demonstrators. Instead, he ordered the police to violently disperse the crowd (more than 2,000 young boys and girls). Police started tear gassing the children, who set fire to garbage in order to try to protect themselves from the gases, as they were trying to retreat to the Polytechnic school. Many demonstrators were seriously injured.

The next week, on October 24, the children organized another march to the ministry. As the demonstrators were approaching the Ministry, they were attacked by groups of plainclothes cops and governing-party followers, who threw stones at the children and beat them with sticks and iron bars. The children retreated to the Synagma square, where the Houses of Parliament are. There, they were provoked by the crew of a private security van. The van was stoned and kicked and then a massive riot police attack forced the demonstrators to leave the square and head back to the Polytechnic. As they were heading there, the demonstrators were once more provoked by a TV crew, which tried to video them. A couple of molotov-cocktails were thrown at the ANTENNA TV-van, (ANTENNA is one of the most fascist TV channels in Greece. It is owned by Kiriakou, a ship owner. It is known as the Cop's TV), and it was set on fire. The demonstrators finally reached the Polytechnic and some of them seeking safety entered the school, but the majority and other people from the nearby

Exarchia square region barricaded the streets and prepared themselves to resist the police attack. Other demonstrators went on and occupied the ASOEB (Commercial and Economics University). It was about 16.00 hours when the police started their attack using tons of tear, smoke, and choking gas. The people (about

1,000) were forced to take cover in the Polytechnic or to retreat to the ASOEB. The police then formed a ring around the Polytechnic, isolating one school from the

other and blocking all exits of the school.

Six people were arrested that night, during the clashes. Some of them were arrested just because of their appearance. Their names: Basilis Xanthis, 17; Basilis Kapnisis, 27; Nikos Gougostamos, Iasonas Papadimitriou, Irini Koutsogiorgou, and Thanassis Haldoupis.

In the meantime, clashes continued all night long, outside the Polytechnic and in the streets nearby. The atmosphere was choking with gases. Late at night the Dean of the Polytechnic, Nikos Markatos, pleaded with the police to stop throwing gas and tried to escort the demonstrators out of the Polytechnic and the police cordon. But, as soon as they came out, the cops started throwing gas at them, while the "enraged citizens" (plainclothes cops, governing-party followers and all kinds of fascist, organized into groups), threw stones at the people and hit them with sticks and iron bars. Some of the demonstrators ran back into the Polytechnic, seeking safety.

At about 3:00 a.m. the cops and fascist set fire to a historical building of the polytechnic school (the tear-gas and choke-gas bombs that the police use are extremely dangerous and can cause fires as well as severe burns) early in the morning, the police asked for permission to enter the Polytechnic and evict the occupants. In Greece all University buildings have some sort of "immunity." The police cannot enter these buildings without the permission of the Dean and the Board of Professors. This immunity had not been violated since 1973 when the Junta sent the Army to evict the occupants from the school. At 9:00 a.m. the Board gave permission and riot cops entered the school. 28 people were arrested and taken into custody.

The next day, after the eviction, Saturday, October 26, the arrested people were taken to the District Attorney's Office where charges were pressed against them. Many people came to express solidarity with the arrested, but the riot cops who guarded the building did not let anyone come close.

On October 29, the trial against the first six started. Once more, the police did not let anyone come near the building. One of the six youngsters, Thanassis Haldoupis, fell unconscious in the courtroom as a result of a brutal beating by the police while in custody. His life was in danger, yet the District Attorney Athanassopolous, and the President of the Court, Ionna Louka, did not allow him medical care. Finally, an ambulance came, but they would still not allow him to be taken to a hospital. Finally, 4 hours later, he was transferred to the hospital, under police surveillance.

The trial of the other 5 continued until October 29. The witnesses testifying against the defendants were cops, who said things like "He was in a group of people that threw stones", or "He was put a cardboard box in a burning barricade". The 5 people were convicted with extremely high sentences ranging from 5 to 7 years.

On October 29, the trial against 27 of the 28 arrested during the evacuation of the Polytechnic started. The courthouse was still surrounded by a massive police presence. Finally on October 31, the trial ended. Six people were declared not guilty and set free. Two persons received 3 years in prison, two others received 2.5 years, twelve received 1.5 years, and five got 1 year. On November 1, the District Attorney said that it was wrong that the six were declared not guilty and that the others were sentenced to "extremely short times in prison". He also prosecuted the 27 people for the burning down of the Polytechnic school building.

Shortly after midnight of the same day, the *Novem-*

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We now have a FAX number. It's (416) 527 2419 (for the Canadian address)

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As for questions such as, 'Where should we locate the capital?', we need not waste our energy.

About the letter-bomb attack on Hanno Klein, 6/91:

The murder of Hanno Klein is so full of particular circumstances that it's absolutely impossible to discuss it in the same breath as other actions. In our minds, it has by no means been proven that the attack came out of our spectrum. On the contrary, we hardly think it could have been; and to be honest, we would have very little desire to work along with such folks and to be considered in the same bunch as them. Not because they killed the bastard, but rather because of the matter-of-fact way with which they dealt with a human life. In this instance, we fully agree with you and with the other criticisms written concerning this attack.

But like we said, we don't think this attack came from the Left. Our main reason for thinking this is the communiqué itself. It is written in such a cold and hard tone, and if you examine it closer, certain absurdities become clear. The beginning bit about the press, words which we are not used to seeing used in such statements, and there is no unity in style either. It reads as if they had pasted together little bits from various posters and statements. We sat back and considered whether papers from the left-radical resistance are usually so rhetorical, and so we went back and read a bunch of past statements. We found nothing that resembled the Klein communiqué. So we think that whatever happened was, there was a murder, for whatever reason, and those responsible sought to cover their own trail by seeming to make communists and

the whole Left scene in general, responsible. Other reasons for our thinking this are the metal fragments, which could not have proven harmful (according to the statement), but which lacerated Klein's face nonetheless. So that would make it seem as though the authors of the statement were not the same ones who built the bomb; to our knowledge, the press made no mention previously about metal fragments. Moreover, there was no signature, and the statement was not even released until three days later. Now, we don't want to do the pig's work for them, but we'd like to make a call that such things be examined more closely in future.

In short, then, we oppose how you lump all of the above actions together under the title of "totally irresponsible activism, militarism, and a loss of political morals". This does apply to the Klein action, as we said, but the other actions, because of their context, and because of how they turned out, cannot be lumped together in this way. In principle they were, especially the shots fired at the U.S. embassy, good and well-directed actions.

In a phase of relative stagnation, such as we presently find ourselves in, it is not only advisable to develop a thorough critique, but this should be a central activity. And we should also defend and critically analyze attacks and armed actions and groups. (Fuck worn-out rhetoric, which barely expresses more than what was meant.)

We detect little of either in what you all wrote. You all write about the utter necessity of militant actions which are well-aimed and understood. And yet reading your text gives the impression that you have wholly sworn off militant activism. That's because you take three actions and criticize them so harshly that nothing redeeming remains. You don't mention a single action that you approve of. Instead, you paint a picture of "cynical, ridiculous, militarist, foolish" militancy.

You don't name anything which, in your eyes, could serve as a good example. But what about the RZ attack on the NATO pipe-line? Or Thomas Muntzer's Wild Hoarders? Or how about the attack by the Flamme Herzen?

Why do you only find fault in others, complain, and then remain in your own moral corner?

When it comes to militant actions, we think the most important thing to do is to find a minimum consensus on forms of action; for example, uninvolved persons must NEVER be harmed. And at the same time, we must represent and propagate the need for and the legitimacy of these forms of action.

Shit! We still haven't come out into real life!

Actually we hadn't only wanted to criticize your thoughts on these things, but we ourselves wanted to closely examine when and where we think militant actions can be most effective. But it would probably be better just to say in general what mistakes we have observed. As for the function of political assassinations, we'd like to say something, but, alas, it's late and we'd like to be done with this by morning. So, we aren't going to put any more of our thoughts on paper right now.

But we hope to write some more in the future, and hopefully draw more people into this discussion.

In closing...don't get mad at us if we seemed snotty at times. We think it's great that you initiated this discussion, raised the questions you did, and pushed for a more careful approach to things. OK?

**SOUND THE MARCH FOR THE LEFT!
FOR COMMUNISM!!**

maja and kowski

...News Briefs continued

strength and ability to strike anywhere. The Turkish government has imposed a news blackout on this action, neither denying or acknowledging that it actually took place. It is thought that the 21 military officials, including General Dogan Gures, are either dead or in comas (*TATblatt 1/92*)... The Chilean Senate recently approved a statute which would punish the murders of police with the death penalty. The same night this resolution was voted on, members of the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) assassinated a police officer in retaliation for the shooting death of an FPMR militant who was killed recently in a confrontation with the police (*Brecha February 14, 1992*)... A court in Brazil, after hearing an appeal from state prosecutors, has substantially increased the sentences of 2 Canadians convicted in the kidnapping of a wealthy Brazilian businessman in 1989: Christine Lamont and David Spencer were originally sentenced to 8 years and 10 years respectively, and both have now had their sentences extended to 28 years. The businessman, Abilio Dintz, was freed unharmed after being held in Sao Paulo house where Lamont and Spencer had rooms, and he testified that while he was held he had not seen the Canadians and had no direct evidence that they took part in the kidnapping... On February 7/92, a car bomb, believed planted by the Basque guerilla organization ETA, destroyed a passing military minibus, killing its five occupants and wounding seven people on the street and in nearby buildings. The blast came several days after reports that ETA was preparing to stop attacks for several months in hopes of promoting negotiations... Two leftist Greek urban guerrilla groups claimed responsibility on February 27/92 for a bomb attack that wounded 18 policemen and a civilian bystander. The anarchist organizations May 1st and Revolutionary Popular Struggle said in a letter to an Athens daily newspaper that they had jointly staged the attack and would combine into one group in future... 3 cars belonging to American military personnel were fire-bombed on November 5/91, with the actions being claimed by "A Group of Communists". In a telephone call to a press agency, the group stated that "we have attacked with fire 2 yankee bases at Longare and Pramaggiddre. This is against the signing of the new NATO treaty [NATO is developing a "rapid reaction force" that will respond to small-scale military conflicts - ed.] and against imperialist wars and massacres...we'll continue to attack NATO's structures also in the future." A similar attack was carried out in Padua on September 3/91, and on September 6/91, 2 persons were arrested by Italian police and charged with possession of explosives. The authorities tried to link them to the September 3rd attack as well as with planning an attack against a fascist rally. The two comrades, Celeste Giaccon and Roberto Capellua, were released from prison on November 20/91 (*ECN Bulletin*)... In the wake of the last GRAPO hungerstrike, the Spanish government appears to be continuing its policy of harassment of GRAPO and PCE(r) prisoners. On November 15/91, PCE(r) militant Lucio Garcia Blanco was tried, accused of collaboration with an "armed band", that is, with GRAPO. According to the sentencing in this case: "the components of the PCE(r) carry out activities directed at subversive goals within the area of propaganda and labour mobilization, and through the spreading of a radical critique of the economic, financial, and corporate system in place in Spain and the government which supports it". The trial recognized that the PCE(r) supports the armed revolutionary struggle, but that its militants do not have to practice it as part of their function. Lucio received a 6 month sentence, and he has already spent over a year in jail. Although he is free now, his lawyer is appealing the sentence (*Area Critica, Jan/Feb '92*).



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

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