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No. 4

## GRAPO Hungerstrike Continues...

*November 30th will mark one full year since the imprisoned militants of 1st of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO) and Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted) (PCE r) began their hungerstrike for re-unification. In the course of this hungerstrike, Jose Manual Sevillano Martin has died as the result of a heart attack after almost 5 months from the start of the hungerstrike. As of this writing there are around 30 prisoners still on hungerstrike all of whom are being forcefed. The damage and injuries to them are now irreversible, they are in a state of near death. As we reported in our June issue (#1) there has been numerous solidarity demonstrations, actions and protests. None of this has had any effect on the Spanish government who have maintained a hardline against the hungerstrike by refusing to grant any of the prisoners' demands.*

*GRAPO has stepped up its struggle against the Spanish state by carrying out a number of attacks within recent months. On August 7th they bombed the Socialist Party of Catalonia's office. Three bombs went off in the space of 90 minutes on September 7th in Madrid at the Ministry of Economy, the Constitutional Tribunal and the Stock Exchange. All were claimed by GRAPO. Another bomb went off at the Ministry of the Interior and was attributed to GRAPO. On September 29th, 4 individuals walked into a Ministry of Transportation office and announced they had a bomb. The office was evacuated and 10 minutes later the bomb went off, totally destroying the office. Three of the people were identified as GRAPO militants. The same day saw a train car set on fire by unknown individuals in solidarity with the GRAPO prisoners.*

*At the end of October, GRAPO suffered a setback when 6 GRAPO guerrillas were captured by state security forces. They are accused of killing Dr. Jose Ramon Munoz Fernandez, one of the main medical chiefs in-*

*volved in the forcefeeding of the GRAPO, and carrying out numerous bombings. We have no more information than this.*

*For more information or to show solidarity write to AFAPP, Apartado de Correos 15220, 28080 Madrid, SPAIN.*

*This interview is from August 26th and has been translated from a Spanish newspaper, EGIN.*

No one seems to publicly remember them, except when some official note filters out of a penal institution. Their "case" has disappeared from the media. Despite that, some 40 prisoners linked to PCE (r) and GRAPO continue their hungerstrike that they began in December of 1989, for re-unification in one prison. In most cases they are bedridden and "plugged into" force-feeding. According to Amnesty International, an organization which has misunderstood these prisoners' conditions, force-feeding is not objectionable unless there is "deliberate cruel treatment". What Fernando Hierro Chomon has told EGIN paints a different picture. A picture that almost no one wants to see.

Fernando Hierro Chomon is 45 years old and has spent 13 of them in prison. His sentence totals more than 500 years. He has been on hungerstrike since December 5th, 1989.

**EGIN:** Nearly 9 months have passed since the strike started. What is the physical state and morale of the prisoners?

Chomon: The physical deterioration is very grave and in nearly all the cases, irreversible. The point to which the hungerstrike has come to, it can be said that the injuries it will leave us will be many and very serious. We are already destroyed internally.

As to how our morale is, that can be seen in the fact that we have nearly 9 months of struggle, resisting with the firm decision of continuing until we get what we ask for.

**EGIN:** How does it feel on the inside? How do the days go by?

Chomon: What sustains us is our unity and our ideological firmness; against this there is little they can do. The hungerstrike and the torture which is applied to us with the lengthening of a slow agony makes it very hard; the days pass very slowly, the nights are lengthened because our metabolism has changed and sleep is impossible.

The physical pains are many, from the bones to the liver. There is constant diarrhea. The isolation is very hard, as all that surrounds us is a hostile and repressive environment. But all in all, it would be worse to go along with their intentions and be shipped from prison to prison, alone and submitting to all types of humiliations and retaliation. We know, and they know it too, that we only have one option: get re-unification or die trying.

**EGIN:** What have been, or are, the hardest movements?

Chomon: It's hard to put the strike into more or less difficult moments. But it can be seen as crucial the death of Sevillano or when you get news that this or that comrade is in intensive care. Physically the hardest moments are those of forced feeding.

**EGIN:** There are those that deny that forced feeding and what surrounds it is a form of torture. Can you explain more about this?

*continued on the back page*

## Resistance Conspiracy Case Nears End

After almost 2 1/2 years since the May '88 indictment in Washington, D.C. by the U.S. government, the Resistance Conspiracy Case is coming to a close. Alan Berkman, Susan Rosenberg, Laura Whitehorn, Linda Evans, Tim Blunk and Marilyn Buck are anti-imperialist revolutionaries who are accused of carrying out armed attacks on U.S. corporate, military and government targets (the most spectacular being on the U.S. Capitol building) and were charged with seditious conspiracy in relation to these actions. These attacks, mostly in solidarity with Central American, Southern African and Palestinian liberation struggles, were carried out between 1983 and '85 and were claimed by three clandestine organizations; Red Guerrilla Resistance, Armed Resistance Unit and the Revolutionary Fighting Unit. The indictment stated that the RCC defendants were attempting "to influence, change, and protest policies and practices of the United States government concerning various international and domestic manners through the use of violent and illegal means." The government had no physical proof that would link the 6 to the bombings but instead used their politics and associa-

tions as evidence of their guilt. All of them, with the exception of Laura Whitehorn who is being held in preventive detention, are serving prison sentences for their part in the clandestine resistance. Essentially this boiled down to a criminalization of resistance politics and according to the U.S. government if the 6 share these politics then they carried out the attacks. In short, "thought crime".

Throughout the period following the indictment, the RCC defendants and supporters fought on many levels to expose the political nature of the trial, made efforts to de-criminalize anti-imperialist resistance and raised the issue of the necessity to resist U.S. imperialism and oppression. It was during this time that Alan Berkman suffered a relapse of a Hodgkin's disease (a form of cancer). After a fight to get medical testing, a biopsy in May confirmed what Alan had suspected; there was a recurrence of the cancer that had first been diagnosed in October 1985. Then, like now, he had to struggle to get proper medical treatment, which took place under highly stressful militarized security. This security was the most likely reason that the cancer has

returned and it had been the major impediment for him to receive testing and treatment. After pressure had been brought to bear against the government, Alan was finally allowed to start chemotherapy treatment. Since then his condition has steadily worsened despite demands that he be released on parole (for which he is eligible). It was in this context that the defendants decided to enter into negotiations with the government. The main reasoning behind this was because, they felt, that the deliberate wording of the indictment would be enough to have them convicted. This would add an additional 40 to 50 years onto their prison sentences. Because Alan is due to be released in '92, an additional prison term would severely limit his chances for survival. The result of the negotiations were that if Linda, Laura and Marilyn pleaded guilty to the Capitol bombing and the seditious conspiracy charge, Alan, Tim and Susan would have their charges dropped. After much discussion the defendants decided to accept the terms of the plea agreement as they stated "... doing anything we can to save Alan's life is an expression of our revolution-

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# Interview with Dhoruba bin-Wahad

Washington, D.C. August 8th 1990

**Q: Could you describe the reasons for your imprisonment?**

Dhoruba: I was imprisoned as a consequence of my involvement in the Black Panther Party (BPP). The Black Panther Party was an organization in the Black community in the United States that sought to defend the Black community from racist police attacks, that attempted to acquire self-determination for the Black community, that attempted to establish decent education for Black children, that attempted to acquire decent housing for Black people and that fought towards the political empowerment of people of African descent in the United States.

**Q: What was your position and work in the Black Panther Party?**

D: I was the field secretary for the New York chapter of the BPP. My primary area of work was in New York City's Harlem, South Bronx and up and down the eastern seaboard of the United States.

**Q: You spent 19 years in jail because of an FBI set-up; in what context did that take place?**

D: The Federal Bureau of Investigations, known as the FBI, carried out a program of racist repression of the Black liberation struggle in the United States in the 1960's and early 70's. This program of racist repression is known as COINTELPRO which was the acronym for COUnter INTelligence PROgram. Other U.S. government agencies had similar type programs - the CIA had a program called Operation Chaos; the National Security Agency had a program entitled Shamrock. Basically these programs were programs of vicious police repression, surveillance and dissemination of misinformation aimed at discrediting legitimate Black organizations and their struggle for Black empowerment. Once I became a leader in the New York Black Panther Party the United States government and the local police agencies in New York State targeted me for neutralization. Neutralization was their terminology for neutralizing me in the Black community. I was classified on the FBI's Security Index which the FBI used to denote those individuals they intended to neutralize. The government carried out programs of disinformation regarding my activities and they eventually fed false information to the New York City's District Attorney's office, the primary prosecutorial agency of city government in New York. In 1969, they indicted the leadership of the Black Panther Party on conspiracy charges - conspiracy to bomb various buildings, and conspiracy to kill policemen. This conspiracy charge led to a \$100,000 bond for each one of us. I was released on a \$100,000 bond after spending almost a year in prison. I was released because the Black Panther Party thought it was important that I got out and began to do organizing work around the cases of Black political prisoners and the Black Panther Party members who were still in prison. So I travelled all over the country speaking at various campuses, organizing people around political prisoners and the repression against the Black Panther Party. As a consequence of this work and the work of others - in the New Left, in the white community, progressive forces in the Black community, nationalist forces - the Panther 21 were acquitted after almost a year on trial. Of course, during the course of these particular efforts to raise support for the Panther 21, I became classified for a higher degree of counterintelligence activity or counterintelligence targeting, and I was targeted and placed in the Agitator Index File of the United States government. The Agita-

tor Index File is a file that the U.S. government utilized to target those individuals they felt had influence in the Black community or amongst oppressed people. This classification led directly to operations against my person by the United States government to kill me. And these assassination attempts reached their fruition during a crucial point of the trial of the Panther 21. I had to flee underground in order to protect my life from the agent provocateurs and the set-ups that the FBI and the various government agencies were aiming at me. However, as things would have it, the judge refused to sever my case from the rest of the Panthers who were on trial and I was acquitted with the rest of the Panthers in abstentia while underground. It was while underground that I was captured during the course of an anti-drug operation carried out by the Black Liberation Army in the Black community. My capture led directly to my frame-up for the attempted murder of two policemen who were shot and wounded two weeks prior to my arrest. I spent 19 years in prison on this frame-up. It was a circumstantial case. It was circumstantial evidence and it was only after I filed a civil suit in the Federal Court in 1975 saying that the government had targeted me for neutralization under the COINTELPRO agenda that I was afforded discovery - that is the government had to turn over material and information to me during the course of my civil suit. This information led directly to my release, because it revealed a massive withholding of evidence by the state prosecutors in my case. It showed that the government witnesses had lied and that evidence indicating my innocence was withheld. As a consequence I was released on March 22nd, 1990.

**Q: Why did the process of getting you out take so long and what was the government's intent with that process?**

D: Well, I think that it was clear from the very beginning that the government's attempt to neutralize and criminalize the militant wing of the Black liberation movement in the United States went hand in hand with protecting its image abroad as the bastion of democracy and human rights on the one hand; and on the other hand it had to do with controlling the masses of Black people and insuring that there did not rise up amongst the masses of African people in the United States the type of revolutionary leadership that would lead to the overthrow of the present racist regime, the present racist society.

**Q: Could you describe the overall situation with political prisoners in the United States and the current efforts to gain their freedom?**

D: There are approximately an excess of 150 political prisoners in the United States. The majority of these political prisoners are of course Black political prisoners. And the majority of these Black political prisoners have come out of the armed struggle of the Black liberation movement in the U.S. They are former Black Panther Party members and former cadres in the Black Liberation Army. There are also about 20 white political prisoners, or North American political prisoners, who are imprisoned as a result of their anti-imperialist stand and their support for the Black liberation struggle in the United States. Then there are a number of American Indian prisoners of war in the United States who are imprisoned as a result of their struggle against the United States' genocidal practices against their people, and there are an excess of 30

Puerto Rican prisoners of war who are imprisoned as a consequence of their anti-colonial struggle against the United States. The task that I am presently engaged in, is the struggle to free all of these political prisoners; to bring the United States before the international community of nations and charge it with violation of human rights and have the world community call upon the United States to release all of its political prisoners. To do this work requires that there exists in the United States first of all a consciousness that political prisoners exist, across the board. As it stands now, only the progressive movements, the progressive wing of many movements in this society, recognize the existence of political prisoners in the United States. This has to change. I think, that the changing of consciousness of the American people in regard to political prisoners will directly impact upon the United States' capacity and ability to carry forward certain policies and programs. I think also, that the issue of political prisoners in the United States is very important to other people in the world, especially in Third World countries, and also in Western Europe. The issue of political prisoners in Western Europe and the United States are directly connected to the hegemonic programs and foreign policies of the United States and Western Europe over the past 40 years. So, to bring the United States to account for its treatment of national liberation movements and human rights movements and liberation struggles in the United States is in many ways in the interest of all progressive peoples all over the world. My intent is to struggle to build a national movement for the freedom of U.S. political prisoners and to participate in the international movement for the freedom of all political prisoners.

**Q: Since 1988, literature and information about political prisoners and p.o.w.s in the United States has been put out by the Freedom Now! campaign. What does the Freedom Now! campaign stand for?**

D: Freedom Now! campaign for U.S. political prisoners is a coalition of various organizations and alliance of various movements in the United States for the liberation or the freedom of U.S. political prisoners and p.o.w.s. The Freedom Now! campaign is just beginning. It is in its infancy stage. My work with Freedom Now! is presently aimed at developing a principled coalition around the issue of political prisoners and developing the presence of Freedom Now! on a national and international level. Towards that end, the Freedom Now! campaign has initiated an independent move to have an international tribunal convened in December in New York City. This international tribunal will consist of a panel of internationally renowned jurists who will hear

testimony and receive evidence from the various movements in the United States that should con-



cretely prove that the United States does in fact have political prisoners. It is the hope of Freedom Now! and the progressive forces involved in this tribunal that the findings of these jurors will then be brought before the international community in February in Geneva at that the U.N. Commission on Human Rights will then review these findings and conclude that at the very minimum the U.N. Commission should convene a committee to investigate the issue of political prisoners in the United States and the human rights violations of oppressed national minorities.

**Q: There are hardly any reports on the conditions under which both political and social prisoners are being held in the United States. Could you describe their situation in the prisons?**

**D:** We need to understand that the United States is one of the most sophisticated imperialist powers that has come along in human history. And therefore the United States has the capacity and the arterial means to present the facade of humanity to the world; to present the material face of humane treatment and the facade of justice. We should not be fooled by this. Many of the prisons in the United States, if you were to compare them with prisons in Third World countries would be considered physically and materially on the outward to be humane and clean and so forth. Of course, this is not the case with all prisons, but the majority of the United States' prisons generally fall in this category. However, the prison systems of the United States are built and premised on the economic exploitation of people of color. They are warehouses in which human flesh is processed for a particular economic and political purpose. The human rights violations that go on in these prisons are profound; they are insidious, and they are detrimental to the well-being of those incarcerated in U.S. prisons. So, any international observer who sees or who visits U.S. prisons must be aware of the history of these prisons - why they are located where they are at, what economic basis they are based upon, and how racism manifests itself in the treatment of prisoners. And I will close this by saying that Black people in the U.S. represent approximately from 11% - 15% of the U.S. population. Of course, these statistics are suspect. However, Black people in the prison system throughout the United States represent an excess of 45% - 47% of the prison population. In other words, the vast majority of people in prison are not white Americans who constitute the majority of people, but the vast majority of people are Black. We need to understand that there is a direct correlation between racism and class privilege in the United States and the enforcement of law and the enforcement of the criminal justice system. So, we should try to understand also, when the United States criminalizes certain movements, it does so in order to avoid dealing with the simple fact that it has repressed legitimate aspirations of people of color, especially Black people and it has criminalized the militant movements of these peoples and has placed their leaders and their activists in prison under the guise of criminal law.

**Q: In almost all Western imperialist countries, political prisoners are subjected to various forms of torture, especially sensory deprivation. What is the United States' government practice in that regard?**

**D:** The type of psychological torture that the United States government and its various police and law enforcement agencies inflict upon prisoners is profound. In the case of political prisoners in the United States I can give you one example of a political prisoner by the name of Bashir Hameed aka James Dickson York. Bashir Hameed has been a former leader in the Black Panther Party. He has been a political prisoner in the U.S. prison system for almost 10 years. Bashir Hameed is going into his second year of solitary confinement. The prison authorities have placed Bashir Hameed in solitary confinement which consists of complete isolation from other inmates in the prison on a 24-hour a day basis. He is allowed outside in the fresh air one hour a day. His diet is curtailed. His medical treatment is minimal at best. His health is deteriorating. He is subjected to constant harassment and sensory deprivation. And we should understand that this treatment of Bashir Hameed in many cases is very typical. The treatment of other political prisoners also follows this pattern. They are often harassed by prison officials. Some of them are beaten and brutalized during the course of their incarceration. Others are isolated in the most extremely remote prisons in the United States prisons' archipelago. So, we should try to understand that this type of treatment of political prisoners like Bashir Hameed manifests a pattern. On the surface of it of course, the Shawangunk Correctional Facility (in New York State) is a brand-new, clean facility. But we should also notice that it was constructed primarily to control the behaviour of radical prisoners, prisoners of war, political prisoners and those social prisoners who may have developed political consciousness while in prison. We should also understand that the issue of torture in United States prisons transcends the cattle prods and the electrodes connected to one's genitals; that torture also takes place in terms of invasion of privacy, of the constant strip-searching of prisoners, the constant humiliation of the female prisoners in the prison system having their every body-cavity examined. We need to understand that the psychological torture inflicted upon political prisoners is designed to break them. In the case of Alan Berkman, a North American anti-imperialist political prisoner, the U.S. government carried out a conscious effort to deny him medical treatment so that he would contract cancer and that treatment of his cancer would be delayed in order to break Alan Berkman and in order to acquire from him information regarding his comrades and his activities. Alan Berkman is a doctor, he is an anti-imperialist fighter and it is to his credit that he resisted these attempts. He is presently undergoing chemotherapy in federal custody. He is only undergoing this therapy because of the human cry raised by the progressive community over his treatment. So, we should understand that support for the freedom of political prisoners directly impacts upon their well-being while incarcerated.

#### ***Resistance Conspiracy... continued***

any politics - a commitment to comradeship, to love, and to life." The other aspect of the plea agreement was that the sentence length for Linda, Marilyn and Laura would be reduced. On November 16th, Marilyn received an additional sentence of 10 years and 5 years for the 2 charges. The 5 year sentence is to run concurrently to her prison sentence which is now over 75 years. On December 6th, Linda and Laura will be sentenced in Washington, D.C.

Though the Resistance Conspiracy Case is finally coming to a close it is vitally important that pressure is kept up against the U.S. government to have Alan released on parole. The militarized security and sub-

standard medical treatment Alan is receiving is severely affecting his ability to fight off the cancer. Alan must be released on parole so that these security conditions are removed and he can receive proper medical care. Write to : U.S. Parole Commission, Air World Center, #220, 10920 Ambassador Drive, Kansas City, MO, 64153 USA (Attention: Irma Husman, Case Analyst) and demand that Alan be released. More importantly organize and attempt to bring pressure on the U.S. government to free him.

To learn more about the Resistance Conspiracy Case write to: Emergency Committee for Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 28191, Washington, D.C., 20038 USA. We also recommend the Toronto ABC broadsheet

## **Editorial Notes**

After close to 4 months we've finally put out an issue (two, in fact). Most people should have received issues 3 and 4 together and are probably wondering why it took so long for them to appear. Because of the Mohawk struggle we had been devoting our energies to solidarity work as well as doing the same with the Resistance Conspiracy Case. We had planned on being a monthly bulletin (we still do), but found maintaining that consistency during the past months was impossible. Financial considerations have also been a factor (in other words we don't have a lot of money). Nonetheless we are back with two larger-than-usual issues and hopefully this will make up for the delay.

We are not only putting out this bulletin we're also working on our magazine. This magazine will have a much larger format and attempt to go beyond the limited coverage of revolutionary/radical resistance that we have in the bulletin. Within the bulletin we haven't been able to do much more than cover these struggles due to space consideration (excluding the Mohawk issues) and therefore we haven't been able to include any analysis. We have received the usual range of criticisms because of our coverage of armed struggle and they've basically been the same old tired arguments that are dredged up again and again. While we do not have the space in these pages to respond to this, it is something we hope to be able to do in the magazine. Tentatively it should include the following; an interview with RCC defendant Susan Rosenberg, a history of the FLQ, communiqus from RAF, the Fighting Units, RARA, Revolutionary Cells and more, background and articles on GRAPO and their ongoing hungerstrike, a long discussion paper by one part of the Revolutionary Cells and an introduction by us attempting to put forth some ideas and perspectives. The main focus in our work is to provoke discussion and debate in a principled manner on militant resistance. Much of the left either ignores this aspect of resistance or trots out the usual arguments against it (we do not intend this to be aimed at those who have been active in covering these struggles). We hope we can contribute (in our limited way) to the discussion on this.

Finally we are also hoping to start publishing pamphlets and books. Some things we are working on are: the closing statement of Ray Levasseur from the Ohio 7 Sedition Trial last year, a collection of articles, essays and so on by Larry Giddings (this is in conjunction with others across North America) and reprinting (the first time in English as far as we know) Abraham Guillen's "Re-evaluation of the urban guerrilla". If people wish to help out on some these projects we would like to hear from you. In particular we need some financial assistance.

Until the next time...

the Arm The Spirit collective

Note: We should not be confused with the revolutionary prisoners magazine that came out of San Quentin in 1975 and then ceased publishing in the early 80's. We hope this hasn't caused any confusion.

"Resistance Conspiracy" (see Publications... on pg. 5)

Finally, we at Arm The Spirit give our love and solidarity to the RCC comrades whose strength and spirit of resistance will always be an inspiration to us.

Venceremos!

# RED ARMY FRACTION COMMUNIQUE

*"People who refuse to end the struggle - they either win or they die, instead of losing and dying." (from the last letter of Holger Meins)*

Jose Manuel Sevillano is dead. He was murdered, after 177 days of hungerstrike, by the Spanish government in May.

The imprisoned comrades from GRAPO and PCE(r) have been fighting for 8 months in a long and hard strike for their re-association. They have to assert their demand, and for that they need the solidarity and the initiative of all those who are serious about radical change and the struggle for a humane society.

The Spanish state so far asserts the hard line and torture against the prisoners. The state has the responsibility and makes the decision, but the guidelines for that are being determined in the West-European and NATO-committees, and therefore the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany - ed.), as a leading European power, is equally responsible for the death of Jose Manuel Sevillano.

On July 27th, 1990 we have attacked the counter-insurgency expert Hans Neusel, state secretary in the Department of the Interior in Bonn, with the "Commando Jose Manuel Sevillano"

We have missed the military goal of the action - the explosion was meant to guarantee his definite death, but also the 100% protection of bystanders. In this span we have calculated the amount of explosives too low.

We wanted to hold Neusel responsible for his crimes. He organizes and leads the war against all, who fight for liberation, self-determination and a humane life and against the destruction, which is being perpetrated by this system.

Since 1985 Neusel has been a driving force in many TREVI meetings. He initiated numerous initiatives for the intensification and consolidation of the West-European counter-insurgency and the inhumane refugee policy. That since 1987 "terrorism experts" from the economic-summit states are meeting regularly, is based on an initiative by Neusel and the French Department for the Interior.

Neusel is a member, and often also the chairperson, in all crisis committees which deal with counter-insurgency (be it the kidnapping of managers from German multinationals in Lebanon, coordination of searches after actions from us...) and the secret intelligence committees of the government.

In the spring of 1989 when the prisoners here were on hungerstrike in order to fight for their association, Neusel was (before the nomination of Schaeuble as Secretary of the Interior) de facto head of the Department - Zimmerman had long ago unofficially said goodbye to that function.

During that time the Department for the Interior aggressively pushed the slogan: "The state mustn't let itself be blackmailed by these prisoners."

Neusel participated in meetings of representatives from the states' Justice Departments, in order to present the position of the Department of the Interior.

In the context of the hungerstrike here it was clear from the beginning:

As long as the hard line of the government isn't being broken by the struggle of the prisoners and all those, who have made the assertion of the demand for association their own issue, Neusel is part of the fraction who wants to step over the dead bodies of our comrades.

Neusel is currently representing the iron-hard NATO-line for the FRG's government in the attack of the West European beast on the captured revolutionaries in Spain.

Neusel embodies - although indirectly - the personnel continuity of the German fascism from the Third Reich to "Great Germany", which is heading for the Fourth Reich. He has made his political career for many years alongside of old Nazi and ex-Federal President Carstens and publicly formulates his fascist ideas and thoughts without any attempts of a pseudo-democratic disguise. In 1987, when the admission of 14 captured Chilean revolutionaries who had been sentenced to death by the fascist military regime was at stake, Neusel



demanded from them beforehand "to prove that the charges against them were wrong" - which meant nothing else, but that he demanded their execution.

Neusel has the decision making power over the deployment of the GSG 9 and is participating in the decisions over who is being trained by this killer group, like the Turkish special forces which today are slaughtering the people in Kurdistan.

The offensive against the prisoners in Spain, through which the socialist government under Gonzalez wants to finally gain profile as a reliable member of the core states of the European power bloc - especially in view of "Europe 92" - is taking place with the full support of the other West European states. This bloc, with the FRG at its top, today has brought itself to be a world power, and needs to assert the inner stability against the continuously increasing contradictions, which haven't let themselves be pacified for a long time now anymore. In light of this background throughout all the West European countries, the attempt takes place to suffocate any thoughts of resistance and self-determination with the iron grip and through the demonstration of the totality of their power.

And in this context the question, whether the prisoners in Spain will come through with their struggle, has great meaning for the whole next phase, the reconstruc-

tion of revolutionary practice in West Europe.

Just as the FRG state in '77 through our defeat tried to end the guerrilla problem once and for all and at the same time pushing the whole Left into deep resignation and powerlessness, the attack on the prisoners from GRAPO and PCE(r) now aims at the same time at the whole revolutionary movement and all progressive forces in West Europe.

The destruction of the prisoners' collectives and the isolation of the comrades is meant to introduce a turn-over in the development of the last years, and exactly on that question, where the unity and the consciousness about the necessity for joint activities throughout West Europe is furthest developed in the revolutionary movements and among many who want radical changes.

The attempt to assert this turn-over, stems from the international development: Imperialism has won the Cold War. The dissolution of the Socialist Bloc, and with that also its historical function for the liberation processes in the Trikont, has led to a new stabilization of the imperialist power bloc.

The speedy development of the last months and

the annexation of the GDR (German Democratic Republic - ed.) has made the FRG into the unrestrained leading force within West Europe and has brought the whole West European bloc to world power.

Out of this new power position today they attempt to regain at every point terrain against all revolutionary struggles and struggles about living conditions, and where those aims have already been asserted from the grassroots, they attempt to turn the development back again.

Since the beginning/middle of the 80's, when the liberation process worldwide had reached its limits, the fighting people everywhere had to begin to search for new ways.

That meant in many countries in the Trikont, that in addition to the revolutionary movements, grassroots movements have developed, which fight for the change of inhumane and indecent living conditions and have begun to organize their daily life themselves.

Thereby, in different countries (the Intifadah in Palestine and Kurdistan or liberation movements in El Salvador or the Philippines) a power from below has built itself, which exists next to the reactionary state power.

This development has its expression also in the metropoles. The struggles, which have developed here

in the last years and in which different people have come together, are struggles for changes here and now.

On the one hand they are aimed against destructive imperialist projects. On the other hand, out of the experience of many, that the capitalist daily life - with competition, the absence of relationships between people, the life in isolation - is destructive, struggles for self-determined living contexts have developed. That is the essence for the development of i.e. squatter movements in the whole of West Europe. Where people have fought for and gained self-determined spaces, new possibilities and reference points for the formation of a revolutionary movement have developed.

They want to turn this development back and around. The current projects of the counter-revolution - the destruction of the prisoners' collectives in Spain, the crushing of prisoners' revolts in several countries, the brutal eviction of houses which have been squatted for years and the prison sentences in Groningen (Netherlands), Denmark, the searches and the propaganda against the Hafenstrasse - stand in one line there.

They are aimed against all starting points, which i.e. like the Hafenstrasse, stand here for the possibility to assert one's own goals against their power apparatus; that a reality, which is being determined by people, can exist the capitalist 24-hour daily life.

Many comrades and other people, who have stood up against this system of oppression and inhumanity, say, that we don't have a chance to come through against the international development, but especially also against the fascist sweep and the rise of the FRG to the new Great German world power, because the enemy is overly powerful and the forces for a revolution are too weak.

And that is the other side: this resignation and partly also paralyzation prevents many initiatives, which could be steps in the reconstruction of a strong revolutionary movement.

The decision to fight against the imperialist system and for a world, in which the people can live free and self-determined, cannot depend on, whether one's own side or the enemy is strong during a certain phase, whether victory is in close reach or whether it has to be fought for in a long fight.

The decision for the revolutionary struggle can only come out of one's own experience in the system and with its brutality and destruction and out of one's own goals and ideas - just how one wants to live.

We think, that an important key for many, but also for the next steps in the building of revolutionary

counter-power, lies in being conscious about this experience, because that is for every person the basis for their own start.

The experience of the destruction through the system can be brought to conscious and definite decisions for the revolution of the ruling reality and for a self-determined and organized life.

We all have to start working now on becoming a joint force. The decision, to do the action against Neuseel now and in the context of the hungerstrike in Spain, is for



us a new step on the way to jointly building counter-power in the joint struggle for the assertion of a demand, which is at the centre of the whole discussion.

We didn't intend from the beginning, to intervene in the development of the hungerstrike of the Spanish comrades. Only when it became clear that the Gonzalez government wants to hold onto its hardline even after the murder of Jose Manuel Sevillano and the increasing contradictions around that in Spain itself and the many and diverse initiatives in the other West European countries - and after the analysis that the West European bloc wants to turn the whole development and conditions for all struggles back and around with the destruction of the prisoners' collectives in Spain and the liquidation of the comrades there - we decided for armed intervention. Only an armed action could open this deadlocked situation again.

It can bring all initiatives which so far have taken place around the strike to a new severity, and it especially makes a new start possible, because it opens a political space for that. Every initiative that comes now, counts!

Today it is such, and through the different condi-

tions in each country and the different focus points, which the fighting people in these countries determine for themselves, it will continue to be such, that the anti-imperialist front in West Europe is made up of a diversity of struggles.

We think that it is now possible and that it can be a first step in the reconstruction of a strong revolutionary movement, that we communicate about the focal points in the confrontation imperialism/liberation, in order to come to joint intervention from there.

Therefore our attack is intended to have effect in two directions. The one is concretely for the assertion of the prisoners' demand and in the building of revolutionary counter-power in West Europe; and the other, as an introduction of a long phase of struggle against the newly developed Great German/West European world power.

The FRG and the new power elites in the GDR pursue with the step to Great Germany the same goals and imperialist plans as Nazi fascism.

The third invasion, which the German capital is leading on the peoples of Europe in this century, is not being lead with military means but with the means of economy and politics. The submission of millions of people under the principles of market, profit and product structure brings new agony and misery for the peoples. This time it won't be millions of dead and extinguished villages, but millions of deprived and oppressed people, who are in despair about the destruction of their living structures and human relationships and who are supposed to internally - in their souls - perish.

And on the basis of the new power, which the FRG-capital at the top of West Europe draws out of that development, they want to start a new round in the oppression and looting of the peoples in the Trikont.

We stem ourselves with all power against this development, because it is our task in the international class war, to not let them come through with these plans.

Against the leap of the West European beast, our leap in the formation of revolutionary counter-power! To jointly assert the re-association of the prisoners from GRAPO and PCE(r) - struggle for the association of all revolutionary prisoners and in that the perspective for their freedom! War against the world power FRG/West Europe! Organize the armed struggle! Fighting together and we will win together!

Red Army Fraction 29.7.90

## Publications...

### Clash - "Newspaper for the resistance in Europe"

This is an initiative from autonomous movements in 7 European countries covering the resistance in Europe. The first issue of this huge paper includes the squatters eviction from the WNC in Holland, a short history of the Kurdish liberation struggle which includes an interview with a member of the Kurdish PKK who is being charged with para. 129a in the FRG, info on the Blitz squat in Norway, news and analysis of the GRAPO hungerstrike, a RARA communiqué, immigration and refugee policies in the FRG and much more. This paper is an important one and in light of the restructuring of capital in Europe in the context of the economic unification of '92 it attempts to link resistance movements in an internationalist perspective. (To write to Clash you must address an outer envelope: Slagerzicht, Overtoom 274, 1054 BJ Amsterdam, Holland. On the inner envelope address it: Clash. Do not put Clash on the outer envelope.)

### Bayou La Rose

This long going anarchist paper has recently put out a new issue with extensive coverage of the Mohawk

struggle. Highly recommended. (Bayou La Rose, 302 N. "J" St. Apt.#3, Tacoma, WA, 98403 USA)

### Resistance Conspiracy

This is a broadsheet put out by the Toronto Anarchist Black Cross on the Resistance Conspiracy Case. It includes bio's on the 6, their statement concerning the indictment and a long article (adapted from an interview) by them covering their case, resistance, prison struggles and more. The ABC is an autonomous international prisoner support network mostly based in North America and Europe. The Toronto ABC has also put out 2 other broadsheets; one on the Ohio 7 and another on the Vancouver 4. They also organize material aid to some political prisoners and POW's in North America. To contribute to their material aid campaigns or to get the broadsheets write to: (ABC Toronto, P.O. Box 6326, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont., M5W 1P7 Canada)

### Prisoners' Legal News

This monthly bulletin is put out by 2 prisoners in Washington state in the U.S. Ed Mead (imprisoned for actions as part of the George Jackson Brigade, an urban guerrilla group active in the 70's) and Paul Wright (a social prisoner) cover a variety of prison issues specific

to Washington state penitentiaries as well as the rest of the U.S. They also cover political prisoner/POW struggles in the U.S. and the rest of the world. To get copies write to either Paul or Ed or you can get them from us. (Paul Wright #930783, Box 5000 HC63, Clallam Bay, WA, 98326-9775 USA. Ed Mead #251397, Washington State Reformatory, P.O. Box 777, Monroe, WA, 98272 USA)

### Prison News Service/Marionette

This excellent prison paper is really two in one. The Marionette is compiled by POW Bill Dunne from USP Marion, the most repressive prison in the U.S., and covers the struggle against Marion from within and on the outside. PNS is put together by activists in Toronto (along with Bill) and covers the many aspects of the anti-prison struggle in North America including political prisoners/POW's. The last two issues have excellent coverage of the Mohawk struggle as well as info on the RCC, Mumia Abu-Jamal, the GRAPO hungerstrike and more. (PNS/Marionette, P.O. Box 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont., M5W 1W4 Canada)



*continued from the front page*

Chomon: The government has tried to present the force feeding as a humanitarian act, when pure and simple it is about taking from us the only weapon we have to defend ourselves: the hungerstrike. Force feeding has been shown to be inefficient in keeping us alive and it only prolongs the agony with a maximum of suffering as it doesn't stop physical deterioration. Even progressive doctors have publically said it's torture.

Its aspects, as a form of torment, it goes to the cruelty that is represented by being tied hand and foot, and even your head is tied down, for days on end with all that that implies. The brutal introduction of tubes in the mouth and nose which make it difficult to breath cause nausea, continuous diarrhea and ulcers and lesions. You're continually poked by needles and catheters that lacerate arms and legs. There are beatings and forcings to subdue and tie you. And on top of all this you have to add the fact that you know that later, after you have improved a little and they unplug you, you will have to relive this same calvary, but with greater physical deterioration.

**EGIN: What phases can be distinguished with respect to the strike, on the part of the ministerial authorities?**

Chomon: We have gone through 3 stages. The first, which covers the first 40 or 50 days of the strike, was characterized by trying to make us stop, by using isolation and continuous persecution, but that failed.

The second phase began with the urgent trips to civilian hospitals due to the seriousness of our situation. This made the media break its silence that they had maintained until then. With that came the new problem of silencing those opinions favourable to us that had begun to surface. This phase is also seen by the intent to stop the strike by force-feeding us, but this fails on various points. The death of comrade Sevillano shows that this failed.

The third phase is that we are in now: a return to the prisons we started in, with strict orders not to take us to hospitals, increasing segregation and using all tactics to try and divide us. But everything they do shows their failure and that there is only one solution: re-unification.

How many dead strikers can they stand? We also need to add to this the new problems and fights among themselves, the Ministries of Justice and the Interior blaming each other. With each passing day we gain another step of solidarity and they, by contrast, suffer a serious political deterioration. The reinsertion they tried with the dispersion has failed.

**EGIN: Can you confirm the existence of contacts from the Ministry with you several weeks ago, on what terms and how they ended?**

Chomon: There have been no contacts with us, except for several frustrated attempts they have made, and continue to make, at different prisons for us to abandon the strike and they'd see what they could do. So as far as contacts, nothing; besides the Ministry of Justice and of Penitentiary Institutions have systematically rejected the offers of several persons and institutions to serve as mediators and to seek a solution.

And on the other hand, such a solution cannot return to the dispersion imposed in September of '89, but must return to the situation we had in Soria Prison before 1987.



## News In Brief...

### Get Out And Stay Out!

After World War II and the following Civil War in Greece, American military bases were stationed in the Athens region. The former Socialist government maintained this agreement with the Americans, but the present three-month-old Conservative government has now come to a new defence co-operation agreement covering American bases in Crete. This agreement to move the bases to Crete was ratified in Parliament and will run for eight years.

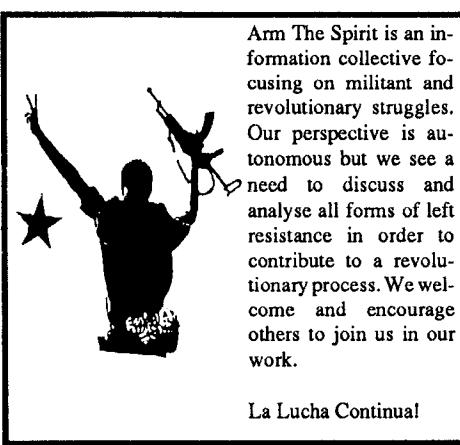
However, this has met with opposition from the people of Chania, one of the towns in Crete, where an air and naval complex already exists. A demonstration against the bases was held on the morning of the 23rd of July; 150 demonstrators occupied a local authority building in protest. The police finally invaded the building using CS gas. After this invasion, more demonstrators arrived, and a demonstration numbering 6000 was held resulting in running street battles with the cops for 18 hours. The police used CS gas, truncheons and in some cases guns against the demonstrators; the protesters responded with molotovs, stones and in a few cases guns. Eight police were injured (3 from bullets) and 60 demonstrators hospitalised.

Another demonstration was held soon after - this time the demonstrators were armed, resulting in the police fleeing to the military camp and taking refuge there until the demonstrators had left. No incidents were reported!

We are waiting to hear of any further developments. *(Black Flag)*

### RAF Arrests

In our June issue (#1) we briefly reported on the arrests of Red Army Fraction members in East Germany. We had hoped to have more info about them but unfortunately we still have very little. In total there were 8 RAF members captured; Inge Viett, Susanne Albrecht, Henning Beer, Silke Maier-Witt, Jürgen Peter Boock, Sigrid Sternebeck, Werner Lotze and Sieglinde Hofmann. It seems that the arrests were timed to coincide with certain political occurrences in East Germany back in June. The West German security forces had known of the existence of the RAF members in East Germany since 1986. They were undoubtedly aware as well that the RAF members living in East Germany were no longer part of the RAF. Indeed many of them had started families and were settled down in stable living situations. The West German state chose that particular time to capture the ex-RAF members for political expediency as the former Communist government was under attack for corruption, etc. From the little that we do know, all of the 8, with the exception of Inge Viett, are now talking with the state on one level or another.



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 Continua!

### New York 3

With the recent release of former Black Panther Dhoruba bin-Wahad we are now seeing the possibility of freedom for 3 more New Afrikan p.o.w.'s. Herman Bell, Albert Nuh Washington and Jalil Abdul Muntaquin (s/n Anthony Bottom) collectively known as the New York 3 are Black Liberation Army members who were convicted for the murder of 2 NYC cops. Like Dhoruba they were targets of a FBI Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) style campaign (which was designed to target and neutralize the Black Liberation struggle in the late 60's and early 70's) called "Newkill". Their conviction in 1975 was based primarily on the testimony of Rubin Scott who has now recanted his testimony swearing that he lied in court due to threats and bribes from the prosecutor and judge, and torture by the police. As well the FBI ballistic report on the gun that the prosecution claims Jalil used, was inconclusive. Documents on Newkill show that this fact was deliberately covered up during the trial. With this new evidence there is a strong possibility that the NY3 will be released. For more info or to lend support write to: NY3 Freedom Campaign, 2710 Broadway, #2234, New York, NY 10024, USA. Write to the NY3: Albert Nuh Washington #77-A-1528, Wende Correctional Facility, 1187 Wende Road, Alden, NY 14004 USA. Jalil Abdul Muntaquin #77-A-4283, s/n Anthony Bottom, Greenhaven State Prison, Drawer B, Stormville, NY 12582-0010 USA. Herman Bell #79-C-262, Shawangunk Correctional Facility, P.O. Box 700, Wallkill, NY 12589 USA

### Freedom Now!

Freedom Now! is an organization that was created in 1988 to fight for amnesty and human rights for political prisoners and prisoners of war. From December 7th to 10th a Tribunal on the Human Rights Violations of Political Prisoners & P.O.W.'s in the United States will take place in New York City. This Tribunal will consist of testimony and evidence on the human rights violations of political prisoners, being presented to a "distinguished panel of 11 persons, international jurists and individuals concerned with human rights..." As well there will be workshops, seminars and cultural events all focussing on political prisoners in North America, Europe, Occupied Palestine, Chile etc. The end result of the Tribunal is to present evidence and proof of political prisoners in the U.S. to the United Nations.

While the creation of FN! is indeed important, and it certainly has helped to create an increasing awareness of the existence of political prisoners in the U.S., there has been many questions raised about FN! itself and the larger issues of revolutionary struggle and resistance. As well, FN! has come under fire for certain decisions such as dropping some prisoners from their list of p.p./p.o.w.'s. Hopefully these issues can be dealt with in an effective manner of which the Tribunal can be a part of. For more info write (or call): 24 E. 116th St., New York, NY 10029 USA (phone: 212 860 4101)

Subscriptions for this bulletin are \$8.00 for 10 issues. We will also be publishing a magazine that will expand upon what we cover in the bulletin. At this moment we have no subscription rate for it but we hope to publish it at least twice a year. The bulletin will come out at least 10 times a year on a near monthly basis. We are also in the process of setting up a small mailorder literature service. Please send \$1 for the mailorder list. We accept cash (conceal it well) or money orders but no cheques. If sending a money order please do not put 'Arm The Spirit' just leave it blank. We look forward to hearing from you.

Arm The Spirit  
Box 475, 253 College St.  
Toronto, Ont.  
M5T 1R5 CANADA