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RESISTANCE

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A Note to Our Readers

Once again, another issue of Resistance! Those who notice such details will see that this issue has been produced in magazine format, and hopefully readers will find the changes in layout etc. to be more interesting than the newspaper format.

In this issue, there's more info on Native struggles in Canada, and this represents what is a focus for not only some people in Vancouver but across the country; hopefully next issue this info can be turned into discussion for a solidarity campaign. There's also some articles on the Gulf War, including brief analysis of the "New World Order", an interview with the PFLP, security measures in Canada during the war and Canada's role in the war. This is a continuation of the process begun last issue: analysing and reporting on struggles here in Canada. Reactions to this have been overwhelmingly positive, and considering that there are so few radical left papers in Canada (even the comrades at Open Road have called it a day!), it's even more important that this task be taken up. It's therefore important that Resistance receive more support. If you think this paper can play a positive role in developing militant resistance then contribute to it, send in news and info from your area, help distribute it, discuss the articles, send MONEY!!! It shouldn't only be the responsibility of a small group (and you don't know how small!).

Some words about the mail. At times, readers may receive Resistance from a postal address other than our PO Box. Disregard this and send all mail to the Friends of Durruti box. Upon receiving a new issue of Resistance, please respond indicating you received it. Those who don't risk being cut from the mail list. This includes subscribers, prisoners and distributors. Because of increases in postage rates, the paper cannot afford to keep sending to either in-active addresses or into someone's trash bin. Besides, Resistance isn't some kind of consumer product- correspond and send in your comments etc. As well, subscription rates have gone up starting this issue.

Resistance number 16 will be published in December, the deadline for submissions is around November 20th. Until then... ★

Subscriptions

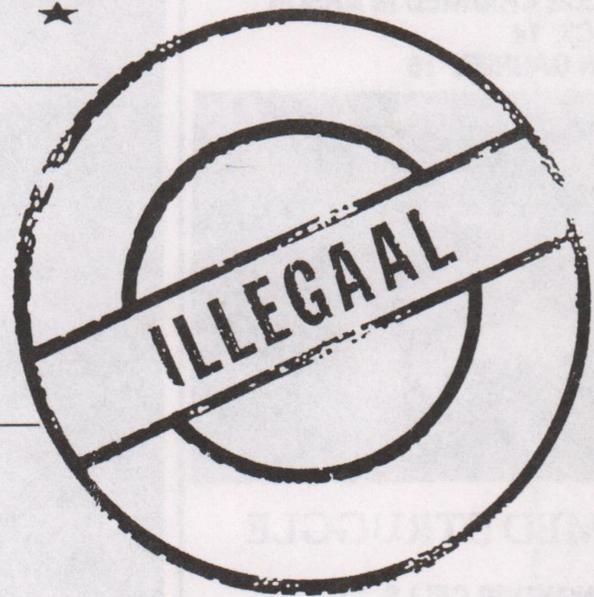
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UPDATE ON BRAZIL KIDNAPPING CASE

As reported in *Resistance* no. 14, two comrades from Vancouver- Christine Lamont and Dave Spencer- have been convicted in the December 1989 kidnapping of millionaire Abilio Diniz in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Eight others- two Argentinians, one Brazilian and five Chileans- were also convicted in the trial, which ended in May, 1990.

APPEAL PROCESS

Appeals to the convictions, which were expected to begin this winter, have now been postponed until September but, as Dave states in a recent letter, "Adding the Brazilian factor into the equation, August/September probably means sometime before the end of the year, if we're lucky that is!"

Under Brazilian law, "political offenses" receive lesser sentences. The maximum sentence for kidnapping is 20-years, in a political case it's reduced to 7. During the appeal process, the political aspects of the kidnapping, in which funds were to be directed towards revolutionary leftist and progressive organizations, will be re-introduced in an effort to reduce the prison terms- which range from 5 to 15 years. Christine was sentenced to 8-years and Dave to 10 in solitary confinement (in March/91 Dave and the other men in the Penitenciari do Estado were moved out of solitary and into the general population).

EXPULSION PROCESS

The families of Dave and Christine have also begun a request for assistance in actively examining an expulsion procedure that would return the two to Canada. Brazilian lawyers are advising the families to use a provision in Brazilian law to arrange for an expulsion and that this requires the "cooperation" of the Canadian state. Letters are now being sent to the Canadian External Affairs office in Ottawa (see addresses).

NEW TRIAL AGAINST FIVE

Meanwhile, the Brazilian state has also begun trials against five other defendant in two, separate, unsolved kidnappings.

Raimund Roselio and another defendant, Maria, have



Dave Spencer, Christine Lamont

been charged in a 1986 kidnapping. So far, the case is reportedly "going well... the meagre amount of 'evidence'... has completely fallen apart under scrutiny".

The second trial, which has only recently begun, is the 1989 kidnapping of Luiz Sales in which \$2.5-million was payed upon Sales release. Charged are Humberto Paz, Pedro Lembach and Ulises.

THE POLITICAL DEFENSE

As mentioned last issue, all but three of the defendant plead "not guilty", claiming they were not involved in the kidnapping and were unaware Diniz was being held. Humberto Paz, Horacio Paz and Raimund Roselio claimed total responsibility in the action, receiving 15-year prison sentences.

However, the main defense strategy wasn't aimed at acquittal but in having the trial re-classified as a "political offense". All of the accused were involved in political organizations and/or political activities. Connections with revolutionary and leftist groups in Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina and the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) in Chile have also been reported. One defendant, Pedro Lembach, reportedly attended a 1988 meeting of 150 members of the MIR in Hamburg to "plan armed actions in Latin America to finance political aims".

This defense, precariously balanced between non-involvement in the kidnapping and political engagements, was rejected in the 1990 trial on the grounds that any funds realized from the kidnapping would have left Brazil.

SOLIDARITY AND INTERNATIONALISM

The political development of both Dave and Christine can be traced to their involvement in the radical leftist and in particular Central American solidarity groups in Vancouver. Both were involved in the *Vancouver El Salvador Action Committee*- which Dave also helped establish in the early eighties. Dave was also involved in solidarity work with the *Vancouver 5*.

Their involvement in these struggles, and with the resistance in Latin America (their "guilt" or "non-guilt" not being an issue) stands as an example of real internationalist solidarity.

Such solidarity is also de-

manded from all of us, towards Dave and Christine, to all the defendant, and to the struggles in Latin America in which they were involved. **Vencermos!**

WRITE TO THE PRISONERS;

**Christine Lamont,
Penitenciaria Feminina
av. Zak. Narchi 2-366,
Bairro Carandiru,
Sao Paulo, SP,
Brazil 02029**

**Dave Spencer (new ID-number),
MAT 68.861,
Penitenciari do Estado,
Av. General ataliba Leonel
656,
Bairro Carandiru,
Sao Paulo, SP,
Brazil 02088**

**To send letters supporting the
Lamont and Spencer families
request for expulsion pro-
ceedings, write to:**

**Barbara McDougall,
Secretary of State for External
Affairs,
Lester B. Pearson Building,
10th floor, Tower A,
125 Sussex Drive,
Ottawa, Ontario,
K1A 0G2,
Fax: (613) 996-3443**

PRISONERS FIGHT FOR COLLECTIVITY CONTINUES IN EUROPEAN PRISONS

The GRAPO/PCER prisoner's hungerstrike, which we reported last issue, has been called off. In a March/91 communique, the Central Committee of the PCER announced it had contacted the prisoners and asked that they end the strike. Although the Committee had consulted with the prisoners, family members and others involved in solidarity work, many of the prisoners disagreed with the decision, and some were continuing with the hungerstrike. It's not known how many have continued and if they are still hungerstriking.

The hungerstrike, which began November 30/89 with sixty prisoners, claimed the life of Jose Manuel Sevilliano, who died while being forcefed. Many of the other prisoners also have permanent damage, including their eyesight and internal organs. The forcefeeding, refused by the prisoners as torture and against their will, was the only response from the ruling PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers Party), despite a widespread solidarity campaign across Western Europe, with ten's of thousands

demonstrating in Spain and actions against Spanish consulates and interests.

ACTION DIRECTE HUNGERSTRIKE

Even before the hungerstrike in Spain was called off, four prisoners from the French guerilla group Action Directe began a hungerstrike chain January 2/91. Joelle Aubron, Nathalie Menigon, Georges Cipriani and Jean-Marc Rouillan began the current hungerstrike to end isolation in control units, restrictions in mail and activities, and lockdowns in their cells for up to 22-hours a day.

As Rouillan stated in a recent letter, "Political prisoners have resisted this repression, the control units are a hypocritical facade to maintain the fiction that in a "democratic" regime there are no political prisoners, only criminals. For the state, no struggle can exist if it is not integrated into the political system".

The four prisoners also undertook a similar strike in 1987 to close the

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PALESTINIAN POST-WAR VIEW

The following interview with Abu Ali Mustafa, deputy general secretary of the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and PLO Executive Committee member, is reprinted from the March-May 1991 issue of *Democratic Palestine* (which in turn reprinted it from *Al Hadaf* magazine). It offers a post-Gulf War Palestinian analysis and in particular the conflict in relation to the PLO's position on Iraq.

Some parts have been edited (such as Mustafa's exclusion of women in reference to the Arab situation).

How do you evaluate the results of this war and its consequences for the region?

In fact, we cannot say the war is completely over, because war is usually defined by its political objectives. In this sense, the war is still going on, sometimes through the US and its allies prodding the internal war and sometimes through the resolutions of the UN Security Council which has been converted into a branch of the US National Security Council. However, in strictly military terms, we might say the war is over. Consequently, we must not avoid recognizing that a defeat has taken place in the battlefield and resulted in the occupation of part of southern Iraq. This does not negate the positive aspect of challenge and steadfastness that occurred, but this is the truth and without seeing it plainly we cannot learn the lessons implied. All of us are required to thoroughly examine the whole landscape in order to see the future clearly.

The first and most important conclusion to be derived is that the Arab nation will be doomed to one defeat after another until the Arab citizen enjoys a full, democratic life and shapes his/her future on his/her own and not as the ruler wishes; until he/she leads a creative life congruent with the principles of the age and the course of humanity; until he/she forges his/her own way towards progress and participates in decision-making through real democratic institutions...

Concerning the future... Having won for itself the status of sole superpower due to the confusion and deterioration on the international level, the US administration will now try to capitalize on its victory to make security and economic arrangements which insure its dominance in the region, under the guise of establishing the "new world order", the order of domination. Among these arrangements is to find a solution to the Palestinian question that insure the liquidation of the Palestinian national goals and eliminates the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, via imposing a full-blown Arab Camp David or worse. Nevertheless, this should not frighten us; nor should we perceive the US-Zionist plans as unavoidable fate, for our people can resist and defeat such plans, provided that the prerequisites of steadfastness and continuing the struggle are met.

Many on the Arab and international lev-



els are questioning the PLO's siding with Iraq in the Gulf crisis. do you think that the PLO's position was correct and could it have taken a different stance? First, I want to make clear that the campaign against the PLO had begun well before the Gulf crisis; the origin of this campaign is the White House and others are merely a chorus. The Gulf crisis had not begun when the US administration denied the PLO's chairperson a visa to address the General Assembly... or when it thwarted scores of UN draft resolutions which tried to do at least verbal justice to the Palestinian people... or when the US suspended the dialogue with the PLO. It is our right to ask those Arab states that serve as a chorus for the US campaign: Has any one of you implemented the decisions of the last three Arab summits concerning financial, informational and political support to the Intifada? Of course not... And have you adopted any resolutions against the US or Israel? What about the latter's violations of human rights and international law?

I dare say that the PLO adopted the correct policy from the beginning of the crisis. It spared no effort to bring about an Arab solution and to avoid war. The PLO did not approve of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait; on the contrary, the first item of the PLO's many proposals was Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. Once again the PLO took the correct position when the region was occupied by foreign troops, because the PLO cannot be on the side supporting US-NATO aggression; they are the allies of Israel. Hence, it was right for the PLO to be in the same trench as Iraq in order to confront the US-NATO-Zionist aggression. From the early days of the crisis, the PLO exposed the aims of this aggression and was aware of the real motives behind it. We warned Iraq of committing political

mistakes, but unfortunately it did commit some mistakes in terms of the tactics required for successfully waging war against the leader of world imperialism. Finally, I want to assert that the PLO had no alternative, yet it is now being subjected to an unjust political campaign, the objectives of which are obvious.

What has the PLO done in regard to the plans to disarm the Palestinians in Lebanon, and in order to normalize relations with the Lebanese government?¹ The Palestinian revolution is linked to the Palestinian cause and the Middle East conflict. It is not an internal Lebanese issue, but rather an Arab, regional and international one related to the course of the historical struggle for achieving the Palestinian people's rights.

For our part, we extended our hands when the Lebanese government put forth the Greater Beirut plan (ending armed presence other than the Lebanese Army in the capital and surrounding districts)... If they resort to using force, and this is not our preference, then things will go beyond our control and theirs, this is likewise unacceptable to us. Therefore we warn our brothers/sisters in Lebanon not to fall prey to the US promises, not to be pushed to do the dirty work which would lead to a bloodbath, while the Israeli occupation would continue. Whoever tries to stop the Palestinian struggle against the occupation, and for attaining Palestinian national



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AFTERMATH OF A GULF WAR

Establishing A New World Order

It is now several months after the conclusion of the Gulf War. The US has staged its victory parade and fallout from the war continues to be felt, not the least by the Iraqi people, the Kurdish and the Palestinians.

Southern Kurdistan (northern Iraq), the Persian Gulf and other areas in the region now contain American troops, ships and aircraft, with a permanent military presence now being put in place. How did this come about, what was the background to the war, and why a war in the Middle East?

Prior to the beginning of the war, Luis Bilbao wrote in the Buenos Aires daily *Nuevo Sur*,

"In the show of force in the desert, one can now precisely measure abstract concepts that only months ago were nearly out of reach: a breakup of the international balance of power and a strengthening of the seven leading industrialized countries... the conflict of interest between the Big Seven and the rest of the world is merely beginning to take on its true shape".

The background to the war can be traced to recent international developments, in particular a reconstitution of the global order. This includes not only the breakup of the Eastern Bloc in 1989 and the ending of the Cold War, but also the forming of three competing economic blocs; Europe, Japan-Asia and North America.

One can say that the East-West conflict has shifted to a North-South conflict or, as Bilbao has already said, a "conflict of interest between the Big Seven and the rest of the world". But while it is clear that the world economy is now subject to conditions imposed by the G-7, the Gulf War must be seen first of all as an assertion of US hegemony (a dominant leadership).

THE NEW WORLD ORDER

The restructuring of international capital, the economic competition rising from Europe and Japan-Asia, concurrent with the economic decline in the US, means the US is now capable of asserting its hegemony in an economic-political-military way.

The Persian Gulf was the proving ground of the New World Order, in essence an order led by the US which

"dominates its affairs and destiny on the international and regional levels... the US conquest of the Arabian Peninsula is part and parcel of the US global policy at this juncture. The Arabian Peninsula has 66 percent of the world's oil resources. Oil is no longer only a source of energy, although that is important. Oil now means (1) energy; (2) a series of major, diversified and growing petrochemical industries; and

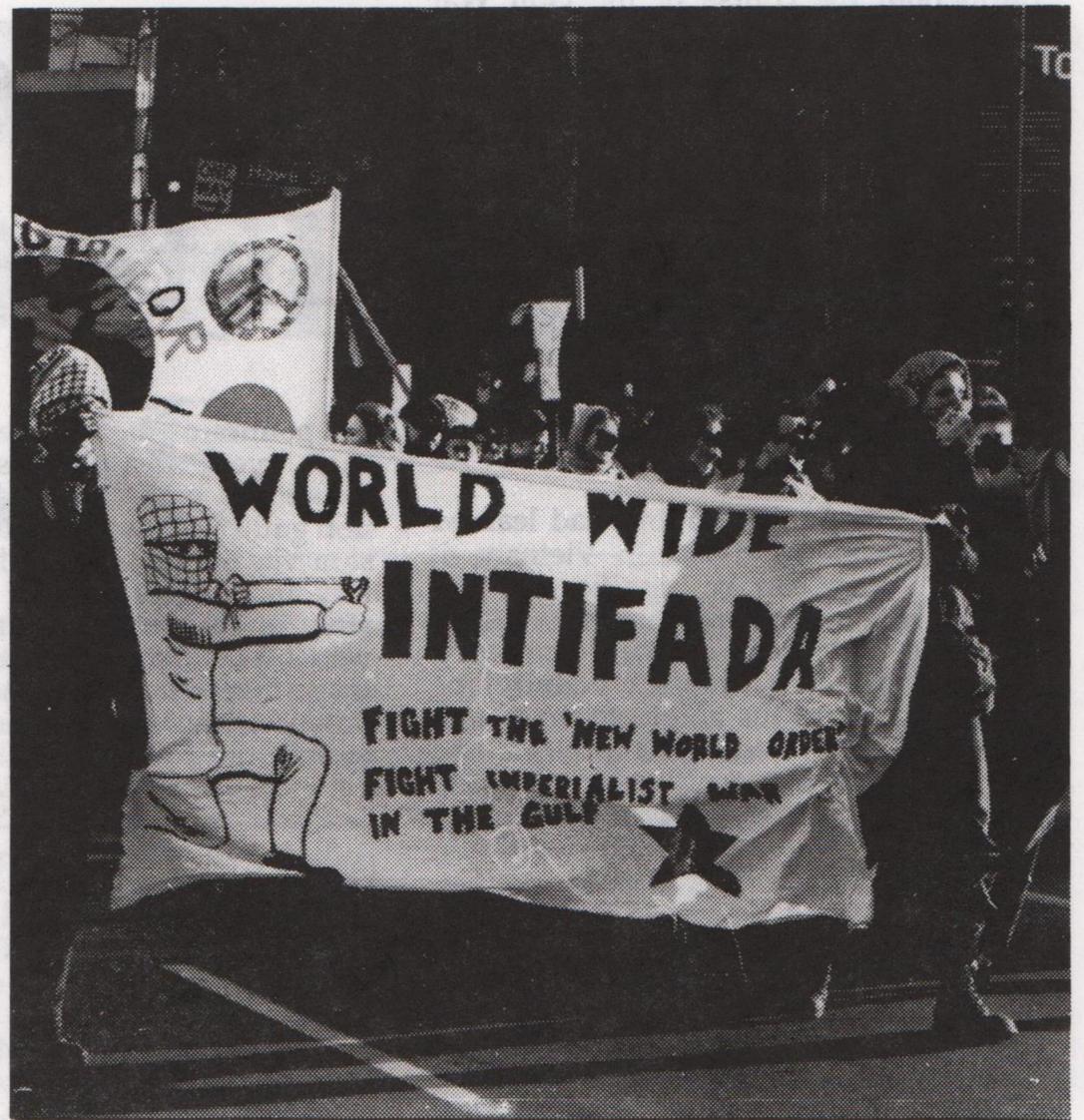
(3) control of the circulation of international finance... the US has invaded the Arabian Peninsula to retain its leading world position. By domination of Arab oil, the US dominates not only the political and economic destiny of this region, but can also determine the outcome of its fierce competition with Europe and Japan" (George Habash, the Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine (PFLP), *Democratic Palestine* November-December 1990).

As well, western and US imperialism has had to contend with various threats to its power in the Middle East, including the rise of Islamic Fundamentalism (which can be characterized as decidedly anti-western as in the 1979 Iranian revolution), the Palestinian resistance and the *Intifada* (which has increasingly challenged western imperialism asset in the region, Israel), Pan-Arab nationalism, and the Kurdish guerrilla struggle in NATO's southern flank, Turkey.

Combined, these factors make the region one of the most unstable in the world for western imperialism.

In this context, Iraq was another essential factor. Iraq was a major military power in the region and an oil producing country that worked against the interests of the US. Not only with the invasion of Kuwait, which was nothing more than a preconceived context for US military intervention, but through its oil policies which included raising the price of oil and limiting production, contrary to the agreements reached by OPEC and western imperialism.

The Iraqi challenge had to be dismantled to deter threats to western interests and/or to the security of the Zionist state of Israel



Vancouver, January 26; protest against Gulf War

and the pro-US Arab regimes

The Gulf War was aimed at establishing US hegemony in the New World Order, gaining control of the Arabian Peninsula, dismantling Iraq and crushing the liberation struggles in the region.

CANADIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE GULF WAR

Canada's military involvement in the Gulf War was, in the overall balance of forces deployed, minor. With only 2,000 troops, Canada's role was limited to providing logistical support in sea and air operations.

Despite this, it must be noted that Canada was one of the first countries - outside of the US - to respond militarily, by sending three ships to the Gulf on August 24/90 to enforce the economic embargo. The Canadian government also supported, with little reservation, all US-led UN resolutions against Iraq.

LIMITED MILITARY CAPABILITIES

Under Operation *Friction*, naval and air task groups from the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) were deployed in Saudi Arabia at Al Quaysuma and Al Jubayl; in Manama, Bahrain; Qatar; in the southern Gulf; and aboard the US Hospital ship *Mercy*. By January 15, the deployment consisted of the three ships, HMCS *Athabaskan*, *Protecteur*, and *Terra Nova*; 24 CF-18 fighters; field hospitals; and two companies of infantry for security. The role of the CAF was limited to logistical support: interdiction of cargo ships, escort

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Throughout the course of the Gulf War and in the months leading up to it, North America and Europe experienced unprecedented levels of "internal security". The threat of "terrorist" attacks was almost as newsworthy as the war itself. Soldiers and armored vehicles patrolled airports in Britain, SWAT teams and bomb squads were deployed at Super Bowl V in Florida, Arabs were detained, harassed and placed under surveillance. The massive security campaign had specific goals; repression of Arabs, repression of opposition to the war in general; propaganda for the war; and actual security of potential targets of resistance.

If the US and other nations had learned anything from the defeat in Vietnam, it was that wars can be significantly disrupted from internal movements. Therefore, the role of counter-insurgency; maintaining the "inner peace", controlling dissent to ensure the ability to wage war from the military-economic centres, and mobilizing social consensus in favour of the war, was given a high priority.

THE TERRORIST HYPE

The use of "anti-terrorist" hysteria attempted to establish an image in the social consciousness of a society under siege- not only involved in a "just war" in the Persian Gulf- but under threat in its own peaceful backyard. Prior to the war, reports were already filtering through the media of "terrorist" groups in Canada. This followed the pattern of the "Libyan hit squads" of the early '80's and the IRA unit gunning for Thatcher at the 1988 Economic Summit in Toronto. Neither of these cases proved much substance.

Not easily discouraged, "terrorist units" appeared in the headlines on January 21/91: "Terrorism hits home- Canadians believed targeted by radical supporters of Iraq"¹. This report originated from the expulsion of three Iraqi diplomats in Ottawa. Diplomats it was later discovered, to have "had suspected links with Arab terrorist cells in Canada". Suddenly, "terrorist cells" appeared *ad nauseam*: "Small cells of the Lebanese Shi'ite group *Hezbollah* had been uncovered in Toronto and Montreal... Also involved were cells of the Shi'ite party known as *Al Da'wa*... Meanwhile, terrorists linked to Iraq may be trying to infiltrate the US through Canada... it is possible we will see terrorist attacks in the coming week"².

No such attacks occurred in N. America, nor were there any spectacular and "high-level" actions of the sort security officials could even attribute to Arab guerrilla's (one action, six pipe-bombs found near a US naval base in Virginia turned out to be an insurance scam by three businessmen).

Undaunted by this conspicuous absence of attacks, security agencies continued with their campaign. Arabs in Canada continued to be interrogated by Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS) agents³, to the point where the Canadian Arab Federation was forced to hold news conferences on the issue and distribute a brochure on CSIS. The CAF received over 60 complaints by Arabs who had been followed, questioned at length or photographed by CSIS. CSIS claimed their activities were merely to learn more about

The Gulf War & 'Internal Security'

the politics of the middle east. However, such overt and aggressive surveillance techniques have less to do with information gathering and more to do with repression via intimidation. The Arab community and particularly the radical elements were to be neutralized- not because they were "potential terrorists"- but because they offered the strongest orientation of resistance, because they had the ability to expose the real goals of the war, and to

provide a perspective that went beyond the "No Blood for Oil Bring Our Troops Home" sloganeering of the anti-war movement.

THE USE OF IMMIGRATION AS CONTROL

Along with the highly publicized activities of CSIS, the use of immigration laws and refugee status was used to further si-



lence the Arab community. Throughout N. America and Europe, Arabs and particularly Palestinians and Iraqis were detained, denied entry, had their visa's revoked or denied extension. In the UK, Iraqi nationals were barred from entry and those already living in the UK required to register with police. By the end of the war, up to 200 Iraqis and Palestinians had been detained. In Germany, the surveillance of Arabs and new laws against immigrants required doctors, lawyers and public officials to give the government all information they had on immigrants. In Spain, some 6,000 Arabs were "suspect" and entered into computer files under "Operation Duna". In France, a similar program was enacted under "Vigipirate".

In Canada, amongst other cases, was the example of an Iraqi couple arriving at Toronto's Pearson airport allegedly carrying false Saudi passports, who were detained on January 9/91. The couple applied for refugee status, and the man was a member of the opposition *Da'wa* party and had fought on the side of Iran in the Iran-Iraq war. He was found to be carrying a notebook with a list of weapons, which he claimed he compiled during the Iran-Iraq war.

Initial government efforts to have the couple detained as security threats were overturned when immigration adjudicator Dennis Paxton ruled that the governments arguments were "to be generous, unlikely"⁴. However, his decision to order the couple released was overruled by a "national security certificate" filed by then-Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall and Solicitor-General Pierre Cadieux.

The certificate, used for the first time, is issued under section 40 of the Immigration Act if both the Immigration Minister and Solicitor-General "are of the opinion, based on security or criminal intelligence reports" than an individual poses a threat to the safety of Canada. On March 12 the Federal Court of Canada ruled the government lacked any evidence that the couple were a security threat. In his ruling, the judge stated that the couple "appeared to have a genuine refugee claim based upon their opposition to the regime of Saddam Hussein". Interestingly, the use of the couple as propaganda shifted from "potential terrorists" prior to and during the war, to refugees fleeing the Iraqi regime after the US military "victory".

A "POTENTIAL FOR SABOTAGE"

Along with the CSIS surveillance and the use of immigration laws was the actual security presence:

"A vast array of strategic facilities- everything from airports and border crossings to power plants- are on the alert... Security at nuclear plants in New Brunswick and Ontario has been strengthened"⁵.

On January 15/91 the National Energy Board issued directives to oil and gas pipeline companies to increase security at key installations. "It's a quiet reminder of the crisis in the Persian Gulf and of the potential for sabotage"⁶.

The heightened security ran from the highest levels of state agencies such as the national Security Co-ordination Centre down to local police forces.

In Toronto, city police met with public department heads. According to Nick Vardin, commissioner of Toronto's Public Works Department, they had a "strategic meeting with police to discuss what would be expected in the event of an emergency or terrorist attack... that we would be expected to provide manpower and any resources to help out".

In Vancouver, Jewish Congress chairperson Dr. Michael Elterman stated his organization had "had discussions with Vancouver police and worked out a plan"⁸ in the event of "terrorist actions".

There was also a marked increase in policing of anti-war demonstrations in Vancouver with higher numbers of police including the use of riot-equipped police on the international protest day of January 26 (this occurred after demonstrators assailed a militia armory, destroyed recruiting signs and proceeded to a recruiting center, presumably to do similar actions). In other demonstrations when more radi-

the government to regulate "any specified industry or services" and control the travel of any Canadian citizen. In this way, any substantial increase in resistance, such as workers strikes involving military equipment or armaments, widespread sabotage, could prompt implementation of the Emergencies Act.

SOMETHING WAS MISSING!

But where was this wave of "terrorism"? Certainly, armed attacks occurred in many countries throughout the world- but even counter-insurgency "experts" claimed it wasn't from Iraqi or Palestinian groups but in fact endemic (local) guerrilla groups. Even with this, the offensive of armed actions was primarily in the Three Continents and relatively limited in the major western states.

According to Yigal Carmon, adviser on "terrorism" to Israeli prime minister Yitzak Shamir, this was due to the increased vig-



Riot cops moving to protect recruiting office, Vancouver January 26

cal demonstrators blocked streets in downtown Vancouver to further disrupt traffic and "business as usual", the police were quick to point out that the people involved were "fringe groups" and that the police "knew who they were and were keeping an eye on them".

THE EMERGENCIES ACT

The final phase of such security would have been enactment of the Emergencies Act, requiring only a simple declaration by the federal cabinet. The Emergencies Act, which replaced the War Measures Act⁹ in 1988, contains all the necessary instruments to launch an internal war on "dissent". Under the Act, a "war emergency" can be declared which is a "war or other armed conflict, real or imminent, involving Canada or any of its allies that is so serious as to be a national emergency". With this, the government can make any "orders or regulations" that it believes "on reasonable grounds, are necessary or advisable". Another aspect of the Act is the "international emergency", which enables

ilance in the west:

"Carmon noted western countries had taken an unprecedented range of counter-measures to detect and deter terrorism... Among other measures, maintenance workers and cleaners of Arab origin was dismissed from jobs in European airports, government buildings and military installations. Asked if such dismissals violated civil rights, Carmon said he assumed such measures were all legal because the countries concerned were all law-abiding (!!!-ed.). He pointed with approval to western countries that have "investigated and restricted the movements of Arab nationals and have detained and deported them"¹⁰.

However, the reality of this "vigilance" in deterring armed attacks can be seen in the actions which did take place: the *Red Army Faction* machine-gunning of the US embassy in Bonn, bombings by the *November 17* organization in Greece, bombings throughout Turkey, scores of firebombings of military recruiting centres, corporations and US interests throughout the US and

W. Europe, and most striking of all, the February 7 IRA mortar attack on No. 10 Downing st.- the very nerve centre of the British government- while the prime minister met with his war cabinet!

Clearly, when radical groups have the ability and determination to carry out attacks, any level of security can be breached or avoided.

The actual security of targets is in many ways a side-effect of the ultimate goals. That is, while security of military, government and corporate property is of importance (more so in the Three Continents), such security also has political goals aimed at a level of social control that goes beyond more guards and razor-wire. The guards and razor-wire are necessary, but they are used to also mobilize people into acceptance and even support for the military force used against Iraq, and de facto Arab people, because not only is there a war "over there" but also an "inner threat" here. The crudest manifestations of this social control politic was the upsurge in racist violence against Arab people. Vandalism, assaults, firebombings and even shootings occurred. The Canadian Arab Federation documented over 100 violent anti-Arab incidents. Another effect of the racist war hysteria was an increase in anti-semitic attacks on synagogues, Jewish schools and businesses. Clearly, many of these actions can be attributed to the extreme right/fascist groups who, if they weren't fully supporting the war, were railing against the war as yet another "Jewish conspiracy to rule the world", such as Tom Metzger's *White Aryan Resistance*, which instructed its members not to fight for "Jews or camel-jockeys and sand-niggers".

RACISM IN THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The response in much of the anti-war movement to this racism was to reinforce it. Aside from other critiques of the anti-war movement, such as its lack of clear analysis as to how to resist the war, its sexism and lack of class consciousness, was its own racism.

Seemingly unable and/or unwilling to go beyond slogans and perspectives of the '60's, or more correctly the media image of that movement, anti-war opposition relied on opportunistic slogans: Bring Our/The Troops Home (to which one must ask why- to suppress another Oka or enforce Martial law?), and No Blood for Oil (to which one must ask whose blood- white Anglo-saxons blood?). The movement in general played up to white supremacy and patriotism as it attempted to depoliticize every aspect of imperialist war except self-interest: Hell No We Won't Go We Won't Die For Texaco. What mattered most to the "official" peace movement was the numbers of people it could attract to demonstrations and vigils where its sacred rituals of pseudo-dissent were enacted like a broken record. A broken John Lennon record!

But at whose expense?

The failure to link the Palestinian and Kurdish struggles with the war, to analyze the economic and political conditions which have ensured there has not been one day of peace since World War 2, the absence of an attempt to develop a perspec-

tive for resistance to the war and not just protest, meant that the anti-war movement was circumscribed. It had come to a dead end even before it started. Who was absent from its programs and platforms: people of colour and particularly Arabs. The crystallization of this process was the Jan. 26 mobilizations in which the Vancouver "disarmament" group End the Arms Race refused to allow a member of the Arab community to speak on a platform they controlled. allegedly to avoid "controversy", it was yet another attempt to retain the depoliticization EAR had worked so hard to achieve, and in the end can only be seen as furthering the efforts by the state to silence the Arab perspective: collaboration is the definitive term.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the use of "anti-terrorism" and security plays a special role in social control. It creates the conditions for selective and if necessary widespread repression. In this way, the argument that armed or militant actions creates repression is shown to be absurdity; the state constantly organizes its repressive laws and apparatus and constructs the necessary conditions to implement them.

However, it isn't only counter-insurgency that can weaken or even destroy oppositional movements. Nor is it the state which is solely responsible for widespread racism, or in the context of the Gulf War, attacks against Arabs and support for the wholesale slaughter of Arabs. This is something the "peace" movement can also lay claim to.

In this way, the question must also be asked: what role does false opposition play in social control? Certainly, as long as movements of opposition do not attack causes and instead rally around effects, and do not direct themselves against the determining point of conflict between the exploited and exploiter, they fulfill the role of reaffirming the "pluralistic democracy" by acting as the (false) voice of dissent.

Above all, the security measures taken during the Gulf War need to be understood and, in future conflicts as well as now, countered by breaking through the limitations imposed by the state and the "official" peace movement. Limitations not only in our analysis, but in our actions and solidarity work.

FOOTNOTES;

1. Vancouver Province, January 21/91.
2. Ibid.
3. See also Resistance no. 14.
4. Globe and Mail, February 6/91.
5. Globe and Mail, January 12/91.
6. Globe and Mail, Report on Business, January 15/91.
7. Globe and Mail, January 18/91.
8. Vancouver Province, January 22/91.
9. Enacted in October 1970 during the FLQ "October Crisis".
10. Globe and Mail, February 14/91.

THE POST-WAR PALESTINIAN VIEW

Continued from 4

rights, would be trying to create the fact of resettling the Palestinians outside their country in the neighboring states.

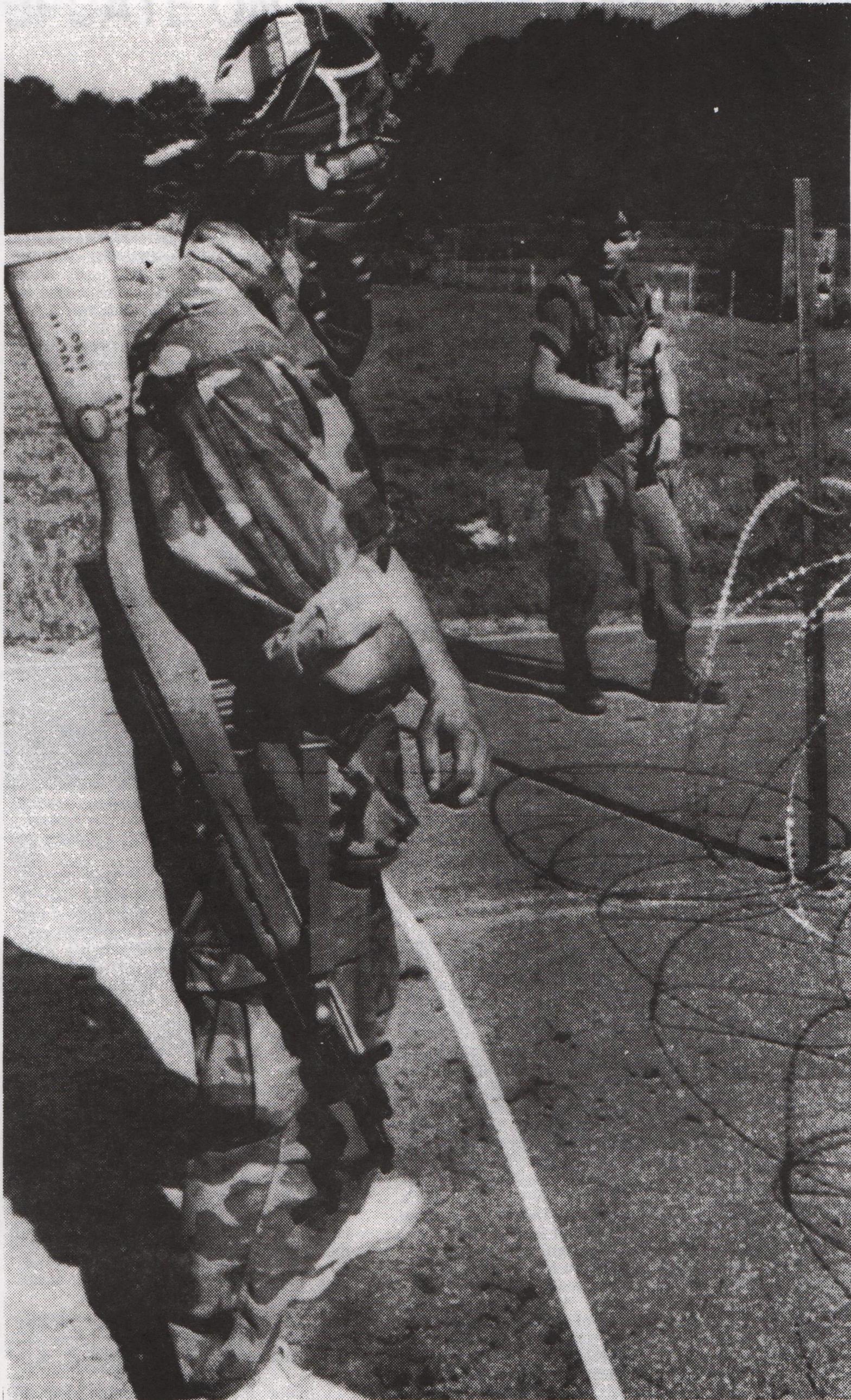
Over the last few years, the PFLP has repeatedly called for review of the PLO's political course. Don't you think that now is the time for evaluating the past stage in order to derive a new political program for the future? I do agree, but I would like to add that the Palestinian cause and the region as a whole stand at a dangerous juncture. What is needed is not only making this evaluation, however important it may be. We must outline the horizons of the future by drawing up a militant political program based on two foundations: first, adhering to the principles of Palestinian national struggle and second, maintaining the soleness of the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people. anything else should be regarded as interim tactics stemming from these foundations... We must be courageous and make a critical, forthright and purposeful reconsideration in order to overcome present obstacles and move on to a new stage on the road towards victory... Moreover, it is not wrong to tell this generation that we were unable to achieve victory, but we have kept the way open for the coming generations to complete this task.

In the context of extending Palestinian national unity to include all political forces, you recently met with Palestinian organizations in Damascus who remain outside the PLO. What were the results of these discussions? The PLO leadership concluded in its latest meeting that there should be a serious dialogue with all the Palestinian organizations, forces and figures who are outside the PLO framework... in order for them to partake in the preparations for the next Palestinian national congress, based on national responsibility, especially at this stage where the PLO and Palestinian cause face a fateful turning point... amassing all capacities and unity of action... are national necessities, so it is important to move quickly to examine the political and organizational differences that exist.

We are not seeking ideological unity, for every party has its own ideological affiliation whether nationalist, pan-Arab, Marxist or religious. The unity we seek is political with clear-cut objectives regarding how to confront our common enemy, and I do think that the points of unity are far more than the points of disagreement. What we are trying to do is minimize the points of difference, not eliminate them. These points may sometimes come to the forefront, but they should not prevent unity.

FOOTNOTES;

1. In the beginning of July fighting broke out in Lebanon as the Lebanese military moved on Palestinian refugee camps and PLO bases in an effort to force the PLO away from the Israeli security zone in southern Lebanon. As this issue goes to press fighting continues.



**DOSSIER;
NATIVE
RESISTANCE
IN
CANADA**

BRIDGES DOWN, MILITANCY UP

In the early morning hours of April 17, an explosion damaged a logging bridge near Pemberton, BC. Heavy beams were splayed and 30-feet of planking along the steel and wood structure were ripped up, leaving the Green River bridge impassable. No one claimed responsibility.

Three days later, on April 20 as the repairs were completed, the bridge was again heavily damaged when it went up in flames. The fire caused even more damage than the bombing.

On April 28, another logging bridge, this time on the west coast of Vancouver Island, was set on fire with burning tires, causing extensive damage to the \$700,000 structure. The bridge, located in the Clayoquot Sound area, provided the only access to MacMillan Bloedel's logging site in the Tranquil Inlet area.

Reactions to the separate acts of sabotage varied widely, principally because one was the focus of environmentalist protest, and the other the focus of Native people's resistance.

The Clayoquot Sound had long been an area of protest by environmentalist organizations, such as the *Friends of Clayoquot Sound* and the *Western Canada Wilderness Committee*. Condemnation of the action was widespread amongst these groups, as Julie Draper, a spokesperson for the *Friends of Clayoquot Sound* stated: "It's a very radical action... That's not the way we've tried to accomplish something. anything we've done has been completely non-violent and peaceful".

In the case of the Green River bridge, located on Lil'wat territory, criticism was much less. Harold Pascal, a spokesperson for the *Lil'wat People's movement* said "We've been geared to using specific peaceful means of resolving our concerns", but refused to condemn the action saying "it's not my place to condemn anything".

The absence of outright condemnation contrasts sharply with that of environmentalist groups. This contrast highlights the difference between Native resistance and environmentalist protest, which means also a difference in perspective, in oppression and which manifests itself in radically different forms of struggle.

It's in this context that the struggle of the Lil'wat in BC should be understood.

THE LIL'WAT; BLOCKADES AND RESISTANCE

The Green River bridge on the Ure Creek logging road provided access to ongoing construction of the road into the Boulder Valley. The road, and plans by *International Forest Products Ltd.* (Interfor) to clear-cut the valley are the most recent focus of a long struggle by the Lil'wat Native people's.

The current phase of this struggle began in the summer of 1990 as a solidarity road blockade with the Mohawks in Kane-satake. The blockade on the Duffey Lake

road also became an assertion of Lil'wat sovereignty.

Members of the Lil'wat nation blockaded the road for four months. "Legally", the 20-acres of blockaded road proved to be a strategic choice: due to discrepancies in an old survey, the area never became a provincial right-of-way. Therefore, the "legal" basis for using police to clear the road didn't exist. So the provincial government created it by using a section under the colonialist *Indian Act* which allowed for the expropriation of up to 5% of any Native reserve for public roads, after an attempt to buy the area for \$124,000 was refused by the Lil'wat people.

On November 6/90, after receiving authorization to remove the blockade, seventy Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officers were deployed. Barricades were set ablaze and some Natives donned balaclava's and scarves. The barricades, however, were largely symbolic as 63 people were arrested using "non-violent civil disobedience". Police, not too familiar with the technicalities of passive protest, used heavy force on those who didn't seem to be following the roles they were apparently expected to play. Those arrested were charged with "civil contempt", and 49 who refused to sign a promisory court appearance's, or give their names, were jailed for nearly a month in Vancouver.

On November 8/90 twelve Natives again blockaded the road until they were dispersed by police. Two more who refused to move were arrested.

The Duffey Lake road blockade, like the burning barricade's of November 6, appeared to be largely symbolic expression's of Lil'wat sovereignty.

THE URE CREEK ROAD

The Ure Creek road dispute, on the other hand, was a very real act of exploitation, racism, and colonialism. Construction of the road, and the very road itself, has already damaged traditional burial grounds. The area, known as *Mkwil'ts*, is the last undisturbed area on Lil'wat territory. For the Lil'wat, it is a "spiritual historical area which contains pictograph's, and which was used for training *scena 7 em* (medicine people)". In spite of numerous attempts to "prove" the area was of spiritual importance, including archaeologists and anthropologist's investigations, neither *Interfor* (who's own investigation's found a pictograph site and one food cache pit), the BC Ministry of forest's nor the BC Supreme court recognized the area as anything other than a logging site that requires an access road. In court proceedings, Justice Westimore claimed physical evidence of spiritual values was a contradiction in terms and therefore the law offers no protection against desecration of sacred sites of Native peoples!

Against this, a series of blockades were mounted, including one on February

9/91 in which ten Lil'wat, one Woodland Cree and one white supporter were arrested by 30 RCMP with two dog teams. Prior to this raid, other incursions by police were met by militant Native youths who attacked police with rocks near the blockade.

SETTLER REACTION

On February 10/91, twenty-one non-Native loggers, farmers and residents of Pemberton closed Highway 99, the main travel route through the area, to Natives and supporter's for 18-hours.

The settler blockade was one in a series of actions taken by disgruntled settlers. Citing economic hardship, including



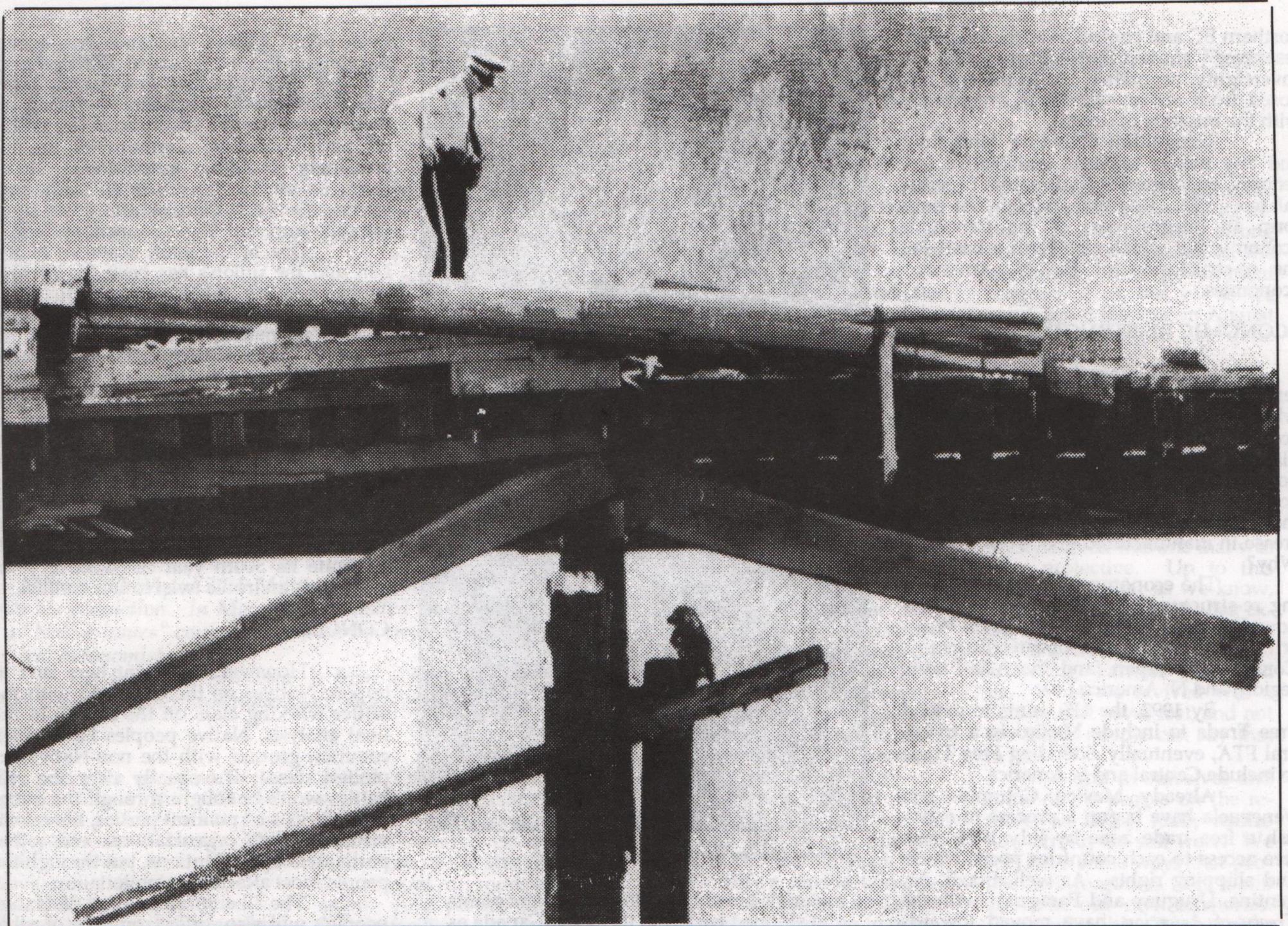
Loggers protest in Nanaimo, November 5/90

reduced tourism during the four month duffey Lake road closure, some sixty loggers had also threatened to "run" the Native blockade armed with sticks and "if necessary, guns". Before this, Natives had opened the blockade for Pemberton residents, for a voluntary toll, when a rock-slide had closed the Squamish highway. it was an act that showed the blockades were aimed at the government and not workers. However, racist violence and tension increased and, for white workers, has gained its own momentum. One example is a May first demonstration in Vancouver by white fisher's, joined by white logger's, protesting against the "allocation" of more fish to Natives, despite the fact that only some 5% of seasonal fish quota's is for Natives and some 80% for industrial/commercial use. White fishers, carrying placards such as "white rights", clearly fear Native fishing rights, and de facto Native sovereignty, as a threat to their "ways of life".

IN TIMES OF CRISIS; RACISM

The economic difficulties for forestry and fisheries workers are real, despite the racist direction many white workers have taken.

Major forestry companies have reported decreases in their over-all earnings.



RCMP Explosives expert examines Green River Bridge

Fletcher Challenge Canada Ltd. for example has reported a drop to 56.7-million in the third-quarter of 1990, compared to \$99.5-million in the same period in 1989, etc.

However, it isn't Native resistance or even environmentalists that have caused this massive decrease in profits, or the subsequent closure's of many factories and pulp mills. Almost 5,000 forest industry workers have been layed-off in BC, but this isn't due to blockades or bridges being destroyed.

Rather, it's the economic crisis that Canada, and the global economy, is now in. The over-all drop in economic conditions (ie. the current "recession") and the subsequent decline in housing markets has caused not only lay-offs but plant closures and scaling down of operations: "We are experiencing depressed markets in all our product lines", stated plant manager Paul Ghog in Kamloop's when *Aspen Planer's* laid off its 60 workers.

And the current economic crisis hasn't only hit forestry workers in BC. There has been renewed worker's struggles in the manufacturing industry in Ontario including the recent mobilization's by truckers and factory worker's, nurses in Saskatchewan, as well as Atlantic fisheries worker's.

The economic strategies of the Canadian ruling class, including Free Trade, the Goods and Services Tax and an over-all re-structuring of international capital, has forced worker's to struggle to maintain po-

sitions they had achieved in the '70's, or even to maintain their jobs.

Everywhere that worker's in an industry connected with Native struggles have organized there has often been a racist perspective that Natives are the cause of the economic problems. Besides the settler road blockades and fisheries demonstration in BC, there was also a protest by about 1,000 loggers outside the Nanaimo courthouse on November 5/90. The Tlowitsis-Mumtagila band had filed a suit in the BC Supreme court for a halt to logging in the Tsitika Valley, about 65-miles north of Campbell River on Vancouver Island. Nov. 5 was the date that the injunction application was to be heard. Whilst the speakers at the rally, including *International Woodworker's of America* president Jack Munro, called for a resolution of Native "land claims" (sic), the overall thrust of the protest cannot be overlooked. If, as Munro stated, the real fight was with the ruling Social Credit government and it's failure to "participate in Native land claim negotiations", then what was the point in demonstrating at a legal process Native's themselves had started?

It is a historical pattern that in times of economic crises racism spreads. In the context of Native struggles, particularly in white settler communities located near reserves and on Native territories, an already entrenched racism that at times verges on a "localized apartheid" has escalated as settler's paranoia that Natives will take

"their land" and businesses, increases.

AREA'S OF CONFLICT

It's no coincidence that area's of resource extraction (ie. logging, mining, fishing) have become points of conflict and tension at this particular period. The lands which Native people's have lived on for thousands of years, and even the reserves they were forced onto as European settler's expanded, are now proving to be major areas of conflict between capital and Native people's. It isn't that this struggle hasn't been on-going- it has- but now the resources play a pivotal role in the re-structuring of North American capital.

Facing renewed Native struggles for autonomy, the federal government has reacted in two ways: the use of extreme force as in Kanesatake, Kahnawake, at the Oldman River dam in Alberta and in BC; and through a pacification program with new promises, new "royal commissions", and coming reforms to the Indian Act which even Mulroney calls "colonialist".

One element of this pacification program has been the promise to pursue Native land claims (sic) with renewed vigor, announced as the Oka Crisis ended.

However, the March/91 court decision in the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en Land Title action, in which the court ruled against any recognition of Native land title, which would have recognized Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en control over their territory in

northern BC and control over the land and resources show that any form of sovereignty, negotiated but in the end imposed from above, will be in accordance with the interests of capital.

Recognition of Native land title, and any moves towards real Native autonomy, endangers capitals access to natural resources. Resources which not only form an integral part of the Canadian economy, but which also form a basis for the re-structuring of the N. American economies.

ECONOMIC RE-STRUCTURING

In 1988, Canada and the US entered into a *Free Trade Agreement* (FTA) which allowed Canadian multinational's access to the US market with minimal regulations in labour codes, health and pollution standards. For the US, it allowed for access to the Canadian market, access to the natural resources and an overall decrease in manufactured goods into the US. Why?

The economy of the world is being re-structured. International capital is now divided into three major blocs- Western Europe (the European Economic Community), Japan (and the Asia-Pacific region) and N. America.

By 1992, the US wants to extend Free Trade to include Mexico in a tri-lateral FTA, eventually extending Free Trade to include Central and S. America.

Already, Mexico, Columbia and Venezuela have begun a process to establish a free trade zone by July 1994, with free access to each countries ports, waters and shipping rights. As well, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, with the *Treaty of Asuncion*, have moved towards establishing free trade by December 1994. The Treaty involves not only dismantling barriers but also coordinating policies on agriculture, industry, transport, financial and monetary areas. These preliminary agreements are steps towards a proposed free trade zone stretching from "Alaska to Tierra del Fuego".

While the world moves towards free trade and regional blocs, the global economy has become effectively integrated, with all countries interdependent and interrelated. The primary aspects of a new "globalization of production" are transnational corporations and monetary and trade organizations such as the *International Monetary Fund*, the *World Bank* and the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (GATT). Controlled and/or directed by advanced industrial countries such as those in the G-7 (which includes Canada, the US, Japan, Britain, Italy, Germany and France), the objective of such organizations is removing barriers that hinder penetration and investment by transnational's in national economies.

For Canada, this global re-structuring means a shift from a manufacturing economy towards a service economy. The deindustrialization has hit manufacturing industries hard, particularly the auto-industry, textiles, clothing, food processing and paper products. Estimates of job losses as a result of the FTA are over 150,000 or 7% of all manufacturing jobs. Many of these job losses are absorbed into the US or, increasingly, into Mexico. Under the *Maquiladora* program, parts and



Militant Native youth awaits police

materials are shipped to *Maquiladora* plants and shipped back into the US or Canada as assembled parts. With average wages of 60-cents an hour, nearly nonexistent health or pollution standards, the *Maquiladora's* offer a low-cost work-force.

The move towards a service-based economy also includes substantial exports of oil and gas and water resources to the US. Massive hydro-electric projects, such as the *James Bay 2* dam system in northern Quebec, the *Rafferty-Alameda* dam in Saskatchewan, the *Oldman River* dam in Alberta and similar designs in BC form an important part of the re-structuring under the FTA. Complimentary to exporting hydro-electric power to the US is the export of water for irrigation or drinking. A leading US proponent of the FTA, Senator Frank Moss, talked of the questionable "right of one section of a continent to waste water- to allow vast quantities of it to run into the sea unused- while other sections do not have enough to meet the requirements of their growing populations".

Water diversion and export to the US places an increased emphasis on resource exploitation.

A FRONTLINE AGAINST CAPITAL

It is in this context that Native resistance and the extreme reactions by the Canadian state are to be understood. Native struggles form a frontline against the economic strategies of capital.

While much of the Left and the trade union movement organize against these strategies, Native peoples resistance has been overlooked as yet another "issue".

Even when Native resistance has begun developing in a more radical direction.

Unlike the Left and trade unions who continue to organize according to their representative institutions (ie. political party's), Native communities are increasingly building autonomous structures, as seen in the return to traditional forms of self-government, and away from the state-imposed "Band council" system.

One of the main obstacles of the Left and the union's has been the narrow perspective it's taken towards the economic re-structuring. Capitalist strategies and "crisis management" are reduced to "No Free Trade-Kick out the Tories" slogans, often around a nationalistic "protect Canadian sovereignty"(!) line. This limited opposition doesn't question exploitation in and of itself, only its methods. In contrast, Native culture is in a position of conflict, particularly for the most radical sectors, with capitalism itself. The announcement of a "New World Order" from the president of a "new world" country, which will celebrate its 500th year of "discovery" in 1992, adds an ironic twist to this conflict.

CONCLUSION

However, the point here isn't to oppose Natives on the one hand with the settler working class on the other. In the final analysis, Native peoples have much common ground with the non-Native exploited class. It's equally clear the real battles won't be fought through the membership lists of political parties, liberal-environmentalist organizations and other parliamentary institutions, but through the people most affected by exploitation.

The liberation process of Native people's will also differ from that of other sectors. The higher levels of poverty, the isolation of Native reserves, the lower population density, mean Native peoples cannot "go on strike", or follow the traditional forms of struggle that settlers have taken, and which are common in European-forms of struggle. As well, the legal and political processes customary of the Left have been in a crisis of legitimacy for many years now in regards to Native peoples.

The attack on capitals infrastructures (ie. bridges, rail-lines, pipe-lines, hydro-electric projects, roads) and logging and mining operations, may prove to be Native peoples strongest areas for resistance. Attacks which include not only blockades and protests, but also sabotage, as in the Green River bridge in BC, the firebombings of logging company equipment on Lubicon land in Alberta, and the rail-bridges and electrical pylons downed during the Oka Crisis.

The real questions are not who attacked the logging bridges on April 17 and 28, but to what degree settler racism can be overcome, to what degree links can be established between oppressed non-Natives and Natives, and to what degree illegality as a theory and practise can be extended.

Milton Born With A Tooth

*Peigan Lonefighters Resist
Dam Project*

On August 2/90 a group of Peigan Natives established a camp alongside the Oldman River in Alberta to protest the building of a \$355-million dam project ten miles upstream of the Peigan reserve. Members of the Peigan Lonefighters Society began diverting the river using an excavator to render the multi-million project useless. On August 30 an injunction was served against the Lonefighters, and on September 7 over two dozen heavily armed police surrounded the Lonefighters camp. It later came to light that there were more than a 100 police in the area and military reserves in nearby Pincher Creek.

Milton Born With A Tooth, a leader of the Lonefighters Society, fired two warning shots into the air and police retreated. Milton was arrested September 12 and served near to four months in pre-trial custody.

On March 25/91 Milton was convicted and sentenced to 1 and a half years for weapons related offenses and lesser charges. About 80 supporters crowded the court room in Lethbridge, cheering Milton. On April 2/91 Milton was released on bail as he appeals his conviction. In May, Milton visited Vancouver, speaking at a "Native issues" conference and an information night organized by local autonomists.

The following interview is from a May 13 broadcast of Stark Raven, a Vancouver radio show on Co-op Radio.

Can you give us some background about the Oldman River and your efforts to protect your sacred land? The Oldman river is located in Blackfoot nation's territory, and that is something we've always taken as being within our own domain. We all grew up by the river, and that's how the river has a personal attachment to myself and the people. So that's something that drove us to do what we did on August 3, and that was to let people know we still had this connection to the river.

The reason it's called "Oldman" is because there's a lot of knowledge and really strong connecting factors to it. And maybe that is why my enemy has treated me the way it has, because it knows it cannot just have no respect for the Oldman river or for water in general. Because now they have to really expose some of their most outrageous tactics, like in the way they're trying to give me 57-years and you know I've been incarcerated and this is the second time I'm out on bail.

And they used a massive amount of force to come and apprehend one Indian.

You know, all these things add together and I know the reason is that we're that strongly connected to the river. And by building this dam, for us we know it's going to destroy a lot of our life.

Why are they building this dam, what are their

plans? One of their main reasons they say is irrigation for farmer's. Yet the irrigation farmer's themselves question it, because of the size of it and the amount of money being spent. And yet it's supposed to only facilitate 850 farmers in that area- and they already have adequate water. Up to this point we've been able to say there's something other than irrigation.

And when we look all across the country they're saying the same things about the James Bay 2 and we're talking about water for export, the resources and the corporation's. Yeah, one of the things we've been able to see with the way they reacted is that there is a real "watergate" conspiracy. This is something that has connected our situation with the James Bay Cree, with the Rafferty-Alameda dam in Saskatchewan, and now with the Kanestate people, and they're using all of people's prejudice and racism- that they put in us- to keep us from looking at the real issue.

Does it seem like there's more resistance amongst the people- that the people are going beyond their own institution's and saying they're going to represent themselves? Well, not in such a direct way. What I see and know, across this country everybody is sick and tired of being lied to. And we have all this way the government has acted in the last ten years, trying to ratify a constitution etc., and yet we find the system is doing what it is doing to make us pay, when they should have dealt with us in a sincere way.

Do you want to say something about the efforts of the Lonefighters Society to

stop the dam by diverting the river? It was a very strong action! It was probably strong for both sides because in the beginning the government laughed at us, but yet as we went down the line on August 3 they changed their tune quite quickly

And some people say this name, Lonefighter's, is kinda catchy, and some people have told me it's a very action-oriented name, and I tell them no, the Lonefighter's were here long before you people were, and the medicine's and type of lifestyle lived was one that was very protective. Up to this point, and as far as we know, as long as this Society has existed it has never lost a battle, this is what the old people- the knowledge carriers- have told us. What we revived was a Society that never lost, and not too many people can say that in life.

And in ourselves and some of the people on the reserve, we didn't really realize how strong we still were. We still have some ways that people have forgotten. Yet it still exists in our own territories. That's why this Oldman river is very important to this Society- because lots of its medicines are within it.

So in a way, that's how you could say it was



Milton Born With A Tooth, right; protecting the earth

powerful for both sides, because it was always there with us, but for the enemy- they thought they had destroyed any knowledge of how powerful we were at one time.

The Oldman river dam project said it was going to build this awesome dam to facilitate an irrigation system on the east side of our reserve, and what we did was we just went in between and re-routed the river to where it would bypass this irrigation project. We wanted to question it. - The only to question it was to take away its argument, its justification.

We did in the only way possible, and that was by following our own strength.

It may sound strange to people because maybe they never hear of this kind of thing being put into action, instead of just being talked about. And this is what people are going to have to realize across the country.

And on September 7 the enemy came marching in, because it knows it cannot just stand by and watch us accomplish something that they've

been telling the rest of the country they're helping us to do- with self-government and being self-sufficient and aboriginal. That's what we did. Maybe we used one materialistic thing, the bulldozer, but the rest was all culture.

They found out we weren't just going to let them do it. And all I thought was, all these RCMP and provincial people were not going through me. If they wanted to shoot it out, I'd have been willing to. But yet I know how cowardly they still are. They cannot kill us in broad daylight, not yet. They might do it in the back-alley, where there's no eyes. So it was not hard, two shots in the air and over 100 RCMP go running back into the woods. That's all it took.

We've seen that display of force by police all across the country. That's right. And you have it in your own backyard too- the Lil'wat people.

What's the situation with the dam now, you said the construction was now completed? They're already filling the reservoir. The situ-

ation is maybe the same as last year, nothing has changed, except maybe more people can see the real intentions of the Alberta government.

What's happening with your court-case? Well, my court case is really the comedy of my whole escapade! I never had faith in it in the beginning and I still don't because I know one thing: the judicial process has no understanding of what Native people are, and they choose not to. They want to assimilate us, it's an assimilating process. So I see no hope in the court case.

Do you have any final comments? You know, the only time we can unite is when we can be a part of something special, and saving this earth is something special. That's when you get back to common sense and not being how this system wants you to be; confused. And that's when you get back down to earth and you're able to see solutions, and not see colour or sexes, just see life as it really is meant to be seen. And that's not hard. The enemy realizes it's

not hard and that's why it tries so damn hard to confuse us all the time, and that's why it's willing to spend billion's of dollars to keep us that way. And you can really see it when people are more worried about this system and they forget the earth. If people really want to get serious then they have to realize who it is they choose to fear- the system or the earth. I'd rather fear the earth myself, that way I can appreciate what it is I'm doing rather than be paid to do it, or have to worry about it all the time and take Tylenol and all this other bullshit, just to calm my guilt about what it is I'm doing. You wonder why there is all this alcoholism, suicide, and all that. It's very simple, somebody making it like that, making you miserable.

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James Bay in northern Quebec; a massive hydro-electric project in whose benefit?

13 LUBICONS

Preliminary hearing's in a legal process against 13 Lubicon Cree Native's charged with arson, which began on April 29/91, have been postponed while the *Court of Queen's Bench* determines if there was police "misconduct" in investigation's which led to the charges.

The arson occurred on November 24/90 at a logging camp fifty kilometers north-east of Red Earth Creek in northern Alberta on Lubicon territory. The attack destroyed about \$20,000 worth of equipment, including a truck and trailer owned by *Buchanan Lumber*. Four days after the attack, RCMP raided a cabin owned by Lubicon chief Bernard Ominayak in the Fish Lake area. Police claimed to be searching for gasoline, clothes and beer bottles because "the evidence would support the investigation"!

Bob Sach, a lawyer for the 13 Lubicon, appealed the charges on the grounds police intimidated witnesses and questioned them without the presence of legal counsel.

The Nov. 24 arson followed two weeks after Ominayak had warned logging companies operating in Lubicon territory:

"After years of unsuccessfully trying to protect Lubicon land rights through the Canadian courts and around the negotiating table- during which time unauthorized resource exploitation in our unceded traditional territory has

UPDATE ON MOHAWK STRUGGLE

Since the Oka Crisis ended in September/90, RCMP and provincial police have patrolled the periphery of the Kahnawake reserve but have been unable and/or unwilling to patrol inside the reserve itself. Mohawk checkpoints, maintained 24-hours a day, refuse to let police enter. Assaults and harassment by police have continued, and in January/91 clashes erupted when police attempted to stop a truck on the Kahnawake reserve. Two police cars were destroyed and 13 police injured. 150 riot police were deployed and some Mohawks arrested.

LEGAL PROCESS

The legal process against 41 Natives involved in the armed defense of Mohawk lands began in the Spring. Forty-one men and women face 100 charges on 28 counts, with a possibility of up to 14-years imprisonment for some. The process has begun with the Quebec Crown proceeding by way of preferred indictment,

meaning a preliminary hearing is dispensed with. The defendants are unable to determine the quality of evidence against them until the trials begin. Other attempts have been made to hinder any effective legal defense, including the denial of legal aid to those from outside of Quebec, and the use of French in all but one of the cases in contradiction to the defendants' right to use a language, either English or French, that they are most comfortable with. Some defendants, including Jennie Jack, a *Tlingit* Native from BC, must appear for the pre-trial process including the setting of future dates for court-proceedings.

Before the trials begin, various aspects of the process are being challenged, including the preferred indictment, the legality of oaths sworn in accordance with Native and not Judeo-Christian traditions, the impartiality of any selected jury, the legality of the use of military forces without Parliament's consent, the language used in the trials, and the actual jurisdiction of Quebec courts over

sovereign Mohawk land. The defendants have refused to enter a plea, since they do not recognize the jurisdiction of Quebec courts to try them.

Donations can be sent to the defense fund, and there is also a 25-minute video entitled "Voice from Oka" available for \$25 as well as other material from *Barricade Productions*.

Liberation of the Mohawk Nation,
Account No. 80-186,
Mail to: Confederacy Crisis Centre,
PO Box 292,
Kahnawake, Quebec,
Mohawk territory,
JOL 1B0.

NATIVE JAILED 2 YEARS IN ARSON ATTACK

Marvin Scanie, a Native from the Cold Lake band in Alberta, has been charged and convicted of an arson attack on a rail-way bridge used by the military in Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake. The attack was in solidarity with the Mohawks in Kanasatake and Kahnawake during the Oka Crisis. Scanie, who made no attempt to conceal who had set fire to the \$700,000 bridge, plead "guilty" and was sentenced to 2 and a half years on December 6/90. He is currently imprisoned at the Edmonton Remand Centre, although there is no further information as to his condition.



RED ROAD

A voice for and of Native people: "The times we are in are extreme... We see the American dream has turned into a nightmare. We move into the last stages of Indian prophecies when we send the end of a cycle and the beginning of a new... the last days before the purification of the Earth Mother. We move to prepare for it. In that spirit, we will see you on the Battle front".

Ken Dennis (Editor),
Red Road Magazine,
#121 B-621 E. 7th ave.,
Vancouver BC,
V5T 1N9 Canada

CHARGED IN ARSON

continued at an ever accelerating rate... the Lubicon people have regrettably concluded that we have no choice but to once again enforce our legitimate jurisdiction over our unceded traditional territory and to defend ourselves and our lands as best we can.

"Effective immediately anyone wishing to exploit natural resources in unceded Lubicon territory will require operating permits... subject to the payment of past and future royalties and in compliance with Lubicon environmental protection and wildlife management laws. Failure to obtain such operating permits... will make unauthorized projects subject to removal at anytime without further notice"

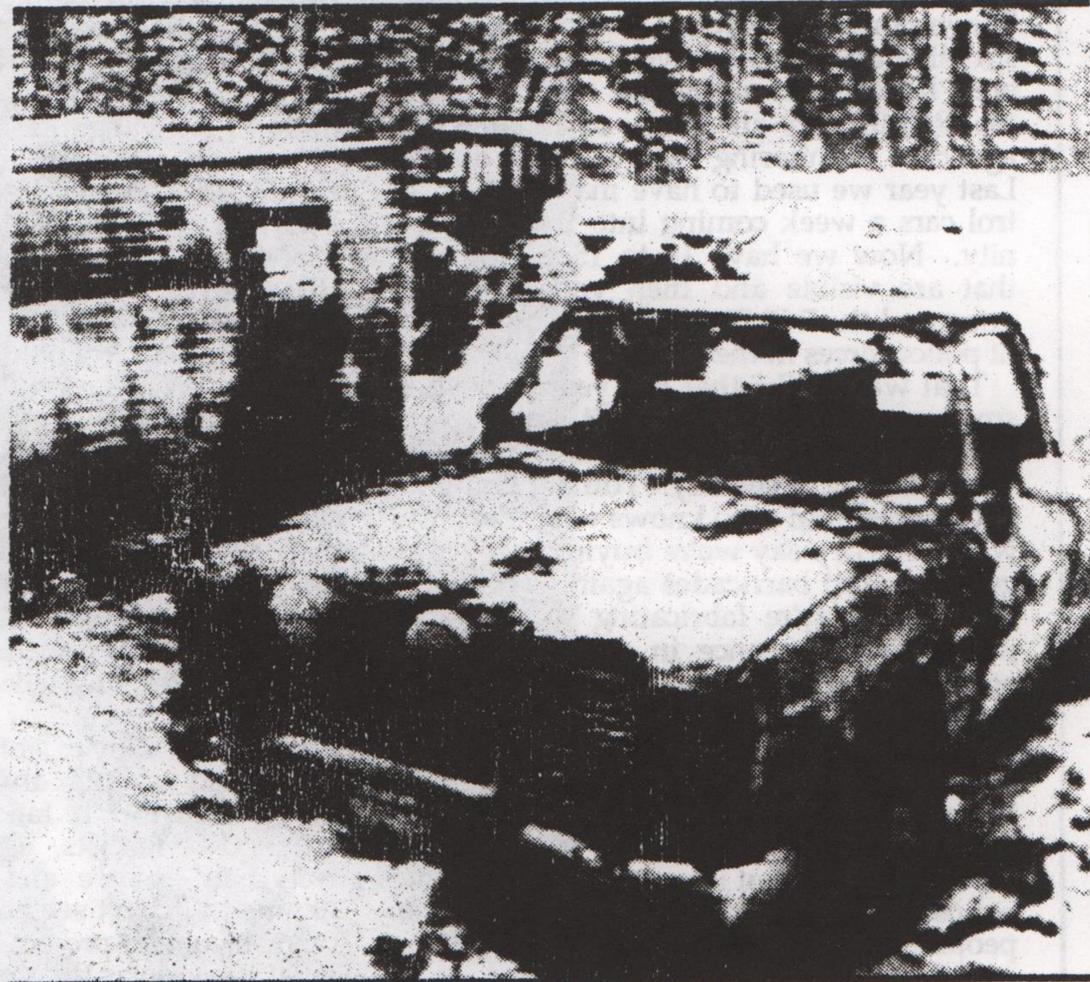
The attack also followed shortly after *Buchanan Lumber* began logging operations on Lubicon land, breaking an agreement between the Japanese multinational *Daishowa Inc.* and the Lubicons. *Buchanan Lumber* and another company-*Brewster Construction*, a subsidiary of *Daishowa*- have been contracted by the multinational to log the area. *Daishowa* also operates a pulp-mill in northern Alberta.

As well, *Norcen Energy Resources* has resumed operation of oil wells in the Lubicon Lake area, which had been closed since Nov. 30/89 after threats by the Lubicon's to sabotage the wells, which are partly owned by *Petro-Canada*.

Depredation's by oil companies and logging operations has wracked much of the Lubicon Cree's hunting and trapping ground's, dismantled their self-sufficiency and made 95% of the 500-member community dependent on welfare.

Prior to his arrest in December/90, Ominayak stated: "I believe in the cause and no RCMP or developer is going to stop me... What kind of laws does this country have when the government lets developer's steal our resources? They've destroyed our way of life. The solution is simple: deal with us or stay out".

If the court rejects the appeal by lawyer Bob Sach's, the 13 Lubicon Cree are scheduled to appear in a Peace River provincial court June 17 to have trial dates set. A January court appearance to "plead" was met with complete silence as twelve of the accused refused to recognize the court. A "not guilty" plea was entered as a court interpretation.



Trailer and vehicle owned by Buchanan Lumber

Interview with Ellen Gabriel

The following interview has been reprinted from the June 1991 issue of *Briarpatch*. Although the questions as to the role of women in the Mohawk struggle, and that of the relationship between Native resistance, and the Quebecois sovereignty movement, could both have been explored in far more detail, the article itself is useful because 1) there hasn't been enough focus on women's participation in Native struggles, and 2) it gives a brief report on the present situation in the two communities.

What was the role of women in the struggle for Kahnésatake in the summer?

There were many roles for women. Traditionally our role is to stop encroachment of our land and to watch over it to see that it is being taken care of. On July 11 we met the police and asked them to retreat, telling them they were trespassing on our territory. But we were talking to deaf ears.

Also, during the summer, a lot of men were in bunkers and traditionally when we have a decision to make everyone gathers, sits in their clan, and the clans jointly make decisions. Since we couldn't do this, women went to the bunkers and told the men of the situation and the choices. Like when John Caccia first came in. What was he offering? So that was one role. To go to the bunkers, to feed the men, to keep the calm because of what was going on.

What is the situation at Kahnésatake today?

It's a police state, really. It's a different situation than Kahnawake where they have checkpoints. They don't have the RCMP or SQ coming into their community. In Kahnésatake they're all over the place. They're on private roads. We have aerial surveillance, we still have the army in the area, helicopters, unmarked cars, we have the RCMP and all kinds of intelligence agencies monitoring what we're doing. Last year we used to have maybe two patrol cars a week coming into the community. Now we have 10 to 15 patrol cars that are visible and then you have the army and the RCMP so we have quite a lot of police forces in the area.

That wasn't like that last year in such a small community. You can't walk down the road, and you take a chance when you drive at night especially. You are going to get stopped and who knows what the cops will do. They say we're buying arms and going to start barricades again. These are all things they're fabricating so they can justify their presence in my community and they can justify it if an incident happens and use excessive force like last year.

Last year they couldn't justify what they did but now they're saying we are terrorists, we're criminals and so there has to be a beefed up police presence. It's a beautiful countryside, but it's a very high-tension atmosphere. But it hasn't defeated the people, the spirit of the people has gotten stronger if anything. We had the most passive people who are now aggressive. I



Ellen Gabriel

don't know if that's good or bad, but maybe it's bringing out something that should have been there to begin with.

So what did you learn about the Canadian and Quebec state over the summer?

Nothing new. I think most Natives, when you are growing up, hear about the harassment that your grandfathers and grandmothers went through and the stories about broken treaties.

I think that what we didn't anticipate was the excessive force. We anticipated a riot squad to come in and arrest us, but not a SWAT team with M-16s and an army being used against a handful of people. If there is anything that we've learned it is how desperate they are to violate our rights for economic interest above human lives and above our rights.

If Quebec gains sovereignty do you see that as a set back to the potential for Aboriginal sovereignty?

Yes, definitely it would be an even greater set back. We've seen the new constitution that Quebec wants to put in and our rights as Native people will be virtually abolished. Like we've said, we are sovereign. We have our own language, we have our own culture, we have our own land-base. It's just that the government has failed to recognize it. They continually abuse us.

Quebec, if they separate, have about 20 percent of the province that they can have because 80 percent of Quebec is Native. That's what they're entitled to. They're a conquered people anyway, and I don't know what they're talking about. They're talking like fascists. They're going to protect their culture and everyone else be damned. I don't see anything wrong with them trying to protect their language and what they see as their culture. It's the way they're going about it.

It may not necessarily be the people, just like in Canada. It's the leaders who are the ones that are corrupt. And they're the ones who are creating the hysteria. They're the ones who are creating and enhancing the racism that already exists.

Do you have any predictions for the summer?

All I can say is that we're going to try and survive the summer. We see the harassment increasing. We see the public statements made by police officials, the police brotherhood of the Sureté du Québec, the RCMP, fabricating all kinds of things about us like new blockades and more weapons coming in. The potential for violence is extremely high. It's higher than in any other community (us and Kahnawake).

Summer is going to be a time when people are walking on eggshells. But we're going to try and keep the peace. But we're not going to stand by and watch our people get killed. We're not going to stand by and watch our people get abused. There has to be some sort of justice. We virtually have to take care of ourselves. There is no one out there or no judicial system that is in favour of us or our rights. So we're going to be very careful and try to educate people as to who we are, that we are not criminals and terrorists that the government is trying to portray us as.



Racists lynch Native effigy

AUTONOMOUS CELLS



Graphics by Clifford Harper

The following interview was made in June 1987 with members of an autonomous cell in West Germany. This group has been active since the early 1980's, carrying out attacks for example against NATO pipeline facilities, US military convoys and nuclear industry targets. As is stated in the interview, the "autonomous cells" are not one single group but several, and it could be added that the name itself is a concept for struggle.

ORGANIZATION

How did your name come about?

Paul: I want to clarify that we speak only for ourselves and not for others with the same name.

Ede: Our name must be associated with other fighting groups in the same political sphere. In reference to legal political organizations/groups, we want to point out that we act politically and militarily against this state.

Many groups change their names constantly with the name of their actions, or they have fantasy names. In this context the determining of military actions must be discussed in more detail. We find that actions, though they are planned and executed in the military sphere, only show ef-



fect in the political sphere. The importance of an action lies not in the extent of material damage but in the reporting and discussion of it. We decided to have one name to make use of this effect and let people know of the continuity and development of the struggle.

How do you get on with other fighting groups?

Ede: First of all we have to say that we depend on the media about reports on

these groups like you or anybody else. That's why an exact judgement is impossible. Of course, we discuss the actions and declarations of these groups, but in the end there is no final judgement.

We find criticism very important but it should always be remembered that we want to settle up with the state and not groups that are relatively close to us. There must be a constructive process at the end of criticism that motivates the development of the "revolution" instead of hampering it. This simple rule in exercising criticism is only mastered in rare cases by the Left. We instead see an obsession to split up and become distant.

Our view is that if people want to split up, they should do so by developing their own political structure and practise. They shouldn't do it by looking at some practises of other political groups with which they agree politically but have no practical relation with. We believe in criticism if we can put it into our own political practises.

What concretely are you responding to?

Paul: The intensity with which people criticize the *Red Army Fraction* is in no relation to the efforts of the same persons to work out their own ideas.

Are you in contact with other groups?

Ede: No comment.

What can you say to this question in general?

Rosi: The safety precautions necessary make meetings very difficult and time consuming. We hesitate at this point between association of the different fighting groups and giving up the relative security of the individual groups. Delicate situations can result if one misjudges the stage of development and responsibility of another group. In fact, the association of several fighting groups results in a loss of security. One has to consider the pros and cons in the individual case.

How are you organized?

Ede: Concerning our daily lives, we live a life like everybody else. This has personal and political reasons. First of all we need the private connections that give us the strength to fight, and secondly, we need the political connections to link the fight with the development of the Leftist movement.

Rosi: As long as we are not forced underground by state persecution we'll keep our legal status as persons.

What do you think of the *Revolutionary Cells* organization where the women formed their own *Rote Zora*?

Rosi: I don't think your statement that all women from the *Revolutionary Cells* are organized with the *Rote Zora* is right.

The form of organization we have now is the best for me, that doesn't mean I solved all the problems that exist for me with this question... both forms of organizing have their advantages and disadvantages. In some areas, working together with men seems not imaginable for me yet.

I don't want to deny my positive experiences with men though.

What style of combat do you have?

Ede: It is important to make a distinction here. In the area of covert actions we restrict ourselves to objects. The way we carry out an action depends on whether human life is in danger or not. On the other hand, in a clash with the cops (demonstrations), we use the usual tools like Molotov cocktails, clubs and rocks.

Our goal is not to endanger human life but we don't particularly avoid it either. Everybody has to decide this by themselves.

Once again to the technical tools you use, how does it look there?

Paul: Very simple. Everything can be bought in a store or be taken from a construction site. There's nothing special, for example: gasoline, oil, tires, chains etc. are available for everybody.

Is everything that simple?

Paul: Of course not. The difficulty lies in finding suitable tools for an action or creating them from parts that are common. That gives us the advantage of being able to store materials at home or to buy them on short notice in any store. This also makes it easy to copy.

Upon criteria do you decide your actions?

Paul: The decision is based on what we are trying to achieve with an action.

Propaganda has to play an important role, and we think it's not considered enough. An action has to speak absolutely for itself; why, against whom, and what for. The hope that a communique put out

afterwards would be published is illusionary.

Rosi: I don't think we need to mention that the actions are never to be targeted against the population. They have to be planned carefully enough so that the state cannot turn the political target of an action into the opposite.

How did you develop politically towards covert actions?

Ede: There wasn't anything special, nothing like close encounters of the third kind or anything. One has to realize at some point that not everything that comes from above is right, not even the law. That you have a head of your own and can think for yourself and then try to convert your thoughts into practise.

Why does it happen so rarely?

Ede: Many people are afraid of the consequences, and they are already taught to adapt in the workplace. These days people don't look up until a tank crosses their front yard.

Then there is a large group of people who are angry about the situation here and they articulate this through alcohol, fights, and drugs. They are not able to express their dissatisfaction and comprehend it politically.

What motivated you to this step?

Paul: We could say that part of the motivation comes from the experiences of other revolutionary groups. Most important though is our own history and development.

Rosi: We don't say that we think legal work is impossible or doesn't make sense, but we learnt from our own experiences that it is necessary not to be limited to legal organization only. It is essential to find methods to leave the areas observed by the police/state forces, so we become and remain capable of taking actions to reach our political goals.

What do you think about your "criminalization"?

Ede: Well, we can't deny it and don't want to.

Do you talk about jail?

Paul: Yes, we've talked about it but it's a theoretical discussion only. How can we make a statement about something we haven't experienced? None of us know how they act in jail, if he/she could resist the pressure, if he/she would talk if tortured, if he/she could live under jail conditions for years.

Rosi: At this point we can only learn from other people, people we don't know, who have written on their experiences in jail.

You mentioned torture, do you calculate that in also?

Paul: Yes, we see the word torture as a term that describes conditions that place us under pressure.

As a reaction to prisoners being tortured, the ETA(1) reorganized their structure so the individual only knows what is absolutely necessary. Only a small part of the organization gets endangered this way, never the organization as a whole.

Is that why you are organized in a similar way

Paul: That is one reason. More importantly, we see the principal of autonomy realized in its best way for us. It is also the best way to protect ourselves from infiltration. The experiences of the *Revolutionary Cells* are certainly an example for that(2).

What do you criticize most when you look back?

Rosi: There are press releases to our attacks, sometimes we didn't write one, on other occasions they were not exact enough. That's bad, that has to be changed.

How does something like that happen?

Rosi: It was most often a question of time: we preferred to invest our time preparing the action, instead of writing detailed explanations. You also have to know that writing communiques has to be done as carefully as the execution of an action, and can take the same length of time.

Paul: For quite awhile we concentrated too much on technicalities. Also trying out, developing and converting sabotage techniques into practise. We didn't spend enough time thinking about our political goals. For example we should have given this interview a long time ago.



RELATIONS WITH OTHER MOVEMENTS

What's getting on your nerves in the Leftist scene?

Rosi: I often have the impression that many of them don't know what they want. Nothing comes from themselves. They complain about a "lame" demo but went there empty-handed or not at all.

Ede: I am thinking of larger, militant demos. The cops can provoke a confrontation at the time and place they want, the people always go for that. Whole demos get broken up before reaching their true destination.

Paul: Clearly there are many people fixated on confrontation with the cops. The goal of the demo has to be put in the forefront again.

Say something about the ETA attack in Barcelona with 18 deaths in the population!

Ede: The comrades forgot that money is everything and human life nothing in the capitalists eye. That is a truism that comes bitterly into memory. One has to calculate this into the actions.

Paul: One has to say that there is always the risk of affecting bystanders for every group that does military actions. If you claim the opposite that is just gray theory. It is important to keep the risk as low as possible. This is elementary in preparing for an action.

Rosi: Confront the indignant citizens who talk about the lack of humanity of the ETA actions with the number of citizens killed regularly by the cops by accident. There the mask of humanity becomes fragile, then women get to hear about political necessity and the victims that you have to take with it (talking about the justifications used when cops kill-ed.). Clear text: Most of them don't care about the tools used or deaths, but which side the women is on. There is the line. everything else is political hypocrisy. You can't calculate that, the 18 dead in the shopping mall are reality! I don't want to talk away mistakes here. I just want to dispute the depth of peoples indignation, when they justify on other occasions. That of course doesn't make the ETA action any better, that has to be said clearly. This ETA action was a big mistake, something like that can't happen again. I hope the ETA is going to show their responsibility to the victims and learn from that.

FURTHER PERSPECTIVES/OUTLOOKS

Possibly coming repression, what do you think about that?

Ede: Look at the last two, three years and see how they've tightened things up: numerous demonstration and conference bans, the use of battle tactics by the cops, banning of newspapers and info-booths. It shows that besides the militant organizations the legal Leftist scene should be destroyed also.

What are the measures to take in reply to the Info and newspaper ban?

Paul: Most importantly, everybody no matter in what movement they are active in becomes aware of the extent of these bans. The anti-nuclear convention ban in Bavaria was only the beginning.

Rosi: Back to the question of the criminalization of printers and news vendors: it is basically a ban on building your own opinion/discussion. We think the measures to take are reprinting/photocopying and discussing the content of newspapers. All people who take part in an occupation, demonstration, blockade or military action, have to make sure that in the future there are going to be reports/information/discussion about their action. Also collect leaflets/newspaper articles and statements and distribute them. Many small newspapers, info-sheets etc. are best at this time to oppose the repression of our media/discussions.

How do you judge the development of the struggle in W. Germany in the next five to ten years?

Ede: Our opinion is that there is no flow-erpot to win for revolutionary politics within the next five to ten years. The situation here is too much of a deadlock. Unfortunately the events in the Third World are more endangering for the rulers than the impulses sent out by the revolutionary Leftists (in Germany).

How do you think to get things going for your fight?

Paul: We see positive developments anywhere people unite with overlapping themes. Where isolation from private problems or single-issue themes are abolished. For example at the Hanau demo where parts of the peace movement with Third World committees and the anti-nuclear movement went to show solidarity.

When we just said we expect impulses from the Third World liberation movements, we don't mean that we look up to the armed movements with a mystified glance and wait for things to happen.

We have our own fight under the conditions here, with an international consciousness.

How are you going to develop?

Ede: We think it is necessary that legal-political and illegal-militant organizations refer more to each other. One step on this way is this interview.

We have the idea of a strong coalition between both parts, like in Spain between the ETA and *Herri Batasuna*(3). That means for the legal revolutionary Leftists in W. Germany to give themselves a strong and organized frame, so they could make use of a party-like organization.

Paul: A very important step is the extension of collective life-forms, that means to develop our way of life we have now and fight for, and it is worth fighting for. We see many possibilities to work out and translate the first stages of socialism/communism into action in a collective lifestyle. In collectivity we have experienced discussion, common decision-making, acceptance of mistakes, and no the isolation of financial problems of an individual but the discussion and solution together.

We thank you again for the interview, do you have anything to add?

Rosi: Yes, I would like to say that we would have had to say more to some of your questions. It's very difficult to give answers during such a short time that consider all aspects. Some important things fell under the table. For example, the strong distinction between legal-political and illegal-militant does not really exist in practise. Already today in the so-called legal-political sector many structures have to be illegal for security reasons, ie. certain leaflets, newsletters. That means that "legal" organizations can't really exist without illegal structures and they have to extend those if they want to be capable in the future.

We wish all the fighting comrades love and hope!

Paul: Everybody else too!!

Ede: Venceremos!!

FOOTNOTES;

1. ETA: Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, Basque national liberation guerrilla group.
2. Revolutionary Cells: This W. German urban guerrilla group, active since the early '70's, has had very few members captured by the police.
3. Herri Batasuna: United People. Electoral coalition with a radical nationalist base, is the political and institutional front (in the town halls) of the ETA(military).



RESISTANCE CONSPIRACY CASE

RESISTANCE CONSPIRACY CASE INTERVIEW PART 2

Below we present the conclusion of the Resistance Conspiracy Case interview, a discussion with six anti-imperialist prisoners in the United States.

On December 6/90, the case concluded with Laura Whitehorn and Linda Evans being convicted of conspiracy against the US government, and one count each of aiding and abetting the 1983 bombing of the Capitol building following the US invasion of Grenada.

Laura Whitehorn was sentenced to 20-years in addition to the 5 she's spent in preventative detention, and Linda Evans was sentenced to two 5-year terms to be served concurrently, in addition to the thirty-five years she is currently serving on other related charges.

As we mentioned last issue, both Linda and Laura plea bargained with the prosecution. For pleading "guilty", conspiracy charges were dropped against Tim Blunk, Susan Rosenberg and Alan Berkman. Their motivation for this was the hope of parole being granted to Berkman, which would enable him to receive adequate medical care for lymphatic cancer. On several occasions Berkman has been near death due to a lack of medical care by prison authorities, including the possibly deliberate strategy of trying to kill him.

It's important that captured combatants and political prisoners receive solidarity, and in this way we urge everyone to begin that process, write to the prisoners, learn about their struggles, and promulgate their resistance.

Some of the people in the Black Panther Party felt the only way they were going to survive was to form an underground resistance. Similarly within the struggle of Puerto Rico, clandestine organizations have developed on the island and here inside the US. The FALN(Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion National) has been most clearly developed, and in the last few years the *Macheteros* who are rooted on the island in Puerto Rico have developed. They have had several people who have been arrested and become political prisoners in the US. People from the American Indian Movement (AIM) are in the prisons as political prisoners. and there are also white

North Americans such as ourselves who have tried to build our anti-imperialist resistance movement and have fought in various ways against the state, some as part of an armed clandestine resistance. And then there are other white North Americans who have been involved in militant, but passive civil disobedience actions against the military who are also in the prisons. Now, we are all obviously political prisoners, but the people from the oppressed nations who are waging armed struggle consider themselves under international law to be captured combatants and are prisoners of a liberation struggle recognized by Protocol 2 of the Geneva



From left to right: Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, Tim Blunk, Laura Whitehorn, Susan Rosenberg and Alan Berkman

conventions. They claim status as POWs. **Do the US courts recognize that status?** No, the courts refuse to- though it has been challenged many times, the courts in the US refuse to apply international standards, including Puerto Rico as the clearly most recognized example. The world community and the United Nations recognize it as a US colony, but the US courts refuse to recognize it as a US colony and therefore people who are freedom fighters from that movement are not going to be recognized as anti-colonial freedom fighters. Internationally increasingly they are. This was made most clear when William Morales was captured in Mexico and the US tried to extradite him back to the US as a criminal. Mexico decided that he was a political prisoner in the US, that he was a captured combatant from Puerto Rico, refused to extradite him to the US and released him to Cuba where he was given political asylum. Another blow to that strategy was the liberation of Assata Shakur. Assata, a leading member of the BLA, had been characterized by the FBI and the media as a "blood thirsty cop killer". After her liberation from prison she was granted political asylum in Cuba and has since gained recognition internationally and in the US as a respected spokesperson for the Black Liberation struggle.

But do these movements themselves claim you as their political prisoners?

That varies because again there are different realities that are going on- and this is both the strength and weakness of the political prisoner/POW movement in the US, but also of the social struggle in the US in general. I think there is very implicit embracement of political prisoners in Puerto Rico for example. I think among white North American movements that has not been historically true, and the link has not been made, especially with people charged with organizing in armed struggle. I think it was a weakness as the struggle developed those links were not there, were not organically developed in earlier years and so it is still an ongoing process since peoples capture to try and forge links between the various levels of struggle. Because certainly I think, the political goals are very much shared, and of course the isolation and conditions of capture can make that very difficult to do.

What kind of outside support do political prisoners and POWs receive at this point?

The support for political prisoners as it is largely defined by the conditions and the state of the movements we come from. I would say that overall there is not a whole lot of support, there is not a lot of consciousness raising. We are having to begin from the premise of just establishing the existence of political prisoners in the US from the point of view of consciousness raising, and those efforts are just beginning. There are some exceptions, probably most progressive people in the US are familiar with the case of Leonard Peltier. He has probably more support and recognition than any other political prisoner in the US, and that is probably true internationally as well. His case has some over arching significance for the Native American movement and for the last 10-years or so it has been both a symbolic struggle and rallying point for the Native American movement.

The Puerto Rican political prisoners and

POWs have support within the independence movement and it has begun to become more broad in the last two or three years. In the last year and with the coming of discussions about the status of the island, from the point of view of the independence movement and even some of the pro-colony forces, the question of what will happen with the political prisoners and POWs is very much part of the discussion because they have been involved in the struggle for the status of the island.

But it seems that a lot of Black political prisoners and POWs have not been recognized by the Black community. Does that sort of reflect the political state of the Black community at this point, that a lot of Black Panthers are sitting in jails and have been there for many years and seem to be forgotten, or is that a wrong impression?

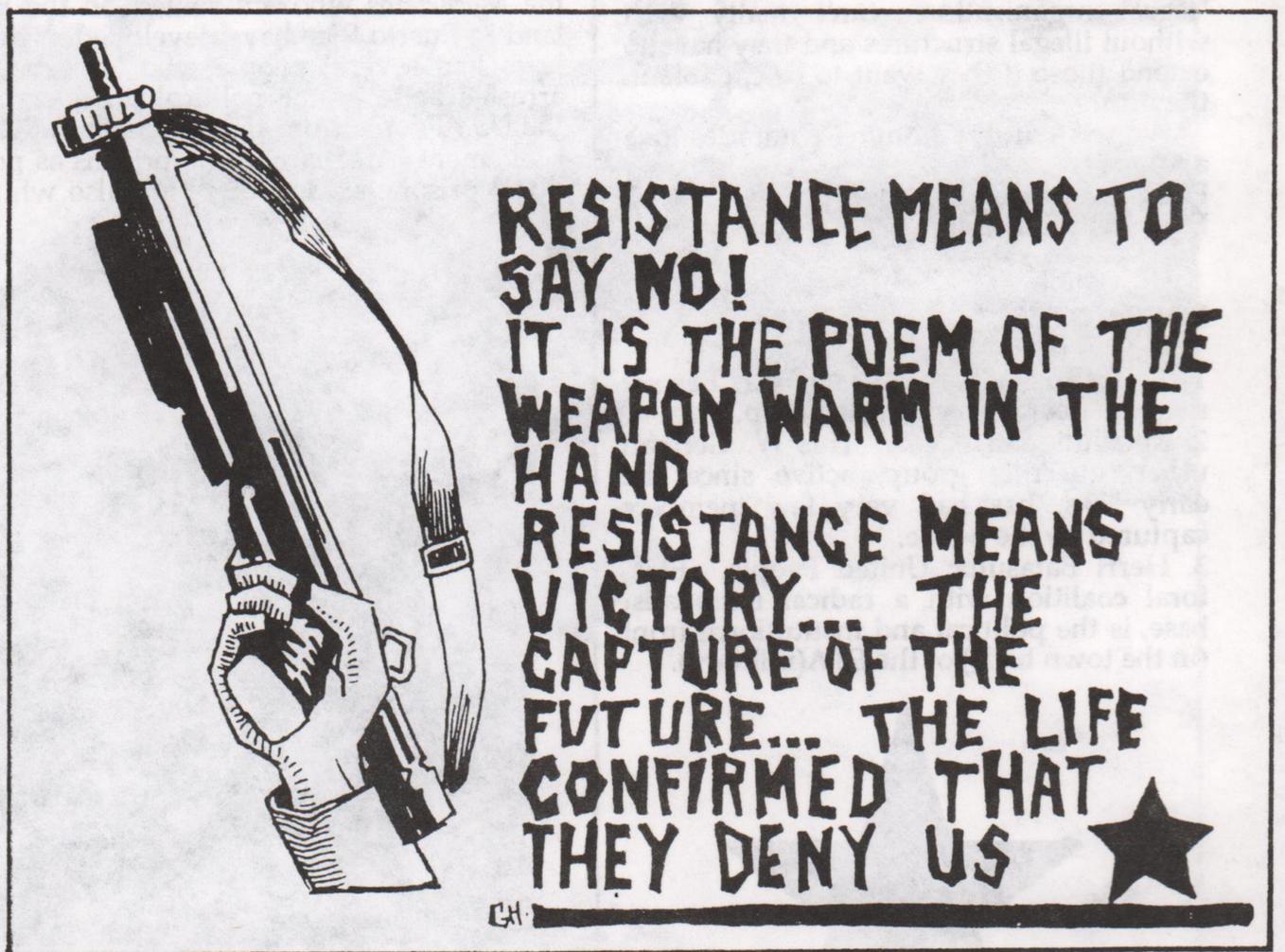
I don't think it is a wrong impression, but what has to be understood is that one of the outcomes of the counter-intelligence programs that was developed in the sixties and early seventies was that the organizational structure in the Black community was really targeted for destruction and was somewhat successfully destroyed. Not just revolutionary organizations- you can go back and read FBI papers- groups like the "Black architects" had formed and were infiltrated. Any kind of organization that led peoples struggles on their own terms was systematically targeted for destruction. And if you don't have forms of organizations you just cannot reach a mass of people and you cannot even perpetuate your own history very easily. And then, let's face it- the other thing is that some of the people who were militants were co-opted.

It was very clear that the US government was not going to allow Black people any

self-directed organizations through which they could struggle. I think there will be more active claiming of the people who have struggled in that direction and there is a base of support. I just think that there is much more of a base of support that is incipient there, that could be mobilized, it is not directed at this point and therefore cannot make itself felt.

In the Federal Republic of Germany support work for political prisoners is really viewed as an important front in the fight against repression and people who are doing that kind of work often define themselves as anti-imperialists. Is there any comparison to the support that you receive as white North American anti-imperialist prisoners?

No, I don't think there is any comparison. It's just an altogether different starting point. Here in the US, "anti-imperialist" is defined somewhat differently than in the FRG. Here it refers to those sectors of the progressive movement which analyze the US as an imperialist nation, oppose imperialism as a whole system and act in solidarity with national liberation movements. The anti-imperialist movement here is very small and isolated. I would say, having spoken about the national liberation struggles- within the dominant white left there is a very low level of consciousness of political prisoners and POWs, whether it is the political prisoners from any of the national liberation movements or the anti-imperialist left. So they don't really know that we exist. Those that do know, and the support that we begin to get through our trials, is fairly defined at the level of basic humanitarian human rights concerns. It is not seen at this point as a significant front in the struggle in and of itself. Perhaps that was more true in the seventies when some of the urban rebellions were taking



place, when George Jackson was assassinated in a California prison and there were a series of uprisings around the country. There were numerous political prisoners from the struggles of the sixties and they played a role in those rebellions, and there was a much different sense about the prisons as a whole, but some of the political prisoners as well. At this point there really is no perspective of the political prisoners as being like the fighters or combatants of the movement and that you take steps to defend those people as part of defending your own movement.

I think that is something that is changing. Until very recently there were not even many people who were doing it for humanitarian reasons. In fact what we had there was a very small core of people who were themselves committed anti-imperialists who were doing it clearly, I think, for basic political purposes in terms of seeing both the prisoners as very important people for the movement- having supported the development of the clandestine organizations themselves- and seeing it as a form of being able to expose and fight the repressive part of the state and what the FBI was doing and believing that it was important to strengthen the movement. Even a lot of people who are involved in social movements in the US don't understand that the state responds by repression if challenged. We have had a difficult time even perpetuating our own history and it is actually being re-written all the time. So that when CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), which is a Central American anti-intervention movement, was targeted by the FBI and that operation was finally exposed in the eighties, people thought it was a new thing. No, it wasn't a new thing at all, it goes back- it was the perpetuation of something that as the social struggle had gone down was less obvious. and then as the people began to respond and tried to challenge US policies in Central America, the FBI resumed its role much more aggressively as a political force. And so I think it is only in the last few years that around the core of committed anti-imperialists who have done that work there are now others supporting political prisoners.

Do you think that the broad opposition against the High Security Unit in Lexington was sort of a starting point for the recognition of political prisoners by a broader public?

Yes, definitely it backfired on the US government. The US government or the Bureau of Prisons never thought that there would be the kind of opposition that ended up emerging in relationship the Lexington. They thought that the rhetoric of terrorism would be enough to scare off any kind of human rights activity and they miscalculated on that basis. And I would say that specifically the Puerto Rican independence movement had a very important role to play at least in initiating that opposition.

And do you think the public awareness that was created through that can continue, for example during the time of your trial, or do you feel that the campaign against the Lexington HSU was yet another one of the single issue mobilizations in the US?

I think it was mixed. Supporting people,

supporting human rights which is something a lot of people can get behind- although not enough- is coming. The dominant basis upon which people objected to Lexington was that they didn't like the isolation- and it's easier to become involved in opposing that than it is to supporting revolutionaries. People didn't like a democratic country torturing its own dissidents- which is really what was going on there. That is a little bit different than when you are going on trial as being an enemy of the state in a very self-conscious, politically orchestrated show-trial where the government has a lot at stake in winning a victory right there and then.

One of the sources that our support has come from in the last period is from the gay and lesbian movement. And I think part of that is because Linda and I have been out-lesbians, have said that we are lesbians and that four of us in this case are women, that all of us have fought for women's liberation including the men who have supported the struggle for women's liberation very much in their political histories too. But I think there is another reason, which is that the gay and lesbian movement is challenging the government on the question of AIDs which is a life and death struggle for people. It brings people up against control of their lives and their bodies and how they live their lives. The growth of homophobia in this period, the increase in attacks on gay people, and the increase in laws directed against gay people is having an impact on people thinking. So ACT UP, which is the most militant part of the AIDs movement, has been extremely militant in its actions. And I think that when you are in a confrontation with the state like that you have less questions about other people who resist. You are more interested in uniting with people against a common enemy which is a concept that is very important to us.

Where do you see the role of political prisoners in the slow re-emergence of a more grassroots level of opposition within the different national communities? And where do you see your own role? How do you think it will be possible to achieve some unity and to relate to the struggles on the outside?

I think that prisons in the US are going to become an increasing focus of resistance in the US, both at the human rights level and at the level of violence and resistance and rebellion inside the prisons. The prisons are going to play- and have historically played- an important role for the state in syphoning off the most radical, militant elements of not even necessarily the self-conscious opposition, but people who are in rebellion against their conditions, either as a result of racism or poverty.

The state itself says that in the US in less than five years one million people will be in prison, which is an enormous percentage of the population. I think the role of political prisoners will be greater if we are accepted as such by the movements and the social opposition and the political opposition that develops. Certainly we have to play a role in the prisons itself in trying to build unity among as many prisoners- social and political- in order to forge a front of struggle inside the prisons to make that rebellion something more direct. And I think that is one of the reasons why the government clearly wants to isolate us.

Beyond that specifically as political prisoners we have a responsibility to keep a flame of resistance alive in the sense of an ideological, political position. We represent something that has historically been important to the left. Right now the dominant location of us is in prison which is a big problem. I think probably similar to some earlier periods in the FRG when a number of people were in the prisons and a voice that needed to be outside was not there.

Let me ask you a question in relation that. In the FRG, the prisoners of the RAF and the resistance have been for years fighting isolation with the demand for reassociation of all political prisoners. Do you see political prisoners in the US at a point where you will demand association?

I think in the longer term it will be a demand. Given the real material conditions in this country around the questions of political prisoners, I don't think it is demand we can yet establish. I think we are still at a stage of in a sense combatting the US governments criminalization of political prisoners. We will be somewhat successful but I think it's a long struggle. It is like trying to look at things in stages, and one stage of it is to really affirm there are political prisoners in the US.

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Marilyn Buck #00482-285
PMB 7007
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Marianna, FL
32446 USA

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U.S.P. Marion
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Camp Parks
Dublin, CA
94568 USA

Laura Whitehorn #22432-037
F.C.I. Lexington
3301 Leestown Rd.
Lexington, KY
40511 USA

We do not have Alan Berkman's address at this time but hopefully we'll be able to put it in the next issue.

Action Directe Hungerstrike continued from page 3

isolation areas and gain status as political prisoners. After 116 days the strike was ended. again in 1989 they undertook a hungerstrike and achieved regroupment in units of two, and other assurances from the Ministry of Justice.

Action Directe formed in 1979 as an armed clandestine organization, and in the first year of their existence had attacked some twenty targets, including government offices, corporations etc. The group went through various internal changes and changes in perspective (of which more can be

read in Resistance no. 6). Other actions continued up to 1988, more in an anti-imperialist direction. By March/88, the group appeared to be decimated by arrests and imprisonment.

The Action Directe hungerstrike in many ways can be seen as a continuation of the GRAPO/PCER hungerstrike. Particularly in regards to the 1992 European Unification and the push by the various countries to eliminate political prisoners, either by forcing them to renounce their politics for "normalized" prison conditions, or

by hard repression as in the hungerstrike in Spain.

Solidarity? Contact your nearest French consulate, corporation or interest.

THE ADDRESSES OF THE PRISONERS;

Nathalie Menigon, 23507,

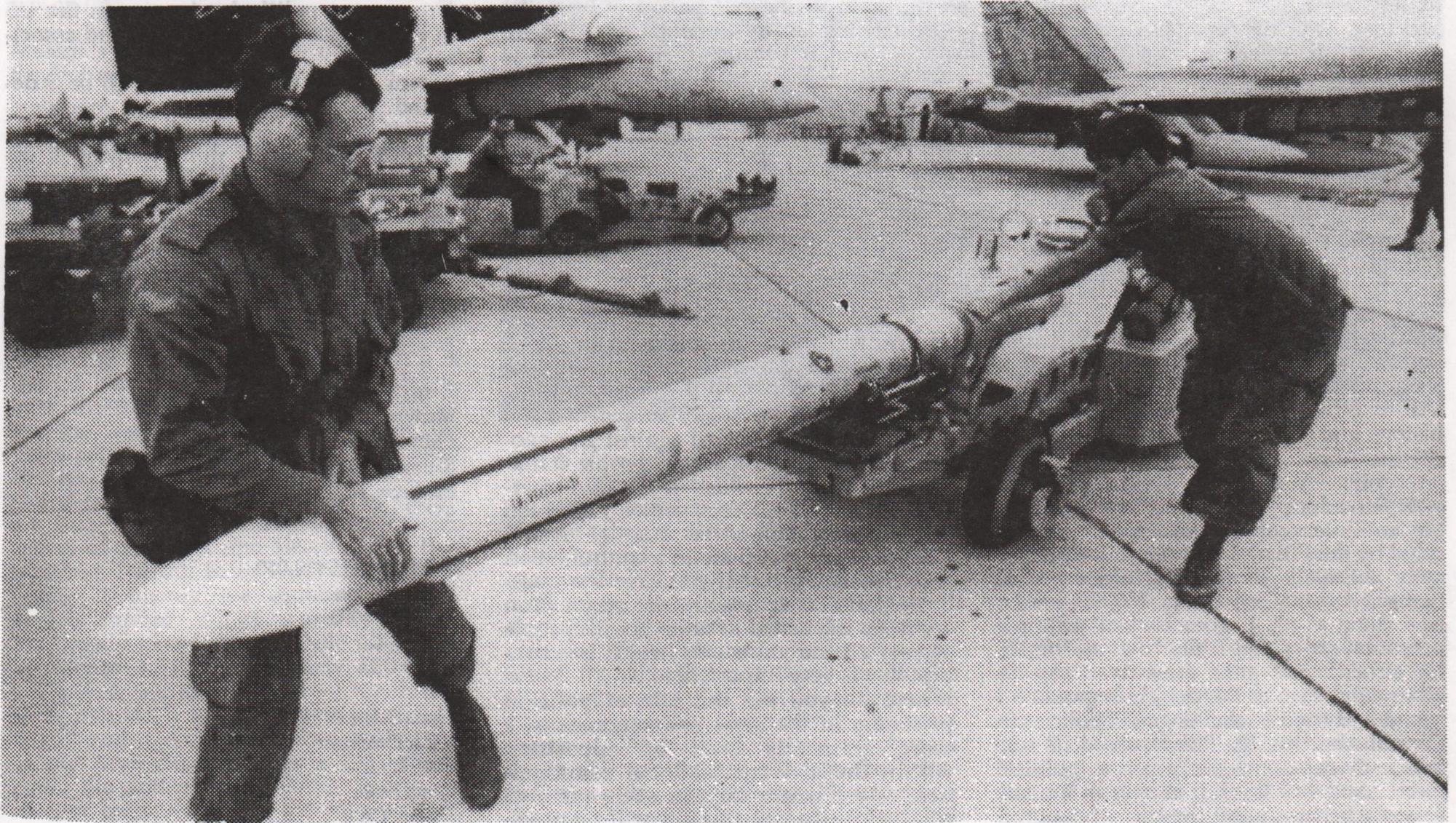
Joelle Aubron, 23506 D6E,
9 Ave. des Peupliers,
91705 Ste.-Genevieve-des-Bois,
France.

Georges Cipriani, 793936 1/51c,
Jean-Marc Rouillon, 793881 1/51b,
Allee des Thuyas,
94261 Fresnes Cedex,
France.

FOR MORE INFO CONTACT;

Defense Active,
17 Rue St. Joseph,
84000 Avignon,
France.

COPEL, c/o Octobre,
BP 781,
75003 Paris,
France.



Canadian Forces ground crew load Sparrow missile onto CF-18 in Qatar

AFTERMATH OF A GULF WAR

Continued from page 5

of supply ships, escort of bombers and medical aid.

What may at first appear to be another facet of the world-wide myth, "Canada the peacekeeper", is in reality the extremely limited military capabilities of the CAF; only 80,000 personnel in total, outdated and overworked equipment, and a lack of desert fighting equipment and training. As well, an activation of more troops would have "placed a severe strain on the ability of the CAF to... take on such tasks as responding to another Mohawk crisis at home" (an unnamed source, *Globe and Mail*, January 12/90).

The Canadian military contribution was limited, but Canada's economic and political interests in the war knew no boundaries.

CANADIAN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

Canada's political and military involvement in the war was determined by economic interrelation with the US, realized

through the Free Trade Agreement on one level, and international groupings such as the G-7;

"If the war is ended quickly, Mr. Wilson (the Canadian Finance Minister) said, he agrees with US officials that an Allied victory could help improve consumer confidence and trigger a rebound in the N. American economies... All of the countries were searching for ways to make sure the recessions facing the US, Britain and Canada don't become severe enough to trigger a global downturn" (*Globe and Mail, Report on Business*, January 21/91, a meeting of the G-7 in New York).

In the development of three competing economic blocs (Europe, Japan-Asia and N. America) Canada's economic and political destiny now lies with that of the US. As a participant in and beneficiary of US imperialism, Canada's interests are strongly connected with those of the US.

Militarily, Canada can contribute little to the US's New World Order. Rather, it will

be in the economic and political fields, through Canada's position in the IMF, the G-7 and the UN, that Canada will re-affirm US imperialism's new era of exploitation.

THE FUTURE

The New World Order will be a period of more military interventions, primarily by the US- the one nation militarily capable of such incursions- and increased exploitation of the Three Continents. The effects of this New World Order, the ending of the Cold War (which was greeted with such euphoria as opening to an era of "peace") and the economic restructuring, can now be seen in the aftermath of the Gulf War.

The struggle continues.

REVIEWS

Arm the Spirit

Sub-titled "For Revolutionary Resistance", *ATS* is a fairly regular newsletter documenting armed and militant resistance. With a consistent publishing schedule, *ATS* manages to keep up to date and timely and is an important source of such material, much from Europe including recent communiqués from Red Army Fraction actions, GRAPO etc. You can support this initiative by subscribing at \$10 for 10 issues (in cash or blank money orders);

ATS c/o Wild Seed Press,
PO Box 57584 Jackson Stn.,
Hamilton, Ontario,
L8P 4X3 Canada.

Autonomi

An English-language newsletter from autonomist revolutionaries in Denmark, *Autonomi* carries info on struggles in Denmark as well as internationally. The most recent issue carries articles on the Christiania in Copenhagen, autonomist feminist analysis, the trial against seven leftists in Denmark, background to the political situation in Denmark, and some reports on fascists in Germany and the Ohio 7 in the US.

Autonomi, Foreningen International Kultur-forum,
Blagardsgade 12,
2200 Copenhagen N.-Denmark.

Clash

A "newspaper for/of resistance in Eu-

rope", *Clash* is an initiative that arose from the boycott of *De Knipselkrant* (see *Resistance* no. 13) and the need for a common discussion in Europe. *Clash* is produced through info shops in various countries, and is printed in two languages- German and English. To receive a copy send \$5 (perhaps in concealed US cash?) to:

Slagerzicht,
Overtoom 274,
1054 BJ Amsterdam,
Netherlands

(With a second envelope inside addressed to *Clash*).

Euskadi Information

Published by EKIN, the Defense Association of Repression Against the Basque National Liberation Movement. An important source of English-language info on the liberation struggle in Euskadi, includes social and cultural aspects, prisoners struggles and armed actions by ETA.

EKIN,
Apdo. 1005,
Donostia-San Sebastian,
Gipuzkoa, Spain.

Iris

Always an informative and well-done publication focusing on the struggle in Northern Ireland. One of the most recent issues dated Easter 1991 concentrates on the 1916 Easter Uprising, and extensive documentation of armed struggle carried out by the Volunteers of *Oglaigh na hEireann*- the Irish Republican Army- from July 1990 to February 1991. Recom-



Paris aka. Oscar Jackson

Musical

Paris "The Devil made me do it"-LP

One of the most radical of the rap music scene, Paris (aka. Oscar Jackson) combines an explosive mixture of raw, hard-edged rap with revolutionary politics. Every track is forceful and directed as Paris drops serious knowledge that mixes up '60's Black militancy- including dialogue by Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael and Black Panthers- with recent manifestations of Black struggle, such as Howard Beach, against crack etc.

Rapping over rough, bass-heavy music, Paris' rhymes hit hard and to the point, as in the title track: "Hear close the words I wrote/crack cocaine is genocide of black folk/who in their

right mind ever could've missed this? Damn right when ya think seditious... Check the sound- and keep in tune on target- the revolution won't be thwarted or set back cause my man it's plain to see- Must end the white supremacy...". Other cuts are just as uncompromising, slugging on pop-rap as in *Mellow Madness* or re-affirming the ten point program of the Black panther party as in *Panther Power*.

Considering all the hype surrounding mainstream rap, one would do well to keep in mind this little bit of wisdom from Paris: "Mindless music for the masses/makes ya think less of the one that hates ya". Rappers such as Paris prove there's way more to hip-hop than what's on your radio dial. Check the sound and get in tune!

CORRESPONDENCE

Greetings;

We received your *Resistance* publication no. 14. Excellent Analysis! I especially enjoyed the historical and parallels contained therein.

Because of the many demands that are immediately important we'll stay in touch (tuned in) with your solidarity to the best of our ability.

A newsletter should be forthcoming in the next few weeks. Contained there-in will be updates in the three major Mohawk communities that are being affected.

Again, your journal is very informative and professional. Continue the good work.

Behind the Razor Wire Defendant,
Paul "Sugar Bear" Smith,
Kahnawake, Quebec.

Salut:

Excuse me for writing in French, but when I write in English it's very poor (and our translations aren't too great either!-ed.). Thank you for *Resistance* no. 14. The articles on the Mohawks and the text by the *Revolutionary Cells* on the patriarchy were very interesting, I may translate them.

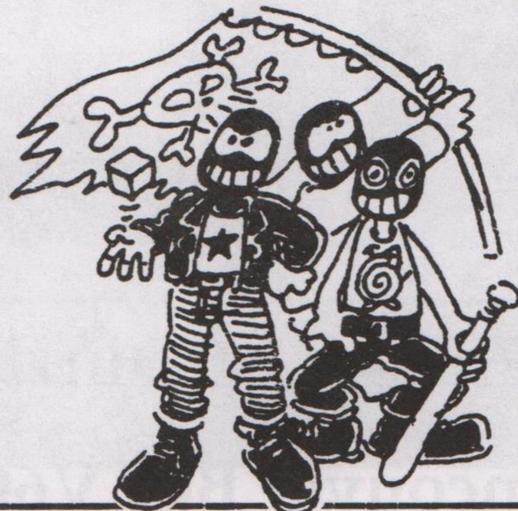
I have sent you various magazines from the diverse movements here in France and the struggles they represent anti-fascism (*SCALP*, *Reflex*),

squatting and housing (*Contre*), the war against Iraq (*Mordicus* and *GAG*), autonomy (*Quilombo*), the Redskin movement (*Rudeboy*) and prisons (*Rebelle*). I will try to send info and texts from France regularly- in exchange could you send future issues of *Resistance*? In advance, thank you.

I also wonder where one could receive the review *Autonomi* which was mentioned in your previous issue?

Libertarian and anti-fascist greetings,
Prt., France.

Reply: Thanks very much for the exchange of magazines and papers. As for the review *Autonomi*, check out the review section this issue.



mended for anyone interested in better understanding the Irish liberation struggle.

Iris,
44 Parnell Square,
Dublin 1,
Ireland.

Prison News Service

Probably the best source of info on prisoners struggles, *PNS* has developed into a well produced and important paper, with many contributions from prisoners themselves. Recent issues have included the uprising at Kingston's Prison 4 Women, Native resistance in Canada, discussion over the definition of political prisoner and prisoner of war status by the *Freedom Now!* organization and other news. Subscriptions are \$10/year:

PSC Publishers,
PO Box 5052 Stn. A,
Toronto, Ontario,
M5W 1W4 Canada.

Political Review

Published in English by the Political Review Japan Committee in Japan, *PR* contains analysis of the struggles in Japan and, in the most recent issue, Japan's role in the Gulf War as well as resistance to the throning of a new emperor in November 1990.

C/o UNITA,
1-52 Jinbo-Cho, kanda,

Chiyoda-Ku,
Tokyo,
Japan.

Solidaritat Internacional

Published by the Comite Catalan De Solidaritat Internacionalista in Catalan, this 20-page magazine features articles on N. Ireland, the Corsican National Liberation Front (FLNC) and more. The CCSI has produced numerous leaflets and documentations including the trilingual book *The Dark Side of Europe: More than 100,000 Political Prisoners*, which contains interviews with various prisoners from W. European guerrilla groups including GRAPO, RAF, ETA and the INLA. CCSI,
Apartat de Correus 2192,
Barcelona 08080,
Spain.

Profane Existence

One of the most informative and radical of the punk zines, *PE* publishes on a near-monthly basis and includes extensive news coverage and articles, as in issue's 9 and 10 which carried action reports and analysis of the Gulf War. Always interesting! A sub. is \$9.

Profane Existence,
PO Box 8722,
Minneapolis, MN,
55408 USA.



Resistance c/o Friends of Durruti,

PO Box 790 Stn. A, Vancouver BC, V6C 2N6 Canada