

# I S O L A T I O N

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IV INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM  
AGAINST ISOLATION POLITICS

December 16th – 19th 2005

Cinéma Espace, Paris

FOREWORD

Politically spoken, the term isolation is usually linked to physical and social separation of political prisoners. But experiences made by political fighters for freedom and democracy all over the world show, that isolation is more extensive than we might think. In addition to the isolation of political prisoners, isolation also includes the act of ignoring and silencing any kind of political resistance by non democratic means, among which we find black lists, „anti-terror“ laws, artificial borders, embargos, declarations of war, wars per se and the negation of democratic rights. As we can see, the impact of isolation is not only felt by the people mounting political resistance, but also felt in any kind of oppositional political work; isolation is a self-defense tool of imperialism.

Since 2002, both people and organisations personally affected by isolation and different international movements, interested in linking their struggles with others, meet once a year at the "International Symposium against Isolation" to exchange experiences and in order to find a way to practice solidarity.

The "International Symposium against Isolation" is organized by the "International Platform against Isolation" and takes place every year around December 19th and 22nd. This date was not chosen by chance. It reminds the prison massacre

in Turkey, occurred in December 2000, in which 28 revolutionary prisoners putting up resistance to their transfer to new built F-type prisons were killed by guards in charge of this transfer.



Istanbul: Thousands against the 19th December massacre

In Turkey 4.500 revolutionaries are kept in prison; most of them without any comprehensible charge and exposed to torture and isolation. F-type prisons are exemplarily for the politics of destroying oppositional thoughts and association. The struggle of the revolutionary prisoners and their families and friends outside continues for 6 years without interruption and took the lives of 121 people.

While the focus of the first and the second symposiums, which took place in Noordwijk in 2002 and Florence in 2003, was on exchanging experiences and ideas, the third and fourth, which took place in Berlin (2004) and Paris (2005), already

led to concrete ideas and plans for an international collaboration. Characteristic of all the International Symposiums against Isolation was a strong spirit of optimism and an excitingly demonstrated and expressed solidarity among all participants.

In this brochure you find all the speeches held at the IV International Symposium against Isolation, which was held in Paris. The speeches are, as well as the event itself was, in thematical order. The first chapter is about isolation of peoples and countries; the second about isolation of political prisoners. In the third chapter you find the isolation of political movements and organisations, while the fourth is about isolation in general, black lists and „anti-terror“ laws.

**IPAI**

c/o Stiftgasse 8  
A-1070 Vienna  
isolation@post.com



Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, honorary president of the symposium

## OPENING

### by the International Platform against Isolation

#### WAR – OCCUPATION – EMBARGO

The reality of today is: It is attempted to bend and enslave the peoples by deaths, blood, tears, torture, poverty and misery. From the slavery society until today, the fate of humanity and of the people is determined by always bigger destructions and massacres.

While technology is developing with capitalism, also the ruthlessness and greed for profit of the exploiters have increased. We even could say that the ruin and massacres during wars of the past are nothing in comparison with those nowadays. Actually, the number of war victims is not at thousand, but it is at hundred thousands and millions.

While even during the Second Imperialist Distribution War, which is known as the biggest war, the number of those who lost their lives had been twenty or thirty millions, more than a million children have lost their lives just as a result of the 1st Gulf War. Again on the African continent, which doesn't really interest anyone, in the civil war that was incited by the imperialist forces, millions of people were brutally murdered within a very short period.

Some hundred of millions of people have lost their lives in the course of regional and civil wars, provocations, embargos, bombardments as well as poverty and hunger which have intensified by the imperialist exploitation after the 2. Imperialist Distribution War.

#### EAST BLOCK, COLD WAR

While imperialism on one hand attempts to rule the entire people by intimidating them with occupation, provocations and wars, it has carried out a politics of paralyzation by border violations and sabotages and by unlimited armaments and war threat. In order to develop nuclear weapons that could wipe out the whole mankind, it has strongly increased its exploitation on the entire people. At the same time it couldn't give up to strengthen the fear of the "communist ghost over the world".

It has created counter-guerilla organisations in every single country, with the pre-

text to protect the world from the communists. These organisations were united in the whole world under the umbrella of the NATO. The Pentagon has started to work as a central base of these organisations. Besides the armaments and war preparations in the colonized countries and the other allied countries with imperialists, the armies of these countries have been re-educated on the base of the war against the entire people, and they were formed both for a civil war and if requested as a force of aggression against socialist countries.

The police organisations in these countries had been fed as well with a fascist ideology, hostile to the people, and they were transformed into organisations of torture and massacres. The secret services, military and civil intelligence organisations have been recruited appropriate to

build up the ideological base for the fascist, imperialist aggression. If the words are in place, the propaganda mechanism, that Hitler tried to create with Göbbels, has been applied with the international press agencies and the TV, radio, newspapers and magazines, shortly with a huge medial army of all countries. Showing the socialist block as target, they wanted to keep the people who were fighting for independence, democracy and socialism all over the world under their control and to continue the system of exploitation and repression.

#### NEW WORLD ORDER, GLOBALISATION ETC...

In the period after the fall of the socialist block, exploitation and terror practises have reached a higher dimension.



the same aggression mechanism and they were formed as professional murderers and provocateurs against the people.

Apart from these military organisations, both in support of World Bank, IWF etc. institutions on economical level, and in support of the collaborating fascist leaderships, there has been the attempt to create a mass basis for them by organising parties and civil fascist organisations in each country.

The press institutions were made completely dependent during that period and they were used very efficient in order to distort the knowledge of the people and to

The end of the existence of the socialist countries, which imperialism had to take to account in its attack against the people, the imperialist aggression has increased.

While attacks, like the bombardments on Yugoslavia or the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, couldn't be made during the existence of the socialist Block, today countries can be bombed, mineral resources and wealth of a country can be plundered and occupied based on information of the CIA.

In these wars there are used napalm bombs, depleted uranium and humane hostile weapons still experimented, but

the countries and people who suffer from these attacks are neither allowed to raise their voices nor to explain their problems to the world public.

For instance, in Iraq, it has been proven that there were no nuclear or chemical weapons found.

With the isolation politics by means of the imperialist and collaborating media the voice of the Iraqi people was silenced, while the war provocateurs were shown like defenders of "democracy and peace". With the military surrounding by NATO-member states and local governments who collaborate with the USA, such as the distorting by means of the media, Iraq was military and politically isolated and the Iraqi people almost were given the image as if it has deserved any kind of attack.

In this atmosphere, that was created with lie news, distorting, false reports and demagogies, there was killed every humane feeling, and all Iraqis, both housing estates and military areas, including children, women and old people, have become target of the military attacks. Iraq was bombed for several months, housing estates, historical wealth were plundered, the country occupied. There were started constant huntings against the people in occupied Iraq. In each human hunting in the cities and provinces who opposed the occupation, thousands of people were killed and tortured, other thousands were transferred to Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo, secret prisons in countries who collaborate with the USA, and to prisons over sea belonging to the US-marines, without any interrogation. Any right of the Iraqi people, whose national sovereignty has been destroyed with this isolation and annihilation politics.

After they used phrases like "importing democracy" to create the base for the terrorist attacks, that had been used to bomb, kill, plunder the Iraqi people and destroy its national dignity, they now try to make their occupation permanent by means of collaborating, non-national forces under the pretext of "stabilizing democracy". With both pretexts isolation politics were fixed using "democratic" values.

Above, it was revealed after the occupation, that the reason used for the occupation, namely the information of the secret service have been wrong.

It is very clear: If the Iraqi people hadn't been subjected to that isolation, it wouldn't have been possible to use such a mer-

ciless war and occupation politics and to bring the future of the people under mortgage.

Iraq is not the single example. The same politics have been used in Afghanistan and Yugoslavia. Today, also Cuba, Korea, Syria, Iran and others are on the list of targets.

## OTHERS MEAN THE WHOLE WORLD

The aggression that is first of all directed by the USA, doesn't only concern these countries. It is using the same politics against each country and leadership that is supposed to act against its interests. This is proven by the threats against Holland during the discussions on the European Criminal Court, by the words "If you dare to put any US-citizen on trial, we're going to remove Lahey, such as the accusations against France calling it a member of the "axis of evil" and the threat to use the same politics against France as it has applied towards Syria and Korea, just because of a few critics regarding the occupation in Iraq.

*ALL COUNTRIES, PEOPLE AND FORCES, WHO ARE AGAINST THIS MERCILESS AGGRESSION POLITICS, AND WHO DEFEND NATIONAL SOUVEREIGNTY, SHOULD KNOW THAT THESE IMPERIALIST ATTACKS CAN ONLY BE REALIZED, IF THESE COUNTRIES AND PEOPLE ARE ISOLATED FROM THE WORLD AND IF THEIR VOICES ARE SILENCED. THE MORE THEY GET SUPPORT AND THEIR VOICES ARE CARRIED OUTSIDE, THESE AGGRESSIVE POLITICS WILL REMAIN INEFFECTIVE.*

At the 4th of the International Symposiums, which the International Platform Against Isolation has turned into a tradition, the isolation practices of imperialism in various aspects of life were examined.

250 delegates from 37 countries have participated in the symposium. It's central theme was to examine and explain isolation practices, which are carried out as embargos, threats of war, occupations and wars waged against countries and

peoples; black-lists' and anti-terror laws against popular movements and organisations; isolation torture and terror against. Free Algiers' first president Ahmed Ben Bella was the honorary president of the 4th International symposium, where revered experts, institutions and organisations participated. Former political prisoners, prisoners' solidarity organisations, lecturers, writers, resistance organisations, political parties were exceptionally well represented and simultaneous interpreting to Turkish, English, French, German, Arabic and Spanish languages contributed to the international nature of the event that it deserved.

The first of the series of symposia that were coincided with the 19-22 December massacre was held in Noordwijk-Holland in 2002, with the participation of 40 delegates. The first symposium declared the 19th-22nd December as the International Days of Struggle Against Isolation. In 2003 the symposium took place in Florence-Italy with the participation of 110 delegates and in 2004, approximately 150 delegates gathered in Berlin-Germany.

In parallel with former symposiums, a hunger strike was being held by political prisoners internationally in order to protest 19th-22nd December massacre and to salute the symposium. This year too, a 3 days hunger strike was called for by the International Platform Against Isolation and held by hundreds of prisoners in Turkey, France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Spain, The Basque country, Britain, Ireland, Russia and USA, in order to highlight the themes to shut down F-Type prisons, end isolation and to protest the massacre in Turkish prisons on December 19th - 22nd, 2000.

At the conclusion of the symposium, a decision was taken to establish a prisoners' solidarity organisation in Turkey, Palestine, Iraq, Basque Country, Ireland, USA and Corsica as the sub-functioning body of the IPAI and practical steps were taken towards this aim.

One of the achievements of the symposium was that lawyers and advocates, who attended the symposium from various countries, have established a Legal Commission to examine 'black-lists' and Anti-Terror laws. The Legal Commission was initially formed by members from Turkey, USA, Belgium, Argentina, Germany, Denmark and Lebanon and decided to carry out studies of 'black-lists' regarding International Courts.

## OVERVIEW

THE FIRST DAY (16th December):

### Isolation of Peoples and Countries

The IV International Symposium Against Isolation, which was organised by the International Platform Against Isolation commenced on 16th December in Paris, the capital of France. A cocktail party was held at the opening of the symposium.

On the first day of the symposium, 200 contributors participated in the examination of the subjects "War and Occupation" and "Embargo, Threats of war and Lawlessness". The same day a Canadian poetry session was staged. Some famous individuals took part in the symposium. Due to health problems, the honorary president Ahmed Ben Bella was unable to attend personally and he sent a speech instead. The opening speech was held by the IPAI representative. In her speech, she pointed out that the present reality is war, occupation and embargo. The representative stated that after the demise of the Eastern Block, the imperialism needed another enemy and made references to the new world order and globalization. The representative indicated that the USA prepared the grounds for the war in Iraq, but failed to offer any evidence, nevertheless unashamedly staged aggression. The representative of the IPAI stated that this was not limited to Iraq but Yugoslavia and Afghanistan shared the same fate whilst some other countries were lined up to be targeted. She said: "We must raise our voices to prevent this development!"

This was followed by Ahmed Ben Bella's speech being read out. Ben Bella stated that although colonies in the classical sense no longer exist, the West still holds the hegemony and resistance is necessary. Ahmed Ben Bella's assistant Prof. Ahmed Soueissi also made a speech. Soussi said: "The press always indicates towards the civilian casualties in Iraq and ignores the struggle against USA military and by doing so, tries to illustrate the resistance as unjustified."

In his speech the famous French Writer Henri Alleg stated "It gives me great pleasure to be here because this symposium is very important to be in solidarity with prisoners in Turkey. I expect these symposia to create a great solidarity against imperialism.

Prisoners in Turkey give a great example in resisting against it. It can also be seen in the USA. Cuban 5, Mumia Abu-Jamal and Leonard Peltier keep on struggling against a power that intends to kill freedoms. Imperialism is not only USA's domain. European governments also rush to its aid. It is being aided by Israel and European governments. Even in the bosom of Europe racism and great injustices raises from the grave to haunt foreigners. Police raids target ethnic communities. Recent incidents in France are the best examples of this. Planes are full of people being returned to their countries. This symposium is very important in order to resist the system that intends to kill freedoms. The new age is in expectation of a new kind of humanity. Cubans have this expression: *Venceremos!*"

Following Alleg's speech, Awni Al-Kalemji, the representative of Iraqi Patriotic Union spoke: "Speakers before me comprehensively summarized the events in Iraq. It is often stated that Iraq was not democratic and torture was commonplace. However, Bush's US make such practices redundant and solely judge entire countries as if it was their given right.

The example the US sets is as if torture is an internationally deserved right. Almost everybody justified the embargo against the Iraqi people with Saddam's regime. But after the war, it was understood that this wasn't the case. If weapons of mass destruction were to be found, it would have been possible to justify the war. But they were not found. Despite this, nobody stepped forward to openly say it wasn't justified.

Along with the state being collapsed in Iraq, an entire society, the people were condemned to such grieves. However, through their struggle, the people of Iraq prove day by day that it is possible to resist persecution. In fact everybody realized that the intention of the US is to establish a new order in the Middle East. Even within the US the public opinion is that the US has lost this war. Bush was self-confident before the war. He used to claim not to be in need of any help. But now, he is seeking help from the Arab League for a solution. I am not speaking on behalf of the resistance in Iraq. But I call upon everybody to consider it as his or her own resistance."

Final speakers of the session entitled "War and Occupation" were Iraqi Sociologist Subhi Toma and Bruno Drewski from the European Alternative and Economic Solidarity Network.

The second session was entitled "Embargo, Threat of War and Lawlessness" and was presented by Mohammed Safa, Director of the KHIAM Rehabilitation Center for Torture Victims in Lebanon, Austrian Palestinian Community; Cihan Keskek, a member of the music band 'Grup Yorum', who went to Iraq as a human shield and Olivia Zemor, representative of Europalestine.

Cihan Keskek, who went to Iraq in 2003 as a human shield stressed the importance of common struggle against imperialism. Mohammed Safa conveyed his impressions of Isolation and Struggle with Isolation Symposium in Istanbul in June 2005. Safa said that as a Lebanese he thought he had seen the worst of prison conditions but Turkish prisons were by far worst ever he has encountered. Safa stated that the symposium in Paris is an important tool in struggle against isolation and torture but the real aim should be material work and not only gathering on 19th December every year and just talk. He added that they proposed to hold the next symposium in Beirut next year and volunteered to organise it.

THE SECOND DAY (17th December):

### Isolation of Prisoners

On 17th December, the second day of the symposium started with the session dedicated to "Isolation and Torture" at 10:30. The session started with a film made by the Austrian journalist Gerhard Tuschla, who interviewed Haj Ali (recognized by the picture with a hood over his head and arms stretched) who was released a few months ago after having been incarcerated in Abu Ghraib, one of the most known US' torture chamber in Iraq. The session went on with a speech by Ahmet Kulaksiz on behalf of TAYAD. Kulaksiz stated that one of the most important matters in Turkey at the moment are F-Type isolation cells and stated that he will be loyal until the victory to his promise he gave his two daughters he lost during the struggle against isolation policy and that TAYAD would continue to be the voice of

political prisoners. Kulaksiz stated that lynching attacks against TAYAD supporters were the indicators of concerns over resistance.

During the same session Mary Rubinchik from All-Union Movement for Defense of Political Prisoners in Russia, ASP (Association for Solidarity with the Proletariat) from Italy, Martin Mulholland on behalf of IRPWA (Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association) from Ireland, took the floor and described the circumstances of political prisoners in their countries. Debates concluded that isolation is an international issue and necessitates a common struggle against it.

Following the lunch break, the session, entitled "Political Isolation in the USA" started at 14:00 hours, where Prof. Angela Davis, one of the prominent names of the African-American Liberation Movement in the US, Efia Nwangaza, the leader of Jericho Movement and the spokesperson Paulette d'Arteuil for Native American Leonard Peltier, who had been incarcerated for 30 years in the US took the floor.

On the anniversary of the December 19th -22nd massacre and in order to support the symposium, and stage a solidarity action with the death fast, Leonard Peltier and Veronza Bowers, both political prisoners in the US, sent messages, calling for a united struggle against American Imperialism and its collaborators and indicated their solidarity with all political prisoners in Turkey and first and foremost those on Death Fast.

The third session of Saturday entitled "What is to be done against Isolation and International-Scale Torture" was presented by speakers from; IRPWA (Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association) from Ireland, TAYAD from Turkey, The secretary on behalf of European Member of Parliament Karin Resetarits, speaker Julien Neeve on behalf of Observatoire international des prisons-OIP (Observers of International Prisons) from France, representatives from ADEEL (Association for Protection of Fundamental Rights in Europe) and DOE from Greece. Mihri Belli, one of the first members of the Turkish Communist Movement has also participated in the session and despite his high age, exhibited the spirit and loyalty to the revolutionary ideals. Panelists of this session stressed the necessity to organise the prisoners' associations at an international level and the need for the political prisoners to act in unison.

After the strong attendance of 300 participants in the sessions on the second day, a FREE PRISONERS NIGHT was attended by 450 people. American poets recited their poems, which were followed by the Youth Choir Turkuler Sevdamaz [Our Songs, Our Devotion]. Following the brief interval, the guest of honour Prof. Angela Davis of USA took the floor and made a speech. Angela, who spent time in prison in 70's due to the Black Panther case, said: "I would like to share the floor with Ahmet Kulaksiz, who has paid the greatest price in the fight against isolation that I have ever known." Together, they continued the speech. Davis also stated that she could never forget the solidarity message written on a toilet paper by Turkish political prisoners, smuggled out of prison and was secretly sent to her prison in 1972. Davis declared that she bows with respect before the resistance in Turkish prisons, clenched hands with Ahmet Kulaksiz and closed her speech with the slogan "Long live Socialism!" and saluted the floor. In standing ovation, hundreds of spectators chanted "Long live Revolutionary Solidarity!" and eagerly saluted Angela Davis and Ahmet Kulaksiz. The night ended with Grup Yorum's enthusiastic songs and chain-dance called halay in Turkish.

THE THIRD DAY (18th December):

## Isolation on popular movements and Organisations

The first session was dedicated to "Breaches of Rights to Resistance and Organisation" Speakers of this Panel were; Nurhan Erdem on behalf of the Anatolian Federation, Mehmet Gocebe, on behalf of the Federation for Fundamental Rights and Ozlem Pembe Olgun on behalf of the Youth Federation from Turkey, Gaby Ties on behalf of MLPD (Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany), Pavlos Anapoulos on behalf of the Greek Federation of Public Servants, Saleh Nazzal from Ministry for Prisoners on behalf of Palestinian Administration, Julio Diaz on behalf of PCPE (Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain-Partido Comunista De Los Pueblos de Espana) Jean Marie Antolini on behalf of Committee Against Oppression in Corsica.

The opening speech of the panel included an IPAI declaration on 'black lists' and

the spokesperson for MLPD stated that whilst 'War on Terror was ongoing' rights and freedoms were being curbed with new laws and methods.

Anatolian Federation chairman Nurhan Erdem stated that 'Agenda 2010' aimed at having the best economy in the world and becoming a force against USA and Japan. Erdem also explained the pros and cons of the 'Agenda 2010' and made references to the health reforms in Germany and in Europe as a whole. Erdem mentioned Hartz IV laws and indicated that these laws included all workers in Europe but pressure upon foreigners were not limited to these and attempts were made to withdraw all the rights of foreigners by newly enacted immigration laws. Erdem stated that reactionary laws are brought up when native and foreign organisations do not cooperate in Europe, the spirit of solidarity is at the lowest ebb and in the aftermath of 11th September, demagogies of terrorism against Moslem populations in force whereas 'black lists', Anti-Terror Laws and European Army within the context of the European Constitution are brought about.

At the closing stage of his speech, Erdem stated the following: "The ever-offt used divide and rule policy is in fact a method to isolate workers; native and foreign alike. The way to end this isolation is in the creation of a united struggle. As Anatolian Federation we are organised in Germany first and foremost but also in Austria, France, Holland, England, Belgium and Switzerland. In all places that we are organised, we call upon those native and foreign organisations fighting Agenda 2010, Bolkestein directives, 'black lists', „anti-terror“ laws, militarism, all attempts to usurp rights and freedoms, to join forces with us. This should not be misunderstood. It is not a call for solidarity. This is a call for cooperation. Nobody has the luxury of being in solidarity with us. This is because our problems are everybody's problems. Let us unite and fight for our rights and freedoms.

Mehmet Gocebe, who took the floor, stressed "The state's operations on 20 prisons on December 19th and the isolation that followed were policies of imperialism, and all the enacted laws were 'confirmed by the EU'. The characteristics of this resistance are being a barricade against imperialist policies. The decisiveness of the resistance stimulates the world left and revolutionaries." In concluding his speech, he suggested that this symposium

sium must grow even bigger, indicating that not a hall of 600 but 6,000 should be the venue and not with contributors from 29 countries but 129.

Ozlem Olgun, who took the floor on behalf of Youth Federation, described the dimensions of the effect of isolation on Universities and the youth. She stated that universities were surrounded by cameras and that every step is being monitored, whether in the canteen, corridors, in lecture theatres. Whilst students find it difficult to go to the university fascists were wandering around comfortably and that in recent attacks nearly 150 progressive and liberal students were injured in fascist attacks.

She expressed that due to the obstacles the students face, their rights of education are being victimized and they were not allowed in schools.

She revealed that at a secret session YOK [Turkish Higher Education Board] has established a policy as how to prevent revolutionary-progressive students.

Olgun gave a striking example as to how a rector had a session of interrogation with torture on a student, who attended the legal May Day demonstration and added that yet another factor that isolates the education were private universities, so that people would receive education according to their budgets. Olgun stated that "whilst thousands of teachers were unemployed, there are thousands more students without teachers." And pointed out that universities do not educate honest, patriotic youth but a generation addicted to drugs and prostitutions and that all demands and expectations are met with detentions and investigations. She rounded up her speech by stating that the resistance against F-Type prisons is a struggle not against F-Type prisons but to the tendency to turn life in entirety into F-Type and remarked "We are prepared to give our lives for that resistance!"

On behalf of Greek Federation of Public Servants, Pavlos Anatopoulos took the floor and suggested "The deeper the contradictions of capitalism are, the harsher the oppression of the state. Workers must resist for their wages, rights but also against imperialist policies of aggression. The only path for all peoples is to resist to imperialist plans." He stated that the struggle must be combined and that capitalism was trying to divide the workers. Further, he exemplified how the struggles of revolutionaries in various countries were distorted as terrorism.

He further stated that the labor movement in every country and continent is on the rise and that the latest incidents in France were examples of it. He finished by saying "If and when workers are organised, the victory will be ours!"

On behalf of Ministry for Prisoners in Palestine, Saleh Nazzal demanded in his speech: "Yell until your voice is heard about political prisoners and let them hear your voice. Not only with solidarity across the world, but also by actually make them hear our voices we can help them. A lot of people know about torture. But nobody knows about isolation." Nazzal went on telling the conditions and 'X-Cells' in Israeli prisons. He explained: 'No sunlight, dirty and extremely humid, no newspaper, no television, no radio, singing and chats from one window to another is not allowed, almost no visit at all. Prisoners are always subjected to insults and provocations.

PCPE representative Julio Diaz took the floor and stated "there are serious attacks on democratic rights and freedoms. Zapatero's policies hide his actual interests. We are in a position that we will have to fight energetically against oppressions, collaborator governments and the violence of the system."

Jean Marie Antolini, the representative of Committee Against Oppression in Corsica, reported that due to its strategic position, Corsica has always been occupied throughout the history. However, every time they defeated the invaders and at one stage France was forced to withdraw. He said: "Whilst invading Corsica, French breach their own laws and apply illegal methods. According to French laws, a prisoner must be kept close to his family. But prisoners generally exiled to Paris. Prisoners are trying to gain political status, but so far this hasn't been achieved. In some cases prisoners can be kept without trial for up to 8 years."

The second panel of day 3:

## Isolation, Black Lists and Law'

The panel started with a message from Halil Huseyin Abu Jabal from Golan Heights, Syria, being read out. Taylan Tanay, lawyer from Halkin Hukuk Burosu [People's Legal Bureau-HHB], Istanbul, Advocate Jan Fermon from Belgium, Committee to Struggle Against Article 270 from Italy, Law professor Adrian Al-

bert from Argentina, Irene Claussen on behalf of International Forum from Denmark and journalist Alex Moumbaris, French citizen of Greek origin, who was imprisoned in South Africa for revolutionary activities and was freed in an action of freedom by South African Communist Party participated.

Taylan Tanay spoke on behalf of HHB and stated that the savagery of the December 19th-22nd massacre was obvious and legitimacy was walked over. The meaning of it was the same, and it was for prisoners as well as the people of Turkey to become isolated. He said: 'Those didn't die were prosecuted and those carried out the massacre were given distinguished service medals' He went on describing the initial transition to F-Type [prisons] and that his clients Ali Osman Kose and Ercan Kartal having been kept under intense isolation, almost being abandoned to death. Tanay described F-Type practices in detail and explained that initially they had no legal foundations and were administered according to a document called Master Plan. However prisoners had certain rights, which were ascertained in various statutes and regulations. The master plan then was replaced by the new TPC [Turkish Penal Code], enacted in June 1st, 2005. He said: "The new TPC restricts advocates duties and usurps the rights of prisoners to the extreme." He stated that in order to make the isolation policies digested, the state intends to cancel the right to resist along with any kind of resistance and death strikes. This is not rulership of law over the state; this is state ruling the legislation.

Tanay continued by referring to "Inhuman treatments outside Turkey, such as Abu Gharib, Guantanamo Bay, Bagram, CIA's clandestine prisons did not limit their activities to prisoners but also extended their intentions to apply isolation policies upon peoples' and these were carried out through Black Lists and Terrorism demagogues.

Taylan Tanay referred to the Black lists, which threatens the entire world and called upon the lawyers in the symposium to set up a legal commission. Whilst rounding up his speech by quoting Odilon Barrot's "Legitimation brings death" he said: 'I salute you on behalf of those revolutionary prisoners, who lay their bodies to death against the inhuman treatments and whose hearts are here in this hall!'

Belgian lawyer Jan Fermon gave information about [Jose Maria] Sison, the leader of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines [NDFP]. He said: 'My client was blacklisted without being told so.' He stated two aspects of the black lists; first; the Spanish Inquisitions and second; the policies and practices, which were removed by the French Revolution and were later brought back. He said that the arrest of Sison was decided during a secret session of the EP and no explanation was made, that even his lawyers were not told anything, but were hinted that 'secret dossiers existed', that they were subject to 'internal security matters'. He also suggested: 'There are secret lists that are being kept away from the people of Spain, even the reasons for being blacklisted could not be disclosed.'

In some cases bank accounts are frozen. Sison's only crime was having a bank account, where the state social security benefit is being deposited. It was suggested that this account was supporting terrorism. Due to not having any account, he is now without any benefit and deprived of his rights. Let alone medical insurance, he cannot even have a car insurance. He stated that Sison was being kept under house arrest and the role of the media was to display him as if he was a terrorist.

Law Professor Adrian Albor stated that he spoke on behalf of the Federation of the Homeless and Landless and talked about "the prison system so-called 'Cell 29', which he explained to have been built 4 metres under the ground. 240 prisoners live 23 hours of the day in complete isolation. Only one hour a day they come up to feel the sun on their faces. They have to wear uniforms. They have no right to communicate. Radio, Television, newspapers are completely forbidden. Visitors can only see inmates behind glass partitions and talk to them via the telephone. Even their advocates are always under threat. The state does not deny such practices anyway. The state dubbed the prisoners 'Tumberos', meaning; 'Living in Coffin-shed'. I hope one day 'Cell 29's will be banned in my country. He stated that the struggle must keep on, because: "Only a given up struggle is a lost struggle!"

Irene Claussen said: "After the cold war ended, Bush declared that Communist was dead. But imperialism had a problem. It needed an enemy. Otherwise, how would they market the high capacity weapons and to whom? How would they

justify their wars and invasions? So, 11 September was a bonus to them. So they could declare war against terror. In 2002 they rolled up their sleeves and listed FARC, DHKP-C, ETA, PKK ... For good measure they added a few showpiece Islamist groups. Anti-terror laws allow any kind of arbitrary measure and makes anti-imperialist struggle more difficult.

The organisation 'Opror', in Danish meaning 'revolt', hit trouble with the police. This was because it donated € 700 each to FARC and PFLP. After the head of the Opror was arrested the organisation wrote letters to 100 organisations, inviting them to donate money to organisations listed in the terror list. The website of this call was curbed. Now, the Danish Court will decide whether PFLP and FARC are terrorist [organisations] or not. They will obtain a so-called experts' report for this.

Irene Clausen stressed that she wished to leave the symposium with a concrete decision. For instance either a conference entitled 'Fighting for freedom is not terrorism' or to organise a march in Brussels. The representative of the Committee Against Article 270 (anti-terror law) stated that in Italy oppression is on the rise. He stated that the laws that were meant to be against foreigners and religious organisations were in fact 'Anti-Terror' laws and with the help of media and laws, any oppressed person can be falsely shown as 'terrorist' and those participating in the struggle, expressing their solidarity will be accused of being a terrorist. Now revolutionaries are being subjected to 41bis Act that meant total isolation and was used against Mafia. He stated that their committee's main priority was standing against Article 270 and they were organising solidarity actions with prisoners and published a political-legal defence handbook. In rounding up his speech, he suggested that in order to pre-empt bourgeoisie imperialist policies there is a need for tools and equipments.

The next speakers were the representatives Alexis Lacroix from PCRf (Pôle de Renaissance Communiste en France), and Alex Moumbaris, from the Bureau d'Information Presse, who expressed the need for International unity for democratic rights.

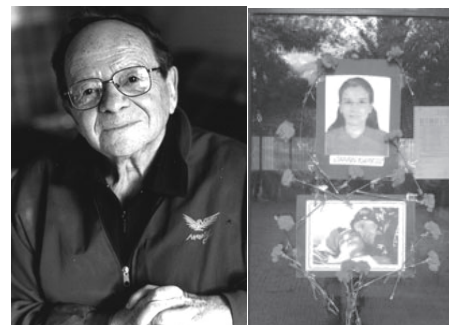
This was followed by the organised 'THOSE WHO RESIST, SURVIVE' night. After the Palestinian Folklore Group Dabke, anti-imperialist poets from Canada, Chile, Spain and Hungary play-

wrote the 'beloved dictionary section of 'Vizgelir'[I dare] magazine in the form of a poem and staged it. The magazine is being drawn-up in English in Sincan F-Type prison. This was followed up by enthusiastic anthems; songs, chain dance and Grup Yorum came to the stage. The night ended with hundreds of people doing the chain dance whilst the last singer Eren Can sang her beloved songs and increased the exuberance of the participants.

THE FOURTH DAY (19th December):

## Press Release

35 delegates who participated in the Symposium from countries like; the USA, Russia, Palestine, Lebanon, Italy, France, Iraq, Turkey, Chile, Canada, Argentine, Germany, Denmark, Holland and other countries attended the press release. At the press release which was located in the Gymnass theatre a significant emphasis was placed on the December 19th -22nd massacre, and the conclusion of the Fourth International Symposium against Isolation was finalized.



French writer Henri Alleg also joined the commemoration

## PROTEST AGAINST THE 19th-22nd DECEMBER MASSACRE

The protest which was organised by the IPAI platform (International Platform Against Isolation) started with a remembrance ceremony of martyrs, from the Communals up to the heroes of 19th December and those who struggle for independence, democracy and socialism in Palestine, Colombia, Iraq, Turkey, Nepal and others all around the world. Delegates from 15 different countries attended the protest that was entitled "From the Communals to The Great Struggle". It was stated that the determination of the organisation which formed the Great Struggle and the belief underlying this created the concept of the "free captive"; the French

## SPEECHES

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### WAR AND OCCUPATION

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#### **Ahmad Soueissi**, director of the NGO "North-South XXI"

(Assistant of honor president of the 4th symposium, the first state president of 'Free Algeria' Ahmet Ben Bella.)

I take part in this symposium in my capacity of director of the North-South Foundation, which is an international organisation established at Geneva for the past 17 years, presided over by President Ben Bella. The subject of this symposium is an everyday one for those of us from the countries of the South. I come from Lebanon, I am Lebanese, I am an Arab, I am from the south Mediterranean, I am from the Third World which still lives under economic and political oppression at the same time. An everyday theme because it is a weapon of the oppressors, who I would call the new rulers of the world. The new rulers of the world who represent savage capitalism, which advocates a globalisation which aims to determine the destiny of the human race for decades to come.

Globalisation, whose effects are being seen through a new phenomenon - militarised globalisation. It is no longer economic globalisation but now military globalisation.

The current US administration is a flagrant example of this new globalisation. Unfortunately the countries of the south experience this in the most direct fashion. On the one hand there are governments in the south supported by the north. But when I talk of the north, I mean the governments. I am talking of the G8, I am talking of NATO and of the political establishments which underpin globalisation. The south suffers the consequences and we see it very clearly, especially in the very close examples of Palestine and Iraq. In Palestine, it has been open warfare for more than half a century. It is not necessary to give many examples. But there has been particular deterioration in the situation since the people of Palestine have been accused of terrorism.

The current theme of globalisation is about demonising all resistance by organisations by accusing them of terrorism. Bush, NATO, the EU and globalisation conduct

author Henri Alleg also participated in the remembrance.

The remembrance ceremony took place in front of the wall where Communals were executed by shooting in 1871. During the commemoration ceremony a wreath was laid, on which was written in French and Turkish "The heroes do not die, The people cannot be defeted" and the role of the EU in the 19th December massacre was stated on a banner which was written in French. With the banner the protesters paid their respects in front of the monument.

DHKC International also attended the protest with Party-Front flags and slogans, representing the struggle for socialism, continuing from the Communals to the present.

In the cemetery the crowd visited graves of French Communist martyrs, those who were executed by shooting during the Nazi occupation, and those who were killed in prisons and in camps, and carnations were laid at their graves. At the end of the visit protesters visited the graves of Ahmet Kaya and Yilmaz Guney, revolutionary artists from Turkey.

DECEMBER 19TH-22ND:

### INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FROM POLITICAL PRISONERS

The great struggle against F-Type Prisons and the struggle of free prisoners are an inspiration for the International Struggle Against Isolation Platform's establishment and it has announced those days as days of International Struggle. This struggle has attracted attention from all over the world. From USA to Russia, in many countries captives participated by solidarity hunger strike and solidarity messages during the past four years in respect of the Death Fast. The participation in this hunger strike increases every year. This year, those who are participating in the International Hunger Strike from all over the world belong to different groups; revolutionary, socialist, anarchist, environmentalist, patriots; and those who are participating and confirmed it in writing are as follows:

USA: Gerardo Hernandez, Ramon Labanino Salazar (Luis Medina), Antonio Guerrero Rodriguez, Fernando Gonzalez Llorca (Ruben Campa), Rene Gonzalez Schwerert, also known as the Cuban Five; Native American captive Leonard Peltier; Black Panther captives Mumia Abu Jamal, Jalil Muntaqim, Sundiata Accoli, Herman

Bell, Veronza Bowers, Ed Poindexter, Mondo Langa, Herman Wallace, Albert Woodfox; from the organisation On The Move Michael, Charles Simms, Delbert, William Phillips, Edward Goodman, Janet Holloway, Janine Phillips, Debbie Simms, African American captives who have been prisoners for 20 years and taken their leader John Africa's surname; the anti-imperialist captive Cassidy Wheeler; the political and prisoner of war from Puerto Rico Oscar Lopez Rivera, Carlos Alberto Torres, Haydee Beltran Torres, Jose Velez Acosta, Jose Perez Gonzales.

Germany: Communist captive Rainer Dittrich and anti-imperialist prisoner Thomas Meyer-Falk.

Switzerland: Marco Camenisch, environmentalist prisoner.

Republican, socialist, political and the prisoners of war in Ireland's prisons ( they participated in a one day solidarity hunger strike)

France: PCE(r) captives; the Communist Party-Innovatory captive Jaquin Garrido Gonzalez and the Lebanese revolutionary George Ibrahim Abdallah, captive for 22 years.

In Spain: PCE(r) and GRAPO prisoners.

A group of Basque prisoners who are captives in different countries as a result of the politics of dispersion.

Italy: '1st of April-operation' captives Zeynep Kilic and Avni Er.

Ukraine: Revolutionary Communist prisoners Aleksander Gerassimov, Bogdan Zirchenko and Andrey Yakovenko.

Russian Federation: Communist captives Igor Danilov, Aleksander Smirnov, Ilya Romanov.

Moldavia: The Communist prisoner Yevgeny Cemenov.

Turkey: Hundreds of revolutionary captives in the F-types and other prisons.

There were also others who participated in the hunger strike but for different reasons we did not receive written confirmation.

If you wish to receive the addresses of the prisoners please send us a short message: [isolation@post.com](mailto:isolation@post.com).

(Since the beginning of the Death Fast on 20th October, 2000, Rainer Dittrich has continuously been on hunger strike for four and a half days and with two and a half day intervals for six years as an act of solidarity with the Death Fast. Although his health condition has deteriorated he states that his willpower is bound to the Great Struggle against the F-Type Prisons and it will continue until the isolation is lifted. His protest has been an immense example of solidarity. Some of the political groups in Turkey isolated themselves from the struggle. When we take this into account we will have an even better understanding of the proletarian internationalist position of Rainer.)

war against the south under the heading of "terrorism". This is what they call resistance. What happens in Palestine bears witness to this, and the same is true of Iraq.

I was speaking with my friend Awni who is an Iraqi and he will talk about Iraq as he knows more about it than I do.

But it is also our fault, the fault of the democrats and the left in the countries of the south. In our ranks, in Palestine, and especially in Iraq, up to now there has been a great mixture of resistance and sabotage of resistance. What the ordinary viewer sees on European TV every day is constant reports of attacks on civilians. Attacks on mosques, attacks on markets... Nobody talks about attacks on the American occupiers. But there are many, and the Americans talk about it. They mention 40 attacks every day on the American army. But Western TV constantly talks of attacks on civilians. These do not stem from the resistance but we are at fault for not denouncing these attacks ourselves. These attacks serve the purposes of the American occupation so they can say: "The resistance is terrorist."

We are in Paris, which was a centre of resistance to the Nazis. Nobody can convince European citizens that resistance to an occupation is an act of terrorism. But there are people in the south who are not part of the resistance but do the work of the occupation in this way. Unfortunately there is not yet the courage to denounce such actions. These acts are by fundamentalists who are merely serving the other fundamentalists called neo-cons who reign in the White House in Washington. But in fact, is this demonisation of the resistance by chance or is it the result of a certain culture in the West? Those of us who know the West well, who have lived here, studied here, have received a sort of brainwashing that "all resistance should be abolished". Globalisation has its instruments of hypocrisy, starting with the hypocrisy dominant in Western democracy. One talks of democracy, human rights, opposing oppression but for example one is with Ben Ali in Tunisia. At Paris there is a celebration of a Day of the Israeli Army which has been an occupation army for over 50 years. And at the same time all the militants and resistance fighters are attacked for saying "no" to this hypocrisy. I also find that the European left, the Western left tends to abdicate its responsibilities, though I apologise to Mr Alleg, a great militant, and others for my saying that. It abdicates its responsibilities be-

cause it bows down to globalisation. European society runs on a two-speed engine unfortunately. A society where one part runs with globalisation and is thoroughly anti-democratic, and another part that is marginalised. There is a conflict in the West, a crisis of civilisation. The conflict is visible in the regression in the roles of political parties of left and right. But above all in the curtailment in the rights of social movements, and trade unions to start with. This is a new phenomenon and it is a result of the high-speed version of globalisation that left-wing militants and even democratic militants cannot explain or have not the time to explain these dangers and convince their base of the dangers of globalisation.

Political oppression is at another stage in this process. It is no longer a case of a prisoner held hostage by some colonel or generals and left to rot in some prison or other, in Turkey, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Morocco or wherever. No. It goes much deeper and is much more dangerous than that. It isn't the model we knew during the cold war. Political oppression is today an everyday practice in the "democratic" West.

I am in complete agreement with the paragraph in the message from Mr President Ben Bella in which he says that "these oppressors in the south are the favoured clientele of Western democracy."

There is where we democrats are at fault, both in the south and in the north. If I have laid particular stress on this self-criticism in talking of political oppression, it is because I want to say that we have a part in it. We have a part in it for not denouncing these new forms of political oppression. This new form of it is completely different. Television gets into every house. But we can't. Television is a form of cultural oppression. A very advanced form of oppression in this democracy. How could I imagine that official and state TV has a policy completely different from public opinion. When the US aggression against Iraq started, all the opinion polls said 60 to 70% of the French were against the war, but all the French TV channels were for Bush. There is a manipulation going on, an abuse of media power to brainwash public opinion in a democratic country. But let us not forget that fascist forces have done the same thing. Fascism finds its way into democratic societies by means of brainwashing. We have to condemn the practice, not the label. I have to brainwash someone to tell them that the war on Iraq was aimed

at putting American hands on Iraqi petrol. (It is China that is affected. China has no energy sources, and the USA wants to deepen its influence on petrol sources in the regions around China.) If I succeed in explaining to public opinion that it is a dirty war, this really targets the interests of a handful of people (the Texans who are behind the Bush administration), so it's brainwashing, an anti-democratic practice. So that's where political oppression lies, too. It's not just negligence, it is a policy thoroughly planned out and designed in a democratic country.

So I might condemn a general who has staged a coup d'état. But it isn't enough to condemn him, it is above all necessary to condemn the "top models" followed by such a general. Not just the people who supported him but also the force which forms a potential to bring someone like Le Pen to power in France one day.

The election run-off between Le Pen and Mr. Chirac was no chance occurrence. In a democratic society like France, it could not be. I am afraid that a Le Pen who is not the Le Pen of today could one day come to power in France. This is quite possible. But under other labels. And that is where the political oppression lies. Putting a dozen, a hundred or a thousand militants in prison is less dangerous than putting an entire nation in a political prison. The channeling of thought is now being planned systematically in Western countries. That is where the real danger lies, true political oppression.

(Ahmad Soueissi reading the message of Mr. Ben Bella)

As Southern half globe consisting of the African continent that I represent and the Arabic World, it's my duty to honour and support your various struggles in order to oppose all kinds of repression.

The experiences I gathered from the Mediterranean coasts, which are a chosen place of the conflict between civilizations, permit me to speak with clear words about the relations of power and sovereignty.

As long as the women and men in the South aren't free, it is impossible to fight the market laws, which are directed by the multinational companies and governments of the North.

The freedom I talk about is the freedom of action, thoughts and self-determination. As long as the prisons are filled with militants, our societies can't get out of the dead-end.

Time has come to leave the duality of economical and political attack.

It's time to explain to our people the close relation between the two factors of low development, even out this hell, and the relation between the external economic hegemony and internal political repressions. In our countries these factors in general complete each other. The chatter of the big gasbags in the North saying "end to democracy", is nothing else than product of the new lies that have been exported to the South. Unfortunately, oppression is still a good investment value for the exploiters of the North. Furthermore, it is indeed not by accident that the tyrants of the South are protected and trusty customers of them. Today, the item "democratic society" is used as decoration for the mouth-filling, empty words of politicians. Israel is recognized as the only country in the region with a democratic title.

But this so-called democratic country with the construction of its colonizing, dispersing, murderous, oppressive and rageous wall and its politics of "apartheid", it is the only imperialist mini-power in the region. As soon as the oppressed and helpless Palestinian people show their reaction, they are directly accused of "terrorism"!

Dear friends,

It's time to come to following result:

1. The democracy of the West has to understand that it won't be able to both rule the world and to talk of democracy.

It's impossible to be the ruler and democrat at the same time. The reality that the hegemony of the economy in the South is part of the politics of the North is undeniable.

2. The politics of war and force of the USA and its allies, don't allow further space for democracy. The War on Iraq, the continuous threats towards the government of Venezuela, which has been elected by democratic ways, and the scandalous effects of the "War against Terrorism", are the most describing examples for this reality.

3. The Western democracy that is still fed with nostalgia isn't far from daily repression. This is proven by the colonialist measurements in the colonized countries. Until the '70s fascist and dictatorial regimes in Europe followed one after the other. Nowadays, this danger is growing increasingly. The increase of the extreme right that is visible in many European

countries, the multiplication of racist and neo-fascist groups and the fact that the new conservatives are in power in the USA, build a certain potential for this danger.

Dear friends,

It should be on our agenda to put an end to oppression worldwide. Otherwise, we are neither able to protect our independence nor to step forward. One day I said, that it would be necessary to officially stop the programs on "Mars", in order to establish peace in the world. Today, I'm repeating that it is necessary to turn all prisons to a school and to announce every political prisoner as teacher.

We have to force our governments in that way.

The removal of oppression is the bridge that leads to humanity, future and progress.

## **Henri Alleg, French writer**

Ladies, gentlemen, dear friends and comrades,

Allow me first of all to express my warm regards to the organisers of this symposium and to those who replied to their invitation. Holding it is not merely a great solidarity action for political prisoners, who are victims of a barbaric system of isolation, aimed at breaking and finally eliminating through physical and moral torture patriots and fighters for freedom, in a way first tried out on a large scale in Turkey and then extended to Iraq and Afghanistan and other countries under the sway of America - it is also an expression of an immense protest movement by hundreds of millions of people on all continents against the attempt to establish a system of oppression and exploitation aimed at universal political, economic and military domination.

It has never been more urgent and necessary than it is today to establish unity and activity extending beyond national, religious and political differences, on the part of all progressive men and women in the world, supporters of peace, independence, real democracy, justice and liberty, opposing the offensive that has been unleashed by reactionary forces.

Alas, there is no lack of examples of barbaric repression, of governments violating even their own laws. And if some years ago, those responsible for this policy, and murderers and torturers in their

service refused to admit that they had committed such infamies, as during the liberation war in Algeria, during the fight against the apartheid regime in South Africa and during the bloody dictatorships in Latin America, nowadays it has been possible to encounter those who boast of it and even, in the case of the United States and Israel, aim to legislate for these practices to be made normal and legal. It is the rehabilitation, resurrection and institutionalisation of a new Inquisition, assisted by propaganda which aims to justify the unjustifiable repression exercised against anti-imperialist fighters and anti-fascist, anti-racist militants, in the name of alleged security measures aimed at preventing terrorism and subversion.

For that is how the abusive treatment reserved for prisoners held in the jails of Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo is hypocritically presented. That is how European leaders pretend to be convinced that the government of Turkey is taking all the necessary measures to make its prison system conform to principles of respect for human rights, while it holds thousands of political prisoners, many of whom are compelled to die on hunger strike to defend their own dignity against the inhuman treatment inflicted on them. With the same cynicism, so-called US justice keeps five patriotic Cubans in jail, whose crime is to have tried to unmask anti-Castro terrorists who act on behalf of US intelligence agencies, and it also keeps the African-American journalist Mumia Abu Jamal in prison under sentence of death, as well as the Indian leader Leonard Peltier, both of them accused of crimes they never committed.

We must also condemn the scandalous attitude of certain European leaders, who do not hesitate to be complicit in American and Israeli policies pursued in the Middle East. So our own governments remain silent about the arrest and imprisonment of Palestinian patriots, and have kept the Lebanese anti-imperialist fighter George Ibrahim Abdullah in French jails for more than 20 years. Also allow me to draw your attention to the case of a democratic and patriotic Iraqi, about whom both official circles and the media continue to remain silent, despite all the grave concern that arises from his situation. He is named Suleiman Irzayik Abduljabar, better known under his family name Al Kubaysi. After a death threat, he had to

leave Iraq in Saddam Hussein's time - two of his brothers, senior army officers, were executed. With his wife and young son, he fled to France, where he received political refugee status. After the invasion of Iraq by American forces, he was deceived by the claims that democracy had been established, and he returned to Iraq, where he was arrested in September 2004 on the orders of the Americans, and handed over to the Iraqi puppets who serve the Americans. Since then he has been held at a camp located near Baghdad Airport. Some weeks ago, one of his brothers was able to see him for about ten minutes. Since then, there has been silence, and it is impossible for his wife and two children who live in France, and his supporters, to learn about his fate and what has happened to him. The French ambassador there has said he can do nothing. But isn't it more likely that the French authorities refuse to ask questions about what the American occupiers and their local stooges are up to?

However, it would be quite wrong to think that the questions raised at our gathering today only involve foreign countries, directly or indirectly, as well as the relations with foreign militants to whom we feel close and to whom we show particular solidarity. No, current policies of reaction and complicity with US imperialism that are being condemned here also have directly negative consequences within France itself. The foreigners who are received on French soil and who are expelled wholesale on charter flights are the first victims of it, but they are not the only ones. The children of immigrants, born in France, know about it, for they are discriminated against when it comes to finding accommodation or a job, and are always suspect in the eyes of government ministers who make a political platform out of xenophobia, not to speak of racism. And people of French origin, like citizens of other European countries, also know that they are not immune from police searches, day or night, or denunciation from informers, all under a pretext of security. Nor are they immune from proceedings on the part of regimes who see potential enemies - even a terrorist in the future - in all who oppose or appear to oppose their policies. An attitude which can only give rise to a very dangerous climate.

That is why this symposium is so important. Not only for those who fight for prisoners and for all victims of a repression

which is spreading ever wider, but also for the hundreds of millions of men and women who do not accept that the customs of the capitalist law of the jungle and the business, political and military mafias in its service have come to constitute the universal law. Nor will it!

It is in this spirit that we pursue our battle, profoundly convinced that this century will, despite all obstacles, give rise to a new world without exploitation, oppression and poverty, to the birth of a humanity that is at last united, free, just, fraternal and respectful to all. And as the Cubans say: "Venceremos!" We will win!

**Awni AL-KALEMJI**, spokesman of the Iraqi Patriotic Alliance



What previous speakers have described, namely repression across the world, is in Iraq a concentrated expression of all the effects that have been detailed.

Decades ago, appeals were made to organisations, associations, movements defending human rights, calling on them to reveal the behaviour of regimes and authorities which imprisoned and tortured their citizens.

But today, thanks to the policies of the American administration, George Bush Junior and the neo-cons, we no longer need to make appeals to specialist associations to inform public opinion of the crimes that have been committed - for it is American policy itself which mobilised the media and it is the media which televise what has happened in the prisons of Iraq, since American policy has aimed at imposing such repression on a planetary scale. In the past, authorities called to account did everything in their power to plead not guilty. They tried to prove that the information had no grounding in fact and that they were not practising a repressive policy.

Today, thanks to US policy, regimes across the planet consider imprisonment and torture to be a part of international

law and every form of repression is legitimate as part of the war on "terrorism". Scarcely 15 years ago the governments of the world and international opinion considered Iraq to be a gigantic prison and what happened there to be detestable of worthy of denunciation. Everyone denounced the regime back then.

Since the repressive Iraqi regime was considered to that, 25 million Iraqis were subjected to the worst conditions of life and privations, to lack of food, drinkable water, rights and education, by a criminal embargo in which hundreds of thousands of children and old people lost their lives. And all this was justified to public opinion since the government repressed and imprisoned its citizens. The criminal weapon of the embargo was used on we Iraqis, involving the murder of tens of thousands of children. This could have been understood if they had found the weapons of mass destruction, since this was the key argument for launching the war in the first place. But after this second war and the destruction - all was proved. Even Powell admitted to the whole world that it had been founded on false arguments.

Despite all that, no civilised country has admitted that the poor Iraqis were unjustly punished. Millions of dollars in compensation have been demanded in other cases, like in the Lockerbie bombing. These families received compensation while hundreds of thousands of Iraqis were condemned to death, and all the while there has been nobody to say that the people of Iraq should receive compensation. Basing themselves on false arguments, they not merely invaded Iraq, they destroyed a nation, they destroyed the structures of the state, laid waste to the economy, and condemned generations of Iraqis to poverty and suffering. Ordinary citizens were subjected to extermination, to massive destruction.

Besides what other speakers have said about this dark period, something the people know well today, a small note of hope has been sounded by the effects of the war in Iraq: through resistance, the Iraqi people are proving that we are capable of challenging this criminal system.

The workers, peasants, soldiers, ordinary citizens and intellectuals of Iraq who are in the resistance are aware that they are defending their liberty and their sovereignty. They also know that their battle on Iraqi soil is of concern to the whole of humanity.

The United States of America thought they could occupy Iraq, win a swift victory and then set in motion a process of domination and contrived novelty which they have called "the project for a new Middle East", but in occupying Iraq, they have merely opened wide the gates of hell.

The defeat of the United States in Iraq has yet to be announced openly. But the US administration and US public opinion know that the war is lost. European and world opinion also know that the US forces have lost the war in Iraq. But it is the Iraqi people above all who are convinced of this.

In conclusion, recall the arrogance with which George Bush decided to unleash war and invade Iraq, recall how he scorned the international community, the United Nations, "old" Europe, nearly the whole world. While today Mr Bush has to run to the UN and the Arab League. He seeks the good offices of the Arab League to find a solution.

I am not speaking in the name of the resistance. I address everyone who is interested in the injustice suffered by the Iraqi people and I call on you to mobilise and show solidarity with their resistance.

Thank you.

## **Subhi Toma, Iraqi sociologist living in exile in France**

Thank you for this invitation.

In truth, the Iraqi people have need of friends who give them the opportunity to speak about the cause of the Iraqi people. Since the theme of today's work is discussing prisons and torture, I intended to speak about the imprisonment of our friend Abdul Jabbar Al Kubaysi.

But Mr Henri Alleg has mentioned the case of Al Kubaysi, and my friend Bruno Drweski will be talking about it also.

So I will confine myself to telling you what is currently happening in Iraq's prisons: even the former prime minister of Iraq Allawi is saying that what happens there now is worse than in the times of Saddam Hussein.

The Americans were recently compelled to invade a secret prison under the control of the Interior Ministry. In this prison, they announced that they encountered 174 Iraqi prisoners who had undergone the worst tortures. It was declared that the bodies of these prisoners had been cruelly tormented and the torturers used electric

drills to perforate sexual organs, arms, legs, even the heads of prisoners. Several cases of people being tortured to death were confirmed. Scarcely a week ago, news agencies mentioned the testimony of a general in the Iraqi Interior Ministry named Mr Sami Rayi who fled Baghdad to meet representatives of the AFP agency in Amman, and who gave them a film he had shot himself of what goes on in the secret prisons of the current pro-American government of Iraq.

In this situation the US administration has promised to check the situation in 30 currently existing prisons in which there is torture.

What are the latest torture findings? The skin of Iraqi prisoners is torn off. Photos exist proving that this happens.

On a number of Iraqi websites you can find images of unheard-of barbarity. Going beyond the situation of prisoners and torture in Iraq, the situation is effectively as described by my friend Al Kalemji, who could express hope: namely that the resistance of the Iraqi people is showing the world that it can challenge the occupation, even oblige the occupiers to leave our country as soon as possible.

In this sense a number of initiatives have recently been taken by the Iraqi resistance. The latest is that the Iraqi resistance has informed the member states of the Security Council of a political plan allowing the Americans to leave Iraq swiftly.

You can find the text of this communique on the Iraqi Resistance site.

All the UN member states have been informed of the plan.

Its 20th point is that we Iraqis call on the Americans to leave Iraq in the next six months, and if the Americans do so in this time, Iraqis propose a political solution with a programme for a free Iraq.

The plan for such a free Iraqi government has been worked out and is available to those who can read Arabic and English. It will soon be translated into French. Public opinion expects the Iraqi resistance to present an image of unity and be able to make proposals and offer political solutions.

There it is, it has been done. There is a plan, an initiative and a proposal. It is the first time in an occupied country that a Resistance proposes a face-saving solution to the occupier.

The Iraqis say to the Americans: "We want to help you leave. But if you stay, it will unquestionably lead to hell and be much more complicated for you." Thank you.

## **Bruno Drweski, Editor of the magazine "La Pensee Libre" ("Free Thought")**

I would like to say a little about the Kubaysi case without repeating too much of what has been said previously.

I would like to talk about him, but obviously one must be aware that the issue of political prisoners and public opinion in Iraq is up against a major blackout in most of the Western media. There is a problem of accessing information. The blackout is near total. Collective of various associations has managed to put out a certain amount of material using the Internet. What Subhi said about prisoners covers something that is on a vast scale, since there are 50,000 prisoners according to the official figures of the Iraqi government that the Americans installed. There may well be more. In this context I want to raise the case of Abdul Jabbar Al Kubaysi, who is one prisoner among a vast mass of prisoners.

His case could be regarded as a typical example. And in his case it is a matter of revealing, even of dragging out, information and indeed concessions on behalf of all political prisoners and public opinion in Iraq.

Abdul Jabbar Al Kubaysi is a former political refugee in France.

He went back to Iraq and established a daily newspaper. On September 4, 2004, American troops arrested him. They used helicopters and armoured vehicles. His house was surrounded. He was detained and then disappeared completely.

The American military in charge of his neighbourhood said it was not them but rather Negroponte's service who did it. Negroponte is the US ambassador in Iraq, who was responsible for establishing death squads in Central America.

Those who seriously wanted to restore democracy in Iraq are not even respected. This being the case, it took more than a year of mobilisation both legally as well as in relation to public opinion before an initial breakthrough was made.

His family and people generally now know where he is. All that shows that pressure from public opinion can gradually obtain results.

What we seek is maximum support from all those who can do something. Whether through signing petitions, intervening with US embassies, or with the government, or with the so-called embassy of Iraq, so as to keep up the pressure.

If at the end of a year and a half, one has succeeded in getting a 10-minute interview; if there is now a collective of lawyers in France who are working on this case (and attempts are being made by his lawyer to visit Baghdad) the pressure must be kept up.

As the case of Kubaysi is an exemplary one, it is well understood that concessions in this case mean that final concessions can be achieved on general principle, even while there remains a mass of prisoners of conscience and political prisoners in Iraq.

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## EMBARGO, THREAT OF WAR AND LAWLESSNESS

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**Mohammed SAFA**, Secretary General of the Khiam Rehabilitation Center for Victims of Torture (Lebanon)

I salute your perseverance to organise this international conference against isolation and detention each and every year and transporting it from one country to another. I salute your struggle to make the 17th of December, the anniversary of the bloody Turkish massacre against those fasting the fast of death for freedom an international day of solidarity with all the victims of detention and isolation in the world.

I had the opportunity to participate last summer in the Istanbul Conference against isolation upon an invitation from the association of the parents of Turkish detainees in Turkish prisons.

Therefore, I met male and female detainees; I met mothers of detainees and the families of the martyrs who died in the brutal massacre carried out by the Turkish authorities.

I had in mind as someone coming from Lebanon and Palestine that the Israeli prisons are the cruelest, but I was stunned by what I saw and heard in the testimonies of Niaza, Zeinab and Ahmed. First, because of the extent of brutality in isolation and torture, second, because of the international silence concerning the cause of Turkish prisoners.

I left Istanbul thinking of the fast of death, of those who defy death by fasting against it. It is not actually a fast of death; it is a passion for freedom and life. The seventeenth of December has become an international day for the freedom of Turkish

prisoners and all the prisoners of opinion and conscience in the world.

Today, in Paris conference, we renew our full solidarity with the detainees in Turkish prisons, and I ask the international community to send international observers who will work on closing these prisons and releasing all the detainees kept in very bad and inhuman conditions. The international carelessness towards the suffering of Turkish prisoners is the same nine thousand Palestinian and Arab detainees are suffering in Israeli prisons. All the prisons are alike and the jailers are also alike, had they been in Turkey, Israel, our Arab countries, or elsewhere in the world. In Turkish prisons they torture the detainees and toss them with an incendiary bomb.

In Afghanistan Baghram, they torture the detainees and burn their bodies. In Iraq, the scandal of torture in Abu Ghraib sent us back in memory to the previous barbaric centuries. In Guantanamo, the human being is deprived its humanity and treated like a meaningless insect.

As in Europe, the scandal of American secret prisons and transferring the detainees through European airports violating the integrity of these country states is still aggravating.

In Palestine the occupation forces are detaining 32 Lebanese, Palestinian and Jordanian detainees. Some of them are detained for more than 20 years, such as the Lebanese detainee Samir Al Qontar and the Palestinian detainee Saiid Al Atbah.

In France, the land of the French revolution, the French authorities are keeping in custody the Lebanese citizen Georges Ibrahim Aabdullah for 22 years now despite the end of his prison sanction. Several other strivers are detained in European prisons and Latin America without any reason against all the international laws. Besides, in our Arab countries, the file of political detention is still a threat awaiting the activists for human rights and civil society associations while Arab prisons are full with strivers for freedom and unionists and journalists and hundreds of those involuntarily disappeared and whose fate is still unknown in Syrian, Saudi and Arab prisons. All the prisons are alike had they been Israeli or Arab or American or Turkish or European. And the world has never witnessed this amount of violations against human rights, as it is today due to the American imperialistic terrorism and the dictatorial regimes that made it.

In the name of war against terrorism Iraq is being destroyed and dismantled. In the name of fighting terrorism Israel goes on with its war aiming at exterminating the Palestinian people with the support of the United States of America. In the name of fighting terrorism embargoes are being imposed on countries opposed to the American domination.

In the name of fighting terrorism human rights conventions are being violated, torture and building secret prisons are become allowed. And a wave of racism targeting the refugees and emigrants is launched throughout Europe.

In the name of fighting terrorism the American imperialistic wars are being declared in order to pillage the markets of the world and dominate the wealth of people.

The walls of isolation and detention and torture and war are surrounding the world and thousands of detainees and prisoners are suffering under the silence of the world and its collusion.

Paris conference gains an exceptional importance in fighting the terrorism of isolation, torture and occupation, had it been in Israeli, Arab, Turkish, American, European, and African prisons.

We suggest that this conference turns into an international network containing all the associations and organisations and those working against war, isolation and political detention and torture. Thus, I call not to make this conference restricted to speeches and testimonies despite their importance, instead, let's be divided into several workshops in order to put a continuous work plan against torture.

We do not want that this important conference becomes like any other annual conference where speeches are delivered, and afterwards, everyone returns to his country waiting for the next meeting on the 17th of December. We must liberate the conference from its closed walls and organise sit-ins and demonstrations against the American secret prisons in Europe and against the closed prisons in Turkey and Arab countries and Afghanistan and Spain. And let the final day of the conference be the day of declaring the fast of death in solidarity with those fasting in the Turkish prisons and other prisons of isolation, in front of one of the human associations in Paris. The cruelty of torture and isolation and humiliating human dignity, declaring wars and violating the human international law compels us to develop our campaign and

our annual conference in order to break the international silence concerning everything that is happening in Israeli, Arab, Turkish, and European and American prisons.

In Lebanon, with the collaboration of other human organisations we launched an initiative for defending the detainees in Israeli, Arab and American prisons.

Today, I suggest, as a member of this conference that we start working for founding the International Organisation against isolation and detention. And let the annual conference be for putting the general plan and evaluating the steps we made during the year. I also call to prepare for an international and popular trial for those who commit isolation and torture in all the prisons of isolation in the world. And I urge all our friends who worked for organising this conference to hold the next conference in Beirut and found a preparatory committee that prepares all the studies and documents needed in the next conference.

I salute you, and freedom for all the victims of isolation, detention and torture in the world. I salute those fasting the fast of death for a new life.

**Dr. Shadi Abu DAHER,**  
vice-president of the Austrian  
Palestinian Community

I'm going to speak about Palestinian prisoners. Israel is the only country in the world, which for political reasons has legalized torture during the interrogation of prisoners. Between 1967 and 1988 the number of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails was 2-4 thousand a year. Between 1988 and 1989, during the first Intifada the number of prisoners was approximately 15 thousand. Since the second Intifada the number of the Palestinian prisoners has reached 20 thousand and more. From 1967 until today Israel has arrested exactly 650 thousand Palestinians, that makes approximately 20% of the Palestinian population in this area. At this moment there are around 8.600 prisoners in Israeli prisons. 3.500 of these are children, 288 of them are still in prison. Israel doesn't recognize any international treatments and laws. For many governments in the world prisons are the final solution, for Israel they are the first solution. These children in prison do not have any future, because they aren't allowed to

study or better to learn. 139 children and juveniles wait for their trials. 157 children and juveniles have already been sentenced to prison. Around 47 % are in the age of 16-17, under age. 94 % of those have already suffered from attacks or ill treatment of Israeli personnel in the prisons. At this moment there are about 400 females in Israeli prisons. 4 of those are in solitary confinement, 5 of them are under age. 22 of these women are married. 2 children were born in jail. 62 of these females have been convicted. 46 are still in custody, 7 in administrative detention. According to our Palestinian Ministry for Prisoners and Convicts, around 167 Palestinian prisoners have lost their lives as a result of mistreatment or because they didn't receive medical treatment. I'm talking short about the demands of the prisoners. Actually they demand an end to attacks and beatings, an end to raids and provocations in the prison cells, an end to destruction and confiscation of the personal properties of the prisoners, the permission to be visited by their families, because this is still happening quite rarely, the removal of the glass separation walls during visits, improve of medical treatment, such as improve of quality and quantity of food. Furthermore the prisoners demand clothes and possibility to make phone calls, which is recently not permitted. They want to call and stay in connection with their families. They demand introduction of group cells, the receive of detergents, as for example soap, the possibility to receive books and to use the sport facilities, such as regular breaks and possibility to go for a blow.

Finally I talk about the torture in prisons. They put plastic bags over the head and throat, the prisoner has to stand for some time on a small chair of approximately 25-30 cm height, while his or her hands are bound at the back. Another kind of torture is deprivation of sleep, the playback of very loud music over several days combined with very strong light influence. Prisoners are put in very small rooms, where they can neither sit nor stand upright. Beatings and electroshocks are also common methods. Some prisoners have already died while being tortured by shaking the whole body. I tried to be as short as possible.

In the end we hope for the Palestinian people and the Palestinian prisoners for your solidarity and support. Thanks.

**Cihan KESKEK,** member of  
"Grup Yorum", who went to Iraq  
as a human shield

In February 2003, before the beginning of the US-attack against Iraq, there has been organised an European wide mobilisation: Together with the project called "human shields", we went to Iraq within a group from Turkey.

We remained in Iraq for about 2 months. We witnessed the attack, the massacres, bombings and how human beings were killed by the USA. We witnessed how the people suffered from hunger, poverty and misery. We witnessed, how people were abandoned to misery in the hospitals, and how they died because of lack of water and medicine.

We stayed in Bagdad from April 9th, the date of occupation, until April 14th and then returned to Turkey.

I don't want to say too much about the things we experienced in Iraq. Our friends, who spoke in the previous session, have already given very nice examples regarding the resistance and its legitimacy.

Finally we went there, although of course we knew very well, that we couldn't stop the war. We were there in order to share the pain of the Iraqi people.

We were with the people in order to make their voices heard. And we also wanted to show them, that we were joining their struggle and that there were also revolutionaries from Turkey, who supported their struggle.

Today, the resistance in Iraq continues. The struggle against USA goes on. The US-occupation still continues. No matter how much the governments talk about democracy or freedom, the pain that the US-occupation causes to the people is a reality.

It is as much reality as the struggle of the Iraqi resisters and the Iraqi people.

Actually it is a legitimate right of defense. In fact, we can experience different examples in Iraq. For instance the actions of the resisters in Iraq or there are also the sacrificial actions in Palestine and Iraq, in Turkey or elsewhere. There's a comprehension, a tradition of sacrificial actions as form of struggle against imperialism.

When somebody sacrifices him-/herself, this means that all opportunities of struggle were taken away. It means that there hasn't been left any condition. Actually we see, how the own body is turned into a weapon against the enemy, as a last way out.

The present situation of the Iraqi resisters is like that. There's an occupation, an attack, a massacre. In the near past we've seen the example of Falludja. We saw, how they try to wipe out a city before the eyes of the whole world, how they use chemical weapons, even if there doesn't remain any plant.

The struggle of the resisters in Iraq is defense of motherland. It's a very natural war, a people's war against the despot. Therefore it is wrong in my opinion, to make discussions on whether the Iraqi resistance is legitimate or not. Instead of that it is necessary to exposure the attacks and the slaughtering of the USA. The people of Iraq risk their lives in the struggle against the US.

It is not our right to criticize the struggle of these people. We can say the following: There are different forms of acting. These forms change as to different structures.

There are different points of view. Of course, actions, in which innocent people or civilians are harmed can't be accepted. We don't agree with them. But finally we can see that there aren't so many opportunities in the hands of these people. They are in desperation. The US is killing all relatives, people living on this soil. It is killing children, raping wives and daughters. If there isn't any resistance against it, there's something wrong anyway. At this point the worldwide struggle against imperialism and its collaborators, in Iraq, Turkey, Palestine and elsewhere, is a common and legitimate struggle.

There can be only aspects we criticize. And that is, when innocent people are harmed. But the first thing is, that the USA presents itself as the only power in the world and feels itself free to attack and kill, and that it brings poverty, hunger and misery to the people in the name of 'freedom'. That's the first aspect to see. This should be the prior thing that we should prevent, against which we should organise ourselves.

Therefore I want to point out again, the struggle of the Palestinian and Iraqi people, should be a common struggle with the anti-imperialist struggle of the entire people. The first aim must be imperialism, US-imperialism.

## **Olivia ZEMOR, Europalestine**

I think you understand well the subject of the conference. It is a very important subject. It is a good opportunity to exchange

experiences. I'd like to speak to you about the experience of France. France is a representative country in the world in terms of spectacular restrictions on liberty. With exceptional laws, emergency laws. And for example there was the war in Algeria. We are in a country where many people are treated like fundamentalists and terrorists. There is a record of not respecting International Law.

For example the situation in the Middle East. France has a reputation for having positions on Iraq but for example France actively has supported Israeli policy. France is the first country in Europe that greets the criminal Ariel Sharon from Israel. And French companies have constructed the tramway in Israel, which is also a racist colonial. This tramway is exclusively reserved for the Jewish population and is forbidden to be used by Palestinians. France denies that this is a problem of International Justice. France is a country that regularly collects money for the Israeli Armed Forces. All their bodyguards and they even have concerts for the Israelis, organise them. The Interior Minister Sarkozy has invited two Israeli police chairs officials. And we do know well how Israeli police treats Palestinians. And how many Palestinians have met death out of the hands of such police.

If you criticise Israeli policy you have to be an anti-semite. This becomes a terrible thing. One is constantly accused of anti-semitism. The French state has played a criminal role against jews during the II. World War. Many French Jews were deported or extinguished in camps. France has the 3rd largest Jewish Community in the world.

I would like to tell you about what I'm extremely worried about. I haven't come here to tell you about the situation of the Palestinian people, because others can do that.

But I like to tell you that in countries like France the Israeli-American opinion is constantly publicized. In countries like France International Law is considered as something old-fashioned. There's talk of clash of civilizations. You either have to be with Israel or the United States or you must be a terrorist. I want to talk a little about the actions we've carried out, like pickets and so. Boycott campaign, picking up posters, concerts mobilizing against Israeli army shoes and other kind of things in solidarity with Palestinian. I hope we can exchange experiences and coordinate.

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## ISOLATION OF PRISONERS

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### **Gerhard TUSCHLA,** Austrian journalist

Dear Audience, comrades and visitors. Instead of my person Haj Ali Abbas, the man with the hood from Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq should have been standing here to tell you about his torture.

Haj Ali Abbas was not granted a visa of the EU to tell his story. The big and mighty USA are afraid of a simple man they tortured 6 months and finally released with the words: 'Sorry, you were the wrong one'.

The self-called defender for freedom and democracy USA is afraid of a simple man to speak up. USA are afraid about the truth of torture they have done to Haj Ali. USA intervened in Austria and Italy to stop him coming to speak up. I went to Amman, where he is living recently, to interview him.

The film has been shown in Austria and on Swiss TV. German TV, which was first interested, cancelled the order. It is my duty and right as a journalist to bring his story to as many as possible. No government can stop me to tell his story. So I am here today to show you the film. It is the story of a man who came into the system of torture and captivity of the so-called "War against Terror". The USA are used to silence anyone who is not on their track. I will do my work as a TV-journalist further, to show the world more about victims who cannot speak up by themselves as Haj Ali.

### **Ahmet KULAKSIZ, TAYAD**

On behalf of TAYAD we salute all of you who have come here from different countries. As all of you may know, the world is currently going through an important period. Starvation, war, unemployment are problems all of us live with. As all countries have general problems, they also have problems peculiar to themselves. With the general problems, my country also has a struggle against isolation and solitary confinement and the F-Type prisons, and we pay quite a heavy price in this struggle. Europe is the place where the F-Type prisons originated, and it was not very long that we first encountered the

idea. The authorities, who want to put this model into practice wanted to make prisoners surrender. Obviously by doing this they wanted to isolate all the prisoners from their relatives and their comrades, and eventually from all the people. Isolation and solitary confinement would make it easy to achieve their surrender but the people's struggle does not always go in the way that the ruling class expects. What the authorities did not expect was that organised forces of the people cannot be made to surrender. It was well understood that there would be a price to pay for it, and in our country we have plenty of people who are ready to pay such a price. The ruling class who sought to make prisoners surrender, found that rather than bring about their surrender, they faced prisoners who were ready to die rather than surrender. In this period against isolation and solitary confinement, after all methods had been tried, the Death Fast was started. I would like to emphasise that this was begun after various other methods of struggle had been tried.

Dear Friends: TAYAD has been struggling in our country for 20 years. In this period, many people cannot even comprehend TAYAD's importance. When the period is difficult as it has been here, the price that will be paid is also going to be a difficult one. In the beginning when the struggle had started in the prisons, public opinion had thought that this Death Fast, which is now in its 6th year, would only take place in these prisons. But TAYAD and the TAYAD families understood the reality of isolation differently from other people. They believed this resistance needed to be supported. To put a stop to their isolation, they screamed out to the entire world what these problems are. If the Death Fast has continued it is because TAYAD and its outcry has played an important part in it. TAYAD became a shout on behalf of the prisoners, it became their heart, but more importantly it became the centre of the resistance outside the prisons. Eventually it started the first Death Fast in the world as free people, that is, not inside prison. Not only did they start it but they also became martyrs in the resistance.

There were two sisters, two hearts, two lives - ZEHRA and CANAN. Their heart was full of love and they became heroines of this magnificent resistance. They kept their promise to the people even at the cost of their lives. Even though my heart

was so broken, I was so proud of being the father of these two heroic girls. As long as I live I will carry on being proud and carry on feeling in my heart what they have done. With CANAN and ZEHRA, 120 people have been martyred in this great resistance. Today the authorities have started lynching attempts against TAYAD. The state and in many cities fascist groups are attacking our people in an attempt to intimidate them. They do not do this because of our weight in numbers. They do this because they are scared of TAYADs' resistance and culture of solidarity. They want to destroy this culture. The entire world needs to know who created this culture and we did it with our lives and our blood, and we are never going to give up this tradition. We are determined to keep the promises we have made to our children. Our struggle, carrying on into its 6th year with 120 martyrs, needs to be understood as part of the joint resist-



ance of the entire world. If you want to win a victory against isolation and solitary confinement, you should not see isolation as consisting only the F-Type prisons. More important the struggle against solitary confinement should be carried out on all platforms and be made accepted in that way. We as TAYAD are trying to carry out our responsibilities through the strength we get from our martyrs. And we know that our children who are still carrying on the Death Fast need more solidarity. AS TAYAD, our suggestion or recommendation is that we have to carry on this struggle in the European Social Forum in the coming period.

Finally: I greet you, the platform participants from my heart, along with our heroic Death Fast martyrs, our friends and comrades, and my daughters CANAN and ZEHRA .

## **Mary Rubinchik, All-Union Movement for Defence of Political Prisoners in Russia**

By its official propaganda the state power on the territory of the former CIS-states (Commonwealth of Independent States) wants to prove, that democracy and market have been built there. But in reality there does only exist the "wild market" that is tied with mafia and criminality. True democracy has still a very long way. By its extended means of communication, especially with electronically data means, the highest state power fakes electoral results, and creates invincibly hindrances for the opposition in its influence to international affairs.

By this means the gap between the very rich (oligarchy) and the very poor (pensioners and unemployed) is growing. The social state will crash in the West and particularly in the East. Social protests are violently oppressed by the state power.

Our "Political Prisoner's Defence Foundation" is doing efforts in supporting prisoners of conscience in different republics of the SSSR, but our home is the whole Soviet Union.

An exemplary of tracing political ideas is the long-term imprisonment of the 73-year old professor and doctor in philosophy, M. Burokjawschus, in the prison of Lithuania. Despite of the just demands of the European Court for human rights, concerning his release, the state power doesn't set him free. While in Lithuania former Nazis from the SS march through the streets, the well-known communist and secretary of the Communist Party remains in prison, because of his loyalty to his political views.

In Ukraine, despite of the "orange revolution", and in Russia, even the youth, which marches with symbolic flags, are faced with long-term prison penalties. The list of prisoners of conscience in different republics of the SSSR is too long. Recently 39 youngsters are at court in Moscow, because of a contemporary occupation of the waiting hall of the Ministry of Social Affairs, the planting of a red flag at the roof of the building and their official statement, that they'll no longer accept the worse pension and too expensive medicine, who lets old ill people die under bad conditions.

Our fund is lacking of financial and international support. Information is now showing many facts of isolation of political prisoners. But, as long as the youth is

loosing its perspective for a normal life and future, the protest will grow and our activity will be necessary.

## **ASP (Association for Solidarity with the Proletariat), Italy**

The countries that had gathered together in the name of war against terrorism are restricting all democratic rights. This is a good example how the European countries work together. By creating new legislation and new laws our rights are restricted by them. These rights we have won them by long terms struggles. But they are now trying to take all these rights back. Social organisations allegedly are becoming presently criminal organisation. Imperialist countries have power this moment. There are hundreds of prisoners in different prisons. They want to keep them for a long time. In the name of war against terrorism. We can say that it is done to destroy revolutionary movements, unions and organizations. They try to destroy all. And day by day they increase it. This is always a result of economical crisis. There is resistance against all these and we want to be a part of this resistance.

We are against torture; we're against the illegally arrest of peoples. We are against isolation. The reason we are here. We would like to be in solidarity with you. We would like to be in this resistance, in this struggle. One of our friends came from Turkey. He talked about the same subject. Also we are trying to point them out as well. They have to be united. We know that it's important to be here and also to find a way to working jointly. Political prisoners showing us good examples of solidarity and imprisonment showing us how imperialist system is working. People get arrested and tortured, they can be killed, aren't allowed to see their relatives, just because of their beliefs. We have two suggestions. We would like to issue a declaration demanding the improvement of the political prisoners condition and another one to demand the recognition of the political prisoners status. With this acceptance we can stop them to be called terrorist. The country destroys its own democracy, because freedom of thought is taken away by it. And also the condition of prisoners or in prisons, their situation is supposed to be better. We need to create another front to struggle against these.

Giuseppe May and Giuseppe Czeppel are two prisoners in France. French authorities arrested them, although they do not have any evidence. The allegation against them was to support terrorist activities or being involved in terrorism. But they didn't have any evidence for this.

This clearly indicates us, they want to create a country without any thoughts. All our rights are taken away piece by piece. The revolutionary organisations, their demands are in that conference.

With this declaration we would like to carry on this struggle, especially to get released these two peoples arrested in France.

## **Martin Mulholland, IRPWA (Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association)**

Today in Ireland there are over 80 republican prisoners of war - captured combatants. You may wonder why I use the phrase captured combatants, this has to be seen within the context of Irelands struggle to remove an occupying force from its national territory.

Ireland's history appears to be seen as one of eternal conflict with Britain, due to invasion, starvation, draconian legislation and colonialism. There have been attempts to introduce legislation from Westminster (Britain's parliament) to supposedly end the war in Ireland. In the past certain people have failed to hold their position on National Sovereignty and what this means. All of Britain's attempts to bring an end to Ireland's conflict have failed. They have failed due to an inherent inability to acknowledge Ireland's international right to be free from foreign occupying forces, and for Britain to recognise and uphold their obligations under various international laws upon which they are signatory to. At this point it feels right to recall the words of the Irish Revolutionary and Socialist, James Connolly:

"The British Government has no right in Ireland, never had any right in Ireland, and never can have any right in Ireland". In 1996 following 30 years of a continuous war between the Volunteers of Oglaiigh na hEireann and the British occupation forces, Britain, fearing that their illegal occupation of Ireland was becoming exposed, engaged former revolutionary leaders in talks - and as history had shown us these people failed to seek the re-establishment of Ireland's Sovereignty. It is to

this end that we have seen ex-comrades sitting in Stormont and agreeing to administer British rule in our country. They had it in their power to strike a better deal to establish National Sovereignty. Sadly they did not. They've become British Ministers in a so-called Northern Ireland state, this is nothing new to Irish republicans - in Irish history there has always been the native traitor.

Clearly they agreed to collaborate with Britain, they agreed to do what Britain had failed to do and criminalise the Irish republican struggle. They agreed to end political status that ten men - ten Irish republican prisoner of war had died for and that hundreds of men and women had endured years of prisoner protest for. We should go further to state very clearly that the only peace strategy that will resolve the cause of conflict in Ireland is the strategy that challenges Britain's illegal claim in Ireland. Again the numerous failed strategies over the decades are testament to this fact.

It feels poignant at this point to reflect on the words of caution by Pádraig Pearse "You cannot conquer Ireland. You cannot extinguish the Irish passion for freedom. If our deed has not been sufficient to win freedom, then our children will win it by a better deed".

We in the IRPWA are fully aware of the ultimate sacrifices that these brave volunteers made during the struggle for political status, and what their families endured to have the recognition that their sons, daughters, aunts, uncles, brothers, fathers or mothers were not criminals but were political prisoners. They were political prisoners due to the extraordinary political situation concerning the six north eastern counties of Ireland being under occupation by an illegal foreign aggressor.

That illegal occupation continues today, despite the politically sanitised news that is allowed to be broadcast over the airways or carried in the daily paper. This is to produce an illusion that the war in Ireland is over and that there are no more Irish republican POW's.

We in the IRPWA are in existence because of the fact that there are those in Ireland who are not prepared to accept British occupation and who have had the foresight to read the British position and not to engage in a process that was seeking to legitimise an illegal occupation. It is because of this vision that there are POW's in Ireland and Britain. Bobby Sands had this same vision when he wrote in 1980;

“We must see our present fight right through to the very end. Generations will continue to meet the same fate unless the perennial oppressor -Britain- is removed, for she will unashamedly and mercilessly continue to maintain her occupation and economic exploitation of Ireland to judgment day, if she is not halted and ejected.” In 2002 republican prisoners were being housed in jails where they were targeted daily by loyalists and where prison officers indulged in or turned a blind eye to beatings. As such the prisoners organised themselves through the support of the IRPWA and informed the movement on the outside that they intended to demand segregation from non-political prisoners, and that they were prepared to use every avenue of protest to achieve their objective. Within days the prisoners had organised a strategy - this was to see republican prisoners undertake a no wash protest.

The response from the prison authorities was to further facilitate an environment where republican prisoners were being beaten in their cells and going to and from visits or simply trying to go about daily prison life.

In order to prevent or reduce these assaults the men had no other alternative but to undertake smearing their faeces on the cell walls (as a 'dirty protest').

We are sure that you can appreciate the mind set of

a republican prisoner in this situation. Their resolve has been recorded in history, the world knows of the revolutionary Bobby Sands and his comrades, and their desire to see their country free.

After a hard struggle the prisoners went on to win segregation again. At present they remain unbroken and unrepentant despite a continued campaign by prison officers and the British administration to break them.

It is the words of James Connolly that the republican POW's resolve can be found: "If you strike at, imprison, or kill us, out of our prisons or graves, we will evoke a spirit that will thwart you, and perhaps, raise a force that will destroy you! We defy you! Do your worst!"

Britain continues to hold Irish people as political hostages in England too. Our intention to seek justice for them will not falter. Along with a number of captured

combatants, they are subjected to discriminatory practices, isolation and many other things that infringe upon their human rights.

The IRPWA are also supporting political hostages in the occupied six counties, a case in point is that of John Brady from Strabane, who has been detained since June 2004 with no charges pending against him other than on the orders of the (then) British secretary of state Paul Murphy.

On Thursday 1st of September John was taken from his prison cell in Maghaberry Goal to Antrim road RUC interrogation centre. He was later charged with the attempted murder of a Royal Irish Regiment soldier in Sion Mills in 2002.

The only evidence against John is of a DNA nature and because of the length of time and the fact that John had been questioned and released regarding this incident; his representatives are considering taking a case of "abuse of process."



There have been a number of such cases which have collapsed over the past number of years once placed under scrutiny and all bare striking similarities to this one. It is clear to all those who know John that this is another attempt by the British establishment to conduct a campaign of selective internment against anyone opposed to the British inspired agreement often referred to as the Good Friday Agreement.

I hope that what I have presented you with today has given you all insight into the current position in Ireland and why there are and will continue to be POW's in Ireland and Britain. Until Ireland re-establishes its National Sovereignty then Ireland will remain at war, Ireland unfree will never be at peace, and as a consequence of this war, Irish men and Women will go to their graves. However, it is from these graves that Ireland has nur-

tered the dream that all nations are free. However, rest assured the liberation we seek is not a Republic as in the United States, where the power of the purse has established a new tyranny using only the language of freedom and little else.

We should remember that there is nothing more dangerous than an oppressed people who acquire the first weapons of education and organisation. That position is firmly with us today. We are educating each other, we are organising a resistance to imperialism and we refuse to be on our knees.....we are the risen people.

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## POLITICAL ISOLATION IN THE USA

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**PAULETTE d'ARTEUIL** (Jericho Movement, Spokeswoman for **Leonard Peltier**) reading the message of Leonard Peltier

Aho, My Relations,

My name is Gwarth-ee-less or Leonard Peltier, of the Anishnabe and Lakota Nation on Turtle Island, known to others as the continent of North America. I bring you greetings and respect as I start my 30th year of illegal imprisonment, and I want to thank my sister in the Jericho Movement for bringing my words to you today.

I thank you for including me among the many friends and comrades who would speak to the conditions of isolation and torture experienced by those of us who have refused to bow our knee to the U.S. government. This colonial government has come onto our lands, committed genocide and continues to rob us of our history and culture, while giving away our land. I say that, Isolation, is a cruel and unusual punishment, which affects one emotionally, mentally and physically. From my perspective, I could cope with isolation as a young man. In fact, I have endured years and years of isolation starting in the 1970's at Marion Federal Prison, the only level 6 federal prison and the first US control unit. I was there along with Raphael CANCEL Miranda and other political prisoners. It was like being buried alive-locked down 23 hours a day. I survived by drawing strength from the creator to endure whatever the Government heaped upon me.

While in isolation, one is deprived of virtually every basic need, since the Govern-

ment's intent in placing you in isolation is to break your spirit physically and emotionally. Isolation is designed to make one feel powerless and aimed at eroding the body and spirit. While in isolation, I could not even get a book to read, my phone calls were limited to one a month, and I could rarely write letters. I recall finding a small pencil stub and I was able to write brief short letters to my loved ones, choosing my wording very carefully for fear that the limited pencil lead in the pencil stub would not allow me to complete my letter. As I have grown older, isolation has become more and more arduous.

For example, the six weeks I recently spent in the hole at the Terre Haute federal prison really affected my health, especially my legs. I was confined to a cell that was 8'X 8' which had a window that was covered from the outside with an elaborate shield that allowed me to see 2-3 inches of the sky out of the top and 2-3 inches of the ground. All prisoners are supposed to get at least one hour of sunlight or outdoors. So I was taken from my cell to what was called a Recreation Room (a Rec Cage). The only sunlight "filtered" from some windows high up in this large Rec Cage with a few air holes in them. I was able to walk up and down the Rec Cage for an hour, thus fulfilling the one hour of sunlight or outdoors or recreation time. I would return to my 8'x8' cell and continue my pacing for hours as a way to continue exercising and also as a way to try to maintain my sanity. Even now, several months later, I limp severely as a result of that time in isolation.

One time I was held in a one man cell. However, three others were crammed into the cell with me. This made it so unbearably hot that I truly thought I could not possibly survive this torture.

An even greater cruel and unusual punishment is being held in a control unit which is really a long-term lock down. A controlled unit takes a tremendous toll on a person's physical and mental health. You can see it in the eyes of those who have been subjected to a controlled unit. The void in their eyes reflects what they have gone through. You do not see anyone and visits are behind glass. Many of my friends have disappeared into control units. Neither I nor others have seen them since.

As you can see, whether it be isolation or a controlled unit, the Government goal is to crush our spirit by treating us inhumanely. But we aren't animals. Life in

prison is inhumane as it is. The use of isolation and/or controlled units places us in positions that we may not be able to survive and, even if we do, it takes a tremendous toll on us physically and mentally.

I want to let you know that my brothers and I will remember in our prayers at the sweat lodge on the night of the 19th of December, the 28 warriors that lost their lives at the hands of the Turkish state through its reign of terror against those that stand with dignity in the defense of their people.

A-Ho!!!! Mitake Oyasin  
In the Spirit of Crazy Horse  
Leonard Peltier"

Before I finish, I want to read the message of another young man who is actually about our age. His name is Veronza Bowers and Veronza has refused release, even though he has completed his sentence. And he called and I spoke with him a few nights before I came. And he asked me to please tell the Turkish people:

"My dear brother and I will fast from December the 19th to December 22nd. We won't eat anything starting at midnight on the 18th and ending at midnight on the 22nd. We will drink only water and we will have a special ceremony on Wednesday, December 21st. All during the four days and nights we will remember the 28 men who lost their lives on the 22nd of December and we welcome your symposium". Thank you very much.

**Efia NWANGAZA,**  
National Co-Chair of the Jericho  
Movement



My name is Efia Nwangaza, I, along with Herman Ferguson, a former political prisoner and exile, chair the Jericho Amnesty Movement for Recognition and Freedom of U.S. Political Prisoners, Prisoners of

War, and Exiles. I have been a revolutionary and human rights defender for more than 45 years; first as a young Christian missionary, then as a student organizer with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the southern U.S. civil rights movement, later with Amnesty International (AI-USA) and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement for Self-Determination, and now as a practicing attorney. The Jericho Movement, founded in 1998, is the official national political prisoner organized voice and representative of U.S. political prisoners, prisoners of war, and exiles.

We thank the organizers of The Fourth International Symposium Against Isolation for their invitation and this opportunity to tell the world about the more than one hundred political prisoners held in U.S. prisons since the 1970's. The United States has held these prisoners longer than the 27 years that apartheid South Africa held Nelson Mandela, for the very same reasons South Africa held Mandela. The U.S. government has held some of our political prisoners up to 35 and 40 years, Marshall Eddie Conway, Mondo Langa, Ed Poindexter and Ruchell Magee; two of the Angola 3, Albert Woodfox and Herman Wallace, are beginning their 34th year of isolation.

Most U.S. political prisoners, prisoners of war, and exiles are the survivors of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) unlawful counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO); today's "war on terrorism," excused and codified in the repressive so-called "USA Patriot Act." COINTELPRO, like its predecessors, was designed to contain, control, criminalize and crush activists in the U.S. civil and human rights/liberation struggles of Africans born in the United States (Blacks, African Americans), Latinos/Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, anti-imperialists and Native Americans.

However, these stalwarts of the '60's and '70's not only fought for freedom at home and provided support for the masses of people; but in solidarity with the peoples of the world, they said "Hell No!" to the U.S. war on Vietnam ... the Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, and Haiti wars and occupations of their day. We bring their greetings and the greetings of the U.S. celebrants of the December 3rd, 2005 International Day of Solidarity with Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War; called for by former Philippine political prisoner, Donato Contente, to promote a

united worldwide amnesty approach. We hope a single world day of solidarity can soon be broadly agreed upon and universally celebrated.

In 2003, the American Friends Service Committee's Criminal Justice Programs' Prison Watch Project's briefing paper entitled, "The Prison Inside the Prison: Control Units, Supermax Prisons, and Devices of Torture," noted that the first U.S. uses of isolation and sensory deprivation were in the 1960s. It was a behavior modification technique against prisoners involved in the prisoner's rights movement, a byproduct of the 1960s U.S. civil and human rights movement. The prisoners were "Islamic militants, jailhouse lawyers, ethnic 'gangs,' and political activists."

In the 1970s the struggle for human rights intensified, both on the streets and inside the prisons. COINTELPRO, the FBI's unlawful attack on U.S. civil/human rights and independence movements, sent Black Panthers, Black Liberation Army, American Indian Movement, Puerto Rican Independentistas, and North American anti-imperialist into open hostilities with the U.S. government and into the underground. The rise and arrest of Black Panther Party members and other such formations increased the politicization and agitation by prisoners. The brilliant and charismatic revolutionary prison educator and organizer, George Jackson, was murdered in a California Control Unit (Adjustment Center) following an unsuccessful heroic attempt to liberate him by his younger brother, Jonathan Jackson. Men of all races rebelled against inhumane treatment at New York's Attica State Prison and were slaughtered with helicopter gunfire and swat teams. In 1978, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, acknowledged the existence of U.S. political prisoners at the UN.

The United States is the world's first country to operate entire prisons on a permanent isolation and lock down scheme. It has been cited by the UN Human Rights Commission for violations of the Convention Against Torture and the UN Standard Minimums for the Treatment of Prisoners; long before Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo. In 1972, at Marion (Illinois) Federal Penitentiary, the U.S. government established one of its first control units. It was followed by others in the states of New Jersey and Massachusetts. By 1985, there were about six, forty-five in 1997, and now there are 2 or more sensory deprivation and isolation prisons or sections

of prisons in every state of the United States of America.

In 1988, the U.S. Bureau of Prisons was court ordered to remove Silvia Baraldini, Susan Rosenberg, and Alejandrina Torres from a subterranean sensory deprivation isolation unit in the basement of the Lexington (Kentucky) Federal Prison; see the documentary, "Through the Wire." The court acknowledged that their internment was political. Their case highlighted routine sexual abuse and medical neglect in U.S. prisons as well as the onset of isolation and sensory deprivation on women.

According to Human Rights Watch, by 2002 more than 20,000 prisoners, over 2% of the United States' 2.2 million prison population, are held in long term isolation; political and non-political, adults and children alike. Twenty-three hours a day, with one shower per week, they are held in soundproof or white-noise cells about the size of a parking space for a car. With privatization, for-profit-prisons, a person may NEVER leave her/his cell; everything, including delivery of meals, is controlled by a single guard in a central booth flipping switches. The only human contact the internee may have is removal or return to the cage if s/he fails to comply with orders.



Today, despite the known psychological and physical destruction caused by extended isolation and sensory deprivation, political exile Assata Shakur's co-defendant, Sundiata Acoli, a mathematician, painter, and former Black Panther, has been held by the State of New Jersey, and jailhouse lawyer and prisoner of conscience, Ruchell Magee, by the State of California, in isolation and sensory deprivation for years. Former Black Panther Russell Shoats, repeatedly denied proper and timely medical care, is 20 years in the State of Pennsylvania's supermax prison, along with famed journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal on its death row.

While these men have survived due to strong personal commitment and outside

support, the mentally ill, retarded, learning disabled and illiterate who largely populate U.S. prisons, and often put in isolation for punishment, have not fared so well. They succumb to complete mental and physical breakdowns.

Others, also suffering from lack of adequate community, educational or lawful employment opportunities, may be labeled a "gang" member, harassed on the streets and isolated in "security threat units" once incarcerated. While in isolation they are subject to humiliating body cavity searches by guards of the opposite sex, forced to wear demeaning garments, physically assaulted by guards with fire hoses, bound in restraint belts, chairs or beds for long periods of time in painful positions, shocked with cattle prods now called taser guns and stun belts of 50,000 electrical volts, sprayed in the face, eyes, mouth with pepper spray or tear gas, smothered in urine soaked pillowcases on their heads, forced baths causing 3rd degree burns over the body. People of color are more likely to receive this kind of treatment than white prisoners.

Now, like the 1960's and '70s, George Bush's Attorney General, Alberto Gonzales, local and national law enforcement, and the Fraternal Order of Police have joined forces to set upon us and to hunt down old soldiers missed in the earlier battle; framing and sentencing to life without possibility of parole Imam Jamil Al-Amin (fka H. Rap Brown) and jailing Kamau Sadiki, the grand jury witch hunts and fishing expeditions that hounded Sister Janet Cyril to her grave and recently jailed former Black Panthers Harold Taylor, Hank Jones, Richard Brown, John Bowman and Ray Boudreaux. Others now in the system are shuttled to far-off super max sensory deprivation prisons in the middle of the night, Tom Manning and Oscar Lopez Rivera. Medical neglect is used as a weapon; Russell Maroon Shoats prostate cancer tests, Robert Seth Hayes' diabetic black outs, Leonard Peltier. Mandatory parole is denied to exemplary prisoners, Veronza Bowers, Jr. Lawyers who serve the people are criminalized, Lynne Stewart, Chokwe Lumumba. The U.S. government's \$1 million bounty on the head of Assata Shakur (fka Joanne Chesimard) is designed to reduce us all to snitches. Still others are being held on excessive sentences and parole denial: Jalil Muntaqim, architect of the '98 march on Washington, African AIDS Orphans School Supply Project, and felony re-en-

franchisement litigation. Dr. Mutulu Shakur, Black Liberation Army health-care activist pioneered the use of acupuncture in drug rehabilitation, environmentalists Debbie Sims Africa and other MOVE members who survived Philadelphia's relentless onslaughts and its 1985 neighborhood bombing massacre. Mathematician Sundiata Acoli, women's rights activist Marilyn Buck. We mourn the martyred: Richard Williams, Filiberto Ojeda Rios, Albert "Nuh" Washington, and Merle Austin Africa. We pine for the companionship of exiled Assata Shakur, Nehanda Abiodun and others. It is our shame that we have people who invested their youth, continued service to us and are now growing old, dying in prison and far away from friends and families.

The Jericho Movement demands the immediate recognition, amnesty, and release of all political prisoners and prisoners of war locked up in or exiled from the United States of America. It is committed to gaining full political recognition, legal amnesty and social freedom for political prisoners despite the United States government's continued denial of their existence and their proper status by criminalization. Each political prisoner was incarcerated because of his/her political beliefs and work to eliminate indecent housing, lack of adequate medical care and nutrition, quality education, to stop police brutality and the murder of people organising for independence and liberation. Each is entitled to our best possible efforts to decriminalize and rehumanize them in the minds of the people and to build the movement to protect and bring them home now!

We urge you to challenge all U.S. government officials, corporate representatives or residents to inform themselves and join the struggle for their immediate and unconditional release. Veronza Bowers has been refused release even though he's completed his sentence. And he called and I spoke with him a few nights before I came and he asked me to please tell the Turkish people: My dear brother and I will fast from December the 19th to December 22nd. We won't eat anything starting at midnight on the 18th and ending at midnight on the 22nd. We will drink only water and we will have a special sweet large ceremony on December 21st. All during the four days and nights we will remember the 28 men who lost their lives on the 22nd December. And we welcome your symposium. Thank you very much.

**Prof. ANGELA DAVIS**

Good afternoon. First of all I want to thank for having invited me into this symposium against isolation. Focusing not only on political prisoners but on the apparatus of the prison. I should say that sitting here listening to the presentations, the very comprehensive presentations that Paulette and Efiya have given, I was imagining where I might have had not a massive global campaign for my freedom developed in 1970 1971 1972, because many of the people whose names were invoked, were my comrades during that period. I was a political prisoner and I was one of the very fortunate ones to benefit from the organisation of massive campaigns all over the world. I was sitting here, imagining what it might be like if a fear had read my name on that list of political prisoners who are still behind walls after many decades in the US. I did wanna say, that when I was in jail during the early 70's, I received messages from people everywhere. But I want to mention one message that was extremely moving. A message I'll never forget. It was a message written on toilet paper, very thin paper by Turkish political prisoners, smuggled out of the prison and smuggled in to the jail where I was at the time in California. And I guess since that period the idea that international solidarity is the only way has remained with me. And so that will be the thrust of my remarks this afternoon. And I'm only going to speak for a short time, because I understand that I also have to speak again later on this evening. So I wanted to first of all talk about the importance of challenging the F-Type prisons, following the leadership of women and men, who conducted a fast to the death in Turkey in order to impose the imposition of this apparatus of discipline and confinement on Turkish prisoners and political Turkey's political prisoners. As I was telling N. during the drive over, I think we in the US have a special responsibility to stand up against this prison model. Because it comes from the US. It was invented in the United States of America, and it's very much related to the story that Efiya was telling about the development of all the Control Unit, of the Adjustment Center, the segregation cells, the Supermax... Now I also wanted to say a couple of words about the recent execution of Stanley Tuckey Williams. I participated in the vigile and protest that took place outside of Saint Quintain

prison on Monday night. And all of us were hoping against hope that governor Schwarzenegger would grant a reprieve, but of course he didn't. And I will tell you that we were also moved to listen to the young people, the children who read the words of Stanley Tuckey Williams from the many books he has written for children, who read from his book as they were trying to inject the lithial chemicals in tuckeys venes. And many of you know that it took a very long time. It was horrible. As if, all executions are horrible, but that was especially horrendous. But as it was happening, children of all ages, of all racial backgrounds and ethnicities girls and boys were reading short passages from Tuckey's work, keeping his spirit alive as the State of California was killing his body. And I mention Tuckey's case because this was the largest mobilization around the case of a prisoner condemn to die and executed that we have had since the death penalty was reinstated in 1976. And I say this because I want to mention the name of Mumia Abu-Jamal and how important it is that we continue to develop that campaign in order to free Mumia. And here in Europe I'm aware that the campaigns in France, the campaigns in Germany are much more visible and much more powerful, and much more influential than the campaigns in the United States. We're confinding the power of the state, we're confinding law enforcement for ternal order of the police, but I want to make a commitment to you, that we will use the successes and the mobilization that did not manage to save the life of Stanley Tuckey Williams to further build the campaign against the death penalty. Making very clear the fact that the death penalty is a weapon of political repression as well. I should let you know that Arnold Schwarzenegger in refusing to clemency to Stanley Tuckey Williams quoted from the dedication that Tuckey wrote in his other biography to Nelson Mandela, to George Jackson, to Assata Shakur, to Leonard Peltier and he mentioned my name as well. And Schwarzenegger indicated, that the fact that he had mentioned these individuals names and he associated themselves with these individuals was an indication that it could not possibly be redeemed. The redemption he talked about was a fake. And he indicated that he was associating himself with individuals who had violent past lives. Nelson Mandela for example, George Jackson who was assassinated. Neslon Mandela who was a

target of the Apartheid state, a target of state violence. And so Schwarzenegger revealed, I think perhaps unintentionally the extend, to which he was politically motivated. In his decision to refuse to grant climinsy to Stanley Tuckey Williams. We've heard the words of Leonard Peltier. Hopefully we will hear from one of the lawyers for the Cuban 5 since Leonard Weinglass cannot be here. And we've heard that there are scores over a hundred political prisoners in the US. But of course there are political prisoners all over the world, and especially in Turkey. And those of us who committed to this fight to free political prisoners and also impose the development of a massive global prison industrial complex, that is a kind of enormous political machine on its own, wreaping profit for companies, for transnational corporations invading the spaces of the countries of the sudden region, privatizing prisons and places like South Africa, marketing the idea that incarceration is the most effective solution to political social problems that are produced by global capitalism. And I'll probably talk about this more this evening, but let me say that it is important for us to recognize that as the impact of global capital is felt in places in Africa, in Latinamerica, in Europe, in Asia, increasingly there are populations defined as dispensible, as unnecessary. As those who do not fit into the new cash economies in the countries of the sudden region for example. As those who are not incorporated in European societies and we're holding this meeting in France and we witness the outcry of young people who are asking where their future is in this country. Why do they continue to be excluded, excluded from jobs, from the educational system, from health care. This is a sign of what is to come. And if we think about the prison industrial complex as creating not only the ideological argument for identify these individuals as individuals who belong behind bars. If they're going to disrupt the society, then lock them up forever. And therefore the architectural firms benefit, all of the companies that provide all of the goods and services for the increasing numbers of people who are placed behind bars, profit while it goes on and on. But I'll finally say, as I said in the beginning of my remarks that we need to produce powerful examples of global solidarity. This is the way we're going to free political prisoners. This is the way we're going to challenge racism and xenophobia.

This is the way we're going to end war. And this is how we're going to begin to realize the visions that all of the political prisoners have that we are talking about during this conference, for a world of equality, justice and peace and hopefully socialism.

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## WHAT IS TO BE DONE AGAINST ISOLATION AND INTERNATIONAL- SCALE TORTURE

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**Michaela Pfeiffer**, assistant of **Karin RESETARITS**, Austrian member of the European Parliament (she was reading the speech of Karin Resetarits)

Dear friends,

I worked as a journalist for many years. That's why I know: It is necessary to create concern, in order to get attention by bigger masses on a special theme. Above, not only in my homeland Austria, it is said very often and easily: That interests me as much as if a bike would crash in Peking. Yes, this bike will become only an interesting medial subject, if it hits a dog, and if that dog has even a famous owner. For example David Beckham or Britney Spears; that's how journalism is working. When the Austrian Sandra Bakutz was totally surprisingly arrested at the airport of Istanbul in February this year, almost no media took notice of it. If yet, with the (Unterton) that she was a left activist. The case of Bakutz only became interesting in my country, when boulevard papers discovered the fact, that with the arrest of this young woman, who was suddenly celebrated as an engaged human rights activist, a new campaign could be raised against the accession of Turkey to the EU, and to create further Anti-Turkey feelings. The critics was less directed against the government than against the country and its citizens in generally. I want to stress this so clearly before this forum, because there's always the possibility to be instrumentalized by the enemy in our engagement. If you're in opposition to the ruling in your country, if you stand heartfelt against oppression, exploitation and other human pains, it can and will always happen again, that your arguments are disused so bad, that not only the ruling in your country are accused but all people in your country.

So, if I'm speaking today about my experiences and observations at diverse trials in Turkey, I want to ask you to take into account that these things cannot happen only in Turkey, but at any time in other countries as well. Some states even make it easier themselves, some of them don't behave so violently towards citizens, others are more clever others in a less diplomatic way.

Since 11th September 2001, the day, that in my opinion marks the end of the new era, human rights are in danger everywhere. That's why we should be awake much more, and we should exchange common experiences in a stronger way.

The ominous fight against terrorism, first of all fights our personal freedoms. The states of this world have found a useful pretext, to go against everything that doesn't fit to the system and weakens their power. For some of the power protectors even the opposition is suspicious of terror, others target left civil movements. And even more dangerous: In the heads of many citizens, in generally all people who look as if they came from the Moslem culture, are terrorists.

We live in a terrible world. In my memory, there had been never a time that was so reckless and inhumane. I went two times this year to observe trials in Turkey. The first time I went for the trial against Sandra Bakutz. The Austrian citizen was accused to have participated in a manifestation in Brussels, which was directed



against the recent Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. The prosecutor accused Sandra, being a member of a banned terror organisation. Of course, there had been no proves for that. The accusation was based on a press report of a Turkish mass news paper. In this report there had been a photo of a woman, who was only visible from the back. It's a matter of fact, that this was not Sandra Bakutz. But the prosecutor preferred to belief the interpretation that was written below the picture,

than having a closer look at the picture. Following the motto: What's written in the newspaper must be true. This unprofessional behaviour of the state against citizens, in this case even against a foreign citizen, is frightening. The freedom of the citizens doesn't count very much for this state. Personal freedom is as unimportant as freedom of opinion or press.

I want focus your attention on two very discussed paragraphs of the Turkish penal law: Article 301 "degradation of the Turkish nationality" and article 305 "Acting against national interest". In both cases the state limits and controls the freedom of thoughts. But again, this does not only concern the Turkish people; there are certainly similar paragraphs in the "Home Protection Program" of the Superpower USA.

So, the case of the German citizen Khaled-el-Masri is very similar to the case of Sandra Bakutz, except one difference: In his case the level of brutality was much higher. This man was arrested at the Serbian-Macedonian border and kept in prison for months, without any trial or proof.

The reason: He was suspected to be a terrorist. It's very likely that the USA is involved in this case, but even that's not for sure.

As you can see, the « war against terror » is becoming more and more Kafkaesque. And there's another story about this war with unfair means. I witnessed also the so-called 1st of April trial in Turkey. On 1st of April 2004, numerous young people were arrested in Turkey, Italy and Belgium. They were suspected to have connections to a terrorist organisation. Because of missing proofs, the Turkish authorities played a very undiplomatic trick. The police forces had confiscated computer disks in the bureaus of the suspects. They didn't seal the disks. On these disks there were written the names of the arrested persons and beneath the names of terror organisations, in which they were suspected to be in.

The judges not refused these scandalous evidences as they were expected to do. In contrary, they still slow down the release of some of the arrested by all means. Why that? Someone could think, that the state has no money to waste for trials and prison. But in this case money is not the problem. It's about education. How to change the mind of people. Very often young people, students, who dare to dream of a better world, a different government, another state form, are arrested.

They don't want them to dream. And there's nothing that can make a person more obedient, than taking his or her freedom, which is very often combined with torture, psychological and physical mistreatment. And also on this area, every taboo seems to have fallen. States are not anymore afraid of telling lies. Torture is just en vogue, especially, when talking about suspect terrorists.

This week a new law has been approved in the European Parliament. This law makes life easier for states, governments, police officers and secret agents.

From now on, personal data of every citizen are saved in databases and can be used in case of „emergency“. Big Brother knows now, who calls who on the phone, who text messages with who, and who is on whose e-mail address list. You don't have to be a prophet to understand that this law is not going to stop any terrorist attack, but will allow arresting a lot of people.

In the case of Sandra Bakutz the Turkey authorities will not have to work with photographical evidence. In the case of the 1st April arrests any disk must be falsified anymore.

In future, it will be enough to show that a person has phoned on this or that day with suspects in the surrounding of al-Quaida or that they are on an email list to arrest them.

Is this possible? Yes it is. Every Hacker can show you how. It would be desperate, if the situation was not that serious.

**Association pour le Defense du Espace Europeen de Liberté - ADEEL (Association for Protection of Fundamental Rights in Europe).**

I will summon and speak in the name of ADEEL, Freedom Association for the Defense of a European Space. This moment is very important in order to denounce repression, to denounce violation of the bourgeois governments, which call themselves democratic governments. This is the moment of demonstrations and we see now how count to the highs of the bourgeois state and in which sector the bourgeois state make their money and this sector is the sector of repression and violence. So, this symposium is a very important moment, as Angela Davis said, because we can unite and we can exchange experience of struggles and devel-

oped our organisation in order to resist and to go out of this situation. This situation is often new for us. All the special of those so-called democratic states use repression method against revolutionaries, against communists and also against social movements. So I will just speak about the high school movement here in France some weeks ago. And also the struggle of the suburban youth. And we saw how hard the repression of the bourgeois state was and the government answer without caring about facts. Like it did with the high school movement. We have 3.000 young people that have been harassed during this period of urban guerrilla. And this kind of manners does not only target social movements but also civil affairs, like the Utrot trial. Utrot is a city in the North of France. So many innocent families got a court case against them, accused for nothing and the government had in the end to apologize for it. Not the activities but even thoughts, if they are not acceptable for them, then you shouldn't have them.

**Paplomatas KONSTANTINOS, representative of the Greek Primary Teachers' Federation (DOE)**

**Torture - Issolation**

Tortures in the spotlight once again

We witness, once again, the invasion of the medieval era of tortures, this time in the name of terrorism....

Black clouds are gathering, lately, above the democratic rights and freedom. The political life of our country and of other countries is witnessing the introduction of multiple anti-terrorism laws and measures.

Within this framework and while the violence of official and unofficial wars is projected on our screens, it is imperative, regardless of our political beliefs, to be deeply concerned and to signal the danger, addressing especially to younger ages, those young ages that did not experience war, military courts, prison, exile, absolute political regimes and tortures but know them only through narrations (not to mention that a large part of these young people ignores the actual facts). It is true that a large part of our youth learns about life through television, and by this procedure they form their preferences and their life-style.

In this respect, I feel that there is a need to inform these young people of an appalling

subject, connected to the wars and to fascist behaviours that, in the past, made human kind to be ashamed of its nature. It is the subject of Tortures.

The world was shocked, when a few years ago, a journalist from an American newspaper brought up the subject of tortures in one of his articles. He proposed to legalize tortures in the name of fighting terrorism. But, since newspapers were not enough because they do not reach a large audience, it was imperative to use a simpler and "joyous" way to make the ideology of tortures acceptable to the American - and not only - public opinion. So, they called in the TV games.

One of them that was aired by FOX TV network was called "The chamber" - obviously coming from torture chamber. In this game the participants were tortured in reality. The tortures that were real were progressing as the show continued. While the presented yelled "I want to see you suffer", or "tell me how much you are suffering" etc. the participants were electrocuted, were hanged above flames that were burning their feet, were going half naked in a refrigerator. Another test included a room with 500 flies. The goal of the game was to torture the participant to the point that he could not take it no more and he would quit.

Another game, which was aired by ABC network, was called "The Chair". In this game, the participants were strapped in a chair surrounded by crocodiles and had to answer questions. The host of the show was an infamous tennis player and the goal for the players was to keep a low heart rate despite the difficulties they were facing.

Judging from the ratings (12,4 million viewers tuned into "The chair" and 9,8 million to "The Chamber"), tortures "sell".

But let us not consider that whatever is taking place in the US does not concern us as well. On the contrary. After all it is know that the speculation of the dark and filthy human instincts is the same everywhere and it mostly targets the younger audience.

Is it by chance - or is it us that are suspicious - that at the same period these shows were aired, TV programs projected tragic images from the conditions of detention of the Taliban soldiers that were held prisoners in the Guantanamo base in Cuba? These were tragic images of people that were turned into vegetables. These images circulated around the world

and triggered rumble, an international outcry and front-page articles in most of the prestigious European newspapers.

The French "Le Monde" in an attempt to describe the situation quoted: "Locked into cages, kneeled among two rows of thorny wire fences, chained, drugged, gagged, being in a condition called "the isolation of senses", with tight eyes". The German "Süddeutsche Zeitung" quotes: "It is not enough for the US to mistreat their enemies like animals in cages, they also exile them in a place where justice does not exist".

We witness, once again, the invasion of the medieval tortures in the name of terrorism. But let us come back to the small screen. The appearance of all these shows and creepy images of the conditions of detention of the prisoners is not a bolt from the blue. Although it may sound strange, they were preparing the territory for a long time. For some years, TV viewers throughout the world - including our own country, Greece - were subjected to a systematic brainwash. Through horrific American productions of violence they were aiming at the corruption of their conscience. The usual story of those productions is as follows: the "good" American authorities and bureaus chased the "bad" criminals or terrorists. Many movies of this kind were portraying "bad guys" that were subjected to various tortures. For example in one of them the audience witnesses the slow and torturing cut of an ear of a person that was strapped in a chair. This is the way the "good guys" legalize their actions against those monsters, whatever mean of violence they use, even if they have to kill, even if they disobey orders that come from their superiors. So, we witness, for quite some time now, the appearance of dangerous, fascist opinions of violence legalization, that have a devastating effect both for the youth and tired workers, that use these productions as a mean of entertainment. Without knowing it, these productions shape their judgement, memory and opinion.

International Amnesty stated in its 1984 report that the apologists of the tortures use the classic argument of intention. By this they mean that the authorities are obliged to crash terrorists, whose actions threatens human lives and put in jeopardy both societies and states. We witness, therefore, an attempt to justify those tortures by claiming that their aim is to protect the most valuable asset for a large number of people. An old recipe is once

again being served in a different plate this time.

The role of psychiatry and the use of drugs and hallucinating substances as a means of torture are not so broadly known. In fact the Turkish "White cells" are an invention of an American psychiatrist.

Who doesn't remember the broadcast of the arrest of Öcalan from the secret services? His desperate fierce look, and the numb will of a person that is under the influence of substances? Many were written those days about the drugs and the methods that were used.

But let us take a closer look at the method of "isolation of senses" and the way this is described in a medical report, at the Parker Committee, in the 70's. "The isolation of senses is a method that aims to achieve a state of technical psychosis or symptoms of insanity. We know that people who suffered cannot easily forget it and it is possible to present, for months or even years, symptoms of mental instability. We know that some technically created psychosis, such as those created by LSD or mescaline, are proved to be permanent and there is no reason not to assume that the same happens with the method of isolation of senses. Even if the psychotic phenomena of delusions and hallucinations are not permanent, there is still a possibility a number of people who have suffered isolation of their senses to continue to suffer from stress, insomnia and nightmares, as well as other symptoms of neurosis that are known to psychiatrists from war prisoners or people who have been captured and tortured and went under psychiatric therapy".

The legal perspective.

Tortures according to the Geneva International Treaty (1949) and the International agreement for individual and political rights (1966), are prohibited. In 1975, United Nations adopted the Declaration of the protection of humans against tortures or any other form of cruel, inhuman or humiliating treatment or punishment. This declaration places a great emphasis on the claim for universal enforcement of the banning of tortures.

As for other legal documents it is worth mentioning the American Agreement of Human Rights (1969) that in its article 5(2) clearly states: "No one can be subjected to tortures, or to cruel, inhuman or humiliating punishment or treatment. All people who are deprived of their freedom should be treated with respect as it is ap-

appropriate to the inborn human dignity". If tortures are a TV show for some countries, for Greece they are part of a painful historical memory, which is primarily connected to all forms of anticommunism, from the Metaxa dictatorship to the horrible tortures of the after civil war era (exile purgatories of Makronisos and Yiaros, tortures in Bouboulinas str., at the head office of the police, at the EAT-ESA, at the military prisons of Bogati). We remind to both young and older ages that in Greece patriot fighters were massively and savagely tortured in Makronisos. The prison of Yioura counted a total of 22.000 political prisoners from which most of them were crippled, others died and others went crazy. We have to mention that these people were accused of being common criminals or of committing murders, according to the forensic laboratories of the time. Even during the dictatorship, horrific tortures were being



held to the democrats who resisted. All these tortures were revealed during the trial of the abusers. From August 1975 until November 1976, six (6) trials were being held for those tortures. The first and the second was for the torturers of the department of EAT-ESA, the others were for the torturers of ELLI, the torturers that belonged to the police force of Athens and Xalkida, and the torturers of Bouboulinas str. The latter used even the roof of the building in order to commit their acts of torture. Many were those who testified about the tortures they suffered such as beatings, phalanx, electroshock, isolation, hallucinating substances. From those court trials a great deal of information about the tortures and the training of the torturers was gathered.

It was revealed that many of the torturers were trained in the United States while others from the military police, the infamous ESA. According to the International Amnesty report the process of creating

a torturer was the following: "After the initial training, young soldiers from known anticommunist families were selected for special training by the military police. After a thorough examination, they were picking up those that were meant to be trained to become torturers. This distinction was accompanied by special privileges, status, the use of automobile, the acquisition of the rank of officer, extra salary and leaves, a place in the countries' capital rather than the rural areas of near the borders. Most of them came from the province or from workers' family, so all these privileges as well as a secure place in the public sector after the end of their service were a strong motive in order to chose to join this special force. In the beginning they were not aware of the duties that this position had. A large part of their training was to beat or to be beaten by their colleagues. Their trainers were ordering them to eat the straps their bonnets, to kneel and pledge allegiance to portraits of officers, to perform humiliating acts, to pretend that they make love to a woman in front of their colleagues. After the ideological training and the psychological preparation, they were initially ordered to guard prisoners, then to capture suspects and finally to torture them. If they hesitated to torture they were ridiculed, beaten and threatened that they will be transferred, loose their privileges and that their families will suffer economic consequences".

Closing my speech, I have to highlight that not only should we condemn and forbid tortures of any kind and for any reason, but also to ban and vanish all ideologies that disseminate or revamp tortures. In particular, in Greece, we should take constant actions that will preserve the historic memory of those tortures.

Recently, Yiaros island, was proclaimed a national monument. But this is not enough. The long history of the exile of Makronisos and Yiaros, and of the tortures should pass to the schoolbooks. Schools should pay visits to the places that the tortures were being held, and students should learn the history, the tortures and the blood that was shed in order to establish the democracy in the country. They should learn about Glastras' fig and the phalanx. To learn about the laws (375 and 509) that were used in order to drag to the military courts, to prison and to the firing squad thousands of fighters. But most of all young people should learn the results of the foreign intervention in our

country, Greece, the intervention of the American imperialism. This update will constitute a serious form of defense to all TV games, productions or perversions "made in USA". It will contribute to the safeguard of democracy and the dignity of our people.

**Mihri BELLI**, one of the most famous founders of the Communist Party in Turkey

This symposium is about isolation, isolation against people, against prisoners and isolation against countries. And we have many examples. People in power know how to use this method of repression. As you know, Communist Manifesto finished with this sentence: Workers of the world unite! And this isolation is against the union of the progressive forces, the union of the political prisoners.

Because they know that if there is a union of progressive forces, they have no chance of success.

Imperialist forces attack, as we have witnessed in Iraq. Why they are doing that, because they want to become stronger. So they do everything in their power to undermine our unity. And they want to continue their operation like that. In Turkey for example, they organise in that way cells of isolation, the F-type prisons. In whole Europe they built secret prisons under CIA commandment. Some of those prisons are the secret prisons of the United States of America. They are controlled by their intelligence service, the CIA.

What we call liberal system is just the old imperialist system becoming harder. This symposium makes me think of people from all countries, in order to create a better world. And I'm very happy to speak in this symposium and I thank the comrades who invited us. As Herold Pinter, which received the noble price, recently said: "United States used to support dictatorship, military systems like in Greece, in Indonesia, in Uruguay, in Brazil, Haiti, Turkey, Philippines, Guatemala, Salvador and Chile. The war that the United States put in Chile in 1973 can't be forgiven. Thousands of persons have died in these countries. Also in Indonesia it was something like one million deaths. It's our work to be aware of this method which is used by the authority of states, and don't forget that in this world, there is the famous cell in Bagdad, in which the US-jail keeper tortures the prisoners, like in

Guantanamo and the secret jails. Let's speak about isolation against generations. As already said, there are many forms of isolation, against political prisoners, organisations, but also against generations. I'm speaking about horizontal division of organisation, for example the organisation of the 68 militants in France or in other places, in Great Britain for example. They are isolated, divided. But don't forget that the horizontal division leads to vertical division of the same generation. For example Dev Genc in Turkey. In the sixties, this militant organisation in its struggle against imperialism and fascism, in which the big majority of the democratic forces in turkey took part, became the vanguard of the democratic forces by struggle. It was after the military coup in March 1971. After, right wing policy was applied. Now it's them who determine the conditions of the class struggle. The 1980 military coup which followed was much more easy for the military than the previous coup. There was a song about the October revolution. It said that the conditions for struggle do not fall from the sky. They produced themselves for the followers of 1968 in Europe and in America. The authentic Communist Party of Turkey was involved. It distanced itself from the bureaucracy of the Soviet Communist Party. There were the matters of struggle for the liberation of Vietnam, and the struggle for the independence of China and the Soviet Union. The weekly magazine "Türk Solu" (Turkish Left) had a picture of Angela Davis on its cover. It was concerned to be the ideological journal of 'Revolutionary Youth' in Turkey. Its leaders were hanged or were killed in 1968 in Turkey. The individual man is a social being and when one puts an end to that by cutting his contact with other men, one does the wrestling that could be done to him. The authorities know very well, that Öcalan does not defend separation from Turkey, or no even he proposes a federation. What he proposes is democracy, equality and freedom. But for this reason they call him a terrorist and isolate him. Another important subject for this international meeting against isolation is the hunger strike in the F-type prisons in Turkey. More than a hundred people have died thus far and the hunger strike continues. I think that this symposium should take a decision of solidarity with these matters. I think that the symposium has the capacity to enlighten the path to a better world.

**BREACHES OF RIGHTS  
TO RESISTANCE AND  
ORGANISATION**

**IPAI declaration on 'Black Lists'  
TO BAN THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION  
MEANS TO BAN THOUGHTS**

Nowadays it is attempted to destroy the freedom of thoughts and organisation by banning organisation and the ideas that create this organisation. Essentially this means to destroy oppositional thoughts and the progressive demands of the people.

To do that, it is necessary to destroy the syndicate, professional, cultural and political organisation of the people and the workers.

This kind of prohibitions had been possible maybe during monarchies or dictatorships in the past. But it is impossible without using any demagogy to play the game of democracy and at the same time to prohibit the opposition.

The demagogy is ready: Terrorism...

From history until today the ruling classes have always used and distorted certain terms for their own interests.

The terrorism term has been the most frequently demagogy since the last years. Meanwhile this term, which means to frighten the people and to form it with this fear in order to intimidate and force it to capitulation, is used against any oppositional thought and against the right of organisation.

Looking to the real practication field and the practisers of this term, it is visible to see the imperialist and collaborating states, that bring exploitation and oppression to the world.

The threats against legal rights, brought about by torture, repression and bans, ahead of wars and bombardments, the threats made by these practises in the case of ignoring what is shown as the system, is exactly what fits in the term of terrorism.

Let's have a look at the application fields: Where is torture applied. The basic places, where programmed, organised and systematic torture is practiced, are police and military stations, and the official or unofficial institutions of these forces. Also the applicators are specially trained for this and they are officials whose wages are paid by the states.

Having a look at the applicators of the most of the massacres, they are in gener-

ally so-called security forces carrying uniforms.

Also the wars and all the annihilation and genocide practises, in which the "ethical" values of these wars were destroyed, have always been carried out by official states. If we draw attention to the term dungeon, where people are put into jail and there lives are turned into torture, and to the executions as a form of revenge, we see the same states as perpetrators.

Who are these states? If we think about their common points, we find out, that we are confronted with the guards of a system of exploitation and tyranny.

That's why the ones who get the largest part of the exploitation are the ones who apply the strongest tyranny. Today we have a political definition for it: Imperialism... The imperialist states and the states, in which their collaborating fascist, reactionary governments are in power...

Everybody from SPARTACUS, DON QUIJOTE, THE RESISTERS OF THE COMMUNES and BEDREDDIN to MALCOLM X, CHE and MAHIR is announced robber or terrorist...



During history every force that stood against the system, that was disturbing the representatives of the system, was defined robber or terrorist. In that way the system tried to isolate the ones who opposed their hegemony from the people and to destroy them. All these peoples' leaders were fighting for freedom, justice and socialism. They organised the people, stood up with them against the system. While the system attempted to destroy these movements, it tried to destroy the thoughts of their leaders and in order to hinder the rebellions it made demagogic accusations against them.

There's no difference today. Today as well, it is aimed to intimidate those who struggle for the rights and freedoms of the entire people, the avantgarde fighters of the independence and democracy

struggle of the oppressed and exploited people, by demagogies of terrorism and to isolate them. The international ban decisions, that came to the agenda as so-called 'black lists', aren't based on any legitimate, legal decision. There are no universal criteria like correct-wrong, legal-crime, that can be given as source for the black lists.

## THE BLACK LISTS AREN'T CONNECTED WITH ANY LAW

The black list that was prepared by the USA, was completely prepared for political reasons and includes organisations, who are seriously in their claim for revolution. The annihilation decisions of the USA towards these forces, who offer a revolutionary alternative in their countries, aim at the same time, to isolate the people who demand independence and democracy from their leaders and to prevent the danger of revolution. The EU as well took this decision under the same pretext, without investigating this decision taken by the gendarmerie of imperialism.

While EU took this decision, in many EU-countries there neither existed any official definition of terrorism nor an Anti-Terror-Law. In order to overcome these bureaucratic obstacles, there was created a list of 'terror organisations' by a commission linked with the EU, which hasn't got any influence in legal proceedings. But ahead of this list, it has given all member states the order, to create Anti-Terror-Laws. Appropriate to this order, and even without approval of the European Parliament, COREPER, which is a simple commission of technocrats, has taken this decision and pushed the member countries into action. The black list of the EU, that was long since applied although there doesn't exist a juridical basis in practice, is demonstrating itself, how anti-democratic and unlawful it is.

The black lists are actually a stain in the state tradition of the countries that created and implicated this law. If we only look at the way in which this decision was taken, it is visible, that it has been a dictate of the USA, which was announced by COREPER in an unlawful way, and some prosecutors and police forces have started to put this into practice, although neither EP nor the national parliaments have approved it. And the most interesting thing is, that all legal ways against this practices are closed. For this decision didn't pass a legal procedure and it hasn't been

approved by juridical organs, there's no such thing as a juridical decision. Therefore it is even impossible to make an appeal against it. In other words, the black lists are openly a form of extralegal execution'.

## THIS IS UNLAWFULLNESS

This unlawfulness is today only directed against revolutionary organisations. But logically, because it is based on the destruction of oppositional thoughts, it is against all circles of the people, who fight for rights and freedoms. In the future also the democratic forces of today will be victims of this practice. There should be taken a lesson of it. Because parallel to the black lists of the EU, all EU-countries are obliged to prepare their own national Anti-Terror-Laws. Let's say this black list is only directed against countries like Turkey, Palestine, Colombia, Philippines, Nepal, Basque Country; why then is it necessary to prepare a national Anti-Terror-Law? Who is the target of these laws? Are there revolutionary organisations in the European countries, so that such laws are found necessary? The aim is obviously: These national laws will aim the movements for rights and freedoms in Europe. Without losing time, the movements for rights and freedoms of all circles should unite without giving attention to terror demagogies and should build a union against this anti-democratic politics.

Never forget... One of the most important proverbs telling about the Nazi period, belongs to a liberal and is full of lessons: "First they came and took the communists. I haven't been communist. Later they took the Jews, but I wasn't Jewish. Later they came to take the socialists, but I have neither been socialist. Then they were coming for me, but there was nobody left to defend me...". History shouldn't be repeated. And this is up to our struggle and our unity...

## Iraq News Network, general director **Dr. Abdullah Yousif Aljubouri**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have the honor to participate here with you opposed to imperialism and above all, against the policies attempting to enclose people in cages without communication, deprivation of movement and with no basic rights of living. The weakened economy, carbombs and ethnic

troubles that Iraqi people are subjected to, is the less harm than poverty, injustice, brutality and barbarie which characterized their fate from 1993 to 2003. This gave George Bush the permission to start the project of colonisation of Iraq.

The crime announced longtime before started to be executed. Hundreds of thousands of troops of the US aggressors invaded Iraq in company with their true British ally. A unprecedented heavy airforce attack bombarded Bagdad. Nevertheless, far away from trembling by the "choc and awe" and the invincibility of the US imperialism the people all over the world expressed their wrath about these crimes and launched into a ferocious and determined fight.

The aggressors rushed into attacks, killed and mutilated; they are vicious enemies. But they can be vainquished because they are creating even more powerful armies of gravediggers, as they are doing right now all around the world. In barging in a deseparate bet in Iraq despite their isolation and their particularly weak position George Bush and his reactionnary circle placed us in front of a big challenge. They hope that with a quick victory they could crush all the oppositions, bring back their losses and restructurate the whole Middle East in order to serve the US interests and dominate the world. But if they do not have an immediate gain of victory, their invasion and occupation will lead to a long resistance. If their plans of a great american Middle East are finally defeated, it would show a great victory for the people all over the world and it would make the world revolution progress.

Today in Iraq, the reality shows us the existence of two important leanings in fight. At one side, the Iraqi people resisting to occupation of their country by various and pluralist means. This resistance is multiform and characterised by a large spectrum of various political patriotic tendencies. At the other side, the US imperialism trying to governate the country with the support of a government subjected to the US and composed of iraqi collaborationists reminding other collaborationists in history during the occupation of Hitler. The occupation of Iraq constitute an unbearable violation of international law. Bush and his consorts want to impose definitely the "right to interfere" and to lead "preventive wars": this means clearly their liberty of interference and their right of bombarding and occupying the targeted nations to dominate and to elim-

inate governments they do not like for some reasons. Acting in that way, the US government contempt infamously the world's public opinion, inventing inexistent dangers, as MDA (mass destruction arms) and the imaginary network of terrorists.

The reality is that Bush and consorts think that the moment is arrived for the realisation of US domination over the world, without reaction of other nations and reaction of the people of the world to this enormous danger for humanity by these imperialist policies. Bush announced his project of "the reorganisation of the Middle East". A Middle East beginning at the Atlantic until the borders of China under control of the US, meanwhile the slaughter of the Palestinians keeps going and the construction of the apartheid wall of Sharon constitute the worst of policies in Palestine. The tactical truces and withdrawals decided by the restistance, like in any other war against a stronger occupying force, can not be any longer used to hide the massif desire of the Iraqi people to fight by different efficient ways, for the right of selfdetermination and political, military and economical independence. These conditions bring us to the duty to inform regularly the intenational community of the evolution of the multi-formous struggle of the Iraqi people and to provide our constant support. The occupation of Iraq goes with the aggravation of threats from the US to Syria, with the implementation of embargo also to Iran where Washington multiply the steps of interference and in Venezuela, and the andine countries, and Northkorea and other countries, the tightening of the blocus against Cuba, the palestinian suffering from oppression more and more harsh. Iraq is now in the frontline of the fights against imperialism.

In consequence, the Iraq News Network is one of the voices in Iraq supporting the resistance which leads us to conceive the terrorism of the actual régime in Iraq directed by Washington and its occupying army as well as political allied groups of the imperial forces. Our voice shall be received better than ever before, listen to the call for solidarity with the iraqi people and the palestinian people, both in the frontline of the struggle against imperialism, to the denunciation of the illegal trial in preparation against the former leaders of Iraq, to fight against the speeches and the practices of islamophobia for the attempt to legitimate the policies of dom-

ination. We thank you to support us and to express your solidarity for our country and our patriotic resistance we need more than before against the isolation in this very hard period. Thank you and long life for Iraq and the Iraqi people.

**Nurhan ERDEM**, president of the Anatolian Federation



In the name of the Anatolian Federation I want to bring our greetings to everybody. I would like to speak about the Agenda 2010 today. Also I want to talk about restrictions and bans in Europe and how it effects us.

In 2000 European presidents made some decisions in Portugal called Agenda 2010. Actually it's the Constitution of Europe. They would like to become economical power against Japan and US-economy. Today the reforms go on in Germany, as they do in other countries. They are given different names, but their aims are the same. If they're going to be successful in Germany, they'll definitely use this chance in other countries as well. In 2004 the health reforms and in 2005 another legislation came up. The legislation known as Hartz IV actually brings about restrictions both in Germany and other countries. It is an attack on our rights and against the working people. Because of this legislation they put some restrictions to the workers, for example intimidating union rights activities. Its a very aggressive and racist legislation against foreign people. It happened, that foreign people and Moslem people are announced as terrorists within one week. Just for taking part in any manifestation or rally you can be deported. All immigrants living in Europe are announced as potentially terrorists.

Only in Germany 200.000 people are facing deportation. From Yugoslavia, from former socialist countries, a lot of deportations already took place. Germany is

taking a leading position in Europe. And not only people who have participated in these activities, but also their families are affected. There are guesses that this number can be increased to 1.000.000. These were just a few examples. This legislation against foreign people, the new immigrant law, doesn't give us anything, but takes a lot from us. As an Anatolian organisation we carried out many activities and campaigns in different platforms and with different organisations. We had petitions, organised social and cultural events; we're taking efforts to let the people know about the situation.

These restrictions as we said came with this agenda. Our rights have been restricted and on one side the people get poor, on the other side they take our rights away. To do that, they increase their profits and try to finance the European Army. This shows us how the future of Europe is going to be. Demagogy of terror, by taking the people's rights and freedoms, they try to be more racist and fascist. And if we work together, we have the power to conquer this policy.

And finally the black lists, anti-terror laws; we call on everybody, we have to have an answer now. Because the aim of capitalism is to separate the people from each other in order to achieve their goals. One policy of imperialism "Divide and Rule". There's a way to break this isolation. We have to come together, to unite. As Anatolian Federation in Germany, France, England, Holland, Switzerland, Austria we are organised. We have to fight together against the Agenda 2010', the anti-terror laws, restriction of our rights and freedoms. We are calling you to work together, not to show solidarity. Nobody has the luxury for solidarity in these occasions.

**Mehmet GÖCEBE**, Federation for Fundamental Rights in Turkey (Temel Haklar Federasyonu)

December 19th, 2000 was the date, when in 20 of Turkey's prisons the security forces (gendarmes, soldiers, police, special teams) simultaneously made the same announcement: "Surrender or you will die". Normally this is the call made on people who are free, armed and about to be arrested by the police. The fact that this call was made on defenceless prisoners in prison is the epitome of the policy of isolation.

The Death Fast resistance in Turkey has ended its fifth year and is entering its sixth. During this period the resistance experienced the December 19th massacre in the prisons and the Armutlu massacre outside. 120 people have lost their lives, 600 have been left handicapped. Fascism has used every manner of campaign, from censorship, the bribery of releases under paragraph 399, the torture of force-feeding, media lies and ignoring the struggle and every kind of policy. These campaigns have failed in the face of the resistance's strength and resolve, and they were not able to break it. The resistance proved to the oligarchy and the world once again that "no force can defeat the revolutionary will and creativity". Today's government can only resort to the weapon of censorship. Since the day the resistance started it has been under a gigantic state of siege, and it is not simply imperialism, the oligarchy and their institutions that have been the besiegers. Reformism, the pro-EU left have also been among the besiegers, among the people trying to eliminate the revolutionaries, and this process will continue.

The resistance has come out against imperialism's attempts to destroy the revolutionaries and lay siege to them. Today, like on the first day, it shows belief and resolve and will continue to do so.

As is natural to its own logic, this multifaceted attack takes the form of seeking the destruction of all who oppose imperialism and its world order. The F-Type prisons and isolation are one of the basic means for carrying out this destruction. Resistance to isolation is a war of ideological resolve. Protecting socialism, continuing to show resolve on the path of revolution, organising the people and defending the right to resist are what resistance involves.

There is no alternative to resistance. It is preferable to die rather than change one's beliefs. Yes, a great price is paid but massive attacks cannot be stopped without paying a heavy price. Those who cannot comprehend the political and historical content of resistance cannot comprehend the full dimension of the attacks and cannot properly evaluate the high price that is paid. The attacks will either be resisted or the line set down by imperialism and the oligarchy will serve as means of imprisonment. Those who don't resist will be imprisoned in that way. This is the essence of the situation today.

## ISOLATION IS IMPERIALISM'S POLICY

The Republic of Turkey's Justice Ministry has always defended the F-Types by saying "the EU approves of them..." or that "The European Committee on preventing torture inspected them and gave them a favourable report." The policy of isolation happens also to be the policy of the USA and Europe. The F-Types are the form this policy takes in Turkey.

Imperialism uses this policy to make resisting peoples surrender and render opposition forces ineffective. In this attack by the Empire, this is the most open way we experience American imperialism's drive to make the peoples of the world surrender. The forces imperialism wants to make surrender are first isolated through the use of demagoguery about "terrorism", and then the attempt is made to destroy these forces. This policy uses the destruction of minds alongside the destruction of bodies, and the aim of bringing about surrender is in the foreground. Physical destruction is a method serving this aim. For those who know the world's history also know that if those who choose to resist are defeated but not destroyed, they may rise to their feet again. So it is more characteristic from the ruling class point of view to make them surrender and draw them within the orbit of the system.

It is here that reformism plays its role in the siege. Its own perspectives depend on revolutionary thoughts being isolated and destroyed. Imperialism, by destroying the most radical, sends a message to all opposition forces, makes them retreat and integrates them in the system. The attacks on the revolutionaries take this form. The massacres used to eliminate the revolutionaries are a means of intimidating all sections of the opposition and the people, and reformism also profits from this.

F-Type isolation was first developed by the European imperialist governments. There the F-Types first developed as a program of annihilation. They are a reflection of the program developed at NATO summits of imperialism, saying "you will either change your beliefs or you will die". When transitory victories over the socialist system were won in the 1990s, it was in the interest of the imperialist system that those who continued to resist and be socialist had to be prevented or destroyed in one form or another. Under the mask of "human rights", the European Committee on the Prevention of Tor-

ture and similar bodies gave support to this plan for aggression with false propaganda that used demagoguery about human rights. They called the prison cells "rooms", stressed how "bad the dormitories are" and these statements were designed to deceive. And wasn't the demagoguery of "human rights" first invented to achieve the surrender of the forces imperialism wants to destroy?

The F-Type prisons were the centres of the attacks but these were not limited to the prisons. They were extended in parallel to every area of the people's life, economic, political and military. The most dangerous force confronting the system was seen to be the revolutionaries. If revolutionary dynamics could be eliminated, it would be very easy to silence everyone else. Today, if there is a policy of intense censorship being practised against the resistance and a policy of ignoring it, this shows the potential long-term of dangerous that the resistance means for the system. The system knows well that it could encourage rebelliousness and the will to resist on this soil. This is why it resorts more and more to censorship, threats and blackmail.

But these efforts are not capable of concealing the political importance of the resistance. The resistance has been the longest and most resolute resistance in the history of Turkey and it has already attained significance on the world scale.

The censorship may be seen as giving "peace and quiet" for today by the system, those in charge of the censorship and their accomplices. But history is also being written. Whether from the point of view of the murderousness of the government, or from the point of view of the left and its "silent consent", this resistance has been written large into the pages of history.

## THE GREATEST RESISTANCE IN THE HISTORY OF PRISON ISOLATION

Isolation and the "treatment" connected to it are not just a problem in our country. Today the policy of isolation is being experienced in many countries of the world, both in their prisons and in their general policies. Wherever there is resistance of the peoples, the imperialists put isolation on the agenda and continue to do so. Isolation is practiced, both in the prisons of the USA and in the prisons of Europe. As American imperialism has shown at Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib in Iraq, tor-

ture has been legalized, attempts are made to legitimize it and these are not independent of the isolation policy. Imperialism tries to suppress those who resist and to destroy them, it tries any method to be right and tries to make others accept it. In the past and today, when this policy was made concrete, there were various forms of resistance in our country but other than the one going on at present these were not long-lasting and no political resolve was displayed.

In the Middle East in particular but also in the Caucasus and the Balkans, collaborationist oligarchies were the main product of imperialism's drive for stability through military, economic and political policies. For this reason imperialism and the oligarchy showed that despite the democracy game there would not be a step back from the policy of isolation. That is, this attack was a strategic one. Its aim was to destroy the idea of revolution. So resistance to this had to be even more resolute. It had to be capable of preventing Turkey becoming a present for imperialism in the form of a country in which the revolutionary idea had been destroyed. The resistance has made its resolve a matter that is beyond dispute; Turkey will not be a garden without thorns for imperialism and the oligarchy, and it will always be on the list of "risky countries" for the monopolies...

Despite all the negative conditions, the attacks of every type and the major state of siege, the resistance goes on, leaving no room for fear, hopelessness or exhaustion. The resistance is a great manifesto of patience and has been the longest resistance in the world to a policy that imperialism has placed on the agenda throughout the world.

This resistance is continuing, on the part of prisoners who are all in isolation conditions, in the name of peoples whose surrender in the name of the policy of isolation is being sought, and it is continuing with political determination, the will to win, a spirit of sacrifice and patience.

The special character of the resistance is that it has formed a barricade to the imperialist policies in practical terms; it has consciously rejected the ideology of the imperialists in both political and ideological terms and has announced an alternative to the whole world.

The resistance is one of the mightiest components in the world-wide resistance front of the peoples to imperialism.

In the F-Types it has led to organising instead of individualism and disorganising, it has led to revolutionism instead of becoming part of the system, it has led to the defence of socialism instead of reformism aimed at defending globalization. Another aspect is that the claim has been made that if you do not become a pro-globalization left-winger you will be destroyed. And here the resistance has been a mighty cry opposing this policy.

This resistance has cried out revolution to all the world's oppressed peoples and will not abandon the claims of socialism.

This resistance will not accept the life and the values that imperialism seeks to impose. It defends the method and right to resist the people have in order to impose imperialism and its oligarchies.

This resistance will not be a tool of the democracy game played with the European Union, and it announces its support of genuine democracy and people's power.

This resistance does not bow to the stupid ideas encouraged by imperialism for decades, that "socialism is dead... no values are worth facing death for... life is sacred". In opposition to capitalism's decadent, selfish and rotten culture and its collapse of values it creates a new type of human and a new socialist human being.

This resistance shows the peoples that they have no other path than to resist and gives them the hope and self-confidence that a great resistance offers.

The resolve of the resistance has unavoidably affected all the world's left and been unforgettable to them, reminding them of the left's traditions and values and giving them courage. Resisting, not surrendering, not abandoning the claim of revolution and having the political resolve to pay a heavy price and not become part of the orbit of imperialism - the resistance has completed the left's traditions and become part of its very marrow.

If you do not recall what the F-Types (isolation) means as an ideological and political objective for imperialism and the oligarchy, you are in danger of seeing it as a simple act of resistance, and this is an error. This is also true for those who do not resist. That is, it is not just a matter of supporting the prisoners who are resisting. It is a matter of accepting or not accepting the "leftism" favoured by imperialism and the oligarchy. Those who accept this kind of "leftism" are not part of the resistance, and as they do not resist because the F-Types are supported by Europe and EU

reformism, they become convinced that it is the most serious reaction to oppose the F-Types. They conduct politics within the limits set by imperialism and have taken a political decision to accept its ideology. We can say that "conforming with the EU" and reformism are now one and the same.

In the course of these five years a large section of Turkey's left has abandoned revolutionism and democracy and supported isolation. Never mind being revolutionary, they have even ceased to be democratic.

Despite the attacks not being limited to the revolutionary movement, they do not see isolation, the F-Types and the resistance and they continue not to put them on the agenda. In practice they cannot even show responsibility in practice for resistance to tyranny even at a democratic level.

120 people have died in the struggle against isolation. The left does not say, "what are we doing" or "why aren't we doing anything." On the contrary it says, "We have acted," distorting the reality. Isolation, the F-Type prisons, the resistance are all "banned areas" for imperialism and the oligarchy and reformism extends itself from these banned areas.

It is no secret today that the left cannot hold to a consistent democratic attitude to isolation and resistance. But in addition to this, the left does not even have a conscience about it. This left has thrown all its traditions overboard and has no ties other than those it has with the system, and it has not behaved at all with regard to deaths, and it is not enough just to say that it has no political resolve and is not democratic. What there is, is a picture of a left without a conscience or moral values. So besides a left that has abandoned revolutionism and democracy, we must also ask questions about its lack of conscience or its bad conscience.

Quite apart from whether they support the Death Fast as a form of struggle to isolation or don't support, if they could have organised resistance to isolation in their own way, taken their place in the resistance front to the F-Type prisons, and shown that they were ready to take part in the front resisting these extermination plans and make the front grow.

Who can believe people who talk of peace and human rights when they showed insensitivity to all appeals to show sensitivity to the deaths of 120 people?

**WHAT THE RESISTANCE HAS TAUGHT**

The resistance entering its 6th year has clearly shown that imperialism and the oligarchy could not achieve their strategic aims.

Imperialism and the oligarchy started this attack on December 19, 2000 with the aim of eliminating revolutionary organisations and making the struggle retreat. The oligarchy's "prison problem" was not simply about "dormitories" but was about bringing about the physical, ideological and organisational destruction of those who resisted the winds of the 1990s and persisted in being Marxist-Leninist. The opportunist and reformist left clearly retreated in these conditions. It can be said that the masses too retreated. But the basic aim of these attacks was not achieved. Genuine revolutionary organisations did not retreat. Organisation is a mechanism for prisoners to defend themselves. That means political and cultural activities. Organisation is a product. And it defends beliefs.

There are two key factors in the prisons - resistance and an organised life. These two factors complement one another. But if you do not organise, it is not possible to bring the line you follow to life. And you cannot follow a stable line of resistance under all conditions and without an organised life, you cannot prevent the prisons from being changed. If resistance and an organised life are completely concretised, then despite the attacks and the state of siege, they cannot succeed. So whether or not attacks succeed depends on this point.

Since the F-Types are the focus of the policy of elimination, a key condition is breaking resistance. After breaking the resistance the masses can be demoralised and an organised, ideological plan of extermination can be practised. The prisons then become places not of resistance but of backward thoughts and repentance. On a world scale, this is one of the biggest dangers for revolutionaries. In a country where prisons are like this, it is though a great barricade against revolution has been formed. Imperialism and the oligarchy cannot break resistance if it goes from being limited to an area or prisoners to being an action carried out in various forms outside the prisons. It cannot go beyond its own attacks.

This great resistance now entering its 6th year has surpassed all values previously created, developed and resisted the pres-

ures on it. Armed with Marxism-Leninism it has strengthened itself with a spirit that challenges death. The inheritance of the resistance is a work of independence for the peoples, democracy and socialism that can never be undone. The inheritance of the resistance continues to grow and be written in the pages of history. It will be written with honour in the pages of the people's history by those who resist, not by those who practise censorship nor those who engage in efforts to isolate the revolutionary movement inside and outside prison, even if they call themselves left-wingers.

**Pembe Özlem OLGUN, Youth Federation (Genclik Federasyonu)**

I would like to thank the IPAI for the invitation and bring greetings from our friends in Turkey. Last two days we talked about the effect of influence about the isolation in prisons. And I would like to talk about more of how the young people are influenced of this in Turkey. This is a policy not only in the prisons. But we have these problems in every part of our life. We started the new slogan, we don't want "F-Type Universities" or "F-type High Schools". If you ask me where this come from.. In every corner of our universities there are cameras. They look like military buildings and there are so many anti-democratic practises. So always we don't want to study under these circumstances in Turkey too. The organisation called YÖK, since this organisation was established in 1981, the problems started to increase and still continue to increase. This organisation founded and destroyed the universities liberty, and instead they introduced so many anti-democratic laws in the education system in the universities and high schools. Once again with YÖK the repression has increased much more. For example, even our demand for free study rights didn't find any solution. So many students from our schools, revolutionary and democratic students who demand free and democratic vote, have their pictures all over the school area put by police, like wanted man. In addition the pressure from the authorities and also we are receiving so many attacks and insults from the civil fascist groups too. As a result of these attacks, 150 people were wounded. In the end of these civil fascist attacks, instead of those who attacked us, the people who had been beaten were tak-

en to court and are punished twice. We lost our educational rights in the school. We couldn't go to our schools and our right of education is blocked by them.

All the problems we had, were always indicating how the university management and the police were working together in order to stop our educational rights and to isolate us. Again I would like to give you other examples, as the building of some campuses for the students to accommodate them. Even this accommodation is quite separated from each other. They didn't want even students being together and talk about their problems. And there was a meeting, during which they one by one defined revolutionary students. They registered all of them, one by one and then they started to harass them. They went to their families to tell them 'your children are terrorists, they are involved in illegal activities'. They accused our friends, as if they were involved in terrorist activities. These are not the only problems we have. We're being watched every minute by the security cameras and also this involves not only the students, but also the teachers. They can watch them even during

lessons, in the classes. Depending on their speech in the classes, it can lead even for the teachers to court and prison or they can be expelled.

To take part in a press conference is a very simple and constitutional right, also according to legislation of our own school. They try to present it as illegal activity. And I would like to give you another few examples; one of our students, just because he took part in the Mayday demonstration in Ankara, was taken to the police headquarter in Ankara. He was tortured in order to tell which organisation he belonged too. They try to present Mayday even as illegal and again they harassed and tried to oppress the families. They openly threat them saying: "If you're not going to educate your son the way we want, then we're going to educate him the way we want".

About year and a half ago, the students were shown some pictures of massacres on the screens. These massacres were carried out by the police itself. By showing this massacre films they try to give the students the message: "If you get involved with revolutionary organisations, you're going to end up the way we're showing on the screens now". As I said in the beginning of my speech, isolation doesn't only concern the prisoners. If we say that we don't want 'F-type universities

or high schools', we also say that we don't want F-type life. The resistance within the prisons, continuing for six years, is resistance against the F-type life. As a result of this resistance as you know, 120 people lost their lives. If they need more people to sacrifice their lives, we're going to be these people.

**Gaby TIES**, MLPD (Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany)

Dear comrades,

In 2001 the UN made a decision, that all countries actively or passively, if it is established that they have relation or are involved in any terrorist activities, can be punished. All these decisions are taken against those who fight against exploitation and imperialism. So, people either obey the rules or they are punished. So many democratic rights have been already abolished.

The so-called globalisation, that brings about some differences in economical life as well. So we need to consider that as well.

The way we prefer to mention rather than globalisation we would like to support international productivity. The capitalists are using oppression, but in the end they can't succeed in protecting their interests, but making the crisis even deeper.

We are witnessing in Germany now that people are getting more conscious about what's going on. The class conscious is now more widespread among the people and there's starting a new period. The working class people's conscience also started a period, which make it more difficult for the imperialists and the crisis deeper.

Nowadays social states economies talk, their liberal democratic systems becomes more suspicious for working class people. Even now there are the women rights that came on the agenda to be discussed. Capitalism can't find a solution even to the simple demands of the people.

There's a political crisis as well. This is clearly shown at international level. Strikes continue in many countries. They are becoming like political demands strikes, not only for economical reasons. And people are becoming more open to our messages with their political demands and it is widespread to many countries.

In between '90 and '98 the member of security forces increase 41.7%. What they say now, any political activity has to be

considered as activity of a terrorist organisation. If these activities are leading to change the economical and political system of the country, they definitely have to be called terrorism. According to this description, every struggle against the system is announced a terrorist act. With this description every struggle is shown identical.

And now they started to have their armed security personal during flights, as one of the NATO-decisions in 2001. This has been a common decision of all NATO members. In addition they started for the first time to apply exceptional situation legislations. Security services cooperation increased.

The military and civil intelligence services try to stop all civilian rebellions and people's struggles. They began to work much closer to stop all these organisations activities. And also they made some other decisions to restrict many other rights. They banned organisations, which they are not even allowed to come to any European areas. Members of these organisations are not even allowed to get asylum. And also they aim to disuse every single member of these organisations regarding their activities, and intimidate them.

Today many of them are deported to countries they came from.

With the arrest of Giuseppe May in France here recently they targeted the New Italian Communist Party. Angelo da Concelli who was arrested this year, could be liberated by a big campaign of solidarity. In Italy, France and Germany, our party made a big solidarity campaign. We want to salute Guiseppe May and Guiseppe Cseppel, who are in jail here in France and want their immediate release. We have to organise the struggles, for all political prisoners, Marxist-Leninist, progressive and democratic. We want them to be liberated as well. Actually in France, 500 young people were arrested and 700 condemned after the guerrilla movements in November in the suburbs. We also want their liberation. Their action was for social discrimination and the true violence is on the boss office and the state. All this doesn't show us the force but the fear of the governments. Because they are afraid of the popular and worker's movements. Most of French and most of Netherlands people said NO to the European Constitution.

In many European countries there's an increase of political crisis. And it's growing up with the struggle of the working class.

The repression of the state is linked with the resistance against unemployment and the restriction of the social system. Such kind of resistance must have a link between themselves and the struggle of the social class. The policy of Bush will maybe make a future revolutionary crisis.

**Pavlos ANATOPOULOS**,  
Confederation of Greek  
Public Servants (ADEDY)

Friends and comrades,

I am here to greet your Symposium against exclusion, tortures and the white cells. It is a common finding that the deeper the crisis of capitalism the stronger becomes its aggressiveness and brutality. On the one hand, we have the strengthening of the fight against the workers with the attack against all that they have conquered in the fields of their working rights and salaries. On the other hand, the aggressiveness of imperialism in the field of capital globalization is suffocating the people of our planet on a daily basis, the people of Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and the people in other areas of Africa and Asia.

The workers should resist through their organisations against these politics of lethal capitalism. Resist against intruders, against conquerors, against traitors but also resist against the ideologies that are urged to people in order to transform them to servants of the new emperors. The heroic resistance of the Iraqi patriots, the Afghan fighters, the Palestinian people and of all the people fighting for their freedom is the main obstacle to the imperialistic plans. It is necessary to unite the universal movement of the workers in this fight, not just as a support movement but also as a movement to reverse the social reality that feeds imperialism in each country separately and all around the world.

The main aim of the universal capitalism is the hindering of the organising of the workers, of the repressed and of the people so as to stop their resistance. The fascism of everyday life is pressed in all the countries of the world and in several European countries it is expressed in an extreme way. If half of my heart is shot in Turkey, my other half is imprisoned in the Baltic countries where the communist movement is illegal and its leaders into prisons, in Ireland where the problem is going on and the secretary of the commu-

nist movement was arrested and is under threat of extraditing to the USA, in Spain where the parties of the Basques are considered illegal and in all the other countries where political action is penalized and the people are being terrorized under the excuse of fighting against terrorism.

The resistance of the people is becoming stronger. In South America, the American imperialists are having a tremendous difficulty to support their politics. In Iraq, they have bogged down. The same is true for Afghanistan. In Europe social disapproval is becoming explosive like in France. Despite the prohibitions forced by universal resistance, the people are forming organisations, are in defense and moving to attack. It is going to be our victory. Venceremos!



## **Saleh NAZZAL, Ministry for Prisoners on behalf of Palestinian Administration**

First of all I want to thank you for your invitation, and for helping us to reach our goals and pave the way for fighting the isolation prisons, as well as imperialism. We have to scream what we want for all over the world. We have to be the voice of the political prisoners. And we have to work not only show solidarity. The history of the political prisoners is really alive like a sunshine. We have to make heard their voices as we always know the torture exists in the world. We unfortunately don't know that much about isolation. One of the worst example is not only isolation. Cells like little boxes, called x-cells, very dirty and without any sunlight. They are basically designed for killing the detainees. There's no radio, no newspaper. Everything is prohibited. Not even singing, speaking loudly is allowed. Visits are prohibited. Very occasionally they can see their relatives. They endure so many

humiliation and provocation continuously. Their condition is very difficult. To intimidate the movement in those countries, they especially try to arrest the leader of this organisation to intimidate the rest of the people, to discourage them and to be able to carry on their oppressive regime. There are usually people isolated, who have either killed Israeli soldiers or they did something against Israeli interests. And in addition to that arbitrarily they can isolate political prisoners as well. They do everything to destroy their morality, to insult their traditions, to break their determination.

Prisoners are aware of these heavy conditions. The prisoners are going on hunger-strike against these practices several times. Authorities in the beginning they were acting as if they would accept some of their demands. But then they start to isolate them even badly. These are conventional practices of the government of the prisons.

If isolation policies carry on, if they cannot find any solution or answer for their demand, then the situation is getting even worse. All the law institutions try to make pressure to stop this arbitrary isolation conditions. About a week ago UN celebrated the 'Day of Isolation Victims'. I would like to read something now. Since 1967 Israel has arrested hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, approximately 650 000 which consist about 20 % of Palestinian population in this area. The number of prisoners in Israeli jails until now is 9.200. Distributed at 28 jails and other detention centres. In addition to that hundreds of them get salaries by the minister of finance because they are individuals in the Palestinian security forces and other working in civil jobs in national authority. The estimated amount of money being paid by the PNA to detainees is 3 millions dollars. And the number of prisoners before the beginning of Al-Aksa Intifada was 570. 289 prisoners in West Bank, 169 prisoners in Gaza strip, 112 prisoners in Jerusalem, 48 in other areas. 369 prisoners of these prisoners have been detained prior of the Oslo Agreement, which makes 4 %. More than 400 females have been arrested since the beginning of the Al-Aksa Intifada, 160 female prisoners are still inside the Israeli prisons, 1.3 % of the total number of prisoners. Near 4000 Palestinian children have been arrested since the outbreak of Al-Aksa Intifada. 301 children from the total number of prisoners are still in Israeli prisons, a quo-

ta of 3.3 % from the total. 79 of child prisoners are sick and depend on medical treatment. Hundreds of prisoners were arrested when they were children. They are now over 18 years old and still detained inside Israeli prisons.

## **Julio DIAZ, on behalf of PCPE (Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain-Partido Comunista de Los Pueblos de España)**

Hello to all. I'm very happy to be here today. We want to create a united work. Isolation is one of the facts of the capitalist system today. Capital needs to increase the exploitation of people in violent war and repression. War is one of the tactics used by imperialism. In this situation our alternative, our revolutionary forces, we have to fight against social democracy and reformism in the working class in the popular sector, in order to stop the forced dream by them, like we could make capitalism democratic. Democracy of capitalism, so-called nice democracy gives a political and a police and military visions of things. As revolutionary organisations we have to break the social consensus in which the system today use it.

The revolutionary forces must be able to create a big international anti-imperialist front in order to fight against the World Bank, the WTO. In this sense we want to propose some basis about contradiction inside the system, which might be the line of the worldwide anti-imperialist movement. And our alternative must be socialism:

- 1- to fight against all military aggression against working class and people,
- 2- to stop the international capitalist institutions, like WTO, and try to create new form of relations to drop the dept of the poor countries
- 3- to end the illegal exchange
- 4- to end all kinds of exploitation, like analphabetism and illness
- 5- to progressive secularism concern about the education culture, total sovereignty of the political power and religion
- 6- to create a worldwide peasants movement
- 7- to struggle for the collective propriety to scientific knowledge and technologicis.
- 8- to support ecological refundication in order to protect the nature
- 9- to protect the national sovereignty and the right for self-determination of the people

## **Jean Phillippe ANTOLINI,** Corsican Committee Against Repression

I would like to thank the organisers of the symposium to give us the possibility to speak. We salute all people of the world, the prisoners of thoughts, the political prisoners. We have a very long history. Many invaders went to our land in order to conquer it. Because its strategic position was always of interest. Corsica had never been in the hands of those who wanted to take it. Our land was independent.

Pascal Paoli who gave to Corsica independence and made the Corse the first democracy of modern type in Europe. When we lost our independence in 1969 there had always been the collaborators. And then France came and took our country. For two centuries we are resisting. The French state is using illegal weapons, ignores European laws, and even doesn't have respect for its own laws. I would like to show you how France violates all these laws and in which way Corsican militants are put into jail. They have the responsibility to keep the prisoners as near as possible to their relatives. But they deport them from Corsica to Paris. As a result of this our people are basically and technically in isolation.

Corsican people cannot get into the French jails. They can't even see each other. They are 1500 kilometres from their home. The French Prime Minister and Interior Minister declare on TV "we apply the law, the prisoners are near by their families". But they just tell lies. For one prisoner who is put close to his family, more than ten prisoners still stay inside French jails. There are 60 Corsican prisoners in Paris. One Corsican patriot is arrested and put in French jail since 25 years. He is insulted by being told that he's French, just a number of the jail.

The national anti-terror police arrest Corsican people every week. Real violence is colonisation of peoples.

Our language is Corsican. Some of the prisoners are imprisoned for eight years now. They are not convicted, just detainees. Some cases haven't started yet, some of them will start in February, they've been waiting their trial for eight years. The chief of the Anti-terror section was asked by the lawyers, what proof he has. They asked him 'can you show us your evidence regarding this case'. His answer was: "Just the police feeling". So

this clearly means, if the police feels that you can be guilty, it is good enough to be in prison for eight years.

We went to Strasbourg a few days ago. In February the process of Jean Castella will take place and we were just asking some days ago, your European Institution to see in which way this process will take place. We want that the political prisoners from Corsica can return to their country. The Committee against Repression (CAR) supports people, which have chosen the armed struggle in order to answer the violence of the French State in Corsica. Thanks.

Of course I also want to greet the Basque, Bretagne and Corsican political prisoners, Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, because I was also for a time in prison with them in France.

## **Júlia HUMET,** Rescat (organisation for the support of political prisoners in Catalonia)

We are a pro-independence organisation from Catalonia. As I said we have had in this month a witness of a much harder repression than we previously suffered in Catalonia. But I think that it is necessary that we're going to speak of the repression that is exercised by the Spanish state, a state that is a member of the European Union, considered to be democratic since the end of Franco's dictatorship and the approval of the 1978 Constitution. The Spanish state is considered at international level to be a Western state, which is called a member of the first world and which is supposed to comply with all democratic guarantees and to respect human rights, which is supposed to be appropriate to a social state and a state that is based on democratic rights, as is defined in article 1 of the Spanish Constitution.

The Spanish State is a member of the Council of Europe, which has signed all the international agreements opposing torture and respecting human rights. And there's a signatory of the European Tribunal of Human Rights. But reality shows us that we are very far of being able to claim that the Spanish state respects the rights and freedoms that are most fundamental. Perhaps the cases most evident, which are most covered in the media, those that the Basque comrades have told us about and will continue to tell us about in the coming days. The political rights as

well as details of torture, political prisoners, etc., to bring to light many other cases of abuse, torture and harm of the most fundamental rights. Repeatedly, year after year, different organisms and organisations, both international and of the Spanish state, official and non-official have denounced once again the practice of torture. In relation to torture and political repression the most obvious and most denounced by these organisations is the Anti-Terror legislation. In the Spanish state there is special legislation together with an ad-hoc judicial organ for cases, which are called terrorism. The Anti-Terror legislation current is the same with some slight modifications as the Anti-Terror-Law of Franco and the national judicial organ charged with processing these cases is the tribunal of public order coming of Franco's time. The tribunal that is in charge of political trials, slightly disguised. The Anti-Terror-Law is widely criticised by lawyers as well as by human rights organisations. The period in which prisoners are cut off from the outside, can last as long as thirteen days, from the time they come to the hands of police. There's a high risk of torture in this period, in which no communication is possible for the detainees. But the law denies them also the right for legal assistance, which is recognized by the Spanish Constitution. We're from Catalonia, a Mediterranean country, whose main cities are Barcelona, Valencia, Palma de Mallorca and Perpignan. Currently it is not only under control of the Spanish state but also under the control of France. Since the death of the dictator Franco and the establishment of the supposed democracy, in our country has existed and exists a struggle for political rights as well as for individual rights.

## **Laia Altarriba,** Endavant

In 1992, coinciding with the celebration of the Barcelona Olympics, they carried out a big repressive operation, aiming the armed organisation 'Terra Lyra' and left the revolutionary movement for independence was fatally wounded. With this mega-operation of repression the state believed that it had dismantled the revolutionary independence movement and reduced it. In 1997 the last political prisoners from Catalonia were pardoned and began to live in a situation of repression less in tense. With a number of detentions but nobody condemned to any serious imprison-

onment and with no serious condemnation. Effectively the repressive Spanish State has becoming harder since then. Currently there are nine Catalan political prisoners and there are various cases being opened. We have two cases, that have been judged by the national audiences, the repressive judicial organ, and cases of denunciation of torture and maltreatment by police commissars have increased. There are enough examples that confirm that torture, maltreatment and isolation of prisoners are not just a rare subject in Catalonia. Prisoners connected with the Basque liberation movement; as this already been pointed out before, in Catalonia there are currently five political prisoners connected with the movement for liberation of the Basque country. Four of these prisoners were detained in connection with dismantling of the ETA's Barcelona commando in 2001, the other person, a woman was detained by the French state and is currently imprisoned in Paris. In the recent years, following clear political directives, condemnations for crimes in connection with the so-called terrorism of ETA have been hardened.

With this dynamic the four prisoners who have been imprisoned and judged in the Spanish state have been condemned to nine years of prison for collaboration with an armed band, a crime which doesn't exist in other European countries. But the mentioned female prisoner has been condemned for instance for 18 years in prison, for crimes which in previous years were only punished with a penalty of six to eight years.

The Spanish state uses a systematic form of repression, which makes use of dispersing political prisoners. In this way they remove the prisoners from their environment and in some cases they periodically they change their prison that they are put in. This method causes harm to the prisoner at a personal level. But also political by removing him or her from his or her country, but it also removes the political prisoners from one another, making it difficult for them to continue collective political situation.

We must remember that up to now the Spanish State rejects recognizing political status for political prisoners in relation to solving the Basque question. In part the dispersion of prisoners does harm also to their family members and their friends. Each week they must travel many thousands of kilometres and waste hundreds

of Euros to be able to spend 40 minutes, talking with a comrade through a glass window. Another policy that is used by the governments against political prisoners is isolation. For one hand it is applied more severely than the general means used in their way of life etc. of the prisoners. In the Spanish prisons there are three types of prison regime, called grades. And the majority of political prisoners are used to the first grade, the hardest and in theory reserved for exceptional cases. Prisoners have to spend almost 24 hours a day inside their cells. But even when they go out to the prison exercise yard, they only see a very small number of other prisoners and they're not allowed to participate in any sports or cultural activity. We have seen, that the policy of the Spanish state for political prisoners is based on isolation, expressed in different forms. The isolation is meant to weaken the strength of the political prisoners as a collective and as a political subject.

Centres of internment for foreigners; probably one of the places, where these practises are most common and are practised with most lack of punishment by the state or the centres of internment for foreigners. These centres are prisons apart from a prison, where foreigners from outside the European Union are detained, who don't have their documents in order. One of the biggest of these centres of the Spanish state is in Barcelona. No regulation of the conditions of life of the prisoners in these spaces, where the detainees can stay for as long as 40 days, while the maximum period of holding a person in a commisaria is no more than 72 hours.

The lack of regulation makes it easier to systematically harm the rights of the prisoners held in detention. To try to protect the integrity and the dignity of these persons there are various associations who have asked for access into these installations in Barcelona, but the authorities have denied this over and over again. So, knowledge of the conditions we have is very limited.

These persons have told us that detainees are kept in cells that are 3x2 m2, they are held in cells underground without natural light and there's very little ventilation and no access to walk around. They lack interpreters, and this makes the sense of being defendless stronger. During the last years there have been dozens of cases of prisoners being attacked by the people who are guarding them. It is certain that these people are not prisoners for political activity,

but the motivation of their imprisonment is a political one and is repeated in different forms, but always with the same objective. For the most part the states of the European Union, as of many that you would know about here. We say that the motive is political, because it is the fruit of the economic policy of the states of the EU, which export misery, poverty and exploitation to the rest of the world. But their respond to those who had been expelled from their countries as a result of these policies is the F.I.E.S. regime.

Inside these Catalan prisons and those in the rest of the Spanish state, it is easy for prisoners to be ill treated, while the guards aren't punished for ill treating them. I'm talking about the F.I.E.S regime, which is described as a prison inside the prison. Inside this regime there are prisoners held who are considered by the state to be a sort of conflict, such as political prisoners. Those who are held under this regime live isolated for 22 to 23 hours of the day with only one hour outside to exercise. And almost always they exercise alone. This situation of isolation gives great opportunities to the guards to exercise repression against the prisoners without any chance of being punished for it. Because the most of the times the accusations that they can make are put in an archive, that is kept secret. And let us not forget that it is not a new government, the new recent government that has done this. In fact it was the 'socialist' government of Philippe Gonzales, which created the F.I.E.S regime, 'Operation Dixan'. The political motivations also explains some operations in Catalonia that have been set to be against 'international terrorism'. This is the case for example with "Operation Largo", better known as 'Operation DIXAN'.

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## TRIBUNAL: ISOLATION, BLACK LISTS AND LAW

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Message from **Halil Huseyin Abu Jabal** from Golan Heights, who wasn't able to attend the symposium

Dear noble strugglers:

We convey to you all greetings from the Syrian Arabs in the Golan Heights who suffer all kinds of brutal practices of the

Israeli occupation . We believe that the occupation is passing. And you the people assembling from different areas to condemn the occupation and their supporters, encourage us to carry on struggling for freedom .

Dear ladies and gentlemen :

The Golan Heights is located in the southern part of The Syrian Arab Republic. The region is 1850 sq. and includes range of mountains reaching altitude of 2880 m above sea level. The region is bordered with Palestine, Jordan and Lebanon.

The occupation by itself is a crime against those under, not to mention the inhumane actions, which contradicts the human rights and the International conventions. When mention the Israeli occupation, it's the most savage enjoying the support of the super power countries.

All forms of occupation are bad but the most is the Israeli. They are colonial who aim to capture all resources of the occupied territories and establish their settlements to control the land and the water for the sake of the settlers, depriving the original owners and population of Israel is the last colonial power on our globe after freeing South Africa. The Israeli colonial power is whom we suffer of in the Syrian Golan, in Palestine and in the Lebanese Shebaa farms.

The Golan was affected in the early twentieth century by the political changes occurred as a consequence of the European colonial goals in the Eastern Arab Countries. After the Ottoman Empire collapse, the Golan as well as the other Syrian land, fell under the French Mandate. The Golanese participated actively in the Struggle against the Ottoman and later the French to gain independence.

The 1967 war/ occupation of Golan:

As a consequence of the 1967 war, Israel occupied 1250 sq. of the Golan Heights including Qunaitra the Capital of the province. As Israel was not able to evacuate all the Palestinian population from the west Bank and Gaza in 1967 like what happened in 1948, Israel was able to evacuate tens of thousands Syrians from the Golan.

The Israeli defense Minister at that time, Moshe Dyan, ordered his forces to evacuate all inhabitants from their villages. What was left out of 139 villages and 61 farms and two cities before 1967, are 6 villages: Majdal Shams, Masaada, Bo-

quata, ein Kenya, Sehita and Ghajar. Altogether 6396 inhabitants, most of them found shelter during the war in Majdal Shams on the Hermon Mnt. slopes.

Israel declared all evacuated villages after the war as closed military areas, which indicated that those who enter the area will be exposed for 5 years imprisonment.

Israel put it strictly that those who think to return will be shot down. The Israeli military warning included those who were not evacuated from their houses.

It happened when one of Massada villagers, Mohana Ebraheem, tried to return to his house after short exile in Majdal Shams, he was shot to death. The Israeli oppressive occupation sequenced in human problems. Hundreds of families were split down between the occupied territory and the other parts of Syria. Many families have not been able to meet the other part of their families since 1967. They are deprived of the right to visit or to meet them, against all international conventions.

In 14 December 1981, the Israeli Knesset applied the Israeli civilian law on Golan and annexed the Golan Heights to Israel. It was the second Israeli decision to annex Arabian Territory after Jerusalem. Israel destroyed all the Syrian Arab villages and cities including holly places, for establishing the Jewish settlements.

The total of Jewish settlements in Golan are 33. These settlements are expanded nowadays mainly after the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza.

The total of the settlers are 18,000. They make living of agriculture and cattle. It's to point here that Israel confiscated the water resources of the Golan in favour of the Jewish settlers depriving the original population of using such resources.

The Israeli occupation practices and the consequences on the Syrians in Golan:

The Geneva convictions implies that the occupation must apply the rules and regulations of the state the owner of the land, since occupation supposed to be a temporarily situation. But since the first days of the Israeli occupation, the Israeli military forces applied their oppressive rules ignoring all international conventions. Examples of such practices are: High taxations are imposed on the Golanese, to break their economic strength and make them loyal to the Israeli economic system.

The Syrian educational system was replaced by the Israeli one, which contradicts not only the international conven-

tions, but our human heritage and culture. Evacuating people from their houses, demolishing all villages and capturing their land by force. As mentioned before, Israel evacuated 124,000 Syrian people (which now they became about 450,000 refugees near by Damascus) out of their houses and land, destroying their properties to establish settlements, military bases and mining the rest of the land, establishing Jewish settlements in Golan against Geneva conventions.

Israel expropriated all water resources and prevented the local population of using it. Like the Baniyas river water: 145 million m<sup>3</sup> a year; the Lake of Massada which stores 7,000 million m<sup>3</sup> a year.

Establishing Israeli military bases inside the Syrian villages and mining fields around and in between the houses. It's to indicate here that 45 people were killed of the Israeli mine sand tens were severely injured.

Preventing the Syrian inhabitants to communicate with their relatives in the other parts of Syria

Annexation of the Golan and applying the Israeli laws on the Local Syrians.

Ladies and gentlemen:

The fact that there is occupation on our land, it dictates resistance. Struggling against occupations is legal by human and historical measures and understandings, despite all attempts of Israel and USA to picture such resistance as terrorism to discard the Palestinian, Lebanese and Iraqi struggle.

We in the Syrian Golan Heights, support the resistance against all occupations and condemn all actions wrong to the noble goals of liberty and liberation.

The Golanese resisted and continue to resist the Israeli occupation. Since 1967 the Golan resistance adapted objectively to the reality of their goals. Rejection of occupation. Rejection of the Israeli citizenship and emphasizing their loyalty to the Syrian homeland. For this sake, hundreds were put in prison sentenced for longer periods. The Golanese detainees were tortured physically and psychologically. Still in the Israeli prisons tens of Golanese for more than 21 years, suffer of diseases and lacking serious treatments. As a witness one of the Golanese detainee died as a result of health neglect and cancer.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Geneva Convention indicates that the occupation authorities must detain prison-

ers from the occupied territories, close to their area, to avoid suffering of their families who have to visit them. Israel never respected such conventions and impose on the families and the detainees collective punishment. The Golan detainees are imprisoned in very far places. The families have to spend one complete day travelling and waiting to gain half an hour visit each two weeks. Isn't that a real crime against humanity?

The Israeli exaggeration of violating the rights of the Arab detainees in general and the Syrians in particular, it's a continuous violation of the Arab Syrian human rights in the Golan Heights, which requires increased pressure of the liberal and peace and just movements to make Israel behave accordingly and bring an end to it's occupation in the Golan and the Palestinian and Lebanese territories.

In the end we appreciate your efforts and sacrifice to achieve your human and noble goals.

We would like to thank you for giving us the opportunity to share you our hope and vision.

Thank you.

## **Taylan TANAY**, lawyer from the People's Law Bureau in Istanbul

First I want to thank the Plattform against Isolation for organising this great and important work, to greet all prisoners, organisation and peoples who oppose all the aggressive politics of imperialism and I bow in respect for the 120 heroic martyrs that gave their lives in the big resistance against Isolation.

Dear participants, I have to admit that despite my efforts to analyse isolation and black list issues from a clear view of law and justice, my analysis will be in large parts political observations and analysis. In short, I do not aim to obey to the judicial lectures that the ruling ones shaped according to their needs and do not have any sense except to protect their own interests. Of course on the subjects of isolation and black lists, one can draw some conclusions from a layers view. And of course, they are not to underestimate in numbers. Only, that these conclusions are grounded in the political analysis and authority of those, who heroic gave their lives, used the importance of live as an effective weapon by laying themselves on the line and sacrificed themselves for

their rules of justice and their principles. Therefore justice has been all the time a mechanism to help the rulers to warn everyone, who is opposing and to justify all kinds of injustice. Anytime there exists a threat for the regime, anytime the power of the regime is discussed, in other words anytime an enemy exists, there lies the threat of dictatorship behind the judicial arrangements of the regime. Nowadays, this sword, drawn by imperialism and its collaborating regimes is not put in sheath at all. The waves of attack are carried out against everybody who does not think in the same way as the regime, everyone and every organisation that aims to overrule the regime and struggles for independence and freedom are put on the black list or are announced terrorists.

The date of 19th to 22nd December 2000, the date that was willingly chosen for this symposium, is a turning point in these censorship and arbitrary politics of oppression and repression called isolation. At that date, every right of the people were suspended in favour of the regime that could no longer tolerate even any kind of bourgeois justice. That date, an attack in the prisons of Turkey on political and other prisoners was carried out by military forces in which 28 prisoners lost their lives. Today nobody still denies the brutality of the attack. Six persons were burned alive, one of the bodies was delivered to his family as a peace of coal. From the evidence given to court one can see, that the amount of weapons, bombs and the soldiers involved are enough to wage a war between two countries. The attack had the aim of isolation, not only for the prisoners, but for all peoples of Turkey. A look at history will make you understand why the prisoners were chosen as the target. Every time the regime faced a crisis, it turned against the political prisoners first. There are two reasons, why the prisoners are chosen every time to give a message to the revolutionaries that threaten the regime and to the people. First, the prisons are the field, where one can get the best results. Second, in case of a success, it is a victory for the own politics. I will not make the mistake to analyse this massacre carried out in the name of isolation against the political prisoners of Turkey from a judicial point of view. The state has abandon its own laws, shaped to protect its own interests, violated its constitution, the right of life. Endless new courts were opened against those that hadn't die in the attack, prison-

ers were sentenced to more decades of prison. On the other hand until now the ones responsible and involved in the massacres have not even been called for interrogation. Time shall erase all traces. Justice was finished when the state officials that were responsible for the massacres have been rewarded with the highest medal of honour. The prisoners that survived the attack were brought to isolation cells. These F-Type prisons with cells for 1 to 3 people are built far away from the cities. The prisoners hat to endure all kinds of humiliating searches, they were stripped, their beards, hair and moustaches were shaved. The ones that were brought to the F-Type prison No. 1 in Izmit were also beaten and sexual abused. For days, wounded prisoners were tortured. They were searched even n their underwear, their documents for their defence in court were seized and they were not allowed to see their lawyers. Today these inhuman treatments are carried on and have been legalized during 5 years of experience. Without the existence of any court decision the prisoners are denied to receive the magazines they want to read. The prison authorities decide what prisoner will read which magazine. Our clients Halen Ercan KARTAL and Loi Osman KÖSE are kept in single isolation cells. Since the foundation of the prison they are kept in total isolation, even the neighbor cells were emptied so that they not even hear another human voice. The prisoners who face the same trial are kept in separate cells and it is not possible for them to meet each other. Letters are kept arbitrary and it is not possible to write about what you experience in prison. Letters to the lawyers are seized. The prison authorities are not controlled in any way and regulate the possibilities of a prisoner to see his family and to exchange letters according to their mood. Even the kind of a prisoner's defense is determined by the prison authorities, which seize any kind of document they do not approve.

Some times all prisoners have to face to be beaten up by the guards in an organised attack. There are endless numbers of details and hundreds of insane treatments. So, where are justice and law in all that? The truth is that in these cells not only the prisoners but justice is imprisoned. Sentences that do not occur in any law are legalized, nicht verstanden: örtbas etme söz konusu olduğunda emre amade ve görünür olduğudur. Nobody cared that these treatments violate the 5th article of

the International Human Rights Declaration, the 7th Article of the UNO political rights agreement, the anti-torture law of Turkey from 1987 and the article 17/3 of the constitution of Turkey. The F-Type prisons were started in December 2000 but have no legal base. Since then not a single law has been issued concerning administration, statute or regulations of the prisons.

Until June 2005 the regulations of the prisons were shaped according to one document called "master plan". This document has not been seen neither by prisoners nor by their lawyers. It is used as legalisation of all kinds of inhuman treatments and accusations of prisoners against these treatments are dismissed with it. But every emission regarding rights and duties of a prisoner, every remission regarding the statute of a prison has to obey the law. It can not be changed in part or in total by any act of will. At 1st of June isolation was legalized and taken into law by courts decisions that sentenced to isolation. In the law it was stated that the convict will improve with isolation. This showed from the beginning that it was far away from any justice. The one and only reason for imprisonment is to deny someone's freedom for a distinct time. It is no treatment to call guilt an illness. It is without doubt in favour of the convict, to see everyone who thinks different as ill and to try with all means to isolate the convict from his thoughts in order to rescue him. And to achieve this all methods, including torture are legitimate. (You can see clearly the theory of Inquisition.) The gains of isolation were not enough for the regime that had to cut the last peaces of justice by hindering the communication between prisoners and their lawyers. This was also done by court decisions. So I was accused to have tried to deliver a magazine that anyone can buy on the free market to a prisoner. For the prison authorities the magazine was the publication of an illegal organisation and I had helped to establish communication between a prisoner and an illegal organisation. For that reason I was for 6 month not allowed to see my clients Ercan KARTAL, Ali Osman KÖSE ve Hacı DEMYR that face extreme hard isolation conditions. The related decision was approved by 2 other courts and there was no other judicial way left to alter it. I would like to stress that it would be funny if not so tragic, that the magazine that caused the decision was given to my client by the prison

authorities afterwards. That means, that prison authorities themselves supported an illegal organisation... The fact that the event violated every judicial principle and statute of the country was no reason to prevent it from happening. There is one other decision that is of great importance under the perspective of the isolation politics. The law condemns every resistance against these inhuman treatments. It is forbidden to take place in a hungerstrike of death fast. According to the regime, death fasters have to be convinced to stop. If they do not stop themselves they have to be forced to stop. This understatement is without doubt not only not according to justice but also against humanity. Even before the law was approved the Turkish state caused the death of nearly 500 people by forcing them. The World Health Organisation is very clear on this in its Declaration about Hungerstrike from Tokio (1970) and Malta (1992). Both declarations state that no violence and force can be used to convince somebody to stop a hunger strike. The state tried to rescue itself by suspending basic rights, among them the right to live, to resist, to have a fair trial, to defend himself, to communicate, the right of freedom of thoughts and expression. By legalising isolation in justice the state played a historical role in the history of justice. Once again it was taught, that it is not justice that rules a state but a state that shapes justice. Constitutions, the internal principles of justice and agreements between states are shaped according to the interests of the states. Isolation politics are an attack not limited to the prisoners. Isolation politics are a part of the attacks of imperialism and its collaborating regimes against the peoples. They reach out to eliminate every dynamic of resistance in order to lengthen their lifetime. The general aim is to isolate every people like in prison, to conquer it and to exploit it. This means in practice that every terrorist state or state that supports terrorism, every terrorist organisations that is not in total controlled by imperialism or cause damage for imperialist politics is threatened, revolutionary and patriotic countries and organisations are isolated (political-economical-military) or even attacked an occupied. The reason for several organisations and countries to find themselves announced as terrorists and punt on black lists invented by US-imperialism and later on by EU-imperialism is that they are fighting against imperialist politics. Despite, to fight imperial-

ism is quite legitimate. It is imperialism that is responsible for wars against the peoples, responsible for hunger that has caused the death of millions of people.

In 1848 before the revolution, the slogan of the conservative Odilon Barrot "La legalite nous tue" legalized "death to the ones that rule us". It's not possible to forget that slogan. The face of law turned to ordinary countrymen. Most times the face was cold and merciless. On one hand the state had to violate some laws. Someone who breaks the law is normally confronted with the whole power of justice. The fact that laws are not just is no argument against this dogma of justice. Because a law is a law and simply carries out instructions. The same state that very easy abandon the principles of justice treats his citizen that faces injustice without compensation and even tries to legalise the injustice with laws. To avoid, that his citizens will see the reality the bourgeois system of justice with the superiority of laws was invented that tries to keep every reaction inside the system. But justice is nothing but a tool in the hands of the state to secure its own interests and will be abandoned as soon as it starts to hinder. The isolation treatment is a good example for this historic truth.

**Jan FERMON**, Belgian lawyer

I'm going to make a short intervention. There have been heard a lot of interesting interventions already. What in the past was the bourgeois practice against high isolation we can see in similar things today. Those kinds of practises come again today. In a certain way fascism is returning to the old regime and its practice, in order to protect its economical interests. The methods are quite the same as during feudalism. The European Union has included José Mario Sison, the leader of the Philippine Communist Party and a client of mine, to the so-called 'terror list'. He lives in exile in the Netherlands since 1988. His party is on the black list and now he's the Counsellor of the National Democratic Front in the Philippines. This morning we spoke about this black list, which was created by the United States. José Mario Sison was not told that he was included to this list, but discovered himself. After the French revolution these practices were removed. And I'd like to tell you about that procedure, that someone can be in that list. They were not tak-

en to any court or given any information about their cases. A part of parliamentary members held a secret meeting and made all these arrangements.

We got an answer to this, when Dutch security forces explained the reason for his arrest. But before their explanation they told us that we can't get any answer. We were always very keen to find out what condition he was in. The text was written in an American English. The most important part of this letter was censored. And we know that all the allegations against him, that he's one of the Philippine groups and organisations founder and was a leader of the guerrilla war. That's why he was taken into that list. And also we asked them to give us the reason for his arrest, but their answer was the same, that there were special security reasons, related to international anti-terror laws. So we hadn't the right to get this information and still wait for it. Also the Spanish secret service people got these files. In Spain there are people on a list in secret files and they do not know the reason. In French revolution times we used to have these rights. But today we're loosing our rights and the people don't have the right to see their files, everything is secret.

All the rights we won after long fights are now taken away from us. And in some cases people's bank accounts were frozen. If you look at the bank statements, what we saw is, the only money that was transferred to his account were social funds. It was such a meaningless allegation to say that this account was used for support of terrorism. At this moment he cannot have national insurance, medical insurance or even his car insured. Civil services are prohibited for him. He can't leave the house he lives in. They are putting a revolutionary in a position, isolating him from life, from business life. And they also announce him in the media as a terrorist. This was called a civilian death in the past. We can probably call it the same. It means to put someone instead of giving him or her a capital punishment, to put him or her into a position in which even daily life is worse than death. The only democratic rights were established in those years, the bourgeoisie was leading revolutionary in Europe. Now, just in the name of the war against terror they themselves cancel them all. This is bringing people in a total difficult situation by isolation from social life. It hasn't got any relation with fight against terrorism.

This just aims to break our solidarity and

our communication. Their concern is to protect their system by separating and isolating people who are against the capitalist system. To everybody, who is against these practices, it is a duty to resist against it.

**“Promoter Committee” for the  
“Campaign Against the Art. 270  
and the Associative Offences”  
(Comitato Promotore della  
Campagna Nazionale Contro  
l’art. 270 e i Reati Associativi)**

The Italian situation, with multiplying of the repression, is inserted in an international situation of crisis, in which the capital uses manifold initiatives to resolve it. On the external front by attaching sovereign countries, on the internal front by accusing of terrorism movements and struggles, and by attacking immigrants, particularly those Islamic; by anywhere attacking political and war prisoners.

This global war produces destruction, poverty, precariousness, and therefore resistance and struggles; the capital uses the most different practices of isolation, to eliminate them:

- International isolation of states not enslaved into imperialistic affairs;
- Isolation of resistance, which develops against every occupation;
- Isolation of struggles against the war, as well as of social and politic struggles in the West
- Isolation of immigrated work forces from the autochthonous class;
- Isolation of political and war prisoners from the context who produces them.

While actions of resistance, as in the Middle East, hold open a real perspective of imperialism's defeat, movements and struggles, which are generated against this global war, are growing and tending to heal themselves, recognizing a common enemy and potentially producing class conscience and revolutionary perspective.

Against all these struggles, the structural practice of preventive counter-revolution, today covered with so-called “war to terrorism”, is used from all imperialists states, that they are governed by the right, or by a self-styled “left.”

We resist against globalization after the concept of terrorism and against the persecution of whoever is defined as "terrorist", without any formal trial and any

possibility for defense. As for example in the European Union is built an unitary repressive picture for decades.

In this structural picture, and with the promulgation of the “black lists of terrorism”, in Italy “international finality” has been inserted in the crime provided by the article 270 bis of the penal code, that already punished the “subversive association with terrorism finality.” The crime of financing and support of these associations was introduced, to strike the international solidarity and internationalistic initiatives.

Besides with “Law Pisanu” the crimes of “enlistment” and “training” in “terrorist associations with international finality” are introduced. With these offences, contemplated indeed against immigrants, particularly Islamic, in reality the punishability for terrorism crimes is also enacted for anybody, who is not directly accused to belong to one “terrorist association.”

For the first time a definition of “conduct with terrorism finality” is established by law, borrowed by the European definition, usable to accuse of terrorism, for instance, the participants to a not authorized strike or to a mobilization against the war.

In general from the '70 years, the “antiterrorism” legislation, defined “special”, “of the emergency”, has permanently been applied more and more instead. We have passed “terrorism emergency” to the “drugs emergency”, “mafia” “hooligans”, “strikes”, immigrated”, up to “ international terrorism emergency”. Every time with specific provisions, that have become subsequently integral part of the penal code.

The legislation is continually remodeled; behaviours that up to yesterday were legal, become illegal by changing a law.

The tendency is that first of all they identify whom they want to criminalize, and then they invent the crime, as a custom suit. Those who are strucked by repression, is denounced as a terrorist in compliance with a special mass media campaign, and it is attempted to isolate them, even from their circle of struggle.

The threat is clear: whoever will conduct his struggle, or whoever will express solidarity, he will be, in return, considered as a terrorist. Close to this terrorist use of the legislation, we recently saw the application to some political prisoners of the “41bis” article, regime of hard isolation predisposed for the “mafiosi”, and now used against revolutionary prisoners. Al-

together therefore, close to a more and more scientific isolation of political prisoners, and to a dripping of heavy administrative provisions against the activists, there is a more and more ample use of the associative offences against those who struggle. Thousand of repressive episodes, often unknown, as a whole clearly show the transversal and structural character of the preventive counter-revolution. They clearly show that the thesis of "few terrorists" who threaten "democrats movements" is false. Beginning from these considerations, with the job of our Committee, we want to make clear that the preventive counter-revolution, a fundamental tool of State's action against the class struggle, can strike anywhere; that its true objective is the elimination of every form of struggle; the elimination of the isolated from the context from which he originates. And we want to clarify that the class solidarity, is a defense weapon that protects all, independently from political or organisational choices.

Therefore, concrete objective of our committee is to frustrate the principal purpose of investigations, searches, arrests; to determine the solidarity growing where the state would like to impose the distrust, the isolation, the fragmentation.

We have bet that this is possible, through construction of a practice and a collective defense to answer to these laws; through the recognition of a common behaviour in front of a repressive action which needs individual and not political answers to reach its objective. Towards these objectives, and also because activists and committees more and more are subjected to repression, we have found a fertile field, by building a flexible and reproducible job, that every single comrade can manage according to specific demands, even without formal adhesions. The Campaign job is mainly addressed against article 270 (and following), the mostly used offence against activists of the left. In these months, besides various initiatives of information and solidarity with activists struck from repression and with political prisoners, we have produced information materials; and we have published a political-legal self-defence handbook, that, close to an analysis of laws and examining organs, also furnishes indications of behaviour for the ones who suffers the repressive initiative. The Campaign balance is till now certainly positive, while the situations that require material and organise initiatives are increasing. In the perspec-

tive to give continuity to this job, we think it is a great use to try to put it to an international level.

To succeed, in situations like this, to create a debate among these present realities, that contributes to a common vision on the repression's action and, above all, on the activity that we are able to oppose.

To succeed in giving life to a net of connections, that can guarantee a more punctual and precise information and knowledge on the matter.

To succeed in building all of this would mean to equip us with necessary tools to overcome the objectives pursued by the imperialist bourgeoisie with the repression.

**Adrian Daniel ALBOR,**  
law professor of Argentina

I will speak in English, so maybe it will be easier. I came from Argentina, from the organisation "Federacion de la Terra y Vivienda" (Federation of the Land and the Homes), the organisation of the poor. Those who are always the victims of this penitentiary system of isolation. At the end of the 19th Century, the first half of the 20th Century, there was a jail in my country, which is called the "Jail at the end of the world" or "El Penal de Usuyalla". The weather conditions were so extreme that the government decided to remove it near to a city recently founded. During that time approximately 55 prisoners intend to run away. Almost all died or were recaptured and moved to Buenos Aires, the Capitol of my country, to be submitted to a trial, because two guards were killed. With that opportunity the Argentine society was able to know what happened in that jail. The prisoners had to hunt rats, wolfs and dogs to eat. That's only an introduction, not what I came to talk about. I want just to mention a man, a fighter called Roberto Petinato, who put an end to this "jail at the end of the world - Usuyalla". I came to talk about one prison unit that is active today in Argentina. It is called "Unit 29". This unit was built four meters under the surface. There are 240 prisoners, who live 23 hours a day of total isolation. Only one hour they can go to the surface and feel the sun in their faces. They have to carry uniforms and their contact with reality is forbidden. They aren't allowed to read newspapers, listen radio or watch TV. The visitors have to see them from behind

glasses and talk through a telephone system. 50% of the prisoners had expressed that they suffer tortures. Even the state lawyers said that they suffered from threats by the personal of the penitentiary. I work as a lawyer in my country and I have to tell the truth. This is happening, but they don't do nothing. Tumberos means, those who live in the tumbs. The jail I'm talking of exists since four years. The jail is four metres under surface. Today I'm gonna make a promise to you. I'm going to fight to put an end to this jail in my country and I hope I'll meet you again and be able to say that finally the "Unidad 29" is finished like the Penitentiary of Usuyalla". Because the only fight you loose is the fight you give up.

**Irene CLAUSEN,**  
International Forum, Denmark

Freedom struggle is not terrorism  
After the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the end of the so-called Cold War, Bush senior declared "now communism is dead, and the best of all systems, capitalism - had triumphed". This gave - however - capitalism/imperialism a problem: They needed an enemy! If the socialists did no longer exist, how could imperialism then legitimate the huge arms production, how could they legitimate the attacks and wars they carried out in their struggle for world hegemony? September 11 - although a terrible human disaster - was politically a gift from heaven for imperialism! This gave Imperialism a new enemy, a diffuse enemy, the terrorists! Now imperialism could declare war on terror, and they themselves could at any time define anybody as a terrorist! US and EU in 2002 elaborated terrorlists where they placed first and foremost - the strongest anti-imperialist movements of the world, such as FARC in Colombia, CPP and New People's Army in Philippines, DHKP-C and PKK in Turkey, PFLP in Palestine, ETA and others, Basque groups, etc. US and EU - hypocritically -also placed a number of political Islamic groups on the terrorlists; groups which they had themselves -years before - helped into existence - such as Hamas in Palestine, Bin Laden and other political Islamic groups, under the motto: Religion - in stead of revolution, the so-called green belt doctrine.

The attacks on freedom rights - as part of the war on terror The EU has copied the War on terror of the US. Through „anti-

terror“ legislation, European states, here-under Denmark - have attempted to curb the freedom of expression and the political rights of their citizens, including their right to extend moral and material support to resistance and liberation movements. They have given intelligence services and police extended instruments of investigation, for instance the right to control your internet, your mobile telephone, etc.

A development toward a society of Big brother watching you. It is a very dangerous development, it creates in our organisations and networks - an atmosphere of fear and self-censure, we don't know for sure what is legal and what is illegal, the antiterrorlaw risks to change and weaken our political activities and the anti-imperialist struggle -which is exactly what imperialism is wanting!

The Danish association “Rebellion” - (Oproer in Danish)

The Danish association OPRØR - Rebellion -was established in 2003, consisting of individual members. For the moment it has 5-600 members. Last year, “Rebellion” - officially, and in direct conflict with Danish antiterror-legislation - transferred substantial funds to PFLP (the popular front for the liberation of Palestine) - and to FARC - (the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) (700 euro to each organisation) under the criteria that FPLP and FARC are 2 organisations rather well-known in Denmark and both are in struggle for secular, democratic and humanitarian goals.

The Danish police came under heavy pressure from the Colombian government for arresting the Rebellion spokespersons. But the Danish police hesitated for long time. But a few months ago, the spokesperson of Rebellion, Patric Mac Mauns was arrested and interrogated, he and Oproer - Rebellion - are accused for collecting money for the blacklisted FARC and the PFLP. This spring, Rebellion sent out an international letter to more than 100 European organisation -maybe your organisation received it - inviting them to follow the model of Rebellion i.e. to express solidarity with organisations on the EU- terrorlists and send them money. (We have copies of this letter with us). The police ordered Rebellion to remove this letter from Rebellion's webside which Rebellion of course refused. Then the webside was removed by the police. Which was a severe attack on the freedom of expression of Rebellion. Burt 10 other Danish organisations had already put the

Rebellion international letter on their homepage - hereunder International Forum. We have just received letters from the police - asking us to remove the letter, otherwise we shall be called for a trial. The Danish state prosecutor is preparing the trial against Rebellion and its spokesman, a trial which shall decide whether - or not - PFLP and FARC are terrorist organisations. The police is now seeking international experts as witnesses - one is Dr. Paul Wilkinson from St Andrews University, United Kingdom. He is a so-called "terrorist" expert!! And Rebellion on its side is looking for witnesses . It will be fantastic if the Danish court will conclude that the 2 organisations are not terrorists, it might have a very big political impact (and we guess that is why the Danish authorities have hesitated for so long) - but there is hardly reason for such optimism!

We must fight the terrorlists and the “anti-terror“ legislation. The war on terror threatens us all - we must defend the rests of freedom of expression, human rights and the freedom of orgnization. We must fight for the removal of all the groups from the terrorlists of US and EU. Not only PFLP and FARC, but all organisations and individuals from the terrorlists. Also those, which we don't agree with. This symposium in Paris in December 2005 must discuss how we can together fight the EU-terrorlists/blacklists - and the “anti-terror“ laws. We must take common action -for instance organising a European conference on the theme “Freedom struggle is not terrorism” - or arrange a huge common demonstration in Brussels in front of the EU-building. Don't let us say good bye to each other before having made some binding decision on this theme. Freedom struggle is not terrorism - Fight imperialism Long live the international solidarity!

**Alexis LACROIX,**  
Pôle de Renaissance  
Communiste en France

When the governments raped the right of the people the people have the right to revolt against oppression. In Iraq, the US-government, which was established, has the only goal to export the petrol of the country. The Iraqi resistance is not only legitimate but it is something indispensable. The United States wanted to make Iraqi people slaves, but the Iraqi people an-

swered with resistance. Until the revolution in Cuba, people of the country fought for Marxism-Leninism. And the result of the United States was the blockade. But since now the Cuban people always showed behaviour and its resistance is growing. The leaders of the United States justify their law saying that they are fighting against so-called terrorists. The five Cuban heroes, who defended their country, are now in US-jail. In Venezuela the USA did everything possible to fight the Bolivarian revolution, a marvelous hope to the Venezuelan people to fight against capitalism. In France, following anti-social politics, fight against social security, public services, fighting against migrant workers, etc., the government now wants to fight the right to strike. Young migrants are arrested. The government used to fight against many social movements, and in Columbia, in Palestine, in Turkey, all of those movements are very concerned, because of the repression against them, like the black list, torture, isolation. Capitalism is creating poverty, misery, for the profit of a little number of persons. And this inhuman system is now growing all over the world and we have to organise ourselves. And history shows us that we have to fight in a Marxist-Leninist way. Hasta la Victoria Siempre!



**Alex MOUMBARIS,**  
Bureau d'Information Presse

Hello to all friends from France, all over Europe and the world who came here these days. Since many years we support the political prisoners in Turkey, not only them, but for the moment they are the most suffering today. They fight against imperialism, a system, which we fought for many years. And there are many other prisoners in all over the world. And they can do nothing, because they are in the hands of the enemy. For my part what I do here in France, I publish a newspaper, which informs you about the struggle all over the world. It's a kind of tool in order to organise and to struggle. Here in France we have many political prisoners.

There are about 12 political prisoners from the PCE(r) (Communist Party of Spain (re-constituted)). They are accused by the Spanish state, although they haven't done anything here in France. I want to mention Georges Ibrahim Abdallah and as well Carlos, who is a fighter of the PLFP and in jail since the beginning of the eighties.

Thanks for listening.

## **G. Alevizakis, EKA (The Centre of Athens Labor Unions)**

The need for combating the violation of human rights

### 1. The international framework

In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, noted that "recognition of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in resulting from the common efforts and aspirations of various cultures and civilizations, provide the legal and ethical basis for the consolidation of a global civil society confronted by such challenges as poverty, pandemics, terrorism, discrimination and gender inequality".

Fifty-seven years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights prohibited all forms of torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, torture remains unacceptably common. Recent times have witnessed an especially disturbing trend of countries claiming exceptions to the prohibition on torture based on their own national security perceptions.

The prohibition on torture is well established under international law. It is also unambiguous and absolute. It is binding on all States in all territories under their jurisdiction or effective control. It applies in all circumstances, in times of war as in times of peace. Nor is torture permissible when it is called something else: cruel and inhuman treatment is unacceptable and illegal, irrespective of the name we give it. The international community must speak forcefully, and with one voice, against torture in all its forms. Together, we must give voice, and redress, to abused detainees as well as to all victims and survivors of torture. Humanity faces grave challenges today. The threat of terror is real and immediate. Yet fear of terrorists can never justify adopting their methods. Nor can we be complacent about the

broader prevalence of cruel and inhuman punishment, which in so many of our societies disproportionately affects the most vulnerable people: the imprisoned, the politically powerless and the economically deprived. Instead, we must respond to this evil wherever we find it by reaffirming humanity's most basic values.

### 2. The European Union (E.U.)

Respect for human rights is one of the key priorities of the EU's external relations; it features in particular among the main objectives of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Combating torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment forms a necessary part of this work, despite the existence of numerous international instruments which prohibit this type of serious violation of human dignity. The actions of the EU, strongly supported by all the Member States, aim to prevent and eliminate torture and ill-treatment and to combat the impunity of those responsible. This work is in addition to combating the death penalty.

The work of the EU includes active support for the reinforcement and implementation of international instruments and for the work of the establishments concerned. Activities within the CFSP are also included, such as the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Export. The EU's objective is to ensure that third countries take effective measures against torture and ill-treatment and respect their obligations. In order to ensure the promotion of international law, it implements the following measures:

- establishing political dialogue that includes discussions with third countries and regional organisations.
- inviting third countries to undertake measures to combat torture and ill-treatment, through confidential or public procedures. The EU will request additional information if there are any human rights violations;
- promoting collaboration with civil society in bilateral and multilateral cooperation, in particular within the framework of the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)

The EIDHR supports the NGOs in combating torture and rehabilitating victims of torture.

Furthermore, the European Union continues to raise these issues with multilateral organisations such as the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the Organisa-

tion on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It also continues to support the relevant international and regional mechanisms.

### 3. The trade unions

The trade unions at all levels (International, European and National) in their every day activity struggle for the respect of human rights and against any violation that could occur to them, focusing and combining this action with the protection of the labour rights. The Centre of Athens Labour Unions (EKA) with many occasions has expressed its support to the Kurdish people and has condemned the violation of its rights. We consider that the cruel and inhuman treatment of prisoners and their inhuman isolation in the Turkish prisons is an unacceptable torture that has to stop immediately.

**Kostas Sbonias, Member of the Executive Board of OLME Member of the Pan workers Fighting Front (P.A.M.E)**

ON THE "PROGRAM OF THE HAGUE" Dear friends and comrades,

In 2004 the European Council in Brussels took, amongst others, important decisions concerning the democratic rights of the Greek people as well as the rights of all member-states of the EU.

The Council has adopted a five-year program called "The Program of the Hague". This program aims at promoting in a fastest and more efficient way the measures taken since 1999 and following the decisions framework of the Council in Tampere and the framework of antiterrorist action. As it is precisely mentioned, "This program reflects the ambitions included in the Treaty for the enactment of the European Constitution and contributes to the preparation of the Union for its enactment". The deeply antidemocratic and antipopular character of the Program of The Hague is once more confirmed in this reference to the plan of the Constitutional Treaty. It should be noted that the draft of the European Constitution is strengthening the doctrine of the preventive war in article 41, while in article 43 it foresees the possibility of intrusion of the euro army in the member states, under the excuse that they are confronting a "terror threat" or that they are defending democracy, while at the same time they are attacking all democratic and social rights. The basic aim of the Program of

The Hague is better coordination in the fields of security and antiterrorist policy. As it is mentioned, "the main concern in the near future will be prevention and repression of terrorism". The EU will be in control of the application of the program with a detailed yearly report and a 'table of results' and will present an action plan, in which the aims and the priorities of this program will be transformed into concrete action". It is reminded that the EU is including in the lists of the terrorist organizations different movements and organizations fighting for their national and social freedom (see the Kurdish Labor Party, the Popular Front for the Freedom of Palestine, the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey [DHKP-C] etc.) and that the decision taken in December 2001 (adopted in our country also with the euroterror law and the European warrant for arrest) is considering as actions of terrorism even the actions of the mass movement (e.g. the symbolic takeover of public buildings, the strike in fields of public interest etc.), which destabilize the dominating social, economical and political status. Moreover, the leaders of the EU repeatedly characterized the fight for freedom of the people of Iraq and Palestine in this same decision of the recent Congress. During the period of the Greek presidency of the EU, the Americans and the Europeans have agreed that in order to "cope with terrorism", the flights of the aircrafts of the American secret services will be allowed for the transport of suspects and the use of European airport facilities. They have also agreed on the strengthening of their cooperation and on the training of the people involved in this action.

This is supported by the popular Australian newspaper "The Age". According to the article, the agreement between the USA and the EU, that "legalizes" the flights of the American air-prisons all over Europe and the use of the European airports from the prison-aircrafts of the CIA, was signed in Athens on the 22nd January 2003 during a congress on justice and internal affairs, where the new Euro Atlantic agenda for cooperation on these issues was established and adopted. In this agreement, the terms for the cooperation between the EU and the USA, concerning the war against terrorism and drug trafficking, are described in detail. According to the article in "The Age", in the above mentioned agreement, signed during the Greek presidency from the

Greek government and officials of the American State Department, there was a paragraph which, although it was "cut" from the official documents, was distributed to all the European capitals.

This paragraph, as it was published in the Australian newspaper, describes in diplomatic language the exact frame of this cooperation between the EU and the USA on the hunting and the transfer of suspects, hostages, kidnapped people, people that "have disappeared" and are being tortured through the European airports.

The Americans and the Europeans seem to have agreed since January 2003 for the Europeans to allow to the CIA and the American services to use all transport facilities on European grounds for the transport of all "criminals" (written on the USA list). It is an agreement that has been kept as secret for 2 and a half years since the time that the relevant paragraph was cut. Relevant articles in the "Sunday Telegraph" seem to have been given to publicity by the Americans themselves, as this is an answer to the European evasions and, at the same time, a reminder to the USA that they are also participating in the war against terrorism.

The evidence is here, it is merciless and overwhelming!

Today, the European partners are pretending that they didn't know, didn't hear, didn't understand anything.

They appear to be angry on the violation of human rights by the Americans. This kind of innerimperealistic conflicts cannot hide reality:

The USA and the EU are in complete cooperation in an operation which, under the excuse of fighting terrorism, aims at freezing the people and their movements against monopoly, imperialism and the power of the capital.

They have agreed to sign contracts with the USA, which Washington is using transferring suspects to small secret uantamos on European grounds.

The European Unions partners have supported the American invasion in Afghanistan and Iraq and are participating in them. The USA and the EU are together in a war serving the imperialist objectives of the two capitals, with their special geopolitical claims and the exercising of innerimperialistic rivalries. Of course, the USA, as the leading power in the imperialistic pyramid, take the leading action.

The recent decisions of the Ministers of Internal Affairs, Justice and Public Affairs of the EU that have approved the proposal

of the Commission's Directive on the surveillance of the telecommunication systems, also foresee the surveillance and he transcription of all telephone calls. Internet access and the storing of all relevant elements for 6 months or as long as judged necessary for the access of the prosecution officers of the EU and of third cooperating countries, like the USA.

This Directive is one more step towards the antidemocratic invasion to what has already been gained from the people. It is one step forward the decline of the presumption of innocence through the Agreements of Sengen and Europol, the "antiterrorism" laws, the "Euroterrolaw" and the introduction of the meaning of suspect they imply. Everybody is in a sense suspects and everybody's call are going to be transcribed. The fight against "terrorism" and "public security" are just the excuse. These regulations are in direct contrast with the Greek Constitution and the European Treaty on Human Rights.

What is the most important: it is anticipated that "the Council should decide by the end of 2005 on a long-term policy of dealing with the factors that contribute to the radicalism and the recruitment aiming at actions of terrorism". This is the point where mass movements are brought into foresight.

It is obvious that the EU, with the agreement of the Greek government is making one step further into strengthening all repression mechanisms, always under the excuse of fighting terrorism and organized crime. It is certain that the EU leaders are anticipating an enlargement of mass fights in the years to come, which will be the result of the antipopular politics and the military fortune-hunting. Coming face to face with such an attack, silence is not justified. By nobody.

The popular movement should resist using the socio-political fight in order to change this reality.

What we should do is to continue our efforts and strengthen our fight, in close cooperation with all states, so as to inform our people, to break the silence and the misinformation and to raise a massive, democratic barrier of resistance, a gigantic NO to the European Constitution, to the euroterror law and to all antidemocratic mechanisms. The people of France and Netherlands have led the way.

Public resistance to the imperialistic plans and solidarity to the fighting people around the world is our common duty.

## PRISONER'S MESSAGES

### **Irish Republican Prisoners, Maghaberry, N. Ireland**

Friends, Comrades, Fellow Revolutionaries,

We the republican prisoners in Ireland and England take this opportunity to extend solidarity greetings to you all and would especially like to thank the organisers for giving us the privilege of addressing this conference. The issue of imperialism and resistance to it must be seen for what it is, a global problem. We as Irish Republican prisoners of war are imprisoned for our resistance to imperialist aggression and for asserting the right that Ireland be free to determine its own future without outside interference. The plight of republican prisoners of war is no different than that of captured Basque revolutionaries dispersed throughout France and Spain or Palestinian fighters held by their Israeli enemies. The fight in which we are engaged differs only in that it is not on the scale with that of Chechen resistance to Russian occupation. As can be clearly seen struggle against imperialism must be international because imperialism and globalisation are international phenomenon's. To the forefront of any anti imperialist struggle within a nation must be the national liberation movement. In Ireland today there is developing a strong anti imperialist and anti ar movement which has at its roots an aversion to the USA using neutral Ireland as a base to launch its warplanes in an illegal war on Iraq. Quite correctly this anti imperialist lobby has identified American use of Irish resources as an infringement on Irish sovereignty. It is ironic however that many of those who have demonstrated against US-infringements on Irish and Iraqi sovereignty do not resist the illegal British claim to sovereignty in the north east of Ireland.

Indeed many of those politicians who consider themselves anti imperialist and left wing have through the Good Friday Agreement supported the maintenance of the British imperialist and colonialist occupation of Ireland. The trade union movement in Ireland has also witnessed somewhat of a resurgence through its opposition to the illegal 'war on terror' and the widespread suspension of civil liberties and human rights that have went with it. Recently across Ireland large crowds

have protested at the treatment of workers by big business and multi national capitalist interests and this must be applauded however the trade union movement as refused to support the Irish Republican demand of an end to British occupation immediately and has for the most part supported the Good Friday Agreement which we as republicans see as Britain's method of remaining in Ireland indefinitely. Again it is ironic that some trade unionists have described attacks on British troops and their colonial police in Ireland as attacks on workers yet many would view British oops in Iraq as occupation troops. The treatment of prisoners has been very much to the forefront of this symposium in the past and it is in support of prisoners and their rights which your work has been of great comfort to us, the republican OW's. The treatment of Muslim prisoners in Imarsh in England, the Basque prisoners scattered across France and Spain and the thousands of political prisoners held without trial by the American military and the CIA must be highlighted and resisted on an international level. Here in Ireland we have suffered at the hands of two reactionary and hostile prison administrations intent of getting revenge for our refusal to recognise either of the two states which they serve as legitimate. Our comrades imprisoned in England have also been subjected to harsh treatment and a policy of isolation that has seen them moved around different prisons at a moments notice and without notifying their representatives or families. In Maghaberry prison in the north of Ireland the British authorities have since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement embarked on a policy of criminalization. The political status that Bobby Sands and his comrades fought and died for was signed away by former comrades at the behest of British authorities. Although we won segregation from criminals and pro British loyalist paramilitaries in 2003 through a summer of protest that included destroying cells and a no wash/dirty protest, we have yet to regain full political status and as a consequence are forced to endure an extremely restrictive regime.

Access to washing, educational and recreation facilities is restricted and we are confined to our cells for 23 hour periods. Visiting relatives are also faced with a hostile prison administration which regu-

larly refuses to allow them in for a variety of invented reasons. Prisoner support groups must unite across national boundaries and continue collectively to put pressure on the regimes that are holding us as political hostages and must put pressure on these regimes through any and all available channels such as the United Nations and the European Court of Human Rights.

This conference is a progressive, international conference which aims at tackling some of the issues about which we have spoken. International solidarity and continuous information and education regarding each others struggles in essential if we are to progress and triumph. Nationally as we have earlier mentioned progressive forces must align themselves with the national liberation movement in an effort to combat imperialist aggression in all its forms. Also we must agree on a common definition of what imperialism actually is. For instance why is it right to support the Iraqi right to sovereignty yet not extend this support to Ireland, Palestine or the Basque country. Why do Irish liberals and left wingers believe that the Americans landing warplanes in Shannon airport impinges on Irish sovereignty but remain quiet about British helicopters in Crossmaglen and the over 10000 British troops on a war footing on Irish soil. A national and international coalition of the willing must be established to take on imperialism in Ireland and Iraq, Palestine and Chechnya as well as the Basque country and Brittany. There are too many examples of those nations affected by occupation or colonial practices to mention here but the fight for justice must encompass them all. In solidarity with this conference and with all political prisoners world wide we are embarking on a three day fast from the 16-19th December and again wish to thank the organizers of this event for allowing our voice to be heard. Unity is strength, TIOCFADH AR LA.

### **Rainer Dittrich, Lübeck, Germany**

Message to the Symposium against War and Occupation Dear comrades, dear participants In the name of Rainer Dittrich, who isn't able anymore for health reasons

to write himself, but always in struggle with his spirit, we want to greet everybody there in Paris. We are with the fallen comrades and with those who continue with their struggle with our hearts. We want to speak out the wish, that there will be much more, who take their struggle for a world without war, occupation, isolation and torture.



## Sara Jane Olson, California, USA

By invitation extended through the New York chapter of Jericho, the organization for political prisoners in the U.S. There is no future for reform of America's prison-industrial complex. It must be abolished. While in prison in the United States, a person is, for all intents and purposes, three-fifths of a human being. Imprisonment is a policy of social, economic and political control over a particular race, class and/or resistance ideology. Prisoners are given inhumanely punitive sentencing and parole policies, consigned to lives spent either in-and-out of prison or wholly inside until death relieves the cycle of societal punishment and retribution. If one is a convicted felon, restoration of one's civil rights upon release is a doubtful proposition. "Felon" becomes a visible brand that can never be erased in the eyes of an American. The prison population in the United States continues to grow. It has now reached the grand sum of 2.3 million people incarcerated in America's hellholes. The U.S. imprisons more of its people than any country in history. Crime, particularly violent crime, is at a thirty-year low, yet the prison population increases at obscene rates. The prison-industrial complex, the confluence of choked prisoner rolls and big business exploitation of those prisoners in essen-

tially slave-labor conditions, is one of the fastest expanding industries in the country. This exploitation is a massive human rights disgrace. The U.S. Criminal justice system, with its war on drugs that preys on nonviolent rule breakers, feeds the hungry maw of this malevolent moneymaker. I'm incarcerated in the state of California. California cultivates the growth of prisons. It has the largest prison population of all fifty states. It has a 70% recidivism rate within 18 months of release, an indication of a monumental failure of management. A friend of mine recently participated in a meeting with California State Senator Jackie Speier, to discuss various incarceration-related issue. She emerged from that meeting convinced that there is no moral imperative among Californians to reform their state prison system. The only imperative of importance revolves around the economic impact imprisonment practices impose. The state's "corrections" system now swallows \$7.3 billion per year or 6.5% of the total state budget. At this point, if Californians are forced to confront the physical and psychological horrors of their state's dungeons, they'd use the old post- World War II excuse employed by German citizens upon revelation of the Nazi concentration camps, "We didn't know". Politicians and monopolized media have joined forces over the past fifteen years, for electoral and monetary gain, to tutor a gullible, television-hypnotized public into fearing criminals. In America criminals and/or prisoners are portrayed as nameless pod people, seeking to findesting places in the bodies of good, god-fearing American citizens. Watch out, everybody!

The U.S. policy of criminalizing the poor and people of color for labor exploitation within the country's slave labor institutions is like imperialism returning home. Why wouldn't the U.S. invade Iraq without justification when it incarcerates whole communities within its borders to justify a phony war on drugs and expand the profits of exploitative corporations? These policies emerge from a "prisonized" culture that envelops the entire American population. As political prisoners in Turkey are aware, America's soul-destroying, isolation-type prisons are exported to other countries. In Turkey, they've met with determined opposition. The U.S. sanctions torture publicly under the Bush administration where before it was done via policies of secrecy and de-

nial. Escalation in torture use by American military and clandestine operatives has encountered global condemnation with a concomitant rise in reputation for dishonor. Hope lies in cooperation among the politically conscious worldwide to work with our sisters and brothers, building class solidarity in order to develop alternative organizations and methods of communications. Street "heat" is a tactic that multitudes can employ to make public our opinions, to demonstrate resistance in action. The continuing degradation of our planet's ecology is forcing an accelerated schedule on all our work. Because of this, total change, like the abolition of prisons in the United States, may be the targeted bull's-eye on which we must set our sights.

Address:  
Sara Jane Olson  
506-10-04Low  
C.C.W.F. - P.O. Box 1508  
Chowchilla, CA 93610-1508  
USA

## "Cuban Five", USA

Dear friends

As these words are being written, a new scheme by the imperialist media is taking shape: After almost three years of occupying, ruling and profaning every inch of Iraqi soil, the "civilized" American soldiers have "discovered" a torturing installation purportedly run by the new, US installed government. History, once again, will be rewritten. The torturer's masters will appear now as if "liberating" the victims from their suffering. Americans will again be bombarded with another story, according to which, they went overseas to fight for some vague, sacred values, only to be disappointed by some barbaric people, so stubborn and unwilling to learn about freedom and democracy. Turkish political prisoners may know of it better than anyone. After all, it took twenty years for the world to notice the gassing of the Kurdish people, just along the Turkish border, only after it became a matter of convenience for those who, at the time, were willing partners to their now vilified enemy. In this world of scientifically designed lying and corporate sponsored deception, it might take years before the truth around Turkish F-Type prisons comes to light. That underscores the need to press on the fight and solidarity to-

## NEWSFLASH

wards our Turkish heroic brothers and sisters, whose anonymous martyrdom is lasting a day too much with every day that passes by. From five cells in the entrails of the empire, where we are being punished for the crime of fighting US' sponsored terrorism against Cuba, we want to spend our message of gratitude, encouragement and appreciation to the participants in this symposium.

We also want to send our embrace and the testimony of our administration to the courageous Turkish political prisoners, and the promise that we'll fight to our last breath, until the conditions that create their suffering and the greedy interests that sustain them are buried, in the same hole, once and for all.

till victory always

Gerardo Hernandez  
Ramon Labanino Salazar  
Antonio Guerrero Rodriguez  
Fernando Gonzales Llort  
Rene Gonzales Schwerert

### Marco Camenisch, Switzerland

Symposium against isolation 2005 in Paris

I send revolutionary greetings and all my solidarity to you, who heroically fight against isolation, torture and of course repression and F- type prisons. Of course, I participate at the hunger strike in memoriam of all comrades who have died in the struggle against the fascist repression of EU and Turkey. Participating at this hunger strike, we also remind all comrades who all over the world are fighting against the resision we have to face. Our comrades who have died, have died for us. Our love for them is part of the struggle. They continue to live in our struggle and as long isolation, repression and capitalism are not defeated we can honor their deaths just by continuing the struggle.



Ra Behic Asci seit 5. April 2006 im Todesfasten gegen Isolation

### F-type prisons Turkey

Mr. Behic Asci, lawyer of the People's Law Bureau in Turkey, has started a death fast against prison isolation on 5th April 2006, at the International Day of Lawyers.

He's a lawyer for more than 10 years, defending political and human rights cases, and especially political prisoners who are facing isolation. Behic Asci is a founding member of the 'Progressive Lawyers Association' CHD, which counts over 2000 members in 14 departments.

Behic Asci's statement, April 4th, 2006: "...In the prisons of our country, outside, on each level of life, everybody is confronted with politics of isolation and censorship of the ruling power. The basic aim of the isolation attack are the prisons. The F-type prisons which had been introduced by the operation called "Return to Life" on 19th December 2000, turned out to places of most intensive isolation. In the death fast action against the isolation in these prisons, until today 121 human beings lost their lives. But the political authorities didn't put any efforts towards a solution. In contrary, they even intensified the isolation. The government tried to hide the reality of 121 deaths by censorship. Obviously, more people will continue to die for this reason. That's why myself, lawyer Behic Asci, in my responsibility as a human being and revolutionary lawyer, will start the death fast voluntarily, by free will power. My demand is the end of isolation politics in the prisons and that the political authorities start the dialogue with the representatives of the prisoners and convicts and that they will come to an agreement." Only short time after Behic Asci started his action in an apartment in Istanbul together with female Fatma Koyupinar, who was released from prison and continues her death fast resistance outside, the state prosecutor started investigations against him lawyer, accusing Mr. Asci of organisation propaganda.

### Basque Country

Basque prisoner Jose Anjel Itzuguren found dead in cell He was arrested in Bera on October 22 to be taken to complete his prison term, and having been in the prisons of Iruñea, Gasteiz and Zaragoza, he

was admitted to Soria prison on Friday; despite suffering from depression, he was not seen by the doctor there. Jose Anjel Altzuguren, a citizen of Bera (Navarre), was unexpectedly arrested by the Spanish Civil Guard nine days ago to serve his prison sentence in full. He was admitted to the prison of Iruñea (Pamplona) and subsequently transferred to Zaragoza and finally to Soria, where he arrived on Friday. He had a visit from his brother at the weekend. Jose Anjel had asked him for money to buy a television. He also told his brother that another prisoner had lent him some books on that very Friday. Yesterday he was found dead. According to the information the prison authorities have given his relatives, he was found in his cell hanged by means of bed sheets. In the same prison in Soria another inmate was also found dead yesterday morning; a 71-year-old person known by the initials C. E. T. G. was also found hanged using the wire spiral binding of an exercise book. The prison authorities pointed out that the two inmates had been in different wings and the deaths were unrelated. The 39-year-old prisoner, Altzuguren, was suffering from depression. He was being treated by a psychologist and a psychiatrist. He was on medication. He was arrested on October 22 to complete his prison term. He had been convicted to five years and eight months for aiding and abetting ETA.

The first time he was arrested he complained that he had been tortured, which plus his time in prison had affected him, according to the Askatasuna association. He had served three and a half years in prison. He had been out for barely a year waiting to be informed about a decision on an appeal lodged by his lawyer. Instead of being notified, he was arrested directly on October 22 together with Imanol Larrañaga and Ainara Fresneda. As a result, he was deprived of the medical attention he had been receiving. Since Altzuguren was admitted to prison on Friday, Soria prison warders had been giving him the medication he was prescribed; but he had not been seen by the prison doctor, as the family's lawyer, Amaia Izko, stressed. Prison warders found Altzuguren's body at 08.00 yesterday morning when they started to count the prisoners. At about 08.45 the family got a phone call informing them about what had happened. The prisoner's sister went

with the family lawyer to collect her brother's body. It was taken from his cell to the hospital to undergo a post mortem examination. When the examination had been completed, Altzuguren's relatives and lawyer waited for judicial authorisation to remove the body. They were unable to obtain all the documents yesterday, so the prisoner's body will be arriving in Bera today. It will be leaving Soria at about 12.30. The funeral will be held tomorrow. The town hall will be used as the funeral chapel.

## **Anti-Terrorlaws and Black lists**

### **Belgium**

In Belgium, a new anti-terrorist law is threatening the social movements.

The first target of this law have been revolutionaries from Turkey, accused of links to the DHKP-C (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front) The Correctional Tribunal of Brugges sentenced them with 4 to 6 years of prison.

7 alleged members of the movement, including the general secretary Dursun Karatas who still lives underground and Fehriye Erdal, a young woman, whose extradition is asked by Ankara since a couple of years for supposed collaboration with an armed action that she refuses any participation.

It is important to stress that the DHKC never used violence in Belgium and never had any intention to do that, arguing that its only battlefield is Turkey considered as a military dictatorship serving the US imperialism' interests.

Despite of the use of democratic and legal means to make public the human crimes of the regime in Turkey, DHKC is now pointed as a terrorist organization just because it is mentioned in the US and EU black lists, which normally have no juridical consequence.

Among the condemned people, Bahar Kimyongür's example is very characteristic for the danger of this new law. He was sentenced to 4 years prison just because he translated and sent a statement of the DHKC. With this new law, the Belgian judicial authorities consider that any political comment of a person whom membership is proven can be considered as a terrorist claiming.

Thus, the new anti-terrorist law is a danger for all democrats because it ignores the freedom of opinion and speech.

The new Belgian anti-terrorist law gives in practice the right to the Belgian judges to intervene in foreign conflicts and to condemn the legitimacy of any liberation movements' struggle. This new law allows also punishing the only membership which is a break with the classical penal law that only recognizes the personal responsibility of guilt.

The process of the DHKC in Belgium is a real threat for all anti-imperialist and progressive forces of this country because its verdict risks to be used as jurisprudence in any other political process.

Freedom for the revolutionary activists at the Brugges prison.

The prison administration keeps the political detainees from Turkey under Isolation. Although a civil court in Brussels decided, that there was no danger or violence going out from these detainees, the prison administration in Brugge made its own decision and insisted in the isolation practises. According to Jan Fermon, one of their lawyers, the prohibition to write and receive letters in Turkish (their mother language), cell checks every 30 minutes, prohibition of any kind of contact to other prisoners and visits except of close family members, are some of the consequences. At the moment they can only receive and send letters in Dutch, French and German language.

Ms Sükriye Akar ÖZORDULU

Mr Kaya SAZ

Mr Musa ASOGLU

Adress: Penitentiair Complex Brugge  
Legeweg 200  
8200 Brugge  
Belgium

Informations on the trial in French language: Comité liberté d'expression et d'association  
<http://perso.wanadoo.fr/clea.be/>

### **Denmark**

Confiscation and criminal charges against Danish association Update from the association 'Rebellion' (Denmark) 'Rebellion' has been charged on two counts with breach of 114 a (2) of the Danish criminal code by allegedly supporting "groups having the intent of committing terrorist acts". 'Rebellion' is charged with the transferral of approximately 14000 Euro to FARC (Colombia) and PFLP (Pales-

tine) in October of last year, whereas the second charge concerns a statement on Danish Radio/TV on 1 August 2005 by a spokesperson for 'Rebellion', announcing that it was in the process of collecting further funds in support of organisations on the EU 'terrorist list', and that it had appealed to democratic and solidarity organisations in the European Union to similarly challenge national anti-terrorist legislation and the EU 'terrorist list'.

The text of the appeal follows below. The appeal does not specify which resistance or liberation movements will be supported, only that such movements should "seek to further secular, democratic, and humanist goals". The maximum sentence which can be imposed in connection with the above charges is ten years imprisonment. The trial may begin towards the end of February 2006. 'Rebellion's' international appeal, sent in both English and Spanish to about 300 European democracy and solidarity movements, was confiscated from its homepage by order of the Copenhagen City Court on 12 August 2005. This injunction was upheld 14 October 2005 by the High Court (Landsret). This is now being appealed by 'Rebellion' to the Supreme Court (Højesteret) as such a confiscation, in our opinion, involves both paragraph 77 of the Danish Constitution prohibiting the re-introduction of censorship, and the European Declaration of Human Rights, Article 10, on freedom of expression. It is as yet uncertain whether the Supreme Court will open the case. This will be clarified probably within the coming weeks. Immediately following the confiscation of the appeal, 'Rebellion' encouraged other Danish organisations to publish it on their homepages, and to contact their own international networks. The appeal is now to be found on approximately 35 national and international websites. The Danish police authorities have approached a number of the Danish organisations, including the parliamentary party Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten, EL), requesting them to remove the appeal from their websites, or face court action. All have refused to do so.

Patrick Mac Manus, spokesperson of Rebellion (Denmark)  
Telephone 0045 22454178

The 'war on terror' threatens us all - defend freedom of expression, human rights and international solidarity!

## CONCLUSION

Isolation has now become an effective penitentiary system in the USA and Europe. Isolation is a system that is systematically used against forces which are in opposition to the globalized world. Its primary aim is to intimidate and destroy oppositional ideas and politics. Isolation has now become a humane, medical, juridical and political attack against captives.

Isolation prisons have been developed in Europe and the USA and exported to the rest of the world, where oppositional ideas and political alternatives are also tried to be eliminated. A result of these isolation politics are F-Type isolation prisons in Turkey.

They were intended to become an example for future isolation prisons in the world. Until now there was no comparable resistance against isolation as the resistance against F-type prisons in Turkey, where people have fought with all possible means over such a long period. This resistance constitutes the highest obstacle that the isolation project has to face at the moment. To support the struggle against F-type prisons in Turkey means to practice a global resistance against isolation politics.

To stop isolation all over the world, we need to get organized and to coordinate our struggles. Isolation violates the freedom of thoughts and organization. The struggle against isolation is a basic part of the struggle for democracy and fundamental rights and freedoms all over the world.

The numerous participation of international organizations and institutions at the previous symposiums against isolation, showed clearly the international dimension of the prisons and the isolation problem. In the future we don't need anymore to focus on the exchange of information and experiences, but we need to get this struggle organized and coordinated.

Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib show, how international the process of political captivity has become. The message given to the world with Guantanamo is: prison

punishment will pass national borders and a period of arbitrariness, that doesn't respect international law has begun.

### PRISONS ARE NOT THE ONLY ASPECT OF ISOLATION

Parallel to isolation in prisons, isolation is used against organizations and countries.

The terror demagogies, which were developed together with the Black Lists, try to isolate organisations from the peoples' struggle and to blackmail them. The black lists were developed by the USA and adopted by the EU. They were intended to manipulate on a long term scale the struggle for democratic rights. The USA and the EU attempted, especially after September 11th, to restrict the activity areas of organizations which resist and fight against fascist and anti-democratic regimes. Why are organizations put on the black lists by the USA? The only answer to this question is: "... because they are against US- interests and politics".

But there is no answer to the question, why being against the interests of the USA is considered as terrorism. Everybody knows, that the USA is a specialist in the worldwide organization of fascist coups, in the collaboration with torturing and murdering regimes, in exporting its torture and massacres to the world and in the violation of all kinds of human rights. It seems that being against the death squads in Turkey and Columbia, against torture and rape, and standing up against poverty and tyranny, means automatically being against the interests of the USA. That's why the USA define as terror all demands for independence and freedom and all the struggles for justice and they put all organizations that organize such a struggle on the black list.

### ISOLATION ALSO TARGETS COUNTRIES

Isolation against countries consists in war threats, war, occupation and embargos.

In this unipolarized world, the USA and the EU, completely control international institutions like UN, NATO, CPT, AGIT, OSCE or the International Criminal Courts. They have the power to use any kind of sanctions against a country. The recent war in and the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, have been realized by isolation. But neither Afghanistan nor Iraq were able to explain what really happens in their countries to the world. While the world discussed, whether Iraq has weapons of mass destruction or not, Iraq and Afghanistan were bombed, destroyed and occupied, and hundred thousands of people were killed. The same happened in Yugoslavia; in Romanian town of Timisoara, where faked pictures of dead people were shown to the world and in Cuba, that couldn't be defeated despite of Pig's Bay and many other plots.

Embargos, wars and occupations have become a general applied policy. This led to the killing of millions of people and crimes against humanity, that can't be apologized.

While dozens of war crimes became known to the public, institutions as the International Criminal Court are used for the purposes of those, who have attacked Vietnam with Napalm and Iraq with enriched uranium. Those who talk about independence and national sovereignty pull down legitime regimes, kidnap their leaders and substitute them with bandits. And nobody is allowed to stand up against it.

Those who celebrate the fall of the wall in Berlin, now spread demagogies on the necessity of the wall in Palestine. Arafat, who in the last years of his life also lived in isolation, wasn't able to explain his matter to the world. It is also doubtful, that North Korea and Iran, who are target today, will be able to explain their matter. Summing up we can say that: the isolation against prisoners, the black lists against organizations and the war, occupation and embargo politics against countries are the product of global isolation strategy.

I S O L A T I O N