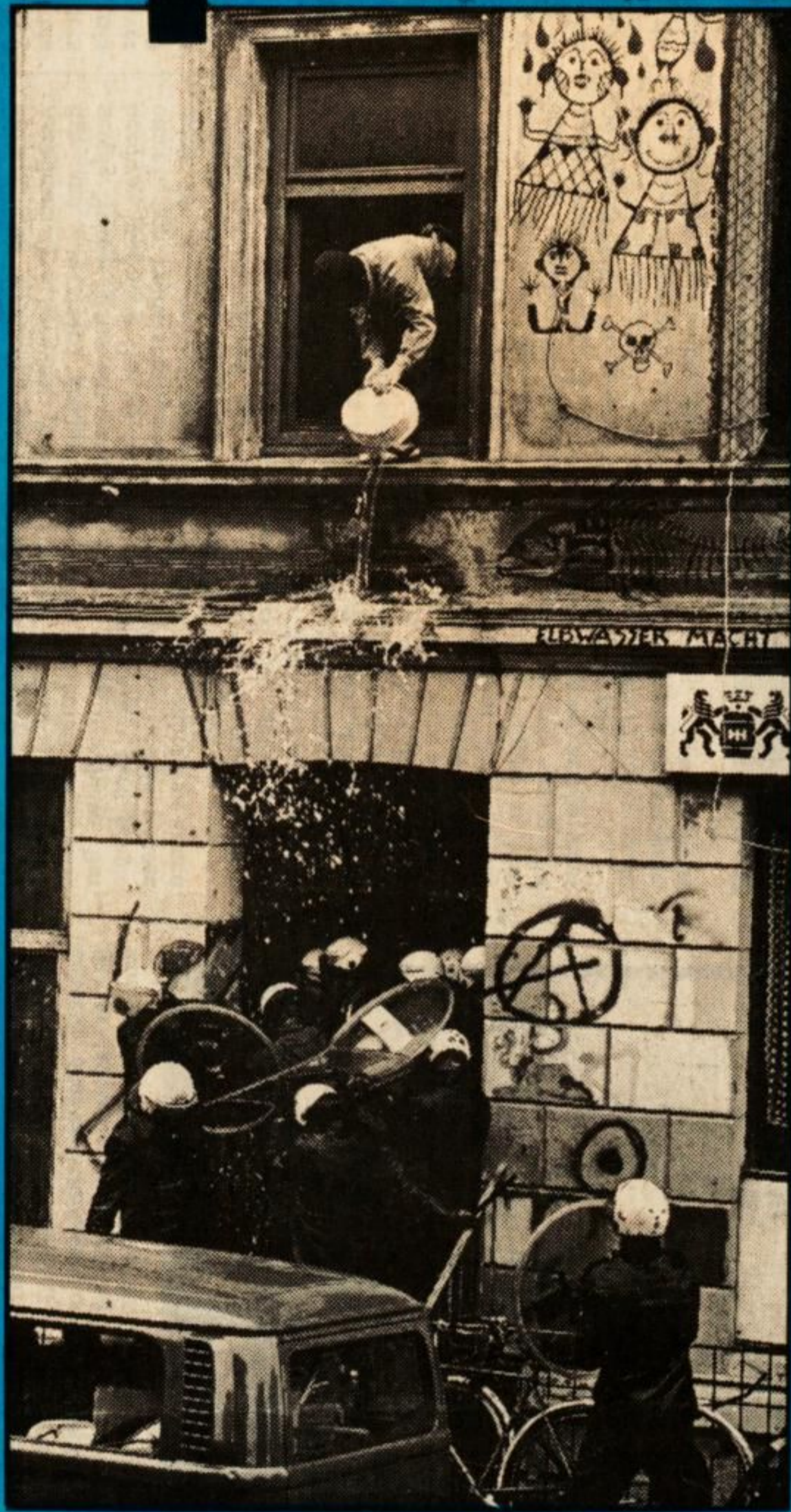


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**Squatting  
in NYC  
Copenhagen  
Amsterdam  
& Hamburg**

**NATO  
invades  
Innu land**

**New Seg Prison  
for Women**

**Nicaragua:  
Miskito struggle  
for Autonomy**

**Issue Twenty One**

**Spring 1987**

# Spontaneous demos outlawed in Britain

LONDON—On January 1, the Public Order Act became law in Britain. This new legislation is a ban on all marches, rallies and pickets that do not have police approval. Under the Act:

\* spontaneous demonstrations will be illegal (7 days notice must be given)

\* organizing and taking part in demonstrations without police permission will be criminal offences

\* the size, route, time, slogans and duration of a demonstration will be subject to police approval

\* organizers will have to give verifiable names and addresses (allowing police to refine and extend their dossiers)

\* the price for breaking these laws is high: 1000 pound fines plus policing costs, or three months in prison for an organizer, and 400 pounds for a participant, in an "illegal" demonstration

An "illegal" march was organized for the first Saturday after the Act became law, Jan. 3rd. Over 1000 people marched from the Clock Tower in Islington. There was some confusion at the start, either unintentional or deliberate. Leaflets which said that the nature of the march would be Highbury Field were given out, unknown to the organizers. The route passed Pentonville prison (chants of 'Let them out'), police

stations, and the Sunday Times offices (chants of 'Burn it down, burn it down') to the central London Law Courts. Other popular songs and chants included "we will fight, we will react, smash the Public Order Act; the streets are ours and that's a fact, smash..." etc. On the whole, there was a lack of anarchist chants, or banners, and many sections of the demonstration marched in silence.

The law courts in the Strand were the end of the route agreed to by the police at the beginning of the march (it appears they were only applying parts of the Act). However, the police were blocking the front of the law courts and began directing traffic through the rally. People spoke through a megaphone to the milling crowd. Revolutionary Communist Party members who are skilled at manipulation, called for the march to move to the South Africa House, while anarchists and others thought that Fortress Wapping (the district that Mardock moved), the most blatant example of police brutality and crowd control, would be a better destination.

After some confusion the march moved on to the 24-hour picket of the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square. From there a large group ran down Whitehall toward 10 Downing

Street and Parliament House. Demonstrations within a mile of Parliament have been banned since the days of the Chartist movement in the 1840's.

So the police got in a frenzy and tried to halt the march. They were ignored and ran around. Only by keeping on the move could the march avoid arrest, as

numbers were small. At the Parliament House end of Whitehall, confusion reigned, and 20 people were arrested in the ensuing skirmishes with police, who were apparently undecided about whether to arrest all or some of the march.

While a range of oppositional and revolutionary groups, par-

ties and movements have been involved in CAPR (Campaign Against Police Repression) actions, the organized labour movement was largely absent. This is despite the fact that this law strikes at hard fought-for gains of the labour movement; the "rights" to assemble, march and picket.

(LOOK FROM BERKMAN'S BLAST (1948-19))



# Hans Kok memorabilia riots

AMSTERDAM—In October 1986, several actions took place to protest government failure to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death of a squat activist. Hans Kok was found dead in his jail cell in October 1985 following police raids and

arrests at an Amsterdam squat.

On October 24, 1985, the pigs evicted (unexpectedly and on false grounds) the house of a woman and child. Disturbed housing activists the Living Group Staatsleidenburg didn't accept this and requisitioned the house with 200 people within two hours. During this requisit the pigs shot at the squatters, injuring some.

Later that day a large force of pigs evicted the squat again, causing many wounded on both sides. The 32 people remaining inside were arrested with extreme violence. The pigs wanted revenge for their wounded mate and the arrested were subjected to miserable conditions; no blankets or mattresses for cots, lights on 24 hours, and no medical attention.

Next day, during the delivery of lunch, Hans Kok was found dead in his cell B21.

A year later, several actions took place because the authorities still hadn't investigated the circumstances under which Hans died, despite continuous pressure from his family and friends.

On October 21, windows were broken and smoke and paint bombs thrown into the houses of the bailiff who had the house evicted, the doctor who visited Hans in his cell, the assistant public prosecutor, and the Chief Constable.

Then on October 25, exactly one year after the murder, about 3000 people marched to police headquarters to demonstrate and place flowers.

During the demo a poster was spread reading, "You murdered Hans Kok, we will get you!" and including the photos, names, addresses and phone numbers of those responsible for Hans' death. Many of these people haven't had a quiet night since October 25th.

At the end of December 1986, conclusions of the investigations were finally released. But they are composed of reports from several institutions and it's almost impossible to wade through the more than 5000 pages of medical and bureaucratic language.

The mayor of Amsterdam, Ed van Thijn, intellectual father of the present anti-squat policy and minister of "justice" Korhals Alets acted together to

avoid punishing the people who are guilty of killing Hans by saying that:

- Hans was an addict  
- the doctor who examined Hans isn't guilty because he didn't notice Hans was ill  
- the assistant public prosecutor did see that Hans was ill, but he's not guilty because he's no doctor

- the guards who left Hans and the others in their cells for 14 hours without bedding didn't go too far, because nobody had ever told them how far they were allowed to go

- the guard who should have told them what care was required isn't guilty either, because the whole structure in the prison block is usually chaotic

- the persons responsible for this chaotic structure, the mayor and the chief commission of police, are not guilty because they were just starting to change this structure

- the politicians who could have called the mayor and commissioner to account failed to do so

- the fact that the pigs were seeking revenge against the squatters was ignored.

During the "peace night" called to protest the cover-up, a police station was firebombed and several police cars were vandalized.

# Chantal Paternostre freed

BELGIUM—After spending more than a year in prison (see OF #20), Chantal Paternostre has been released and all charges against her have been dropped.

Chantal, an anarchist who was working at "Radio Air Libre" in Brussels, was arrested during an enquiry into the activities of the CCC (Fighting Communist Cells - an ML guerrilla group) and was later suspected of being an active member of ERAP. Ultimately she was never brought to trial, and for a long time she was kept in solitary confinement and denied mail, although towards the end of her stay in prison confinement was eased somewhat. Chantal wishes to thank everyone who has offered moral support.



Burning Barricade on Hafensteinstrasse

# Squatters stay put

HAMBURG—After a brief lull, harassment of the Hamburg squat Hafensteinstrasse recommenced last August. The state can under no circumstances permit the existence of liberated territories within its bounds.

The media has made Hafensteinstrasse out to be the main base of West German terrorism, providing justification for state interference at the six squatted houses. SAGA, the state-owned construction firm with which the squatters must negotiate, produces reasons for intervention including inspections, eviction orders, and investigations of electricity theft.

Harassment escalated when on August 20, 1986 several "hundertschaften" (squads of 100 cops each) of police and special commandos blocked off the entire street and dismantled a scaffold-

ing which was being used to renovate the facades, and seized on the opportunity, smashed several windows and razed a couple of apartments. The official justification was that the scaffold had been stolen. Later it turned out that the scaffold had been rented quite legally, and that the owner of the firm that had rented it had been blackmailed by the police to report a theft.

Similar police actions followed suit. They are preparing for a step-by-step eviction of Hafensteinstrasse. For the pigs it is not just a question of reconquering the six squats, but regaining control over the whole adjacent neighbourhood.

During a demo against the nuclear plant in Brokdorf, a riot broke out in the course of which some shops were raided and one bank completely burned out.

The state was quick to blame those at Hafensteinstrasse. Because of graffiti on one of the walls (Murder in Stammheim—Solidarity with the RAF) all inhabitants were declared to be members of a "criminal association". At the same time, SAGA produced justifications for the eviction of several apartments (some were not paying rent, since SAGA refused to make necessary repairs). This was reason enough for the police to enact a military-police operation. They came with 800 pigs, heavy anti-riot gear, armed vehicles and bulldozers and, of course, special commandos (SEK).

The plan of trying a "military" defence of the houses had been rejected beforehand as senseless. **turn to page 2**  
"attacks broaden solidarity"

# Greek student uprising commemorated

GREECE—On September 3rd, workers of the 'Edok-Eter' construction firm marched to the labour ministry and demanded to meet deputy minister Vaso Papatheou to present grievances to her. They hadn't been paid by the company for 1½ years. The minister refused to see them and the workers began a sit-down strike in front of the ministry. When the striking workers refused to move, they were beaten by the police. During the attack Angelos Mavrodiadis, a 68-year-old worker, was assaulted and seriously injured.

On September 12th, Angelos died as a result of the police beating.

On September 15th, some 500 people attended the funeral. 350 of them were anarchists and the rest members of the 'Edok-Eter'

workers' committee and leftists. The two CP officials sent their condolences. After the funeral a march was formed from the Kaisarians Cemetery to Parliament. Slogans of 'Kaltegas, Mavrodiadis, the state murderers', 'The next dead will be a minister' and 'Cops, pigs, assassins' were shouted. One hundred armed people were present, but didn't intervene.

On November 17th, a celebration of the anniversary of the student uprising against the colonels' regime (Nov. 17, 1973), when more than 50 people were killed, and the assassination of anarchist comrades Iakovos Kominis and Stamatina Kanellopoulou (Nov. 17, 1980), and of 15-year-old Michalis Kaltegas (Nov. 17, 1985) were held in most Greek cities. In Athens, flowers were

laid at the place of the Michalis murder by his family and anarchist comrades. On the same day some comrades loudly protested the laying of flowers by the Prime Minister at the Polytechnic School in commemoration of the 1973 deaths, shouting at him, 'Cops, pigs, assassins'. Late that night, some cops along with members of the National Political Union (fascists) tried to remove the flowers laid by the anarchists for Michalis; a comrade attacked them and was arrested and led (taking the flowers with him) to a police station. The next day, following a requiem held by Michalis' family, some 500 comrades marched through the Zografou streets under the black and red flags calling for revenge. Outnumbered, the cops did not attack.

In Athens, on Nov. 17th, 2000 anarchists participated in a march. A molotov cocktail was thrown at the Japanese consulate to protest the continued detention of Katsuhisa Omori. Four cops were beaten, and claim to have had their guns stolen by anarchists. No other incidents took place, as the entire march of 100,000 people was surrounded by more than 18,000 armed cops.

In Hania, Crete, some 200 anarchists occupied the entrance

to the American NATO air base of Souda on Nov. 16th to protest the US intervention in Greece and the militarization of society. They left the following day to take part in the march.

In Patra, 100 anarchists and leftists formed a march to the Patra police headquarters, where they threw flower crowns in commemoration of the '73 dead.

In Kavala, 500 anarchists took to the streets, shouting 'Cops, Pigs, Assassins'.

## Attacks broaden solidarity

continued from page 1 less, and against this superior force any resistance would indeed have been useless.

At the slightest show of resistance people were arrested. In a frenzy of aggression the pigs attacked the hated graffiti and painted it over with black paint. The same happened with a big mural on another house ('Love is a Battlefield'). As well, they completely smashed up apartment furniture and destroyed personal property with special hatred.

With steamrollers and bulldozers they tore doors out of the buildings and put big holes into the walls, but to the surprise of everyone Hafenstrasse was not completely evicted—towards evening the pigs withdrew and left the inhabitants in a virtual rubble heap. Because of this police assault there were solidarity demonstrations and riots all over the FRG. In Copenhagen there were several bombings on German installations. There has been a long and intense relationship between Copenhagen and

Hamburg squatters, because of the similarity of the struggles.

The people of Hafenstrasse have had a hard time because of their uncompromising, partially incomprehensible politics (for example, the attack on TAZ, the alternative newspaper—see OR #19), they had isolated themselves from the reformist left, but also large parts of the radical left had distanced themselves from Hafenstrasse.

Only the fascist attacks of the state on the houses, a careful politics of cooperation and a slow reconciliation of the different groups in Hamburg resulted in a broader solidarity with Hafenstrasse.

Meanwhile, the state's attacks on Hafenstrasse continued, but in a piecemeal fashion; the police kept evicting only part of the houses. This is to discourage and destroy resistance, to turn such attacks into a part of every-day living and thus to burn out solidarity with Hafenstrasse. It attempts the physical and psychological destruction of the inhabitants by the motto: we'll

continue the terror till you leave on your own. And above all it covers the threat of final eviction.

The resistance against eviction is, at least in Hamburg, greater and stronger than ever, not least because of the broad politics of cooperation. In December '86, 10,000 people gathered in a demo to show their solidarity with Hafenstrasse and to protest police aggression. The motto of the demo was offensive, i.e., it was planned to react offensively to attacks. Thus conflict was predetermined, because of course pigs attacked the demo on the strength of the demonstration and the cohesion of the participants, the attacks could be repulsed and the demo became a strong expression of solidarity and resistance. The six houses still exist. After the end of the rental contracts, any day the possibility of a final eviction and demolition of the houses can become a reality. The fact that the houses have not been evicted yet can be explained only by the price which an eviction would cost the state, even though it is clear that an eviction can only be prevented by political, not by military means.

An eviction of Hafenstrasse does not stand by itself. It is connected with the project of destruction of the entire resistance in the FRG. Following a certain success of the radical left and autonomists, manifested in the struggles around Wackersdorf or the large bombings in the last year, now the state has gone on the offensive. Its attacks operate on the legal level (anti-terror laws) and through the evictions of squatted houses and quarters in Wuppertal, Bochum, Freiburg and Köln. It can be seen in the cordoning off of whole streets, the searches of dozens of apartments.

The assaults of the state are leveled on the centres of autonomous resistance, against our structures and social cohesion. The state's aim is the complete destruction of resistance in the FRG. Hafenstrasse is one of the most important symbols of resistance and also of strength and endurance. The houses have been in existence for over 15 years. That's five years kicking the face of the state.

## Animal rights activists busted

TORONTO—Five animal liberation activists were arrested here January 15 while allegedly spray-painting "Meat is Murder" on a Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet.

A search of the vehicle driven by one of the accused led to police raids on a storage locker and two cooperative houses, and additional charges for two of the five.

Jacque Rabazo, Gail Emos, Linda Coram, Kenn Quale and David Barbarash were charged with mischief and possession of burglar tools in connection with the January incident and two earlier attacks on Toronto food outlets in which windows were broken and tires slashed. The women were also charged with wearing a disguise while the men were jointly charged with possession of explosives, with intent

to damage property, possession of burglar tools, possession of stolen property, carrying weapons dangerous to the public peace and four counts of mischief to property over \$1000. Quale was also charged with breaking and entering in connection with a break-in and vandalism at the U of Toronto dental school in Feb. 1986.

They have been released pending their Sept. preliminary hearing and are working to change harsh bail conditions which include a 10 pm curfew and restrictions on associating with each other.

Donations for the activists Defence Fund should be made payable to and sent to their lawyer, Mary Bartley, at 11 Prince Arthur Avenue, Toronto, Ontario Canada, M5R 1B2.



*It is important that the struggle for animal liberation be fought on every possible level, simultaneously. While laws and courts are still biased toward profit-oriented animal exploiters, these laws must be challenged. Politicians and their friends, the corporations (often the same ones responsible for the exploitation of animals), need to be lobbied and educated. Boycott campaigns must be carried on and, as consumers, individuals need to withdraw their support from these murderous industries. Demonstrations and pickets are held, but often within the constraints of the law, which leaves the final decisions of whether or not to listen to our demands to those in power.*

*The animal exploitation industries are among the many who are destroying life on this planet through their greed. The longer we wait for them to wake up and hopefully, eventually understand the urgency of this global situation, the more lives will be lost and endangered.*

*Many people see direct action as not only a legitimate form of struggle to engage in, in the face of this global destruction and lack of time, but also as a necessary step to ending animal and human suffering. We are non-violent in their hearts (meaning, love respect for all life), the direct activists will engage in sabotage and the destruction of property of exploiters. If these brutal industries can be made high-risk and non-profitable, then people will be discouraged from entering into these areas of business. And of course, the liberation of animals serves a much greater function than just the loss of profits—actual lives are being saved from torture and slaughter...*

Statement of the five Toronto activists



Legalized Squat in Hamburg

Cover Photo: Hafenstrasse Squat

-Black Flag



Shell Filling Station Reduced to Rubble

DENMARK—Between 80 and 100 people attacked 28 Shell gas stations here on November 23, causing about \$200,000 damage. The purpose of the action was to show Shell a little bit of the violence that the company uses daily against the blacks of South Africa and to connect Shell with South Africa in the public mind.

The South African Committee, the left-wing parties and the ANC officials in Denmark were quick to disassociate themselves from the action, which was claimed by a group calling itself 'Solidarity Strike Bko.' Three persons have been arrested and sentenced to imprisonment and heavy fines. —Frontline Info

## Spy recruitment for

MUNICH—The West German secret police continued their personal vendetta against the Dutch anti-imperialist journal 'De Knipselkrant' last September by trying to recruit its editor into the German Internal Security Service.

Such blatant attempts to recruit police informers among the revolutionary left are rare and perhaps indicate the level of desperation reached within some Western European Security services faced with an upsurge in armed activities of

groups like the Red Army Faction, Action Directe and the CCC.

On Sept. 22 Paul Mous-sault, editor of 'De Knipselkrant', received a telegram telling him to go to Munich right away by plane. As a journalist on a magazine that specializes in printing communiques from left-ist armed groups Paul didn't see anything unusual in this request and arrived in Munich the same day.

On his arrival Paul was approached near the airport arrival

lounge by a man in his early thirties who would only identify himself as 'Klaus'. Although dressed in jeans and leather jacket, the man twice produced an ID card indicating he was a member of the security services.

He told Paul he was in 'great danger' and proposed they get together in a hotel (the rooms had been reserved) and later suggest they go to a restaurant and 'talk things over'.

When Paul refused point blank to enter into conversation with the cop and returned to the airport to phone his lawyer, Klaus began to get vexed.

It was then that he offered Paul a well-paid job ('for 2 or 3 years') as a police informer, including free travel and food. When Paul refused, Klaus began to ramble on about this and that, throwing into the conversation a few personal details about his 'guest' and 'De Knipselkrant'—presumably to show how clever and knowledgeable he was. He also asked a few direct questions ('Who is translating your AD communiques these days?') before disappearing after forty-five minutes of pleas, threats and 'suggestions'. His parting words: 'All the best for the future, in which I am sure you will be able to think about all this for a very long time.'

—Black Flag

## Killer cop walks free

LONDON—On January 23rd, about 100 people picked British police stations and then marched round Britain to protest the let-off of inspector Lovelock, the cop who shot and paralyzed George Croce, thus starting the 1985 Brixton riot. The police and media made sure he got off, by only charging him with 'malicious wounding', by vetting the jury, by calling lines of star witnesses to say how upset the poor, poor man was and how fearful, nervous, unlucky, etc. The effect of the verdict is to imply that cops can now gun down as many black people as they like, even an innocent mother in her own home, and can get away with it.

Meanwhile in a separate case 6 people are being tried for the death of PC Blacklock in the Tottenham riot of October 1985. The Blacklock case is the latest in a string of trials in which dozens of people have got long sentences for defending their houses against massive police attack after they tried to march out of the estate to protest the death of Cynthia Jarrett during a police raid on her home. The six are being made scapegoats, with daily horror headlines, though

none of them were involved in the killing. Three of them are children (two 15 and one 16) and were forced to make statements after days of interrogations, when picked up in a mass police raid after the riots. The other three are Winston Silcott, seen as a leader, and a longtime radical community activist, 27, Engin Rahip, 20, and Mark Braithwaite, 19. All of course have been 16 months now in prison, and the last three may get life or longer. Despite the 'Hacking Horror' headlines we all know the police seek revenge for losing at Broadwater Farm when their entire force was put to flight by determined youths. PC Blacklock died in direct revenge for the death of Cynthia Jarrett (and because the other cops ran away and left him). Protests at the trial have continued, but have not been reported, and the repression continues.

Write to the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign at 12/16 Tangmere, London N17. On Jan. 14th about 50 people picketed the Old Bailey at the start of the latest show trial, and again on Feb. 2. Five people got 3 to 8 years, four have been acquitted.

## Ryegate resists rude removal

COPENHAGEN—A squat eviction protest grew into a nine-day armed liberation of an area of Copenhagen last September.

The Copenhagen squatters' BZ-movement organized a demo for September 14th, the day before the Ryegate 58 squat was to be evicted. Starting peacefully from the large city centre, it ended far more dramatically in Ryegate where militants quickly built barricades to block all entrances. As police tried to prevent the action they were resisted with Molliés, slingshots and bricks.

Thoroughly surprised by this effective resistance, the police had to withdraw from the area. At a nearby building site, the multinational company SPERRY had its crane burned down and lots of tools and building materials were taken for better purposes—the reinforcement of barricades. (SPERRY has provided the army of Guatemala with high technology in order to maintain extermination of native Indians more successful).

The media condemned the squatters, turning some public opinion against the action. They claimed the squatters used 'guns against unarmed policemen' after some local racists mixed in with the BZ (to get a 'good fight!') and one of these no-brains dropped a gun. (In fact, Danish police are armed in any conflict of this character.)

Danish Secret Police used zoom-lenses to spot everyone (though masked) who moved inside the barricades, and this was accepted as 'necessary for the good of national security.'

Reality behind the barricades was something quite different—here everything was questioned. One simply had to change habits of thinking, acting and so on. I could feel that this area was liberated! It's hard to describe this—but it can be expected.

Well, a lot of things had to be organized. Food supplies for old people, being dependent on help from outside, had to be reorganized. The people of Ryegate organized this themselves because they knew exactly where the old ones lived. Guards at barricades had to be organized in shifts so everyone could get at least 4 to 6 hours of sleep. Production of Molliés was another important issue which solved itself by the spontaneous use of a gasoline station inside the barricaded area. Everyone who wanted to use a slingshot could get one. The house in Ryegate 58 had a vast number of helmets but

not enough because many sympathizers kept coming into the liberated area. Then somebody quickly discovered military stock in the nearby surroundings and by the end of our 'Black Week' everyone wore a helmet. All squatters wore raidcaps (masks) to stay in anonymity because of the heavy police surveillance. When local leftwing radio stations called for solidarity from their listeners—"Go out there and bring BZ food and other necessary supplies", many did. At night one had to patrol the nearby area right outside the barricades. The guards would make a loud noise if they saw any persons looking like civil cops and 15 to 20 well-armed squatters would quickly arrive.

After the police were defeated in several street battles, the reactionary social democratic city mayor, Egou Weidekamp, was forced to start negotiations. The tactics of the city-hall politicians were to exhaust the squatters by drawing them into desultory vague negotiations. The tactics worked: after 9 days of occupation, the squatters left the area. They were disillusioned with the game of party politics, tired after a long tense week of fighting and playing chess with the invisible bureaucrats of the Establishment.

They made a statement that they would negotiate without barricades but leading city hall politicians stated that no negotiations would be taking place.

## Arrests...

PARIS—Four people, alleged to be leaders of Action Directe, were arrested in France in late February, the four, Jean-Mark Roullan, Joelle Aubran, Georges Cipriani and Nathalie Menigon were surprised at their farm by a French commando police team. The cops claim to have seized

an important stock of arms and explosives as well as documents and sums of money. The two women, Menigon and Aubran, are accused of killing Georges Besse, the president of Renault, last fall. Action Directe claimed responsibility for the assassination. Action Directe was established in 1979 and has carried out dozens of bombings and attacks on military, industrial and government officials and targets since then. In the mid 1980s Action Directe joined forces with the West German Red Army Faction and the Belgian 'fighting' Communist Cells in a European campaign against militarism and imperialism. In 1985, Action Directe claimed responsibility for the killing of French Defence Minister Rene Audran and the attack on Army Controller-General Henri Blaise.



Menigon in previous arrest

## ...and more arrests

ROTTERDAM—Three people, accused of belonging to the Dutch clandestine organization Red Resistance Front, were arrested on December 13, 1986. Charged with placing eight bombs in The Hague and one in Rotterdam, the prisoners are alleged by police to have admitted to part of the accusations, 'to do something against the constitutional order.'

According to the police, the three together formed the RRF, which took responsibility for a

series of bombings from late 1984 to '86, including an explosion at a police station, a Texaco filling station, the energy company, the Christian Employers Union, the Atlantic Commission, Neratoom (an engineers' bureau for nuclear energy plants), and an advisory bureau of the European Community, and the head office of Shell (all in the Hague); and the Office of American Express in Rotterdam.

Total damage has been estimated at about \$200,000 by the

police. The bombs, for which there was always a warning, did not cause any injuries.

After the last attack on Nov. 19, 1986, the cops tracked down three. Pipe and firebombs were found during several house searches, and a secret storage place was found in the sand dunes. The public prosecutor in Rotterdam stated that the three suspects can be sentenced for a maximum of 12 years. Freedom for all political prisoners!

—Frontline Info

# Sohappy returned to tribal custody

IN A SURPRISING TURN OF EVENTS the U.S. government has released the "Salmoncan 3" from Sandstone Prison and returned them to the Yakima Reservation in southwest Washington.

Marilyn James, spokesperson for the Columbia River Defense, believes their release "sets a precedent in the whole U.S. justice system's dealings with native people. They have to realize that native people have sole jurisdiction in matters of hunting, fishing and gathering—all the things that are our reserve treaty rights. The government cannot [continue to] undermine that jurisdiction."

David Sohapp Sr., David Sohapp Jr., and Matt McConville, were serving 3 to five-year sentences at the Sandstone Correctional Institution in Sandstone, Minnesota. They were among 75 native people arrested in a 1982 undercover "sting" operation by the National Marine Fisheries Service. This operation, known as Salmoncan, induced (entrapped) Indian fishermen to sell fish to federal agents (see O.R. #20). Thirteen were convicted, nine to prison terms, for violation of the Lacey Act Amendments.

In an interview at Sandstone, Sohapp made clear his view that Indians had been made scapegoats by Salmoncan. Sohapp maintains his right to harvest fish in the manner of his ancestors. The fish are a gift from the creator, and no tribal, intertribal, state or federal laws can prevent this people from the exercise of their religion, he said.

The Sohappys are direct descendants of Smohola, a Wanapum prophet, who was accused of an intertribal conspiracy to subvert the "christianization" and reservation policies being inflicted on native people of the northwest in the 1870's. The Washat religion directs non-violent resistance to the ways of "the Greedy Ones" and David and his family have been faithful adherents to that faith.

"I have been indicted, jailed, chained three or four times for fishing, but I still continue to live the way Elders taught me...I have never registered my fishing sites, if I applied that would be conforming...I've chased wardens. They wouldn't issue my citations but only take my fish and game... Sometimes 'law enforcement' comes at night in riot gear to take my nets...I continue to

according to his attorney Thomas Keefe. Keefe has stated that there is a "federalization of the harassment of Sohapp" with his prosecution under the Lacey Act amendments.

State statutes, dealing with the preservation of endangered species, provided the basis for the Salmoncan prosecutions. However, no substantive case has ever been made that native fishermen are responsible for depletion of salmon runs on the Columbia River. In reality, facts show that the salmon runs have been decimated by dams, logging, industrial pollution, pesticides, nuclear waste (Yakima land is near the Hanford Nuclear Complex) and commercial overfishing. After exhausting their legal appeals, Sohapp, his son and McConville surrendered to Yakima tribal authorities last August. They were held in the tribal jail for one month. They were to be tried in tribal court for illegal fishing, but a tribal judge ruled that the statute of limitations had run out. The three fishermen were turned over to the U.S. marshal in Tacoma, Wash.

The soft-spoken Indian elder says they were put in handcuffs, a waist chain and leg irons. Thus began a cross-country journey that would take them through seven jails and prisons before reaching Sandstone. At each stop they were subjected to degrading strip searches. Religious articles belonging to Sohapp, who is a healer and spiritual leader, were confiscated.

Tom Keefe explains such treatment is usually reserved for dangerous, high-risk or "sensational" political prisoners. He also charges that the original removal from Yakima Tribal Jail was completely illegal, amounting to kidnaping, since it was done by force and without consent, and in violation of the defendants' constitutional right to counsel as well as their right, as Yakima Nation members, to remain in tribal jurisdiction.

Meanwhile, the Yakima Indian Nation has continued its attempt to assert its jurisdiction over the three fishermen. Last October the Yakima Nation Appeals Court reinstated tribal charges against the three. In a letter dated October 16th to the U.S. Justice Department, Yakima officials requested that the three imprisoned fishermen be transferred "from federal to tribal custody pending the resolution of tribal charges."



reist," says David.

Sohapp points out that what are known as the Stevens treaties, negotiated between Indians and whites in the mid-19th century, give the Wanapums and other Indians on the Columbia River the right to fish at "their usual and accustomed places." Indians on the Columbia have traded salmon for generations; Sohapp's ancestors bartered salmon with explorers Lewis and Clark in 1805.

Sohapp believes that his successful litigation of Indian fishing-rights cases led to his being targeted by the U.S. government. In Sohapp vs. Smith, a landmark 1969 decision by the U.S. Court of Appeal, the justices ruled that states cannot pass laws that deny chasid anglers a fair share of the salmon runs in the Columbia River.

In short, Sohapp has been a "thorn in the side" of the government for some time,

## ON THE ROAD

*This issue of Open Road follows (relatively) close on the heels of #20—our anarcha/issue issue. We spent the time between mailing the a/ issue and producing this one working on our group process. This discussion led to some changes in the OR collective. It also signified the rebirth of five new women into the group and welcomed back two who had been absent for a while. Other members left the collective (one to have an anarcho-baby. Congratulations J!). We went back to the earliest issues of OR to reclaim the motto "If the glue isn't trust, then the politics aren't freedom."*

*This change and overall growth has brought new energy and rekindled enthusiasm for producing OR and re-establishing our links to our and other communities. It also signified the rebirth of some older OR traditions...we are pleased to reintroduce "Links without Chains." Other things we have let go; we said goodbye to Resistance as an insert to OR. We continue to share our workspace with Resistance and many of us support it politically, but both collectives felt the papers are better off as separate publications.*

*We hope our enthusiasm is contagious. The original OR collective saw the paper as a vehicle for anarchists around the world to share and spread information. The survival of OR as that vehicle depends on your participation. Send us your comments, articles, graphics and ideas for issue #22. Share this issue with someone (subs are free for prisoners—spread the word around). Ask your local library to subscribe. Become a local distributor or ask your bookstore to stock OR. We offer bulk rates to anyone willing to help us get the word out.*

*Of course, we can't open up donations. If you're feeling a little lush these days, why not spread the wealth around and help us keep the black flag flying? We'll be waiting by the mailbox for your letters.*

# El Salvador rate

The following is excerpted from an article which came from the Free Zones of El Salvador.

The deepening of the war and the economic crisis in El Salvador has had its greatest impact on the 60% of the population that is women and children. Therefore as women and as part of the society as a whole, Salvadoran women have participated in increasing numbers in the struggle for social justice and the search for a political solution of the 6-year-old war that has ravaged the tiny Central American country.

Since 1979 more than 60,000 people have been killed in El Salvador and more than 7,000 people have disappeared. One million people, representing over 1/5 of the total population, are currently displaced in their own country or are living in exile.

The government of Jose Napoleon Duarte which has been in power since 1982 has outdone previous governments in brutality against its own citizens. Massive bombing attacks have killed and wounded civilians in the rural areas. Army attacks have burned crops, destroyed homes and belongings and force thousands to leave their homes either to go into exile or to live in wretched conditions in church-run refugee camps or in government-run concentration camps. In July 1986 many peasants began to return and to re-populate the rural areas they had been forced to leave. The government responded by concentrating its bombing attacks on the re-populated towns.

The war has been a major cause of economic fall into an even greater crisis—the economic package announced by Duarte in January tripled the cost of basic consumer goods and devalued the national currency by 900%. The economic and social crisis has kept the Salvadoran government afloat. It received 352.2 million dollars from the U.S. government in 1986, 8.9 million dollars from the Canadian government and further aid from the governments of Japan, West Germany and Italy, among others.

The production of the major export crops of cotton and coffee saw a dramatic decrease over the last year. The production of corn, a major food staple, dropped so low that it had to be imported from other countries.

A second economic package was announced in October. The same day a major earthquake toppled 50% of the capital city of San Salvador. The earthquake destroyed 22,800 homes and damaged another 238,000, as well as economically important buildings such as the water, transportation, bank and telecommunications buildings. Sixty-five percent of the population lives in sub-standard housing; 700,000 homes have no potable water.

Seven of the country's 14 hospitals that previously did not meet the needs of the people had been completely destroyed by the earthquake. The unusable, damaged hospitals continue to be severe shortages of medicine and medical personnel, with 1 doctor, 3

nurses and one hospital bed for every 10,000 inhabitants.

Education, already severely crippled by budget shortages because of the government's cutbacks to help pay for the war, suffered greater losses due to the earthquake. At least 2,000 schools were destroyed and many of those left standing were converted into barracks by the government army. This has left one million students without access to school and others receiving classes only three times per week. In a country where illiteracy is 65% and where 80% of the school age population must for one reason or another leave school after Grade 3.

In 1986 obligatory military service was expanded to include women of 18 years of age and older, who are incorporated into the development of psychological warfare and the torture of political prisoners. Forced military recruitment has increased to the point that young men of 12 years of age are being picked up in the schools and taken from their homes to be forced into military service by the government army. In 1986 for the first time in Salvadoran history the mothers of the soldiers began to protest the forced recruitment of their sons and daughters and to demand that the bodies of their sons killed in battle be returned to them rather than being disposed of by the army to hide its losses.

While President Duarte was trying to convince the United Nations that the human rights situation had improved in El Salvador, people continued to be picked up, especially by paramilitary organizations, humanitarian groups, and unions, who have been increasing their public protest of the harsh economic conditions brought on by the economic measures and the war, and demanding that the government stop the war.

Yet in spite of the repression and the gross human rights violations, the women of El Salvador continue to organize and continue the struggle for social justice. The year 1986 saw the resurgence of the labor movement in the cities and the formation of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers, UNTS, which is a coalition of 90 unions and popular organizations representing more than 300,000 workers.

Thousands of people who had been living for years in refugee camps inside El Salvador began to return to the homes they had been forced to leave in the countryside, and thousands more plan to return this year to El Salvador. The displaced people have organized themselves into committees and are demanding their right to live in their places of origin in permanent housing. The revolutionary forces of the FMLN (of which 25% are women) are active in all of the 14 provinces of the country. While maintaining the military offensive, they are continuing to call for a peaceful solution to the war and to respect human rights. The FMLN rights and will respond to the needs of all sectors of the population.

Wackersdorf, West Germany, the proposed site for a nuclear reprocessing plant, has become a major center of activity over the last eighteen months.

The plant, intended for completion in 1995, would process burn-out radioactive material from nuclear power factories in W. Germany and other European countries, which could be reused, or employed in nuclear weapons.

Resistance in late 1985 and throughout 1986 took the form of militant demonstrations and construction of two hut villages. [See O.R.'s #17, 18, and 19].

The following update from W. Germany describes actions by autonomous groups in early June 1986, and analyzes the latest offensive of repression by the W. German state.

#### Ascension days '86 (early June)

A public call by autonomous groups to meet at Wackersdorf on the ascension weekend was met with an unexpected positive response. Instead of the 300-400 expected demonstrators, thousands turned up in the camp, which was 1 1/2 miles from the fence, on private ground. A cultural program had been arranged; many punks came down as well. Autonomous groups from all over the Federal Republic of Germany included: left wing Turkish organizations, the motorcycle club 'Kuhle Wampe,' experienced militants from the struggle against the new military runway at Frankfurt, antifascists, anarchists, and militant anti-nuclear groups. All agreed that the press not be allowed entry into the camp, unless the information tent on site had given special permission to enter. A police walk-talkie was on site to monitor police movements.

1st day: It started with a demonstration at Erlangen, where the big nuclear firms (Siemens, KWU, AEG, etc.) are located. A 'black block' of 500 people was present. The whole demonstration was surrounded by three lines of police, one marching behind the other. But when police tried to encircle the people in the town's market place, they were stopped. Paint bags were thrown and a W. German flag was burnt. People then made their way to Wackersdorf, about 60 miles from Erlangen.



## Lessons learned at Wackersdorf

After 5 hours of being on the defensive the cops finally went wild, waving batons, and from two sides at once, tried to push people away from the fence to the street behind the woods. On that street some rather isolated groups of police were attacked so that they had to escape back though the woods behind the fence.

At 11 p.m. groups went back to the fence, again sawing holes into it. A big tractor was started and driven through the woods up to the fence. But unfortunately the engine was too weak to break the fence, which had posts planted several meters deep into concrete. Behind the tractor people with catapults tried to destroy the lights of the water cannons.

Ascension Monday: A motorcycle demonstration to the jail in Amberg: 40 people with a black 'red flag' driving in a convoy, smashed the unbarred windows at the jailhouse and sprayed slogans on its walls. Through megaphones they shouted solidarity to those inside—who answered with clenched fists stretched through the bars.

Meanwhile actions had started at the fence. But this time not too much could be achieved since the police force had been greatly increased during the early morning hours. The reinforcements included specially trained cops from Frankfurt. More water cannons had been moved in as well.

through the use of rubber bullets, which have never been present if 'needed' but have never yet been used.

A call for harder laws was made by the media; a general prohibition of mask-wearing is in the making; also the arms stocking of police is being advertised.

The bourgeois press was used by the government to portray the autonomous movement as the legal arm of the Red Army Faction (RAF) and its recruiting field. This is a before-the-fact-criminalization: you are a 'terrorist' even if you haven't done anything yet.

Demonstrations within 6 miles of the Wackersdorf area have been generally banned.

#### Analysis

The following is an attempt to sum up recent repression by the state. We will try to analyze that offensive and look at the responses we have to make. The motivation to write this analysis stems from our latest experiences here in Göttingen. We realized that our experiences are not an exception but need to be understood in a general context of state repression which is also attacking the left in other places in W. Germany.

#### Places of repression:

**Hamburg:** The tactics used by police during the events at Heiligengrabenfeld Place in June '86 we will call 'kettle strategy.' Police form a 'kettle' around people and refuse to let people out until everybody is controlled individually.

The attack on the revolutionary block of 1000 people during the Haftensstrasse solidarity demonstration on Dec. 20, 1986 is mostly associated in the autonomous anarchist conscience with the wave of repression the state has been launching against us the past few months. However, this event is only the tip of an iceberg; the repression wave hit all over the Federal Republic of W. Germany. Its systematic character can be seen by the following statistics:

Mainz, Sept. 16, 1986: 450 anti-Nato Demonstrators were kettled by heavily armed police, kept for 2 hours, individually arrested, put into police vans, and taken to prison, where many were mistreated and ID-treated (personal data, fingerprints and photographs are taken and stored in the central anti-terrorist police computer).

Schwandorf: 300 people were kettled by police after having taken part in the 'blockade days' at nearby Wackersdorf and everyone's personal data was recorded by the cops.

Cologne, Oct. 28, 1986: The squatted house, 'Villa' Cornerstrasse was raided along with the 'counter-information shop' inside.

Dusseldorf, Oct. 29, 1986: 800 cops, among them hooded plain-clothed cops, from all over the federal state of Northrhine Westphalia, including special anti-riot units, carried out a mass raid on the squats in the 'Kiefernstrasse.' Interiors were smashed, people beaten up, and personal data taken. After the operation, police presence in the town centre was heavy. Dusseldorf is practically a city under siege.

Munich, Nov. 4, 1986: 500 cops surrounded a pub in which a meeting on the situation of political prisoners in W. Germany was being held. The discussion could not take place. Personal data of 120 people was taken.

Regensburg: the nationwide conference on anti-nuclear initiatives from Nov. 28-30, 1986 was banned. Each attempt to hold the conference in spite of the prohibition was smashed. People were chased by police not only in Regensburg but at each alternative place in the Bavarian state.

Göttingen, Dec. 1, 1986: After the eviction of 3 squats a discussion meeting of 408 people in the autonomous centre IZUJ was smashed up by several hundred cops from all over the Lower Saxony state and a special anti-riot unit from W. Berlin that same night. Kettled by police, people were kept for 5 hours, ID-treated and abused.

Although each of these 'events' shows a specific, regional particularity, they all share the following: people were singled out and charged with 'obstructive behavior' or other similar charges; personal data was stored and ID-treatments taken; women were insulted with sexist remarks and abuses; people were beaten up and ill-treated; the monopoly, bourgeois press justified the police actions as an 'adequate and worthy attempt against terrorism' and as a preventive act to guarantee the life and security of the ordinary citizen.

#### Attack, Attempts at Intimidation, Registration, Control - What is their new quality?

1. At any point where resistance in the streets can possibly turn to determined actions, those actions are confronted by massive state security forces. What they are up to is the elimination of possible resistance by preventative mass presence.

2. Where resistance is strategically discussed and organizationally formed, the state hits exactly in order to smash each discussion and the formation of resistance in its preliminary stages.

3. Where resistance, regionally as well as nationally, has developed its own internal structures, such as counter-information shops and subcultural places (left-wing book stores, autonomous centres, squats), they are attacked by police raids.

By that method the state intends to destroy our internal information and discussion structures and prevent any discussion and criticism on social-revolutionary liberation and guerrilla struggles from taking place at all. By criminalizing individuals of the bookstore collectives, the pigs try to isolate them from us.

Because the increased state attacks have been practiced all over the country, they become visible as a system. The elimination of the last 'free space' is the aim of the pigs, who thus rip the mask off this pig system's face. The illusion that it is possible to have 'free space' is destroyed.

This visibility has become necessary for the state because over the last year general resistance in W. Germany has become broader, more determined, and more effective. The acceptance of militant resistance by concerned locals, such as at Wackersdorf, is one example. But also for ourselves, that way of acting has undoubtedly gained much strength. Also all those who have been pushed aside to the 'corners of society' by the structural changes of modern capitalism tend to accept more determined ways of protest. There is a widespread contempt for 'official police' as a result of corruption scandals within high ranks of politicians, within the trade union, as well as Chernobyl.

continued on page 10

#### Sabotaged electrical tower in West Germany

Early in night several smaller direct actions took place which led to massive use of CS-gas by the police. (Since 2 people have died from recent use of CS-gas, its use is always announced by police loudspeakers).

Later that night larger contingents of people built barricades in the surrounding streets. A railway track was blockaded, and a train was stopped by sabotage.

2nd day: On the way to the fence many locals joined in. Direct actions were happening all over the place: removal of the NATO-wire along the top of the fence, saw actions, petrol bombs and stones and mud against water cannons. The cops inside who wanted to go forward were kept at a distance by slingshots, so that all they could do was shower people with CS-gas.

Various new forms of resistance developed: children were banging at the fence with stones monotonously for hours; locals formed chains between police lines and militants, enabling the latter to escape into the woods; autonomous paramedics took care of injured people; walkie-talkie groups observed police movements; fireworks were let off.



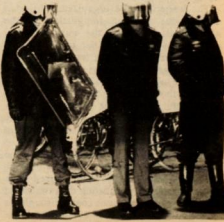
About 100 people, among them locals, attacked several cops on the outskirts of the events at the fence. Police vans were turned upside down and set fire to. People were particularly furious because they had in fact already retreated when big fog grenades were thrown at them from helicopters. After that incident most people started to leave the camp to go home.

Hours later, those remaining were suddenly surrounded by police, beaten up, loaded into police vans, and brought to the nearby Amberg jail.

#### The Criminalization Campaign:

A popular T.V. program, which asks viewers to supply information to help solve criminal deeds, showed film cuts from the Wackersdorf fights, asking for help in identifying the mask-wearing 'terrorists,' and offered a reward of 10,000 DM (roughly \$7500 Can). So far rewards of that amount have only been set for 'heavymetals' like murderers or rapists.

Secretary of state, the infamous right-winger, Zimmermann, was able to push



THE MISKITO ARE AN INDIGENOUS peoples residing along the coast and rivers of northeastern Nicaragua. Since the overthrow of the brutal Somoza regime in 1979, relations between the Miskito and the Sandinista government have been marked by mistrust and hostility, frequently erupting into armed conflict. No other political and socialisation is as complex as that of the Indian peoples of the Atlantic coast.

Although the northeast coast was technically a part of Spain, it was never effectively colonized. One of the reasons for this is the spine of mountains which runs north-south through Nicaragua, separating the Pacific coast from the Atlantic. In the mid-1400's the Spanish colonized the Pacific side and the English traders entered the Atlantic area.

Britain maintained de facto control by installing a series of Miskito "kings" who had no real authority. The concept of a Miskito king legitimized the existence of a British enclave in Spanish colonial territory. It also allowed Britain to forge a political alliance with the Miskito until the United States forced Britain to leave in late 1850.

A few would deny that the popular insurrection which toppled the Somoza dynasty was rooted in the poverty and oppression of the Nicaraguan peoples. However, the effects of the ruthless right-wing dictatorship of Somoza were mainly felt on the Pacific, while on the Atlantic the U.S. helped to open the area to exploitation of resources by multi-national corporations.

When the Sandinista guerrillas first entered the area in 1979, they found a people indifferent to their message and deeply suspicious of their intentions. In ignorance and misunderstanding the Sandinistas have consistently rejected the concept of a distinct Miskito identity. In not recognizing that a vast cultural chasm separates them from the indigenous minority—who have no intention of adopting their beliefs, language, or ideals—they believed that the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic coast, now "liberated," no longer had to be Indian. This, of course, was not acceptable to the Indian peoples and nations.

**We are not fighting for democracy—we have never had that from any government. We are fighting for something that was taken away from us: the right to live on our land. For an Indian, freedom is land, not democracy.**

From 1979 to early 1981, the Miskito organization Misurasata and the Sandinistas worked together relatively closely. However, there were numerous conflicts between them at the policy level. During this period Misurasata was working on a land claims proposal which included some degree of autonomy. In February 1981 the Sandinistas arrested the Misurasata leadership on the accusation that they were separatists and anti-revolutionary. Although they were released after three weeks it was the beginning of three years of armed conflict between the Sandinistas and the Miskito.

During those years, several thousand Indians sought refuge in Honduras, and their situation became more complex as they were

## NICARAGUAN NATIVE INDIANS

# The Revolution and the Miskito Peoples

caught up in the war between the Sandinistas and the Contras. At one point there were about 30,000 Indian refugees in Honduras and another 5,000 in Costa Rica—about one quarter of the total Miskito population. Last year they began to return to Nicaragua. In 1986 about 12,000 Miskitos voluntarily returned to Nicaragua from Honduras although, because of pressure from the Contras, and Kisan (a Miskito guerrilla group), slightly more than half of those later returned to Honduras. In early 1986 about 400 of the 2,000 Miskito guerrillas, who were satisfied with the progress of negotiations with the Sandinistas, laid down their arms and returned to their villages. In recent months the return of Miskitos has increased; already people have resettled fifty-one villages along the Rio Coco River, and 10,000 others could return to their villages this year.

Between October 1984 and April 1985 agreements on a ceasefire had been made. During that time the Nicaraguan government

had begun discussions on autonomy, and they appointed a National Autonomy Commission which had a mandate to draft an Autonomy Statute for the Atlantic coast. The person in charge of the commission also led Peace Talks between the Sandinistas and the Misurasata where they attempted to reach agreement on the recognition of land and autonomy. The Peace Talks immediately became embroiled in conflict and Misurasata saw the government's motives as suspect.

In July of 1985 the commission produced a tentative document: Principles and Policies for the Exercise of the Right to Autonomy by the Indigenous Peoples and Communities of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. The report identifies the issues of "the right to individual or collective possession of traditionally occupied land, with customary land transfer respected; the use of rights to the forests and to the surface, sub-surface and coastal waters of the area inhabited by the indigenous peoples; and the right to determine the use of

### Atlantic coast indigenous groups

**Sukawala.** Sumu...Founded in 1972, subsequently inactive. Reappeared in 1985 in response to autonomy talks.

Civilian organization. Represents Sumu in autonomy talks.

**Algorismu** mostly Misurasata...Founded in 1972, no longer exists.

Predecessor to Misurasata.

**Misurasata** mostly Miskito...Founded in 1979 by Brooklyn Rivera, Hazel Law, Steadman Fagoth.

Civilian organization.

**Misura** Miskito...Founded in 1981 by Steadman Fagoth. Fagoth ejected in 1985, reorganized as Kisan.

Paramilitary organization, previously allied with FDN. Majority of commanders in Nicaragua agree to ceasefire to support autonomy talks.

**Misatan** Miskito...Founded in 1984 by 33 Miskito communities seeking dialogue and peaceful solution.

Civilian organization, representing non-combatants in talks and mediating between the government, Misura and Misurasata.

**Kisan** Miskito...Founded in 1985 under FDN direction in order to unite Misura and Misurasata.

In opposition to ceasefire; ejected Fagoth and Rivera.

Paramilitary organization. Consists of former Misura forces. Allied with FDN and UNO. Received U.S. "humanitarian" aid in 1985.

the region's resources."

The Autonomy document proposes two autonomous zones, north and south. One autonomous law would govern both districts. In each of these districts a regional government would be established which would have a dual function: the application of the right to autonomy, and the application of the rights, powers, and "obligations" established by national laws. The proposal was to be a discussion document to be revised by the people and communities of the coast, but it never got that far. By May 1985 the Peace Talks had seriously deteriorated, and by the end of the document was almost completely broken down completely. The unanswered question still is: Will the autonomy agreement be sufficient from the point of view of Nicaragua's indigenous peoples?

From July 11 to 24, 1986, five delegates from the International Indian treaty council were in Managua to attend the International Symposium on Autonomy, State, and Indigenous Rights, as well as to assess the progress of the Peace and Autonomy negotiations by the Sandinista government. The IITC has taken a firm position in support of the Autonomy project, as it represents the recognition by the Sandinista Revolution of the historical rights of the indigenous people. The IITC has also expressed its deep sympathy under discussion of land rights, development of resources, the rights to language, culture, religion, and social and economic forms of organization, as well as political representation in the negotiation process itself.

Representatives from the Nicaraguan Indian organizations Sukawala, Kisan For Peace, and Misatan, representatives from other Atlantic coast peoples such as Creoles and Misurasata, and the National Autonomy Commission representing Zelaya Sur and Zelaya Norte, Sandinista representatives and members of Indian organizations from other parts of the hemisphere, all attended the conference. One of the issues that was stressed at the need for peace in Nicaragua as a prerequisite for the full implementation of Autonomy. This was particularly emphasized by the Miskito and Sumu Indians who attended the symposium, as they viewed the de facto government as a serious threat to their communities, and they believe it is an attempt by the Reagan Administration to disrupt the negotiations for peace and autonomy.

No provisions exist in international law for autonomy arrangements. Measured by aspirations of Indian peoples in the Americas, some of whom desire separate states, Nicaragua's proposal still does not reach the ideal. However, compared to all the countries in North and South America, it is a significant step forward, going well beyond the reservation system common in both continents. Nicaragua is the first country in the Americas to include indigenous peoples' right to autonomy in its constitution. Even with regional-government limitations, such a step provides an improved foundation for future autonomous developments for all peoples throughout the Americas.

government of the United States against the peoples of Nicaragua.

The support provided by the United States government to the traditional Nicaraguan oligarchies served to legitimate U.S. domination of the Atlantic Coast through the device of incorporating the "Nation of Moskitas in 1894. In this way the United States became master of our natural and human resources, through the exploitation practiced by an interminable chain of North American transnational companies, such as the Rosario Mining Co., the Light (La Luz) Mining Co., the Neptune Mining Co., the Braganza Bluff Hammer Co., the Frank Nolan Co., NIPCO, Rigby Export Co., etc. For more than eighty years, these companies exploited and plundered our precious natural resources. There were damages to human life as well: silicosis, tuberculosis, mutilations and deaths in the mines which were never acknowledged. There was damage on an ecological level: the contamination of rivers and plains which are the natural habitat of the indigenous people. Finally we mention the voracity of ATCHEMCO, one of the last of these companies, which cleared—trunk and root—our forests.

We calculate damages as a result of this exploitation to be more than \$800 million, not

including the losses of human life, which we demand today from the government of the United States for the welfare of the indigenous, Creole and Mestizo communities of the Atlantic Coast.

In keeping with this anti-interventionist tradition of our people, Misatan as an organization of indigenous people affirms: The appropriation of the \$100 million endangers the right to autonomy of the people of the Atlantic Coast, because it would permit a direct invasion of the United States in order to re-establish the whole system of domination. For this reason, it is necessary to create a Common Front of all sectors of the Atlantic Coast, in spite of the differences which exist among us.

The indigenous communities are clearly willing to achieve the rights of autonomy through sincere dialogue, for which we call on all indigenous organizations to continue their worthy struggle, and not to compromise themselves by using (part of) this \$100 million.

During the process of appropriation of these \$100 million, 13,000 Miskitos living on the Rio Coco were forced in April 1986) to leave their land and travel to Honduras, to put on a propaganda show for the U.S. President George Bush, attempting to justify

the appropriation of these funds. We condemned it at the time, and today we demand that the President of the United States, who is the true author of this tragedy, that he facilitate the immediate return of these people to Nicaraguan soil.

That the solidarity of other indigenous peoples in Yaguajay, Misakitos, Sumu, Garifunos, Caribbeans, Creoles, and Mestizos, living in Honduras, is indispensable. We call on them to struggle against the militarization of their land by North American occupation forces.

We reaffirm our dedication to peace together with the deep desire of the Atlantic Coast peoples for Autonomy. We are committed to a unified struggle towards complete defeat of any invasion launched by the U.S. government, we are committed to guarantee, with the blood of our entire people, the future of our Revolution.

Miskito Amlatankana Nicaragua, Misatan

Sources: **Nicaraguan Perspectives**, Summer/Fall 1986 **New Breed**, Summer 1986 **The New Catalyst**, Winter 1986/87 **Nicaragua Update**, 1986

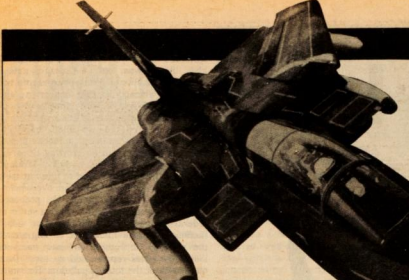


#### Open Letter From Misatan

The leaders of the organization Misatan demand an immediate end to the attitude displayed by the most powerful government on earth—that of the United States of America—in its immoral decision by its Congress to discuss and approve, in the next few weeks, a new way \$100 million in aid for the Contras, violating the principles of peaceful coexistence between the peoples and attempting to hold back to struggle for dignity and self-determination of the Latin American peoples.

In view of this outrageous decision taken against our peoples, it is fitting to remember actions which have violated Nicaraguan sovereignty, affecting the interests of the peoples of the Atlantic coast, through the systematic and direct intention of the

# NATO Fighter Planes invade Innu territory



The Tornado GR1 is part of NATO's new war strategy "Deep Strike"

gets the Canadian government its way, military training in Goose Bay, Labrador will soon be making life intolerable for the indigenous people of the area.

Canada has been actively soliciting NATO officials in an effort to sway an impending decision about whether to build an 8000 military NATO Tactical Fighter Weapons Centre in Goose Bay or Konyak, Turkey. The NATO Base, if approved, will be one of the biggest expansions in northern Canada since the 1950's and will bring hundreds of fighter jets into the Goose Bay area as early as 1990. In response to this, the Innu are escalating their campaign to halt the construction of this Centre as well as the NATO flight training activities already occurring over their hunting camps.

The Innu oppose the militarization of their land for the following reasons (see Assembly of First Nations Resolution):

1. Present training activities are disturbing the wildlife and making life miserable for the people who live in regions where low-level flying is occurring. The loud and unexpected noise produced by these aircraft (e.g. West Germany's F-4 Phantom II emits a noise level of 110-126 dB) exceeds the pain threshold for most people.

The NATO base would make the flying zones virtually uninhabitable due to:

- a) increased low-level flying
- b) super-sonic low-level and higher altitude flying which would produce frequent sonic booms (and focus booms which in some parts of the southern U.S. smash windows and crack walls in houses).
- c) the presence of three to four bombing ranges with intensive flying activity occurring around each one.
- d) the possible use of toxic defoliants which would contaminate fish and wildlife upon which the Innu depend for subsistence.
- e) the presence in the flying zones of significant levels of electro-magnetic radiation generated by AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control Systems), jamming and counter-jamming equipment on low-level aircraft and ground stations (Range) of the Instrumented Air Combat Manoeuvring (RAMS).

There are valid reasons to believe that the electro-magnetic radiation at the levels emitted by AWACS, etc. is dangerous to human and wildlife health.

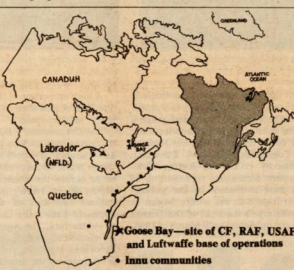
2. The NATO base will have a serious impact on the environment of the region. Already, an oily slick (like paint) is left on drinking water, and fish, beaver and muskrat are found dead for no apparent reason. The caribou, a near sacred animal in Innu culture, have been diverted from ancient migratory pathways.

3. The training activities are taking place on Innu territory which has never been ceded to the Canadian state, and is therefore rightfully the property of the Innu people. Such training activities and various Euro-Canadian economic initiatives seriously prejudice Innu rights and land claims.
4. The kinds of training activities that are occurring at the

moment, and which will be expanded if the NATO base is built (for example, "Deep Strike" and other "first strike emerging technologies"), lower the threshold for a nuclear war. The expanded military presence in Goose Bay will make the Innu communities a prime target for a nuclear attack. Moreover, the Innu consider themselves a peaceful people and do not want their territory to be used so that more powerful nations can perfect their weapons of destruction.

## Brief History of Goose Bay

Canada and the U.S. first established a base at Goose Bay in 1941 to service wartime flights between North America and Europe. In the early 50's Goose Bay was made a support base for the U.S. Strategic Air Command. As the "Cold War" developed, distant early warning sites were constructed in the Arctic in addition to the Ballistic Missile Early Warning Site in Thule, Greenland. When the USAF terminated its SAC presence in 1976, the population of the community at Goose Bay fell to its present level of about 7,000 people.



The Royal (British) and Canadian Air Forces have been conducting low-level training flights since 1967 and 1979 respectively, with the West German Air Force joining them in 1980. (In 1983, West Germany signed a 10 year agreement with the Canadian government under which air space was rented for 25 million Deutschmarks a year.) In 1986, the Belgium Air Force and the Royal Netherlands Air

Force followed suit. A ten-year agreement is on the verge of being signed between the Dutch and Canadian governments. The Labrador testing ranges cover two areas, roughly 100,000 sq. km, located north and south of the bay. These areas were chosen because the land is flat with great open spaces, is "uninhabited" from the military's point of view, and because it approximates the terrain of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Innu of Ntessian

There are about 9600 Innu living in Ntessian (trapping "our land"). They have pursued a hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering way of life in the forests and on the tundra in the interior of the Quebec/Labrador peninsula for thousands of years.

Though blanket claims to native lands in Canada have been made by both England and France over the last three centuries, the whole question of land entitlement remained unknown to the Innu until Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949. The Innu, who never signed a treaty regarding their land, were left out of Confederation negotiations whereby Newfoundland (which Labrador is part of) became Canada's tenth province.

With both their people and their land artificially divided between Labrador and Quebec, the 38 years since Confederation have seen the Innu faced with the ongoing threat of assimilation. At first, in the 1950's, they were required to leave their children in village boarding schools to learn white man's "superior" ways; a few were even sent to high school in St. John's, sixteen hundred km away. In 1962, families were forced to move from the wilderness into shabby box houses in order to keep their children in school ten months of the year so they could qualify for benefits from the Newfoundland government.

Lumber companies have leased or purchased their woods (from the government), and mandatory hunting and fishing licenses class the Innu with the many outside sportsmen, commercial and private, who are encouraged to fly in and out of the bush.

For over a decade, the Innu have fought an increasing sense of despair by returning to the land for three months in the spring and three again in the fall. However, it has become increasingly difficult for Innu children to learn the traditional hunting way of life during this half year.

Native spokesperson Ben Michel says "It will be impossible for the military to avoid Innu camps and hunting/gathering parties when the training activities reach their fully operational level. The net result of all this will be to force the Innu out of the country and into government built communities where alcohol abuse and a whole range of social pathologies resulting from cultural collapse, alien domination, and a humiliating dependency on our colonizers are so prevalent."

The Innu realize that their situation is representative of a world-wide trespass and land grab of aboriginal territory and resources. As part of a nationwide struggle to end Canadian practices against the earth and its indigenous peoples, the Innu have pledged themselves to "use any peaceful means at our disposal to put an end to the flights and their abuse of our people and our land."

For more info, contact the Naskapi Montagnais Innu Association, Sheshatshii, Labrador, Canada APO 1M0.

## RESOLUTION

Assembly of First Nations - October, 1985  
 Subject: NATO Military Low-Level Manoeuvres over the Innu Territory (Quebec and Labrador)

WHEREAS Canada has since 1980 signed agreements with the NATO countries, authorizing them to conduct military manoeuvres at low altitude over the Innu Territory, by identifying two large geographical zones of training, directly over the traditional territory of the Innu people; and

WHEREAS Canada has nominated the Innu Territory as a site for proposed NATO Tactical Fighter Weapons Training Center, where aircraft would not only train for low-level ground attack but also for air-to-air combat and air-to-sea combat; and

WHEREAS the territory used for low-level training exercises has, for thousands of years, been the traditional Innu Territory and today, the territory is fully occupied by the Innu families who live off the land and its natural resources; and

WHEREAS the Innu have evidence that these low-level flights have already seriously affected the wildlife and certain disastrous consequences of those repeated flights have been identified, namely:

- disruption of the caribou's migration patterns
- abandonment of the calving grounds of the caribou
- severe reduction of live births of the wildlife
- a significant decrease in the trapping of the Innu people residing in the territory; and

WHEREAS the Innu families, in particular the elders and the children, have been traumatized by repeated flights over

several NATO countries over the Innu Territory of Quebec's north shore and Labrador; and,

WHEREAS The Council Atitkamek Montagnais has already started environmental, biological and sociological impact studies and is doing important work in defence of the Innu people in this issue;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED THAT the Confederacy of Nations declares its solidarity with the Innu First Nation regarding its rights and jurisdiction over its territory; and the rights of its citizens to practise their way of life in peace; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the use of the Innu Territory for military low-level flight training against the will of the Innu constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and of the Canadian Constitution; and,

BE IT ALSO RESOLVED THAT the Confederacy of Nations strongly objects to the harassment of the Innu by Newfoundland government officials and that the National Chief and members of the Confederacy pressure the Newfoundland and Canadian Governments to stop this harassment; and,

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED THAT the Executive Council including the National Chief do whatever is necessary and possible to have the Canadian Government cease the low-level flights and military manoeuvres and fulfill its duty to protect and respect the rights of the Innu Nation.

MOVED BY Guy Bellefleur (La Romaine, Quebec)

SECONDED BY Ben Bekale (De La Nonne, NWT)

Edmonton, Alberta  
 October 31, 1985

Reprinted from Akwesasne Notes



The following is excerpted from an article which appeared in World War III Illustrated

It was researched and written primarily by Yolanda Ward, and some in the early Nineteen Eighties. It is based largely on material that is publicly available especially the "Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disobedience", otherwise known as the Kerner Commission report. A large portion of this document is, however, based on materials which were not publicly available, specifically a number of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) department files which Ward stole from the HUD office in Washington, D.C.

This document was first published as part of a collection of notes for a national housing activists conference held in Washington some years ago. No more than five hundred copies were made at that time. Shortly after this publication, Ward and two associates were accosted on a Washington street one night by two well dressed white men, who singled out Ward from her two friends, ordered her to lie face down in the street, and then shot her in the back of the head. The documents she and her friends allegedly stole from HUD have never been published, nor are they included here.

The search for and collection of this material began in August, 1979, when housing activists in Philadelphia first stumbled across the strangely-worded theory called "spatial deconcentration". A letter had been forwarded from the Philadelphia area regional planning commission to activist attorneys in one of the legal service agencies, announcing a new "fair housing" program called the "Regional Housing Mobility Program". It might have all been greek to housing activists, had they not already known that some type of sweeping master plan had already swung into effect to depopulate Philadelphia's minority neighborhoods. The massive demolition operations in minority neighborhoods, which had been systematic, and the total lack of reconstruction funds from public or private sources spoke to that fact.

The Philadelphia housing leaders found their campaign between 1976 and 1979 under the assumption that their struggle against the land speculators and government bureaucracy had an economic base. They understood "gentrification" perfectly, but thought it had developed because the speculators were slowly but steadily viewing the land in minority neighborhoods as some kind of gold mine to be vigorously exploited at any cost. The information uncovered about the mobility program simply taught them that they were entirely wrong, and perhaps this misdirection had prevented them from realizing any measurable amount of success in forcing the city or government to start-up housing construction projects in the city. It is now clear, in 1980, that instead of being economic, the manifest crises that plague inner-city minorities are founded in a problem of control.

The so-called 'rehabilitation' of the inner-city, the lack of rehabilitation financing for inner-city families, the massive demolition projects which have transformed once-stable neighborhoods into vast wastelands, the diminishing inner-city services such as recreation, health care, education, jobs and job-training, sanitation, etc. . . are all rooted in an apparent bone-chilling fear that inner-city minorities are uncontrollable.

# S P A T I A L

1968 - INNER CITY RIOTS



A COMMISSION WAS SET-UP TO STUDY THE RIOTS.



# DECONCENTRATION

CONSISTING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MILITARY, BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT.



THEY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT POVERTY HAD CAUSED THE RIOTS.



THEY BLAMED THE RIOTS ON THE PEOPLE.

President Johnson ordered a particularly significant study of the 1966 riots to be commissioned, which had led to the emergence of some of the most dangerous theories since the rise of Adolf Hitler. It was the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, more commonly called the Kerner Commission Report. Strategists representing all specialties were contracted by the government to participate in the study. Began in 1967, immediately in the wake of the Detroit riot, it was not published until March of 1968.

The Kerner Commission strategists came to the conclusion that America's inner-city poverty was so entrenched that the ghettos could not be transformed into viable neighborhoods to the satisfaction of its residents or the government. The problem of riots, therefore, could be expected to emerge in the future, perhaps with more intensity and as a more serious threat to the Constitutional privileges which most Americans enjoy. They finally concluded that if the problem could not be eliminated because of the nature of the American system of 'free enterprise', then American technology could contain it. This could only be done through a theory of "spatial deconcentration" of racially-impacted neighborhoods. In other words, poverty had been allowed to become so concentrated in the inner-cities that hopelessness overwhelmed their residents and the government's resolve to dilute it. This hopelessness had the social effect of a fire near a powder-keg. But if the ghettos were thinned-out, the chances of a cataclysmic explosion that could destroy the American way of life could be equally diminished. Inner-city residents, then, would have to be dispersed throughout the metropolitan region to guarantee the privileges of the middle-class. Where those inner-city minorities should be placed after their dispersal had been the subject of intense research by the government and the major financial interests of the U.S. since 1968. In the Kerner Commission Report, Chapter 17 addressed itself to this prospect. Suburbs was its answer; the farthest place from the inner-city.

A high proportion of the commissioners for the Report and their contracting strategists were military men.

The Commission's list of contractors and witnesses was no less glittering in military and paramilitary personnel. No less than thirty police departments were represented on or before the commission by their own deputy chiefs. Twelve generals representing various branches of the armed services appeared before the Commission or served as contractors. The Agency for International Development, the Rand Corporation, the Brookings Institute, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Institute of Defense Analysis, and the Ford Foundation all played significant roles in shaping the Commission's findings.

A hardly noticeable name listed among these intelligence and military giants was that of one Anthony Downs, a civilian. Unlike most of the other contractors, whose names were followed by lines of titles, Downs was simply listed as being from Chicago, Illinois.

In his study, Downs argued that the inner-cities were hopelessly beyond repair and would be better cleared of services and residents and landbanked. The middle-class should then be allowed to re-populate these areas, giving them a breath of new life. The activists, in their rush to uncover information about the Mobility Program, discovered, to their surprise, that Downs had written Chapters 16 and 17 of the Kerner Commission Report; the chapters devoted to demographic shifts in the inner-cities and spatial deconcentration.



Housing activists studying theories of 'mobility' and 'spatial deconcentration' stumbled upon yet another "strategist", also, like Downs, out of Chicago, named Bernard Weissbourd. Weissbourd wrote two papers in Chicago in 1968 concerning the crisis of exploding minority inner-city populations. In one paper, entitled, An Urban Strategy, he proposed a so-called "one-four-three-four" plan. Inner-city minority populations represented such a growing threat by their numbers, he argued, that a strategy had to be quickly developed to thin out their numbers and prevent them from overwhelming the nation's big cities. He proposed that this be accomplished through a series of federal and private programs that would financially induce minorities to migrate to the suburbs until their absolute numbers inside the cities represented no more than one-fourth of the total population. He wrote another paper entitled, Proposal for a New Housing Program: Satellite Communities. Weissbourd argued that the bombed-out inner-city neighborhoods should be completely rebuilt as "new towns in the suburbs" for the middle class. As in his Urban Strategy paper, he discussed the threat of explosive inner-city minority populations and their threatening political power. He suggested that this threat could be repulsed with the construction of new housing outside the cities for inner-city minorities. He also suggested that jobs be found for these people in the suburbs and that "...some form of 'subsidy' be developed to induce them to leave the inner-cities.



In 1970, Downs wrote a little known book called Urban Problems and Prospects, in which he more graphically detailed the theory of spatial deconcentration. He developed a bizarre concept in the book entitled "the theory of middle-class dominance." According to him, the dispersal of the inner-city populations to the suburbs could not successfully be completed unless and until a model of dispersal was developed, whereby the artificially induced outflow of minorities from the inner-cities would be controlled and directed to the point that they would not be permitted to naturally reconcentrate themselves in the suburbs. This was the heart of the government theory which was later to become the theory of 'integration maintenance.' This type of control had to be exercised, according to Downs, because white suburbanites would not remain stable in their bungalows if they were led to suspect that the incoming blacks and other minorities were gaining power through their sheer numbers in the suburbs. The consistent theme of Downs' Problems, Chapters 16 & 17 of the Kerner Commission Report, was that of control.

The line of thinking about control found re-reinforcement in another book Downs wrote in 1973, entitled Opening Up the Suburbs: An Urban Strategy for America. Downs' theories from the Kerner Commission Report crystallized, taking as their cue his arguments laid down in Urban Problems. The theory of white "dominance" was carefully discussed in Downs. Included here were ideas for "...a broader strategy, where "...a workable mechanism ensuring that whites will remain



THEM PEOPLE WOULD BE OFFERED SUBSIDIZED HOUSING TO LEAVE.



in the majority... were produced. But Chapter 12 of this book showed a marked difference from his writings in either of the former two publications. Chapter 12 of 'Suburbs' carefully laid down a mechanism which could transform the theories of the former works into practical application. The chapter was called 'Principles of A Strategy of Dispersing Economic Integration,' and laid down five basic concepts: 1-establishing a favorable political climate for the strategy; 2-creating 'economic incentives' for the strategy; 3-preserving suburban middle-class dominance; 4-rebuilding inner-cities; 5-developing a further 'comprehensive strategy.' In outline format, he analyzed each one. He noted that experiments should be conducted before the strategy was effectuated and that '...more effective means of withdrawing economic support... should be developed for the inner-city neighborhoods. To the amazement of the inner-city housing leaders across the country, Downs' theory of dispersed economic integration' was exactly reproduced in HUD's Regional Housing Mobility Program Guidebook, issued six years after Suburbs, in 1979.

Also by 1977, a mysterious 'fair housing' group in Chicago, the Leadership Council for Open Metropolitan Communities, was contracted by HUD to begin mobility publicizing experiments on black high-rise public housing tenants in the Southside and Westside. It was called 'The Gautreaux Demonstration Program' and achieved in two years the removal to the far suburbs of 400 families.

**D**y 1974, the Congress had enacted the Community Development Act. The legislation fused together the Urban Renewal Act of 1954 and the Job Corps and the Revenue Sharing programs of the Nixon Administration. The title to the Act laid out its theory: 1-reduce the geographic isolation of various economic groups; 2-reduce the geographic concentration; 3-revitalize inner-city neighborhoods for middle and upper-income groups.

It wasn't until 1975 that point four of Downs' theory in Suburbs, rebuilding the inner-cities, was fully analyzed. It was done in the form of the 'trigree' report, compiled under HUD contract while he was still president of the Real Estate Research Corporation in Chicago, by his father, James, some twenty years before. In this report, Downs made it clear that he wasn't projecting the inner-cities being rebuilt for its present residents—the minorities—but for the white middle class, the so-called urban gentry; a theory completely compatible with the Community Development Act of the previous year. Weitsbord's 1968 writing for the Kerner Commission finding that Downs would that Community Development funds should be withheld from inner-city neighborhoods to allow 'a long-run strategy of emptying-out the most deteriorated areas.' A city's basic strategy, he wrote, 'would be to accelerate their abandonment...' The land having been 'banked,' it could be redeveloped for the gentry. He argued that instead of being given increased services, minority neighborhoods should be infused with major demolition projects.

After Patricia Harris became the Secretary of HUD two years after the enactment of the Community Development Act and one year after the Section 8 program replaced the Section 235 and 236 housing subsidy programs, the General Accounting Office, under the direction of Henry Eschewer, issued a scathing report of the Department's policies. Noting that the Section 8 Program was the '...principal federal program for housing low-income federal persons...' the 1978 report in three striking paragraphs stated: 'HUD needs to develop an implementation plan for deconcentration...' The report argued that '...freedom of choice...' was supposed to be the department's 'primary

intent,' but that top HUD officials were confused about the policy. HUD, the GAO insisted, was continuing to offer 'revitalization' projects in the inner-cities, which was concentrating poverty in the cities. This policy, it stressed, was 'incompatible' with spatial deconcentration.

In 1979, on the heels of the GAO report came HUD's Regional Housing Mobility Program. The introduction of the program was itself bizarre, let alone the program. The emergence of the program was kept so quiet that virtually no grassroots community organizations in the country knew of its existence. The activists in Philadelphia had not even been aware of its existence until August of that year. It still wasn't until November that grassroots leaders encountered an advisory council member to one of the planning agencies - and that was in St. Louis - who openly admitted that the program's success depended on its 'invisibility.' On August 3, 1979, the planning commission directors of 22 pre-selected regions in the country were asked by HUD to gather in Washington to be schooled on the mechanics of the program. They were given Guidebooks and asked to return to their respective jurisdictions and prepare from \$75,000 to \$150,000 applications for the program. The Guidebook made it clear that these regions had been specially selected because of the heavy concentration of inner-city minorities. They were instructed to contact major civil rights organizations and gain their 'input' into the program.

True to the Downs model established in Suburbs and Urban Problems, the guidebook carefully analyzes the financial inducements to be used by the government to force minorities out of the cities and to force uncooperative suburban landlords to accept the program. The Guidebook makes it clear that the program is intended for major expansion by 1982, when its funding base will be switched from HUD-Suburbs to an

assortment of agencies, interestingly including the Community Development Block Grant fund, CETA, and the Ford, Rockefeller and Aloca Foundations. The CETA job component clearly traced its theoretical roots not only to Downs, but also to Weitsbord. The guidebook also carefully lays-out the use of the Section 8 program as a primary base for the mobility operations.

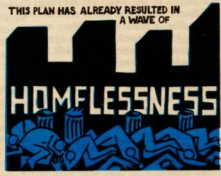
Once it became clear to inner-city housing leaders that the Mobility Program was nothing more than the first in a set of mechanisms the government intended to use to effectuate the ideas discussed in the Kerner Commission Report, it was easy to organize concerned people around the issue. It was actually a relief to some activists that proof had finally emerged of a real master plan, and not merely another fictionalized account of some remote possibility. Less than one month after the Philadelphia leaders had made their final contacts in Chicago and New York, a five-city conference was organized in Washington. Called the Grassroots Unity Conference, and held in January 1980, it focussed on driving the message home to the government, through HUD, that the master plan had been exposed and efforts were being organized in key regions of the country to stop it. An almost violent meeting was held between top HUD officials and activists from Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, New York and Philadelphia during the two day conference. A busload of inner-city residents literally invaded the Urban Institute offices and persuaded its staff to hand over dozens of documents that potentially informed community leaders' arguments that a master plan existed, and that the Mobility Program was merely the first step in a new series of programs designed to systematically empty the inner-cities of their minority residents.

The friction slowly being generated between the government and the inner-city communities over this programming and its exposure has the potential of producing a major domestic crisis in the U.S. Housing and community activists have for years been concerned about the nature of deterioration of the inner-cities. The confusion often led to disillusionment and bitter dissension that

sometimes created malcontent situations within the inner circles of community leaders and groups. Many community leaders know that the government was not an innocent party to the problems of the cities, but few imagined the close association between it and private market forces, in systematically driving the poor and the black out of the cities. Fewer still realized that the government had helped organize the 'control' strategy from its inception. Now that the masterplan is being slowly uncovered by the persistent efforts of grassroots leaders and the confusion within community groups is evaporating, it may not be possible to vent their anger in nondestructive ways when the tale is finally told.

**S**ome elements of the black community, for instance, has argued for years that the government has declared a 'secret war' on blacks in America. Now evidence exists which makes this point difficult, if not impossible, to defeat. At least an innocent observer must ask the question: 'What kind of a government would allow these types of strategies to develop and thrive?' Even more to the point, one must ask: 'How stable can a government be with such information emerging?' It now seems evident that the Constitution, which the Kerner Commissioners and the Johnson Administration feared was in need of special protections, does not apply to all people in America, but only the white middle class. The only way the government can now disprove our argument is to abolish all types of mobility programming and the 'thinktanks' that shaped it.

The exposure of the Mobility Program's real intentions will hopefully change the direction of the government. If not, then the worst can be assumed for the future of the U.S., because no righteous people on the face of the earth would or should permit the existence of such policy, even if its implementation means inevitable confrontation or conflict.



Graphics by Seth Tobocman

## ...its New York City

**T**he Lower East Side of Manhattan is one of the two last stands against the sweeping gentrification of the city's poorest neighborhoods. This seemingly irreversible invasion has claimed every other low-income area of Manhattan with the exception of Harlem, which is fast going the same route. After more than a decade of depopulating the neighborhood of low-income people, developers are starting to move in and the Lower East Side could soon become another yuppie heaven.

However, this area has quite a history of resistance. In the words of one long-time resident, the Lower East Side 'has always been and always will be a completely independent community which does not really want to be administered by the city of New York; it prefers to administer itself and has always done a very good job of doing so.'

The squatting movement here is growing to meet the threat of displacement. Recent city estimates say there are 10,000 squatters in the NYC area. To date there have been no successful evictions of people squatting in the Lower East Side. One resident said, 'The Lower East Side is where displaced people have gone for over a century and now you telling me I don't belong here; well, I think that I do.'

The early 1970's suburban boom, coupled with rising interest rates first began the trend of inner-city abandonment by landlords. Most of the tenants in these buildings left their homes when the confusion was no longer to pay rent. But increasingly, people are deciding to stay and manage the buildings themselves.

In 1974, a Federal Homesteading Program was instituted under Title 810 of the Housing and Community Development Act (Borges, Seth, p. 431). At this time the federal

government had tens of thousands of abandoned buildings on its hands due to FHA-insured mortgage foreclosures. This initial homesteading program was very small, turning over less than 1000 buildings. Most of these went to middle-class people as only they could afford the investment required to restore the buildings under the guidelines of the program.

Throughout the 1970's the Lower East Side became the target of a deliberate plan to let it deteriorate. The city took over ownership of abandoned buildings and refused to allow people to rent. This policy of 'landbanking' left hundreds of units of housing empty with no relief for the thousands of homeless in NYC. Empty buildings were going up in flames due to the carelessness of local junkies using the buildings as shoving galleries or due to fire deliberately set by insurance-seeking owners. Buildings were being torn down because

continued on next page

they were now 'unsafe' and unpoliceable, or turned over to the fire department to practice cutting holes in roofs and then left to rot. This left the area looking like a war zone with nearly every second lot a pile of rubble or a burnt-out shell.

One local said, 'It was all part of a massive plan to decentralize low-income and so-called minority groups from the downtowns so that they don't bomb the banks and take over the town.'

Afraid of just that, in the late '70's, the city implemented 'Operation Pressurepoint' which increased police occupation of the area tremendously. Truckloads of police would move in and militarily 'hold' one block at a time while they made arrests (usually drug-related). To this day, gangs of cops are present on nearly every street corner.

After Operation Pressurepoint there came

a second big wave of abandonment. Two-hundred buildings were emptied. More and more people began moving in and were soon bringing these buildings back to life as their homes.

In July 1980 the Urban Homeostead Program was initiated by the city's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD). Its stated purpose is to 'provide opportunities for groups of low and moderate income with some construction skills, to purchase vacant city-owned buildings at well below market prices and reconstruct them as homes.'

To some squatters "the Urban Homeostead Program represents the state's attempt to co-opt the movement...in a lot of ways cutting the head off [the movement] by getting it into the system before it can develop."

A passage from Borgos supports this position: "...governments may respond to squatting with repression or concession. Another common response is to 'tame' squatting by licensing it within a restricted context. In the United States this has gone under the name of 'homeosteading.'" (Borgos p.430)

The program requires that a group apply to the city with a detailed plan for rehabilitation and proof of income and skills to carry it through. After acceptance (no easy feat) work must begin, under state supervision, well before anyone can move in. Thus it requires that people have both a place to live and a reasonable income to qualify. Some groups have successfully completed this program and now live in co-op apartments. It has also happened that well into the work people have lost their buildings back to the state.

One squatter, who had been living in a building which was temporarily 'legalized' and then lost, explains: "HPD set up this alternative management program (the U.H.P.) to co-opt [the movement]...reacting to the pressures of de-facto populations in these buildings that they couldn't move out. So they did the next best thing: create a work force, which is to get people to work on their buildings with a promise that they can become the owners. Now, this is the rhetoric of HPD, right out of the city's mouth. And the reason it's important to understand this is because it has become the rhetoric of a lot of other people who are aspiring to move along the same kind of track that has been set up by the state, namely the idea that through this program low-income people can own their own building."

Quite outside of the city's program, many of the squats of the Lower East Side are calling themselves homesteads in the hope that the city will eventually recognize them. They keep detailed records of all the money spent and hours of work done on the building and they are careful to get approval from community groups.

'Others aren't looking for legalization. 'Basically it's because we'd be advocating something which is a fantasy. It's like advocating that the pentagon willingly disarm itself. They're not going to reform themselves because they're set up to do exactly the opposite...[they should] cease all elections, cease all sales and allow the people to organize for themselves.' One housing advocacy group, the Joint Planning Council, is attempting to negotiate with the city for buildings to homestead. They have hung signs on a number of empty buildings which read:

In order to eventually homestead these places they must keep them empty in the meantime and in fact have attempted to evict one established squatter, bringing the cops with them.

For most squatters, this tactic is unpopular: 'They've gone and put up their signs which proclaim exactly the opposite of what they intend: stay out, don't go in, if you're homeless-fuck you.'

'They have this way of trapping you into this whole legal framework that destroys you, destroys your organization, will destroy our ability to fight against being run out of the neighbourhood. Because the only way that we can fight is if we stick together and we really fight. If they destroy any kind of independent organization, they have destroyed your ability to fight against displacement.'

Urban gentrification has turned Manhattan's Lower East Side into something akin to a war zone



# The autonomous movement in W. Germany

Thus the ruling class see themselves confronted by a tightness of resistance which is new. That resistance cannot be blamed on the isolated urban guerrilla anymore, but has overcome that limitation. For this reason new additions to the 'anti-terrorist' laws have recently been introduced.

## Aims of Repression:

The state's two main supporters in creating acceptance for its repressive use of legislative power are the judicial machinery and the media.

The campaign that the state has been carrying out against us over the past months through the media is aimed at the population, to incite them against us. The media portray us as 'terrorists' who 'put every ordinary citizen's life in danger'. In this way the population is led to accept all the terrorist measures the state wishes to exercise against us.

Where this does not succeed; i.e. where the population shows solidarity and refuses to let the state divide them, the state needs to create a new enemy. Recently, that new enemy may have been the refugees who have been targeted by the state as an object for hate and contempt, as scapegoats for everything which goes wrong in this fucking system. Thus the pigs try to absorb and channel rising anti-state feelings among the population.

The fact that during every 'kettle' attack of the state personal data was stored in the central police computers underlines the government's and its uniformed thugs' strategy of pragmatically registering and recording 'suspect data.' Thus they have a deep reservoir of 'suspects,' who can be picked on when future direct actions happen. The pigs' aim is explicitly the construction of a 'hard core' of militants which they can isolate from the anonymity of the masses in order to criminalize them and to blame the rising militancy solely on them. We must realize that. We have to become aware that everybody who in the future joins a demonstration or attends meetings where demonstrations

are discussed and prepared, will have to face the following:

On demonstrations we will be massively accompanied by the cops ('mobile teleths'), or rallies as well as autonomous/anarchist 'black blocks' within huge demonstrations might be attacked by the cops; our meeting places and discussion centres are in constant danger of police attacks and raids; our telephones might be tapped, our correspondence 'supervised'; our everyday life will be observed; friends and visitors will be observed and their personal data and car numbers stored in the 'anti-terrorist' police computers -and that is no paranoid exaggeration but is already being exercised. It means taking into account what is facing us when we decide to take political action.

Apart from being beaten up, criminalized and jailed as potential results of our activities, we may soon have to deal with getting shot as well. The use of guns by the cops has recently been brought into public discussion.

The massive attacks on our public points of resistance affect many people who did not have any experience with state repression before. People radicalized by this might want to join more determined parts of anti-state resistance and liberation struggles. This however can be an opportunity for the pigs to infiltrate us by undercover agents-who so far they haven't been able to manage. To avoid this danger we need to make our militant level of political work more clandestine.

## Consequences:

Our public propaganda work has to become more persuasive. We have to explain our aims and positions wherever possible.

We have to counter the notion of 'terrorism' used by the ruling class media against us, by transforming those inciting notions to positive notions of solidarity and liberation struggles-and that has to be done in a way which is understandable to everybody. For instance, if the media suggests that blockades of nuclear waste routes are 'terrorist

actions by the scum of society,' we can counter that denunciation by pointing out that concerned locals supported us, because they know bloody well the real terrorism of the state by experience.

When the squatting of empty houses is denounced as 'illegal,' we have to stress that squatting involves repairing what the state would have let rot, that the town officials who shape housing policy are executors of the plans of the private business lobby, who want to clear the urban centres of the people and force them to live in the suburban flat-lands, that this is a means of social and political tranquilization.

Squatting can also be a means to get into contact with the organized labour movement. This labour movement, almost everywhere, is on the defensive now, increasingly dealing with factory closures as a result of 'High Tech' and international market strategies. Squatting houses and occupying factories can develop to a higher level of the liberation struggle.

We can explain ourselves historically as an actual part of the 'other' working class

movement-the fights of the 'forgotten,' 'immigrants,' 'underdogs,' 'minorities.' And we would be forced to work out a clear position on the present structural transformation processes of the capitalist system.

If we react in a militant way to fascists and police, we also need to stress the inhuman aims and prospects of fascist ideology in public, at meetings, bookstands, demonstrations. We have to stress that withdrawing from determined direct actions or even denouncing them as 'violent'-leads to nothing but frustration for us and triumph for the pigs: the atomic state and industry will continue to work undisturbed; empty houses will continue to rot; fascists will be able to recruit new people to their meetings; towns will degenerate to cop towns.

We need to get the use of direct actions accepted by those who are on our side but who do not take part in determined actions for various reasons. To achieve this acceptance we need ways to explain our actions. We have to accept that in the past we rarely have managed to explain our reasons after having carried out something. That needs to be changed. Not every action speaks for itself.

In the future, if a direct action is planned and we can foresee that we won't manage to explain it later, we should reconsider doing it.

Also we need to be an active part of protest/social movements and make sure that our politics are understood. Militant actions then are recognizable and inseparable from what our specific positions are. There is nothing extraordinary about militant direct actions: they are just one part of resistance. Only by co-operating and exchanging views and strategies with those who practice other forms of resistance will we be able to overthrow the acts of state repression which are still waiting to be done.

The flames of freedom are already burning, onward with rebellion!

Written by Pancho, on behalf of the Libertarian Pencil Collective





Wesley Crowe and Willie Blake

## Two week hunger strike frees three from seg

Three prisoners in Canada's Edmonton Max underwent a fourteen day hunger strike last year to protest their unlawful detention in segregation as well as the day to day harassment of Native prisoners.

Willie Blake and Dennis Okeynan began the fast October 22. Wesley Crowe joined six days later. The three had been held in seg for almost two months without receiving a written reason or release date. The men were rounded up along with thirty-one others, mostly Native, in the week following the August 24 stabbing death of a fellow prisoner but were not charged with any offenses relating to the incident.

The others were gradually released back into general population, but Blake, Okeynan, and Crowe were held because the warden claimed that they, particularly Blake, had "a great amount of influence over the general population, especially Native."

## Kerley release demanded

A new campaign has been launched to free Cameron Kerley, a Native youth convicted of killing his sexually abusive adoptive father. Cameron lived on the Sioux Valley Indian Reserve in Manitoba until age eight, when he was taken into custody by the Manitoba Children's Aid Society. At that time, Native children were regularly sent for adoption to the United States by authorities in Manitoba, despite the willingness of Manitoba Natives to adopt them.

In August 1975, at age 11, Cameron was adopted by a single white man, Joseph William Kerley, of Wichita, Kansas. Two years earlier Kerley had adopted another young Sioux, Robert from South Dakota. The sexual abuse of Cameron started almost immediately. On the few occasions that he was able to get past his feelings of mortification, he spoke to his elementary school teacher. She alerted county officials and Cameron's school counselor to his fears about possible sexual abuse, but no one listened. It took two years for his adoption to be finalized. During this time Cameron repeatedly ran away from home; no one bothered to investigate why Robert had also run away.

The adoption went through and the abuse continued. Cameron turned his situation inward and started to drink heavily. Finally, at 17, after a long drinking bout with friends, he returned home in a drunken stupor and killed Joseph Kerley.

He was charged with first degree murder in the September 1983 and, at the suggestion of his court-appointed lawyer, pleaded guilty to second degree murder. He was sentenced to a life term. The lawyer laments: "Only after the guilty plea...did he finally break down and begin to tell us about some of the sexual abuse...he had buried his shame and confusion, his embarrassment deep inside himself."

Since his conviction, Cameron Kerley has

been the focus of numerous campaigns for his release. In June 1985 Cameron was transferred in a prison exchange to Stony Mountain penitentiary in Manitoba to complete his sentence. Last May his sentence was reduced from life to 20 years. Under Canadian parole legislation he became eligible for unescorted temporary absences and day parole on January 6, 1987. To date no efforts have been made by prison or parole authorities to expedite his release.

The Prisoner's Liaison Group of Ottawa is demanding his immediate release and asks supporters to write Canada's Solicitor General C/O House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 1A0 about the case.

The situation is an example of the harassment faced by those perceived to be Native organizers, who are frequently just demanding their right to traditional spiritual practices. The prison received many letters and phone calls supporting the hunger strikers and vigils were held in Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Kansas, Vancouver, on Vancouver Island, and in the Northwest Territories. After two weeks, the warden gave in to public concern about the fast and released the three back to population.

The preliminary hearing has begun for the two men eventually charged with the murder, Robert Pelletier and Phil Bearshirt. They have been permitted to bring their Native medicine bundles into the courtroom with them, for the first time in the province of Alberta's history.

Swearingen, a retired FBI agent, stated in an interview that "COINTELPRO used every dirty trick you could think of" against Pratt, adding "Pratt was set up."

FBI informants were placed in Pratt's defense team and reported on meetings between Pratt and his lawyers. Numerous pieces of evidence were suppressed during the trial, including the prior identification of another suspect by a main witness and the illegal FBI wiretaps on the Panther office that

## Former Panther seeks parole and retrial

by Elizabeth Berg

The case of Geromino Pratt, the former Black Panther leader who was framed for murder, will again go before the Parole Board this April. The longest held political prisoner in the U.S., Pratt has spent the last 17 years in prison, including eight years in solitary confinement. A court suit charging that he was being kept in solitary solely because of his political beliefs was decided in his favour. He was declared to be a political prisoner by Amnesty International, which in 1981 urged Reagan to set up an independent commission to investigate the case.

A leader in the Black liberation movement, Pratt was charged in 1970 with the 1968 Santa Monica robbery and murder of a white woman. In spite of a strong appeal - he was 40 miles away in Oakland attending meetings of the Black Panther Party - he was convicted. The principal witness against him was later revealed by documents released through the Freedom of Information Act, to have been an FBI informant at the time of the trial, although he testified in court that he had never been an informant.

Pratt is now asking for a retrial at the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. Since the original trial, FOIA documents have revealed the existence of FBI COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) operations designed to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize" the Black Panther Party, and to "neutralize" Pratt in particular. Wes



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FBI informants were placed in Pratt's defense team and reported on meetings between Pratt and his lawyers. Numerous pieces of evidence were suppressed during the trial, including the prior identification of another suspect by a main witness and the illegal FBI wiretaps on the Panther office that

would verify Pratt's whereabouts at the time of the murder. According to Swearingen, tapes for the two weeks Pratt claims to have been in Oakland have mysteriously disappeared - the only missing tapes in all the FBI logs.

In spite of all this evidence, including perjury of the principal witness, Pratt's appeal has been denied in three State Courts and one Federal Court. Were he to lose his current appeal, the only remaining avenue would be the U.S. Supreme Court, where it is usually difficult to get a State Court decision overturned. Pratt suggests that the depth of FBI involvement in the frameup would result in great embarrassment to the government, not to mention reparations, if the conviction were to be overturned.

Pratt's case is a reminder that COINTELPRO is alive and well, despite assurances of its demise in 1971. It is clear from the phrasing of the memo that terminated COINTELPRO that it was the name and not the operation that was being terminated. The use of infiltrators and informants remains a standard policy of the FBI.

Richard Seal, former Chairman of the Black Panther Party, recently held a press conference calling for Pratt's release. Other former Black Panthers have come together to work for the release of comrades who remain in prison.

Nonetheless, Pratt feels the difference in public awareness between the early years of his confinement and recent times: "During that early period people on the street cared. On this support you don't have that kind of support for the prison movement." He is hopeful that this will be the year that public pressure will convince the courts to release him. Although Pratt himself refuses to appear before the Parole Board - he has never ceased to maintain his innocence and does not recognize the court's decision - he also recognizes that the Parole Board does have the power to release him and is requesting that supporters write letters demanding his release.

Meanwhile, Pratt spends his days "learning and struggling...I can't see myself being anything other than a person that struggles." Of his eight years in solitary confinement, he comments, "They'll have to come up with something better to break me." What hurts him more is watching his two children, aged 7 and 4, grow up without him: "To look at those children grow up and not be able to be with them is a punishment I never foresaw."

Address letters to the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles and send them to Stuart Hanlon, Tamburello, Hanlon & Bresciani, 214 Duboce Ave., San Francisco, CA 94103. For more info, write to the Committee to Free Geromino Pratt, 200 9th St., #443, San Francisco, CA 94103.

## Framed youth condemned to die

Jim Trimble is a 22-year-old anarchist punk who was framed for a murder he did not commit. He is condemned to die by gassing in the Maryland gas chamber despite the fact that he was only 17 when arrested, and despite the fact that he was found by the court to be 'mentally retarded.'

Jim and four other men were arrested and charged with murder, rape and kidnaping in 1981. Jim was found guilty of rape despite the testimony of one of the men that Jim did not have intercourse with anyone, and the admission from the prosecutor that 'there is no evidence that the defendant (Jim) himself raped her.' The four other men had wealthy families and could afford expensive legal representation. Two were businessmen and the other two worked for them. They had been using the drug PCP (or Angel Dust) the night of the crime and all four pleaded guilty as charged. Jim Trimble pleaded not guilty to the charges, and his widowed and pension-supported mother could not afford legal

fees; thus Jim was inadequately represented by a State-appointed lawyer.

The other four men received the mandatory sentence of life imprisonment. One of the men had his sentence reduced to 5 years probation and walked away from his trial a free man in exchange for his testimony against Jim Trimble. Two others had their sentences reduced to 5 years each but both were released on parole after 3 1/2 years. The fourth man is in a rehabilitation centre and will be released shortly. Jim Trimble received the sentence of death, plus 3 consecutive life terms, and an additional 70 years!

In his statement to police, Jim said that he had decided to confess to the crimes because he 'didn't want the other guys to get blamed.' He had been told that he could not receive the death penalty as he was a juvenile, whereas the older men accused could be executed if he did not confess.

Throughout the trial Jim was sedated by the drug Thorazine, a major tranquilizer, and

could not remember or understand the proceedings very well. Jim was not permitted to testify at his own trial. His State-appointed lawyer elected that the court not hear Jim's testimony so that he could not be cross-examined.

One of the men, presently in a rehabilitation centre, has allegedly confessed to doctors that it was he who killed the woman and not Jim. However, as of this date, Jim's state-appointed lawyer has not been able to gain access to his file at the rehab centre.

Write protest letters to The Governor, The State House, Annapolis, MD 21401, USA. Write Jim Trimble (801658), at Maryland Penitentiary #B18, 950 Forest St., Baltimore, MD 21202, USA. Monetary donations can be sent to the Jim Trimble Defense Fund, c/o the Anarchist Black Cross, P.O. Box 6326, Stn. A, Toronto, M5W 1P7, Canada. (Cash or blank money orders only please.)

# Solidarity Forever

An oral history of the IWW

**Solidarity Forever** - An oral history of the I.W.W. by Stewart Bird, Deborah Shaffer and Dan Georgakas.

In the mid-1970s, filmmakers Stewart Bird and Deborah Shaffer filmed interviews with Industrial Workers of the World members who had been active during the organization's glory years. The filmmakers wanted to let these people, some of them in the eighties and nineties, tell in their own words what it was like to be a Wobbly. By combining these oral histories with period photography, newsreels and other materials, Bird and Shaffer hoped that their film, *The Wobblies*, would rekindle a sense of the passion that once mobilized the working America. The film is an important contribution to oral history in general and of particular interest to anarchists.

*Solidarity Forever* is a collection of interviews made for the film plus an introduction by Dan Georgakas. The introduction traces I.W.W. influence from its 1905-24 heyday through to the present time. Neglected aspects of I.W.W. history, such as its role in the reproductive rights movement and its work with marine and dock workers, are addressed along with more familiar subjects, such as the free speech fights, Wobbly songs, and unprecedented government repression. Arguing that the I.W.W. has been undervalued as a labour, social and civil rights movement, the introductory essay points out those I.W.W. perspectives that remain pertinent to this time. More than 50 photographs, graphics and cartoons, most appearing in book

form for the first time, amply illustrate the interviews. The work adds a dimension to history that is often lacking, a sense of what it was like to be involved in a mass social movement, what it looked like and felt like to be involved in a process that elsewhere is treated in a dry and abstract manner. The interviews are selected to cover all the major areas of the I.W.W.'s activities from the textile mills in the east to the forests of the Pacific northwest and to the western mining regions, and in time, from shortly after the founding of the I.W.W. in 1905, until its disintegration as a mass movement in the 1920s. Industrial unionism did not die in the 1920s, but was transformed into other organizations such as the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the U.S. One of the fascinating aspects of the interviews is the extent to which I.W.W. tactics and principles were picked up by workers in other organizations, including health and safety measures in mining and shipping which are essentially the same as those fought for and won by the Wobblies in the early years of the century. The shop steward system, the sit-down strike, and the on-the-job strike are all I.W.W. tactics which are used today in many industries. Some interviews are bitter and disheartened by the extent to which workers today have abandoned the principle of direct control of the workplace by workers themselves. As Nels Peterson says in his interview, "We sent an I.W.W. delegate to Russia right after the revolution. He came

back and said the revolution was right, but that the wrong people were getting hold of it. That's what I fear will happen here. Something like that."

Included in the book are extensive notes and a bibliography, which will lead the reader into the more traditional history of the I.W.W., including some little known and largely unexplored resources such as Wobblies' involvement in the Mexican revolution and in Chile. The combination of the personal stories of the veteran Wobblies with the bibliographical information makes *Solidarity Forever* a first-class introduction to the history of the I.W.W., the most outstanding example of anarchist ideas in action in North America.

**Order *Solidarity Forever* from LAKE View Press, Box 578279, Chicago, Illinois, USA 60657. Send \$9.95 and \$1.50 for postage.**

The film *The Wobblies* is currently available for rental from First Run Features, 153 Waverly Place, New York N.Y., USA 10014.

## Songs to fan the flames of discontent

**We Have Fed You All a Thousand Years - Utah Phillips.**

This record adds a new dimension to labour history, in the form of the songs of the I.W.W., performed live in Vancouver, Victoria and Courtney, British Columbia. Utah Phillips, folksinger and long-time I.W.W. member sings the best known of the I.W.W. songs explaining their history and meaning. Not to be underestimated are the audiences who provide enthusiastic accompaniment. The songs of the Wobblies were one of their most important organizing tools. In

the early part of this century, when the I.W.W. was a major social force, a lot of working people came from other countries, and often couldn't speak much english. If songs were going to reach people, they had to be simple, in contrast to most protest music which betrays its middle class origins by its abstractness. In contrast this music is like a breath of fresh air. Taking the music of popular song and christian hymns and changing the words to make more sense, the music of the I.W.W. had immediate popular appeal.

Songs include ones that are well known today such as "Bread and Roses", "Solidarity Forever" and "There is Power in a Union" as well as lesser known ones such as "Hallelujah I'm a Bum", "Union Burying Ground", and "We Have Fed You All a Thousand Years". A songbook with lyrics, commentary and more Wobbly graphics is part of the package.

Order this album from The Vancouver Folk Music Festival Society, 3711 Main Street, Vancouver, B.C., Canada V5V 3M6. Send \$10.00 plus \$1.00 postage.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**REAR TIERED ID**, by A. Musing. "A rearward view in comic perspective. Everything cultural is questioned. Written to delight as well as provoke...with an influence flowing from Joyce, Swift, and Cummings." Published by August, 205 Trenton St. West Monroe, LA 71291, USA. \$6.95.

**PROUDHON, LANDAUER, BAKOENIN, KRPOPTKIN.** Four books in the "Anarchist series. Written in Dutch. Published by Stichting Pamflet, Postbus 1402, 5200 BL Den Bosch, Holland.

**SCIENCE AS POLITICS**, edited by Les Lewdow. The articles in this collection show how political forces shape science and technology. Published as part of the **RADICAL SCIENCE** Series by Free Association Books, 26 Freegrove Rd., London N7 9RQ, U.K. Free catalogue available.

**TADDY WAMPUS #3.** A new paper coming out of St. Paul. Next issue expected sometime in July. To subscribe, etc. write: 468 Portland Ave., Saint Paul, MN 55102, USA.

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we are a group of womyn drawing on anarchist/feminist ideas to form a socio-political & cultural analysis that is relevant to womyn. we want to be involved in theoretical discussion, information sharing, and the exploration of possibilities, practice & otherwise. we have put forward a 'line' as a forum to facilitate this dialogue with the 'community'. submissions of ANY kind can be made to:

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## THE OUTLAW'S BIBLE

**The Outlaw's Bible** by E.X. Booehie.

We have had this book on our shelf for some time now and, despite numerous reader requests to review it, it's just been collecting dust. Now we're sorry we didn't crack the spine of *The Outlaw's Bible* when it first came into our hands. OB is a well researched and witty primer on the 'criminal justice system', a specific guide to the use and application of the U.S. fourth and fifth amendment rights and an indispensable study of concepts; how to avoid being caught and what to do if you are.

E.X. Booehie knows what he's writing about. This book is no academic study of concepts; Booehie writes from experience as an inmate of the U.S. penal system. He describes his book as

an attempt to develop a system of 'commandments' by which one can defy government laws with a minimum level of police interference and a maximum level of legal protection in the event of apprehension.

The first chapter of the **OB** introduces the elements of the 'legal justice system' from the point of view of the citizen lawbreaker. Booehie explains cop and court procedures including surveillance, entrapment, detection, interrogation and search and seizure. In chapters 2 and 3 he analyzes the rights extended under the fourth and fifth amendments to the U.S. constitution; anyone with a remote chance of being nabbed for some mischief in the United States will find Booehie's analysis of the amendments useful. Booehie includes

dozens of citations for court decisions that could be used in the preparation of a U.S. defence or appeal.

The final chapter of the **OB** has universal application. Booehie has formulated 10 broad guidelines that all rebels and anarchists should take to heart; they are about how to avoid being caught and how to minimize damage if you are. They range from avoiding arousing suspicion to what to do if the police come knocking. Booehie lists hundreds of tips on legal do's and don'ts; this chapter alone makes the book a must read for anti-authoritarians.

*The Outlaw's Bible* is available from Circle A Publishers, 8608 E. Hubbard, Dept. 40a, Scottsdale, Arizona, USA 85257. Send \$11.95 plus a dollar for postage.

**FREE AVI NAFTEL**

Avi Nafel, one of the editors of *The Outlaw's Bible*, who is currently in seg at Arizona State Prison, is seeking to be transferred to Britain, as provided by a treaty between that country and the USA. Avi was born in England and his family and most of his friends live there. He is having difficulties getting approval for this transfer from Arizona State authorities.

For more information on how you can help write Avi Nafel, P.O. Box 48-5287, Florence, AZ 85232, USA.

## JUMP CUT No. 31

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# Congrats on Wackersdorf coverage

## NEWS FROM NOWHERE

The Anarchist Black Cross is appealing for funds to help Anarchists in Chile develop their activities against the fascist dictatorship of General Pinochet. Send donations to: Anarchist Black Cross, BM Hurricane, London W.C./N3

The Italian Anarchist Communist Organization (previously O.R.A./U.C.A.T.) has a new name: Federazione dei Comunisti anarchici (F.C.A.). Their contact address is: Donato Ronito, c.p. 144, 61100 Persano, Italy.

A tour linking the plight of political prisoners Nelson Mandela and Leonard Peltier will come to Vancouver during the 2nd week of May. The tour includes speakers representing the ANC, AIM, and other liberation movements.

The third International Conference on Penal Abolition takes place June 15-19 this year in Montreal, Quebec. Themes are: the concept of punishment, its application by the state through law and the penal system, and abolitionist strategies for the future. Write: 1030 rue Cherrier, Suite 300, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H2L 1H9. Telephone: 514-522-5965.

"Ground Zero," a cassette of 40 cuts from punk bands, around the world is available for \$5.00 from Boaz, Franco, Costa Bella #923 Ave. B., Ensenada, Baja California, Mexico.

The second international anarchist meeting in Holland is being planned for Sept. 10 to 14, 1987. The program includes meetings and speakers on various topics regarding anarchists and autonomism, as well as music, theatre, films, video, book presentations, etc. The cost will be about \$40 Canadian. For more info contact: IAB/SWP, PO 19320, 3501 de Utrecht, Holland.

Schwarz Rote, a Berlin anarchist group which publishes a German language anarchist calendar is now interested in helping to set up an international federation of student anarchist groups. For more information contact: Rolf G. Landmesser, Rathenower Str. 23, D-1000, Berlin 21, F.R.G.

Rhythm Activism, a "ranting poetry/rebel orchestra" ensemble has a 60 minute, 11 piece cassette/booklet compilation of live recordings from Montreal to Olympia, Washington, with "news poems," rants and fables about COORS beer, McChicken liberation, inner-city direct action, etc. It's \$6.95 postpaid from Les Pages Noires, 3699 Hutchison, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H2X 2H4. Write for more info about the next anarchist Black Wedge Tour.

The AIDS virus may have been developed at a biological warfare research center in the U.S. and released, either deliberately or by accident, according to Dr. John Seale, a British expert on sex diseases.

## Clara Thalmann Swiss anarchist remembered

Swiss anarchist Clara Thalmann died this January at the age of 78. That she maintained and acted on radical ideals for over thirty years is an inspiration. Thalmann first became politically active in Paris in the 1920's, where she joined the communist party and worked on the French communist paper *Humanite*. When Stalin became party leader, she agitated within the party against his authoritarian policies and was soon expelled from doing

so. In 1936, she hitchhiked down to Barcelona to take part in the International Workers Olympic Games, planned to counter the Nazi-organized Olympic Games in Berlin. The Worker's Olympics never actually took place, the workers being occupied by that time with a civil war.

She arrived in Spain just as the social revolution was beginning. The Spanish anarchist movement, the largest working class

organization in the country, had taken control of and collectivized two thirds of the republican land and industry. Thalmann at once joined the anarchist militias of the *arru* columns to fight as a militia woman at the Aragon front.

As the split grew between anarchists and stalinist communists, Thalmann was among the first to warn against compromise with the stalinists. Liberal and stalinist parties sought to maintain the legal system and private property within the republican camp, and forced a split within the anarchist movement by demanding that the anarchists join both regional and central governments.

Clara Thalmann and her husband were forced to go underground when the stalinists formed the SIM, a secret police organization. They were arrested, however, as they tried to leave Spain, and sent to private SIM prisons. They were released after a campaign launched by friends in Switzerland, and moved to Paris.

During the Nazi occupation of France in WW 2, Thalmann helped to form a small independent resistance group. Her home became a hide-out for Jewish and revolutionary refugees and was never discovered by the nazis.

In 1954, she founded a community in the south of France which became a meeting place for revolutionaries from all over the world. She remained politically active and never lost faith in the struggle. Thalmann's main hope for future social and political change was the youth. Their increasing contempt for official policy and their spontaneous readiness to revolt was a main source of her political optimism.

Hello, A few days ago we received the Fall '86 issue of *Open Road* sent to the bookstore where we are working. Of course we were quite surprised to hear something from militants more than 9000 km. away. But more surprising was your brilliant report about the Wackersdorf riots in May 1986. For us, taking part in these events, it was one of the best summaries that we have read. For us in fucking old Europe it is good to see that someone from abroad gets an eye on what is happening here. Even more so as we don't normally hear much from Canada, except the Vancouver Five and some Congress that took place in 1983 or 1984.

A fact that is very funny (or rather not funny) is that a special kind of discussion seems to be the same in Germany as well as in Canada. We mean the letter of B.K. "O.R. Uncritical of Guerilla Groups." There are positions similar to B.K.'s here as well from certain kinds of "pure" anarchists, but we normally don't have such severe problems with those groups (CCC, RAD, AD and others). Of course these militants are not anarchists, but nevertheless they are fighting militants and their political roots are the same as ours. You may perhaps know, that what could be called an anarchist movement here, is a great bandspread of very different groups, from non-violent, semi-parliamentarian groups on the one hand, to anarcho-syndicalists and militant squatters on the other. Most of these groups have their own papers from a few hundred copies up to 3000 or 4000. The other thing is, that we in Germany normally don't speak very often of "anarchists" but more of "autonomes".

The autonom movement that can mobilize some 10,000 people for certain demonstrations is an anti-state, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist movement and most of us use anarchist and autonom as synonyms. A third group are the so-called anti-imperialists who stand close to the "Rote Armee Fraktion" (RAF), a West German guerrilla group existing now for nearly 15 years. The anti-imperialists, some 1,000 in all of West Germany, are primarily Marxist-Leninists. There are severe conflicts between autonomes and anti-imperialists that have their origins in a different analysis of what the situation is here, and concerned with this, the acts and strategy of the RAF. In the eyes of the RAF, we are in a situation of real war against the U.S. and its European colonies. Their strategy is based on actions against U.S. bases here in the FRG and representatives of the West German state.

Many autonom militants think that this is a wrong strategy because it doesn't conform with social reality here and is too abstract. Therefore they prefer

taking part in political mass movements, such as the anti-nuclear power movements (e.g. Wackersdorf), the anti-fascist movement, squatters, asylum aid movement, etc. As a result of the Chernobyl disaster there have been more than 200 attacks on circuit lines, dozens of attempts on building enterprises of nuclear power plants, enterprises exporting to South Africa, etc. The statistics of 1986 say that there were more than 400 bomb and arson attacks last year.

As a reaction to this rapidly increasing militant resistance the West German government made a couple of new laws in early 1987 that, for example, make it possible to put someone into prison for three years if they are propagating violent actions, or even only documenting it (i.e. by publishing communiques such as in the *Open Road*).

Another new law makes it possible to sentence people at taking circuit lines or construction machines for up to ten years in special isolation conditions.

As a result of these laws some papers like *Radikal* can only be published under clandestine conditions with contact addresses in other countries.

The police searched more than 100 left bookstores in fall 1986 confiscating the no. 132 volume of *Radikal* and up to ten years against 194 bookkeepers accused of "supporting a terrorist union". This winter police prevented an information meeting on the situation of political prisoners in Munich with the same argument. This took place in Munich in the federal state of Bavaria, which has a semi-fascist federal government. This same government prevented a National Congress of anti-nuclear groups in January 1986, another time because of "proposed support of terrorist union". At the last minute a court made it possible to arrange a meeting at which 1000 people of a few hundred groups contributed.

As you can see, the *Open Road* probably couldn't be published under conditions of German law, as well, my letter to you would probably be "support of terrorist unions" in the eyes of the system here. But, for Bakunin's sake, they didn't get a single person that made an attack on circuit lines here. In the past 15 years they killed and arrested some 70 members of the RAF and some clandestine guerrilla groups but not even the nose of any member of the so-called "Closing-time terrorists". So they try to make thinking of resistance illegal. But surely they won't succeed.

When Bakunin came to the U.S., the immigration officer asked him, "Are you a member of any communist party?" "Hell, no!" said Bakunin and laughed loudly.

Liberty and Fortune,  
Roger  
With Feminist Greetings,  
Caro

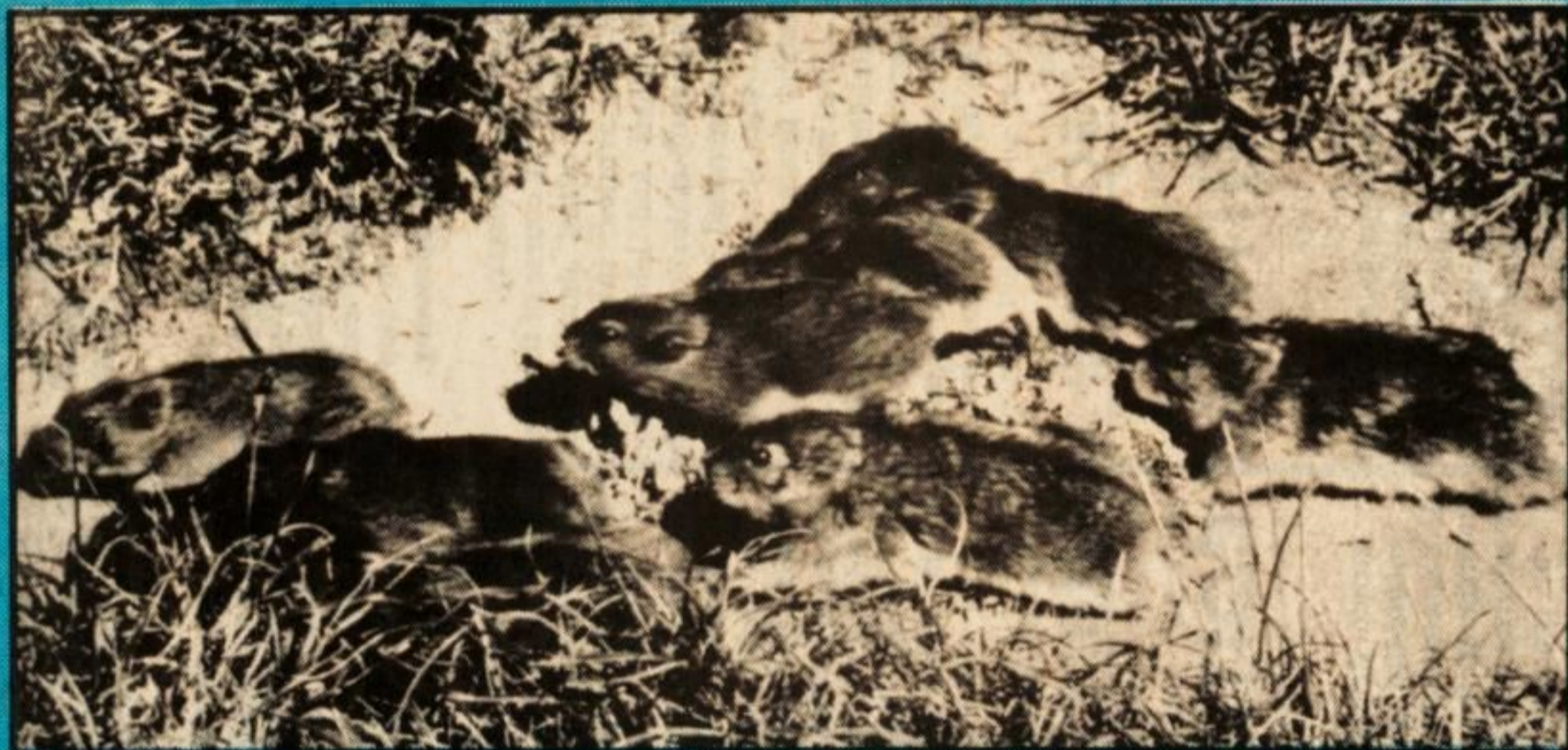


Clara Thalmann





# Heading for disaster?



## Let's go together.

It's true! Our liberation will be disaster for the rich and powerful.

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Apologies to our four-legged relatives the lemmings for exploiting their undeserved reputation for jumping off cliffs.

I get the message. Here's two hours' pay: \_\_\_\_\_

I know you need more. Here it is: \_\_\_\_\_

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I'm adventurous. Make me a sustainer. \_\_\_\_\_

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