

OVERVIEW



Haitian Bitter Sugar

U.S. Navy Bases & the Philippine Resistance

Toxic Waste Ocean Burning

CENTRAL AMERICA —

Miskito & Mayan Indians

Media, Democracy & Censorship

Amsterdam Alternative Culture

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1986

OVERTHROW

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Inside the Philippine Resistance

Zoltan Grossman visited the Philippines in April-July of last year, as a freelance journalist examining the growing movement against the dictatorship there. Within the mass movement he spoke extensively with legal organizers of different sectoral groups, underground activists, and guerrillas of the New People's Army (NPA) and the Moro Nationalist Liberation Front (MNLF). The first article of this 4-part series examines the Subic Bay Naval Base, and the prospects of U.S. intervention.



The Spanish came to the Philippine Archipelago in 1565 to "liberate" the islanders from their tribal religions. Admiral Dewey's fleet came to "liberate" the Filipinos from Spanish rule in 1898, yet by then buying the territories from Spain, the U.S. ignited a new guerrilla war that left many villages razed and up to 600,000 people dead on the island of Luzon alone. While at the time the bloody war was compared to the Indian Campaigns, many historians now see it as America's first "Vietnam" in Asia. The counter-insurgency strategy included using a type of water torture, setting up strategic hamlet-like camps for villagers, encircling villages and making them "free-fire zones."

On a rainy afternoon in the June monsoon season, a Filipino family of three picks through a garbage dump for scrap to sell, and maybe some food to eat. Their home is a shack in Pag-asa, a shantytown in Olongapo City, northwest of Manila. Across the river from the dump is the Subic Bay Naval Base, the largest U.S. Navy base outside of U.S. territory. Armed guards in a Navy watchtower at the river's edge keep a lookout over Pag-asa, which festers in contrast to the sleek cars and neatly manicured lawns on the base. Ironically for its inhabitants, "Pag-asa" in the Tagalog language translates as "Hope."

Most of the sailors who sail into Subic are unaware of the controversy the presence of U.S. bases engenders in the Philippines. To the Pentagon, Subic and Clark Air Field, a sprawling base just to the northeast that is larger in size than Grenada, have been linchpins in U.S. military strategy from the Western Pacific to Vietnam and the Persian Gulf. To a growing number of Filipinos, the bases are an American rationale for intervention in their economic, political and military affairs, and a haven for nuclear weapons.

The Army Commander in Samar, Gen. Jacob Smith, ordered the execution of "everything over ten" and announced to his men, "Kill and burn, kill and burn. The more you kill and the more you burn, the more you please me." One of the many Americans opposed to the war and supporting the Katipunan guerrillas was Mark Twain, who wrote: "If I were in the Philippines, I could be imprisoned for a year for publicly expressing the view that we ought to withdraw... On these terms I am quite willing to be called a traitor—quite willing to wear that honorable badge—and not be willing to be affronted with the title of Patriot... when so help me God I have not done anything to deserve it."

In 1941, the Japanese came to "liberate" the Filipinos from the white foreigners, and instituted their own brutal colonial government, headed by José Laurel (father of vice-presidential candidate Salvador Laurel). Like the Spanish and Americans before them, they groomed a group of wealthy Filipinos willing to collaborate with their political and economic designs. Some of these collaborators survived the "liberation" led by Gen. Douglas MacArthur and the granting of independence in 1946, such as Manuel Roxas, the first President of the Republic.

What also survived, say many Filipino nationalists, were the economic guarantees for American interests, and U.S. domination over Philippine military affairs, a policy enshrined in the system of U.S. bases in the country. They would say, paraphrasing Twain, that we never really withdrew. In a 1959 essay worthy of Twain, University of the Philippines (UP) Prof. Renato Constantino spoofs anthropological studies, defining Filipinos as

EPA Pushes for Ocean Burning

Despite massive protests from residents in surrounding areas, the EPA and Chem Waste Management are quickly and quietly pushing through a permit to burn hazardous waste in the North Atlantic.

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those natives who "live in areas outside of the military bases."

These guarantees for American companies and individuals touched off another guerrilla war led by the *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* (PKP), known as the Huk rebellion, which was crushed in the 1950s with the support of a CIA team led by Col. Edward Lansdale. The guarantees were under challenge again in the early 1970s, by street protests and court decisions. The challenge was temporarily silenced by President Marcos' declaration of martial law in 1972, which was hailed in a congratulatory telegram from the American Chamber of Commerce in Manila. Despite his swollen arsenal and armed forces, Marcos had to face two guerrilla armies, and then a reinvigorated movement of workers and students, opposed to the very presence of the U.S. bases. A decade later, millions

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Why Ronald Reagan Is A Miskito Indian In Nicaragua & Not A Maya Indian In Guatemala

by Bill Weinberg

At his pre-VE Day address at Bitburg Air Base, President Reagan said: "...I am a Jew in a world still threatened by anti-Semitism, I am an Afghan, and I am a prisoner of the Gulag, I am a refugee in a crowded boat foundering off the coast of Vietnam, I am Laotian, a Cambodian, a Cuban and a Miskito Indian in Nicaragua. I, too, am a potential victim of totalitarianism."

We will not ask in what arcane sense President Reagan "is" any of these things. It is more interesting to note that apart from "being" a Jew, which is his sole token reference to Nazism, his statement is a thinly disguised attack on Soviet imperialism. One wonders why Mr. Reagan "is" an Afghan and not a Salvadoran, why he "is" a prisoner of the Gulag and not a *desaparecido* in one of the clandestine prisons of Chile, why he "is" a

refugee in a boat off the coast of Vietnam and not a refugee struggling north through the Sonoran desert. Finally, one wonders why he "is" a Miskito Indian in Nicaragua and not a Maya Indian in Guatemala.

While the U.S.-supported regime in Guatemala and US-based corporations from Brazil to Alaska destroy Indian land and culture, the Reagan Administration curiously develops a sudden concern for the plight of Nicaragua's Miskitos. However, this kind of hypocrisy is not confined to the political right. The North American left, traditionally the self-appointed champion of Indian rights, has been quick to dismiss the Miskito guerrilla organizations as mere dupes of CIA manipulation. It seems that politicians of every stripe are quick to use Indian struggles for ideological fuel but are equally quick to overlook those which do not fit into their preconceived dogma.

In reality, the struggles of native peoples

in Central America, as elsewhere in the Americas, have roots which do not easily fit into the left-right framework.

Nicaragua's Miskito Coast: A Separate War

The Miskito struggle remains a struggle between the East and West coasts of Nicaragua, despite the interference of those who would transform it into a struggle between the Eastern and Western world empires. The ever-present attempt to manipulate the struggle into an inappropriate context of revolution vs. counter-revolution has only served to complicate the situation.

Nicaragua's Atlantic and Pacific coasts have deep cultural differences with roots that go back to the era of European colonialism. The East Coast escaped the process of "ladinoization" because it was settled by the British, who governed it as a protectorate from Jamaica. Because the coast is covered by a vast, sweltering rain

forest, the British maintained few settlements there, but armed the Miskitos and set them up as a puppet "kingdom" to effectively keep the Spanish out. The Spanish were busily colonizing the West Coast, which was cooler, more fertile and generally more desirable. So today the west of Nicaragua is ladino, Spanish-speaking and Roman Catholic, while the east is populated by Indians, blacks and Caribbean peoples who speak either native tongues or English and mostly belong to the Moravian Church, an esoteric Protestant sect which has maintained missionaries in the area. The Sumu, Rama and Miskito Indians share the common Chibchan language. The various peoples of the East Coast are together known as Costeños. To the Costeños, the rest of Nicaraguans are Españoles. While all of Nicaragua is poor, the East Coast is severely underdeveloped.

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Maya Indians burn copal incense on the steps of the church in Chichicastenango, Guatemala photos by Jaqueline Mosio

Real Estate Interests Take Over WBAI

by Dana Beal

(NYC)—Radio WBAI, longtime flagship of alternative radio in New York is undergoing another one of its periodic shakeups. Only this time it's much more serious, with autonomously produced shows oriented toward special listener communities being cut back at least 80% in favor of a straighter, more commercial-sounding format.

Critics such as John Fiske, an independent producer recently banned from the Station after airing charges involving real estate manipulations behind the new regimen, say dissent is being silenced to make the station more acceptable to the neo-conservative temper of the times.

Specifically, Fiske said a number of producers had been told to avoid alienating WBAI's potential listener base with remarks critical of Israel. Interviewed at his home, he named Viney Burroughs, Valerie Van Isler and Bernard White as having lost their timeslots altogether.

Fiske stressed, however, that this was all part of a move to a straighter front by a new station management. And on his last program before he was banned, he supplied inside information on the motivation behind the changes.

Quoting from a letter from John J. Simon, the new General Manager, to the WBAI Board, he revealed the role the Goodman Institute—being set up by Simon and others to fund BAI—is to play in gentrifying the East 14th St. area:

"In its real estate role, the institute is now envisioned as a general partner in a limited partner real estate syndication that would buy a relatively large building to be developed on a for-profit basis, with either condominiums or rental units producing income for the partnership.

"In conversations with Caroline Goodman (of the Goodman Institute) and Jane Mark, who is Caroline Goodman's niece and a real estate developer, the feeling was that...money could be found much more easily if there were both profit and depreciation incentives for investors, and the rent that...WBAI will have to pay will be effectively subsidized by the institute's share of the profits from the venture.

"In a meeting I had with Norman Cohen, head of the Union Square East 14th Street Local Development Corporation, I learned that many nonprofits are pursuing this route. Cohen is prepared to be helpful...his group is interested in bringing arts organizations to the Union Square area because of the obvious positive impact they will have on property values.

"The institute will have to raise about \$500,000 as its share of the real estate investment and also to cover some of its

startup and operating costs... However...it might be possible to make the investment package so attractive that we can demand tax-deductible contributions to the Goodman Institute as the price of admission to the development venture."

The day after airing this letter, Fiske was banned from WBAI, labeled a "racist" in a letter which dismissed his critique of the new, conservative direction at WBAI with a statement that "...there is no conspiracy of either "Zionist," or "Jewish" origins against the station."

Fiske's reply, which will not be aired, reads in part: "Your refusal to respond [to these charges]...has to do with your evasion of the substantive issues... It is difficult to imagine WBAI wanting to involve itself with any aspect of Manhattan real estate development. Decency precludes the dislocation of ordinary working people and small local businesses from their homes and neighborhoods. To survive in New York we have to deal with landlords... That does not mean we have to become one. The conflict of interest is crystal clear.

"Several producers...have, in fact, been advised...they must be sensitive to the "New York" audience when they talk about Israel's policies and actions, or they should not talk about that subject at all—this in the context of how it would affect the station financially.

"Pressure of this sort is one of Israel's major tools in its regrettably successful efforts to control the few unfriendly media outlets, as well as our Congress."

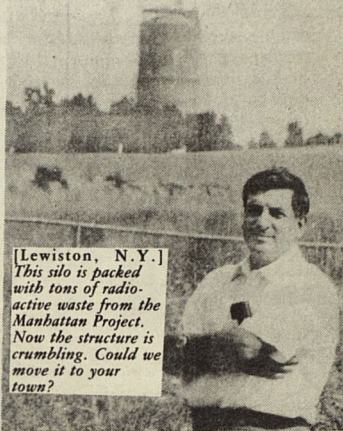
Pentagon Dumps Toxics on All of Us

by Will Collette

[RECON NETWORK, Arlington, VA.] If you live near, work on or visit a military installation, chances are you will be exposed to toxic hazards. The U.S. military, like American industry in general, has been on a chemical and technology binge since before World War 2. Just as we are discovering the legacy of thousands of industrial toxic waste sites, so too are we finding hundreds—perhaps thousands—of military sites. Further, the military toxic hazards problem is more than just dumpsites. It includes exposure to many different forms of radiation, weapon testing, and dangerous, obsolete weapons whose disposal poses a nearly insolvable problem.

Around the country, the military toxic hazards problem is enormous, diverse, and costly. Each year, the military generates over 500,000 tons of hazardous waste, more than the five largest chemical companies combined. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has a count of 392 military installations that need cleanup. As many as 800 bases and up to 5,000 individual sites may have to be addressed. Initial cost estimates range up to \$10 billion.

The toxic hazards are amazingly diverse. They range from chemical solvents that destroyed the well water supply of Hipps Road residents in Jacksonville, Florida, and poisoned John Shanahans' ranch in Eureka, Nevada, to radioactive waste in half a dozen sites in the Midwest and South, like the Y-12 site in Oak Ridge, Tennessee.



[Lewiston, N.Y.] This silo is packed with tons of radioactive waste from the Manhattan Project. Now the structure is crumbling. Could we move it to your town?

They include 500,000 leaking, nerve gas rockets stored in several sites, such as Aberdeen, Maryland; Richmond, Kentucky; Pine Bluff, Arkansas; Umatilla, Oregon; and Tooele, Utah. These leaking rockets cannot be left there, but there is no known, proven way to destroy them.

The problem includes old Agent Orange manufacturing and storage areas that range from the small shed at Fort A.P. Hill, Virginia, that exposed Boy Scouts on Jamboree to dioxin, to thoroughly-contaminated communities, such as Newark's Ironbound neighborhood and Jacksonville, Arkansas, where residents have dioxin levels in their gardens that are five times higher than those that caused Times Beach residents to be evacuated. The problem includes exotic chemicals, such as RDX and other World War 2 explosives, that have contaminated wells in towns like Grand Island, Nebraska.

Successful Organizing Against Military Toxics

Military toxics, like industrial toxics, have triggered a groundswell of grassroots organizing. The residents of Love Canal, through their organizing, proved that old-

fashioned, direct action can lead to victory on even the most unlikely demands (in their case, that they be relocated). This example caused thousands of new grassroots groups to arise and repeat the same winning formula.

This is also happening on military environmental hazards. Some examples: residents in Jacksonville, Florida, formed Concerned Citizens Against Contaminated Water and took their case and several discarded toxic waste canisters to Congress. They laid these "exhibits" in front of Congressman Mike Synar (D-OK), chair of a key Congressional sub-committee, who has since been leading Congressional pressure on the military to clean up its act.

Residents of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Washington Grove, Maryland, have fought for bans on nerve gas research in their densely populated neighborhoods. Good Neighbors Against Toxic Substances (GNATS) in Grand Island, Nebraska, fought for and won a clean drinking-water supply while the Army begins cleanup of their arsenal.

The Arkansas Cleanup Alliance and the New Jersey Environmental Organization have speeded up cleanup of Agent Orange dioxin contamination in Jacksonville, Arkansas, and in Newark, New Jersey, respectively. Concerned Citizens of Richmond, Kentucky, and the Winter's Run Association of Aberdeen, Maryland, have held up unproven military incinerator plans to destroy leaking nerve gas rockets until residents are brought into the cleanup and disposal planning process.

Military toxics problems can be addressed and can be won. Already, there is talk in Congress about setting up a "Military Superfund" and bringing military toxics problems and their solutions under the same civilian rules that address industrial problems. But local residents are not waiting for the slow wheels of national policy-making to turn, nor are they abandoning their healthy skepticism of agency officials who say, "I'm from Washington, and I'm here to help." They have begun to form their own ad hoc networks to share information and to prevent the military from playing off one community against another, letting the solution to one community's problems become a horror for another community.

They are also making and are open to making alliances with peace groups, but mainly on their own terms. Though the issue of military environmental hazards is not without its frustrations, it also represents a tremendous opportunity for practical working relationships between peace groups and citizens organizations comprised of average, ordinary working people. It is an opportunity that does not come around too often and one that we must all work to make the most of.

For a free literature list write to: Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes, P.O. Box 926, Arlington, Va. 22216.

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South Africa: Bound in Bands of Gold

by Rhonda Scheel & Jim Fosbinder

A campaign directed against the sale, purchase and wearing of gold jewelry may be the most effective way to destabilize the white South African economy.

According to U.S. News and World Report (Sept. 16, 1985), "it is becoming increasingly clear that economic woes, not rioting by blacks, could be the spur that compels the white government to ease its rigid policy of apartheid."

While so far disinvestment has been pushed, in reality the factories and industries of the type in which the U.S. corporations have investments produce only 5% (1 billion U.S. dollars) of South Africa's total export dollars (and a far smaller percentage of South Africa's hard currency earnings from exports).

Experts say that the selling or buying of gold as investments no longer affects prices much. The vast amount of gold produced is used as jewelry, however, so any change in this market could be enough to alter the price dramatically.

A 30% decrease in the price of gold, in fact, should be enough to virtually eliminate the hard-currency income of South Africa.

The production cost of one ounce of gold in South Africa is estimated at \$225. The rest is presumably profit. A 30%

decrease in the price of gold from current levels of \$338 would result in a sales price approximately equal to the cost of production.

Given that the South African gold industry is owned almost entirely by South Africans, there would be a coinciding decrease of approximately \$6-8 billion of hard currency income for them. This is probably equivalent to the total cost of the military establishment used to enforce apartheid.

Historically, gold, silver and oil prices have been closely related. Given the recent drop in oil prices by almost 50%, substantial pressure already exists upon investors to lower the price of gold.



South Africa produces approximately 650 of the 1100 tons of gold produced annually. Since 80% of this is used in jewelry and such, an effective boycott combined with a drop corresponding to the fall in oil prices could dramatically affect South African wealth.

Ironically, the South African gold industry gross sales has in the past brought in 19.2 billion Rand (South African currency), which recently was equal to the entire national budget. Clearly the loss of any of the income from the gold industry could be detrimental to South Africa's economy.

Furthermore, if bankers saw this to be a result of a long term boycott, they would most likely grow unwilling to lend more money to a country dependent upon a down-sliding industry.

While disinvestment may make major American banks less willing to lend directly to South Africa, it does not affect South Africa's credit ratings as dramatically as a long term trend of lower gold prices would.

If Americans, Europeans and Third World youth find out that the black people of South Africa are literally bound in bands of gold, a dramatic effect on gold prices, the South African economy and the mechanism of apartheid is inevitable.

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EPA Pushes for Ocean Burning

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The EPA proposes to allow Chem Waste Management to burn over 700,000 gallons of toxic waste containing approximately 210,000 gallons of PCBs, less than 150 miles off of New Jersey's coast. These hazardous wastes are to be shipped from all over the U.S. The planned "research burn" is to begin in the Spring of 1986 if the EPA and Chem Waste get their way.

Public outcry has been tremendous, and not just limited to environmentalists. State representatives, scientists and whole communities are getting involved. Nobody wants to see hazardous wastes burned even remotely near their area. In Philadelphia, on January 13, 1986, people sang "God Bless America" and recited the pledge of Allegiance to protest a plan to use the city's port to load toxic wastes on an incinerator ship.

The State of Maryland is asking for an extension on the date of the burning because it needs time to see if it is consistent with its coastal management plans. Chem Waste is suing to stop the delay.

On December 9, 1985, Representative Roy Dyson of Maryland introduced a bill to bar incineration of certain waste at sea. The EPA would have to give a full report to Congress on research done so far on the effects of operation, produce a plan for use of the sites after the burns, and issue a final blueprint for regulation of the operation before they could go ahead with ocean incineration plans. Also, users and disposers of chemicals to be burned at sea would be held financially liable if the wastes escape in any way into the environment.

Some unions have also taken a position against ocean burning: Thomas Fagan, president of local 417 of the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried and Machine Workers, part of the AFL-CIO, stated at the hearings that: "Along with all residents of this state [NJ], we must live and contend with the highest cancer rate, and highest number of Superfund toxic waste sites in the U.S. of A."

He explains that toxic wastes will be transported to the NJ-PA area from as many as 26 different states and Canada, despite the fact that the NJ Hazardous Waste Facilities Siting Commission has determined that ocean burning is not necessary to meet NJ's hazardous waste disposal needs. It will not contribute to the clean-up of New Jersey's existing toxic waste sites because only liquids are burned, not contaminated soils and sludge.

The Proposed Plans

Christopher Daggett, Regional Administrator for Region II of the US EPA, reports that research burns on the Vulcanus II will be held for around 19 days at the proposed North Atlantic Incineration Site. EPA officials will be on board along with mechanical devices which automatically shut down the waste feed if required operating conditions are not met. Requirements will also include a 2-mile minimum visibility for transit, a tug escort and Coast Guard escort above the Delaware Memorial Bridge and Coast Guard enforcement of a 100-yard zone around the vessel. The Coast Guard will supervise all aspects of the transport.

However, only one EPA official will be on board the ship. If he works a normal 8 hour shift it means the other 16 hours of the day will be unmonitored.

Chem Waste Management, a subsidiary of Waste Management Inc. of Oak Brook Illinois, is currently the only bidder for the ocean incineration permit that must come from the EPA.

Waste Management Inc. has been investigated by 6 states and the EPA on environmental counts. One third of the imposed fines were attributed to Chem Waste. Chem Waste paid \$17 million in fines for breaking federal hazardous waste laws in the past 19 months alone. One \$2.6 million fine to Chem Waste was for mixing 6 million gallons of PCBs with fuel oil and

selling it to unwary homeowners to heat their homes and for dust control (oiling roads). Note: Chem Waste made over \$22 million by selling the contaminated oil. Can a company with this kind of record be trusted to adhere to regulations when miles from citizens and officials' view?

What Is Being Burned?

The company's track record is very important in the case of ocean incineration because of the dangerous chemicals involved. The waste oil to be burned contains 10 percent PCBs (polychlorinated biphenyls). These are persistent, i.e., they will be lethal for years. They are bioaccumulative: they seek the fatty tissues of living organisms such as fish and people, and increase in concentration as they are passed up the food chain from plankton to fish to people.

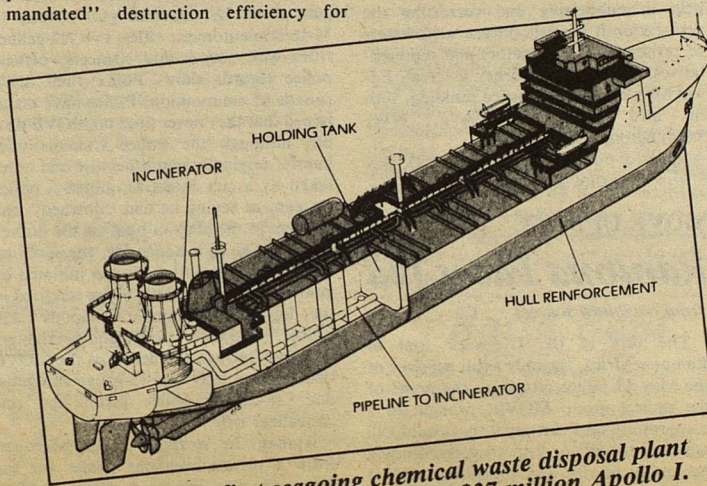
PCBs are one of the most powerful carcinogens known—and by-products of incomplete combustion can be even more toxic than the original compound. Very little research has been done on the by-products of incineration. The "federally mandated" destruction efficiency for

once every 20 years. One spill would have a catastrophic effect on the ocean.

Environmentalists are also worried about the impact of ocean incineration on sperm whales which frequent the burn site; Daggett considers the impact to be insignificant during a research burn. He doesn't talk about long-term burning's effects.

Europe has used ocean incineration since 1972, as an interim measure, like dumping. They do not consider it safe, and they are phasing it out.

Other sites have been designated in the US: the Gulf of Mexico, in 1982; the Pacific Ocean (offshore of California) is under consideration; a Northeast site is pending 140 miles east of Cape May NJ. This expansion is going on without any "research" really being done before continuing with it. A burn has already taken place in the Gulf of Mexico. How many more before the EPA determines what the effects are?



America's first seagoing chemical waste disposal plant —the \$37 million Apollo I.

PCBs of ocean incineration is 99.9999 percent. But Chem Waste's record on obeying federal mandates speaks for itself.

The Dangers of Ocean Burning

Spills on land are common. Ocean incineration, because it's so centralized, requires a lot of land transport. The extremely toxic, volatile chemicals to be burned will be transported by rail to the port of Philadelphia, thru small towns all over the US that aren't equipped to deal with possible accidents.

Spills occurring in the ocean would be impossible to retrieve or isolate from the marine environment, as confirmed by the US Coast Guard. A spill could lead to the dumping of thousands of tons of hazardous acids, pesticides, dioxin-contaminated PCBs and other carcinogenic compounds into the ocean, and depending on the currents, onto the N.J., Delaware, Maryland, and Long Island beaches.

The EPA reports claim that ocean incineration can destroy toxic waste at 99.9 to 99.9999 percent efficiency. But these figures were obtained thru earlier EPA testing which has now been deemed "scientifically inappropriate" in a report issued last March by EPA's Science Advisory Board. The report warns that there may be problems with incineration at sea which don't occur on land, such as the effect of rolling waves on the burning process. Another EPA report states that stacks on sea-going incinerators are not equipped with scrubbers, therefore ocean incineration is 34 times dirtier than on land.

In other words, the EPA proposes to see what happens with these chemicals during ocean incineration. Measures have not been taken to guard against dangerous emissions from the burn and once samples from the area are found to be contaminated, the pollution has already occurred.

The EPA estimates that a spill in a harbor the size of Mobile, Alabama could occur once every 10,000 years. But that's once every 10,000 years per ship. A fleet of ships could raise the risk percentage to

The outcome of all of these proposals and EPA fact-findings is to wonder, with the little bit of information that we have, how we can determine the safety of the activity? What is the ocean's ability to assimilate toxins? Persistent chemicals dispersed at sea eventually return, through the food chain. Can we really monitor something that many miles from shore?

Why Ocean Incineration?

Daggett is arguing that the EPA is faced with fewer and fewer options for waste disposal. There are 225 EPA-permitted land-based incinerators in operation today. Collectively, they have the capacity to destroy only 1 percent of the approximately 250 metric tons of hazardous waste generated each year in this country. The EPA is selling it as our only solution, at least at the present time.

Ocean incineration will be cheaper than land incineration because there aren't as many environmental controls. So waste producers are less likely to reduce their volume of waste, or recycle it, or remove valuable components for reuse. This will lead to increased shipments of toxic waste to ports such as Philadelphia.

According to Thomas Fagan of local 417, "the promotion of ocean incineration discourages this type of real progress toward actual solutions because it encourages waste producers to use off-site disposal, rather than on-site reduction, recycling, and other treatment options. Instead of attacking the problem at the source, it provides a cheap, liability-free easy out that will surely result in increased production of hazardous wastes, and exposure of workers to it."

Greenpeace, which is also involved in fighting ocean incineration, states that "the EPA's longstanding support of ocean incineration has stifled development of land-based incineration technologies that could be more easily monitored and may be more environmentally sound...The answer to America's toxic waste problem is to provide industry with the necessary incentives to reduce toxic waste production, not to rely on shaky disposal methods such as ocean incineration."

PARTIAL CHRONOLOGY OF TOXIC WASTE INCINERATION

Thanks to Greenpeace, 1611 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. 20009; (202)462-1177.

*1969: German registered ship, Matthias, a cargo vessel refitted with an onboard incinerator, is the first ship commissioned to burn organochlorine wastes in the North Sea.

*1972: Vulcanus, flag flying ship of Singapore, conducts its first burn in the North Sea. In the years that follow, four additional incineration vessels conduct burns in the North Sea: Matthias II and III, Vesta and Vulcanus II.

*1974: Shell Chemical Company borrows Vulcanus to burn four shiploads of liquid organochlorine wastes in the Gulf of Mexico.

EPA assumes authority to regulate ocean incineration under the Marine Protection Research and Sanctuaries Act.

*1977: Vulcanus is barred from the port of Emden, Germany, because of toxic contaminated bilge water. Crew dumps contaminated water at sea and returns to port.

Shell Chemical burns an additional four shiploads of waste in the Gulf of Mexico. Total quantity of liquid organic waste burned in the Gulf brings total to 5.41 million gallons.

*1978: Ocean Combustion Services employs Vulcanus to burn two shiploads of Agent Orange off Johnston Atoll in the South Pacific. Agent Orange spilled into the Pacific Ocean.

London Dumping Convention issues international ocean incineration regulations stating that ocean incineration should be considered "an interim method of disposal of wastes pending the development of environmentally better solutions."

*1979: Federal Republic of Germany confirms reports that burning chlorinated hydrocarbons produces new even more highly toxic gases, seven of which were discovered during a burn aboard Vesta.

*1980: Waste Management, Inc., the world's largest hazardous waste handling firm, buys Ocean Combustion Services and Vulcanus and Vulcanus II. Company lobbyists launch a major campaign in Washington D.C. to clear the way for full-scale ocean burning in US coastal waters.

*1981: Vulcanus is barred from the Netherlands because of cargo tank leaks.

Oslo Commission decides that a meeting must be held to set a date for banning ocean incineration, before 1990.

Waste Management Inc. attorney, James Sanderson, reportedly writes permit conditions for future Vulcanus burns in the U.S. while working under contract with EPA Administrator Anne Gorsuch.

EPA publishes Final Environmental Impact Statement on the designation of a North Atlantic burn site, off the New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland coasts.

*December: First PCB burn is conducted on board Vulcanus in the Gulf of Mexico. High-ranking EPA official claims that the incinerator achieved a 99.9999 percent destruction efficiency. Shipboard engineers report problems with the operation of the incinerator and monitoring equipment, including severed vibrations in the incinerator, plugged sampling tubes and the loss of test samples. Subsequently, the research is labeled invalid by EPA officials who call for additional test burns.

*1982: April: U.S. Maritime Administration announces it will use taxpayers' money to guarantee loans to finance the construction of two new vessels by Tacoma Boatbuilding Company.

*December: An EPA investigation reveals that the Vulcanus permit to incinerate only "PCBs in fuel oil" was changed at the last minute to include "other organic components." Officials report that "the company knew that the waste was contaminated but failed to conduct proper tests."

*1983: November: Three Greenpeace members, on board Vulcanus II to observe PCB burn in the North Sea, photograph flames shooting above the stack and emissions of black smoke. During test burns, newly formed chlorinated hydrocarbons were found.

Over 6,200 citizens attend an EPA public hearing in Brownsville, Texas, to oppose ocean incineration—the largest crowd ever to attend an EPA hearing.

*December: House Subcommittee holds a hearing on ocean incineration. Several U.S. representatives criticize EPA for writing permits without regulations.

Oceanographer Jacques Cousteau testifies urging EPA to reject permit request, "I can think of no worse place for such dangerous chemicals to be transported or destroyed than the sea."

*1985: February: EPA publishes draft regulations to begin clearing the way for full-scale commercial burns on both coasts and in the Gulf.

A bill, calling for a moratorium on ocean incineration and a study to assess the potential for hazardous waste reduction, is introduced into Congress.

Victory for the New York 8

by Bob McGlynn

The New York 8 were finally sentenced on January 16. Busted in sensationalistic raids in October, 1984, they were acquitted of conspiracy charges involving alleged plans to rob armored trucks and free Black political prisoners from jail. Convictions did stick on weapons and fake ID charges. Sentencing for Viola Plummer, Robert Taylor, Omowale Clay, Colette Pean, Yvette Kelly, Coltrane Chimurenga, Ruth Lateefah Carter and Roger Wareham ranged from 2 to 3 and a half years probation and 200 to 450 hours of community service. Colette Pean must do an additional 90 days in jail and repay \$1,500 she expropriated from welfare with fake identification.

All in all the government lost bad on this one with the asinine prosecution still pushing the judge for maximum sentencing (10 years in the joint) until the last moment. The judge responded by saying the feds simply didn't have anything—they brought the case "too soon" since the defendants *hadn't done anything*. The media of course didn't see fit to repeat the blazing headlines of the original busts. Except for a couple of small mentions in the straight press and coverage in the Black press, the sentencing went generally unnoticed. The white left was also generally nowhere to be found.

The fact that the NY 8 won a pretty good victory doesn't change the hardship and stress they've been put through. They've lost homes, jobs and are in bad debt. If you can help out in any of these areas, contact: **NY 8 Defense Committee**, 2415 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11223. (212)615-3155. Make checks out to the NY 8 Defense Fund.

FBI Raids in Puerto Rico

On August 30th 225 agents of the U.S. F.B.I. and accompanying police raided the homes and offices of 37 Puerto Ricans. They were looking for one person wanted in connection with an armed robbery of a Wells Fargo truck two years before, but they arrested 17 persons alleged to be associated with Los Macheteros, a militant group seeking Puerto Rican independence from the U.S.—and they searched twenty other homes in a dragnet, seeking evidence connected to Los Macheteros and to other persons in sympathy with the independence movement in Puerto Rico.

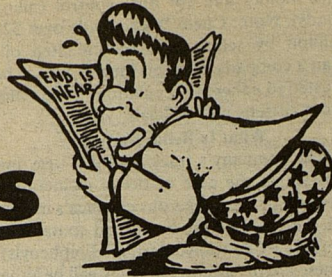
U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese condoned the raids, which included paramilitary uniforms, helicopters, machine guns, and house searches without warrants at the site—in violation of Puerto Rican law. In a ten-page press release the Attorney General claimed these raids were appropriate as "a signal to terrorists and their supporters."

Among the homes searched was that of Coqui Santaliz, an award-winning feature journalist, poet, and former president of Puerto Rican PEN (PEN is an organization of liberal, civil liberties-minded writers and editors). Santaliz's husband, Roberto Maldonado, is an attorney who in the past has defended conscientious objectors in Puerto Rico, as well as Independents in trouble with the authorities for political reasons.

The FBI may have targeted Maldonado because of his political and professional associations, but his wife is essentially a writer, with five published books of poetry and ten children's plays to her credit. The FBI in its search of their home took all her manuscripts, the draft of an unpublished novel she was writing, a presentation she intended to read at an international poet's conference, a draft of a poetry book that was ready for printing, 30 cassettes of classical music, 50 cassettes of interviews with Puerto Rican cultural figures, photographs and thousands of negatives, all her darkroom equipment, and her typewriter.

The FBI also raided the offices of *Pensamiento Critico*, Puerto Rico's equivalent

news briefs



of the *Nation* magazine, conducting an 18-hour search, arresting its editor, Jorge Farinaci, and seizing its printing press. The home of painter Antonio Martorell was among those searched, as was that of Silva Maldonado, the daughter of attorney Roberto Maldonado, who is herself an anti-nuclear arms leader at her university.

Puerto Rico PEN has issued a press release decrying the FBI raids in the strongest possible terms and has asked for help in publicizing and correcting the persecution it has felt. Please write letters of protest to U.S. senators and representatives, and to the Attorney General, Edwin Meese III, Main Justice Building, 10th St. and Constitution Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20530.

—reprinted from *Bayou La Rose*, P.O. Box 6130, Kansas City, KS 66106.

MOVE UPDATE

Ramona Faces Jail

from combined sources

The jury in the five-week trial of Ramona Africa, the only adult survivor of the May 13 police attack on the home of the radical group MOVE, brought in a compromise on February 9 that could still send her to jail for 7 to 14 years, finding her guilty of riot and conspiracy. But it cleared her of aggravated assault, simple assault, recklessly endangering others and resisting arrest, which could have added up to 57 years in the slammer.

Asked if she got a fair trial, she said, "If it was fair, I wouldn't be here."

Lawyers all the way up to the State Attorney General's Office fought unsuccessfully to keep Ramona, who defended herself, from subpoenaing Mayor Goode and former police commissioner Sambor. However, she was unable to force police Lt. Frank Powell and Officer William Klein to testify about the construction and dropping of the bomb on the MOVE house. Klein had admitted, after keeping it from investigators for some weeks, to adding the powerful military explosive C-4 to the bomb "on his own initiative," and—with Powell, who flew the copter—pleaded the Fifth Amendment to stay off the witness stand.

When questioned by Ramona, Birdie Africa, now 14 and known as Moses Michael Ward, recounted how MOVE people were prevented from exiting the back of the burning MOVE house by police gunfire in the back alley, that in addition to Ramona and himself two other children had come out of the house, that from the early morning hours until their exit that night Birdie and Ramona were in the basement of the house and that Ramona Africa never had any kind of weapon that day. The prosecution asked him if he "knew" that a policeman had saved his life when he ran out of the house and fell unconscious into a puddle of water. "No," he answered, "I got up on my own."

Maximum Force

All but two of the bodies were found in a cluster in the driveway area in back of the house—where Birdie said Ramona saved his life by pushing him and telling him to make a run for it. This fall, the expert pathologist appointed by Mayor Goode's 11-member investigative commission found that five of the corpses belonged to children, rather than four as had been the report of the Philadelphia medical examiner's office. Dr. Al Z. Hameli found the cause of the eleven deaths to be homicide, or *suicide*(?) in contradiction to the Philadelphia Medical Examiner's find-

ing of "accidental" death due to "fire-related" causes.

Hamel's investigation revealed that the group's leader John Africa was among the dead, and that there were shotgun pellets in at least three of the bodies, which were somehow missed in the earlier autopsies. (These did not appear to have been, in themselves, the cause of death.)

Police that day were armed with an arsenal that included a .50-caliber machine gun, seven Uzi machine gun pistols, 16 M-16 semiautomatic rifles, two .22-caliber rifles with scopes and silencers, official police records show. Police fired 8,570 rounds of ammunition. Police have maintained that they never fired on MOVE people, although the Police Commissioner himself originally said otherwise and notes taken by a city detective quoted a police sergeant as saying he had "downed" one of them in the alley in back of the house.

According to a police log, the shooting which began at 6:01 a.m. was initiated by gunfire from the MOVE house reported in the log as "automatic weapons .223 caliber." However, police and firefighters combing through the debris of the MOVE house found only two 12-gauge shotguns, one .38-caliber police pistol and one .22-caliber rifle.

Among the weapons police borrowed from a private weapons dealer for the "showdown"—and used—were an M-60 machine gun and a Browning Automatic Rifle (BAR), both used in combat by U.S. forces. Stakeout cops in the house next door to MOVE were at one moment early in the "confrontation" subjected to fire from the M-60 by a triggerhappy cop.

Also borrowed, but not used, was a 20mm artillery piece cops described as an "anti-tank gun."

Truth Under Siege

Somehow the jury who could see through the prosecution's attempt to hold Ramona accountable for the wounding of three police officers in the morning melee, was able to endorse the City's contention that Ramona had been part of a conspiracy to provoke the police into such a "confrontation." Surely more evidence for that is needed than the letter allegedly written by Ramona which the police say they opened two days before the attack, however weirdly prophetic parts of it may seem, or however strident the rhetoric.

Ramona's bail has been reduced to \$200,000 and she remains in the House of Corrections. Sentencing is set for April 14.

The events leading up to the May 13 MOVE disaster are being readied for a made-for-television movie by the Taft Entertainment Co. The current working title for the "docudrama" is "City Under Siege." The movie will focus on the first two weeks of last May when neighbors in the Cobbs Creek section of West Philadelphia started to complain to city officials about MOVE. There are people who won't be able to sleep soundly until television tells them a comforting lie about this one.

UFW Focus on Pesticide Dangers

by Charles Swan

The United Farm Workers assert that both farm workers and consumers are being systematically poisoned by the reckless use of agricultural poisons by California's commercial growers. More and more truly poisonous chemicals are being used in the fields, applied by workers who are given inadequate instructions and protection.

A 16-year-old boy was put to work applying Phosdrin. He vomited, had trouble

breathing, and died the following day.

On Aug. 5, 1985, a Mexican worker, Juan Chabolla, 32, died after working for several hours in a field sprayed with Monitor only an hour before he began work. Working in a field so soon after spraying violates California law. (Monitor is described as "highly potent" and "very deadly" when not used properly.)

In June, Tulare County officials quarantined a large block of land in a grape vineyard, because they found residues of Orthene in the vineyard; Orthene is not approved for use on table grapes.

Dr. Marion Moses, director of the Farm Workers' Clinics and leading specialist in environmental diseases, says many farm workers are told to apply methyl bromide without training, proper supervision or proper protective equipment. About 10 million pounds of methyl bromide is used yearly. It is highly toxic and extremely poisonous to all forms of life; it is said to be more powerful than mustard gas. It has brought death and severe permanent damage to poisoned workers. The UFW seeks to ban its use in agriculture.

The U.S. Secretary of Agriculture has written that "We are unaware of any health hazard associated with (table grapes)", which is the chief focus of the UFW action. The Department of Agriculture is now investigating the UFW leadership for possible violations of the U.S. Anti-Tampering Act, passed in the aftermath of the 1983 Tylenol scare, which prohibits the dissemination of false information about the tainting of a consumer product. In other words you can go to prison for warning the people about a poisonous product that the government does not view as harmful.

The UFW are calling on ALL people to boycott non-union California grapes.

For more information please write to: UFW, P.O.B. 62, La Paz, Keene, CA 93531. Watch what you eat! Honor the Earth!

reprinted from *Bayou La Rose*, P.O. Box 6130, Kansas City, KS 66106.

The Town The Sheriff Got

by Rhonda Scheel

The chief deputy of Yavapai County, Arizona, not only arrested 21 of ex-ghost-town Jerome's 420 citizens but also the police chief, the former mayor, the vice-mayor and a councilwoman early on the morning of October 11, 1985.

They called it the Verde Valley Drug Bust, and touted it as a giant step toward pinching "the central nervous system of a Verde Valley drug conspiracy," as the Arizona Department of Public Safety puts it.

Charges against those arrested vary but include conspiracy to cultivate marijuana, possession of marijuana, sale of marijuana and sale of cocaine.

The arrests came after five months surveillance over a marijuana field discovered near Clear Creek in Camp Verde and over Jerome residents by a live-in plant, James Faernstorm.

Law-enforcement officials reported that the field contains approximately 450 high-grade marijuana plants. The arithmetic is simple—and simply ridiculous. After a field that size is cultivated, dried and cleaned, it would yield about 35 pounds of marijuana. Sold at a prime street value of \$200 an ounce, the crop would generate \$112,000. If this were one person's booty, it would probably sound like a lot. Divided among the 25 persons the DPS alleges are part of the conspiracy, however, each of the accused would have earned only \$4,480. That's assuming the field produced a bumper crop and each of the accused sold their entire share at prime street value.

With each person having in reality little over a pound each, it seems far more likely that most of the pot would be used for personal consumption, which hardly identifies a "conspiracy." Not to mention the fact that most of the accused didn't have anything to do with one another.

One past resident of Jerome, Laren Renee, called it "an embarrassment that the DPS (Department of Public Safety)

culminated an expensive five-month investigation with such meager results, considering the amount of drug trafficking and cocaine use that must exist in greater Yavapai and Maricopa counties."

The real conspiracy, then, may well lie in the county officials' motivation behind the scene.

The story allegedly begins over two years ago when Helen Lewis, then Jerome's police chief, was turned down as Jerome's permanent police chief.

According to several residents, Lewis was so angry she made up an elaborate story of having been pressured by the town council to condone drug use in the community. In an article published by the *Arizona Republic*, she claimed that she was asked to sign a document of law-enforcement priorities that said she and her two officers should strictly enforce laws covering life and property. She said she refused to sign the paper and resigned shortly thereafter.

Town Manager Doyle Vines had tape recorded the executive sessions to which Lewis referred, and says he has proof that Lewis fabricated the story.

Later, an angry and upset Lewis apparently announced publicly to customers at the Jerome Palace restaurant that if she did not get her way, i.e. be made permanent police chief, she would call the DPS and have the town investigated. Jerome Palace manager Brad Anderson verified the incident.

Then, on October 4, 1983 resident Glen Baisch was arrested for growing 473 pot plants in his back yard on Main Street. Three days later "the shit hit the fan," as one resident put it, when *The Independent* newspaper of Cottonwood, Jerome's closest neighboring town, published a front page article in which the new police chief, Ron Ballatore, was accused by a few anonymous Jerome residents of involvement in a "massive drug trafficking problem" in the town where, one of these same residents claimed, "the main industry is not tourism, it's drugs."

The town so frequently described as peace-loving went berserk, threatened the article's author, Jeri Robertson, and flooded *The Independent* with fiery letters and telephone calls.

Now, after the October 11th raid, the town has been described as "a frightened town in mourning." Is this what the county had in mind all along?

Jerome residents seem to feel this is all just a sample of the harassment they will be subject to in the future.

One former resident, Laren Renee, says, "I find it hard to believe that marijuana is the central issue here. I am more inclined to believe that some of the people of Yavapai County felt threatened by the creativity and free-thinking spirit of the Jerome residents (who built the town up from a ghost town a number of years ago). They will only feel secure when they have complete political control over Jerome."

"I am also suspicious of those who stand to profit by the upcoming development of the Verde Valley and would like to personally reap the profits of Jerome's imminent rise as a tourist attraction and arts center—much like the conservative element that presently controls Sedona."

Site of a scenic state historical park, Jerome is located 25 miles northeast of Prescott and 50 miles southwest of Flagstaff. Indeed, it is surrounded by a circle of six or seven more conservative Verde Valley towns, one of which is Sedona, a town of "rich old people," according to some.

Evidence suggests that this is a war between the town and the county, and, like all wars, it is costly to both sides.

In particular, Jerome not only lost former-Mayor Jim Kinsella, Vice-Mayor Richard Flagg, councilwoman Anne Marie Bassett, and well-loved and admired police Chief Ron Ballatore (all of whom resigned), but also thousands of dollars in lawyers' fees and bail, not to mention the reputations of both the victims and the town.

To top it all off, only one of the victims has yet been convicted, Russell E. Blair, and charges against four others, Susan Pierce, George Glassman, Michael Sward

and former Mayor Jim Kinsella have been dropped because the undercover plant and main material witness, Faernstorm, disappeared soon after the arrests took place. At one point Faernstorm phoned county deputy attorney Steve Jaynes, trying to make a bargain that some of the charges be dropped in exchange for his returning. The offer was refused.

In essence, all the pain, disruption, anger and money have thus far been unjust and wasted—wasted, that is, unless you're the county and want to break down a beautiful little town that doesn't quite fit your plans.

If you wish to help the citizens of Jerome, those arrested have organized an account called The Jerome Defense Fund. Money raised will be equally divided among those charged to help in their defense costs, which are estimated at between \$45,000 and \$50,000 for every ten legal retainers. This money is needed no matter what, and, according to fund secretary Diane Rapaport, "will be out the window even if charges for the people are dropped."

Checks may be made payable to:

The Jerome Defense Fund
#083:901128

and mailed to:

Jerome Defense Fund
General Delivery
Jerome, AZ 86331

The Imagination of The Writer & The Imagination of The State

by Steve Conliff

Kurt Vonnegut, E.L. Doctorow, Gunter Grass, Nadine Gordimer, Norman Mailer, Margaret Atwood, Joyce Carol Oates, Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, Rose and William Styron, Allen Ginsberg, William F. Buckley, Sandinista army Comandante Omar Cabezas and 700 other writers attended the first international PEN Congress held in the U.S. in 20 years, Jan. 12-18 in New York City. An anti-censorship group which agitates for

writers' freedom throughout the world, PEN stands for Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists, Novelists. Theme of this congress: "The Imagination of the Writer and the Imagination of the State."

The congress began with the writers booing Secretary of State George Schulz. It continued through a political consciousness-raising session featuring heated arguments of Grass, Morrison and other radicals with U.S. defenders like Saul Bellow and John Updike. Session topics included "Censorship in the U.S."—Vonnegut discussed the banning and burning of his books—and "U.S. Fiction and Poetry," where Kirkpatrick Sale (PEN treasurer and author of the classic study of Students for a Democratic Society) characterized modern American literature as "a mudslide."

PEN drew attention to writers' plights in foreign dictatorships and jails—but also at the U.S. borders. Two prominent examples: denial of citizenship renewal to Margaret Randell [see story pg. 15] and confiscation of Puerto Rico PEN members' manuscripts by the FBI.

Overthrow contributing editor Steve Conliff obtained press credentials and describes the congress as "the most important intellectual watershed of our time. Shelley called poets 'the unacknowledged legislators of the world.' Those who focus only on the politicians' maneuverings will find themselves trapped in a 21st century they can't understand." Conliff promises an in-depth feature for the next *Overthrow*.

Rasta Raid

from combined sources

(Wash., D.C.)—Massive pre-dawn raids Feb 22nd involving 530 police, IRS, BATF, Immigration officers and Park Police simultaneously hitting 69 spots in the black community of NW and NE D.C. at 5:00 AM turned into a major embarrassment for police here.

D.C. narcs had premised their raid on "Miami Vice"-style visions of Rastas wielding automatic weapons controlling

high stakes drug distribution. Instead they randomly sacked the homes of non-Rasta blacks, including a retired city detective and a part-time worker for the *Washington Post*. And arrests that were made were for amounts of grass so small that only 6 were sufficient to charge intent to distribute. 13 were for simple possession.

As two plainclothesmen told photographers looking for a major seizure, "If this is the best you've got, we're all in trouble."

"It was like the allied troops at Normandy," said Ewan Brown, 45, (the *Post* employee), who was "terrified" by police with shotguns invading his house.

After a cursory search, the officer in charge said "I think we have the wrong house;" but narcs continued to smash walls and intimidate Brown, who pointed out that his house was not the one on the warrant, and that neither he nor his nephew resembled the man with dreadlocks on the picture police had with them.

"I was awakened by the doorbell ringing and simultaneously I heard a loud knock on the door, and they kept ramming the door with a sledgehammer," said James Bigelow, 58, a former lieutenant with the D.C. Police Special Operations Division who retired three years ago.

By the time he got downstairs, "the plainclothes officers all had their guns out and they told us to sit down and freeze."

Bigelow, brother of former D.C. deputy police chief Houston Bigelow and father of a 3rd District cop, said "Apparently they got some bad information and they neglected to follow up on it before raiding my house." Police knocked the front door off its frame and "ransacked" the upstairs before leaving empty-handed.

Sources in the Department said the massive scope of the operation made it very difficult to keep it secret. Police had expected at least 200 arrests. They made only 27, seizing 11 guns (none automatic—mostly shotguns, not that unusual for self-protection among 69 houses in a "high crime" area), 12 pounds of pot and \$14,000 in cash, total. To their credit they seized 10 lbs of some white powder.

Authorities refused to reveal how much had been spent on the raids, code-named "Operation Caribbean Cruise."

HAITIAN BITTER SUGAR

by Paul DeRienzo

JIMANI, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, (Feb. 1986) — Along the remote highlands where the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic snakes across the island of Hispaniola a great drama is unfolding. In response to the fall of the 29 year Duvalier dynasty in Haiti the neighboring Dominican Republic, which occupies the eastern two-thirds of Hispaniola, has been forced to close the vast frontier—not only to journalists but to tens of thousands of Haitian workers needed to harvest the great sugar plantations of the Dominican Republic.

Sugar, which is produced from sugar cane on land controlled by the Dominican state and exported to the United States, is the major crop in this part of the world. It brings great wealth to a few at the expense of poverty and starvation for millions in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

The border lies 250 kilometers from Santo Domingo. There are only a few major crossings, although many lesser and unmapped crossings exist. I chose during the second week of February to visit the frontier at the closest distance from the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince. That turned out to be the town of Jimani in the mountainous and arid southeastern portion of the Dominican Republic.

My route passed through the old Dominican cities of Azua and Barahona near the Caribbean coast before it turned inland along gravel and dirt roads through first cane fields and then, at the higher altitudes, banana plantations.

The road wound through poor towns filled with curious, lively children. There was no running water or electricity. In the larger towns there might be a rundown school, however police and military establishments were more common. Prominently uniformed in military fashion were the National Police who commanded instant obedience, whether demanding to

know a traveller's destination or stopping a bus for a quick inspection.

Two days of bone-crunching travel finally brought me to the border, only 36 miles from my intended destination, Port-au-Prince, the shantytown capitol of Haiti. However my travels would meet a dead end where a Dominican military base straddled the road. It was to the clank of a bare hand slapped on the magazine of an



M-16 rifle that I learned that the border was *cerrado*, closed.

For three nights I stayed at a little hotel across from the Dominican customs house waiting for a chance to cross into Haiti. While that chance never materialized, I began to understand that there was a part to the story of the rebellion in Haiti which was being left out of the news reports I had read back in the United States. It was here in Jimani, a remote forgotten town, that the real story of Haiti and its relation with the Dominican Republic unfolded, a story of Black slavery and all its horrors not only existing but growing to feed the insatiable demand of the USA for one product: sugar.

It wasn't until I returned to the states and picked up a copy of the book "Bitter Sugar" by Maurice Lemoine that the pieces of my observations fell into place. It is Jimani where in different times thousands

of Black Haitian workers were brought with the promise of jobs in the Dominican cane fields. There they were subjected to a life in concentration-like camps while payments were remitted to the Duvalier government.

As recently as 1981, the Haitian cane-workers in the Dominican Republic were contracted at a wage of thirty cents a day with a bonus of fifty cents for each ton of cane cut. But to receive even that meager amount was virtually impossible. The horror of hunger and starvation haunts Haiti, the poorest country in the western hemisphere, where 40% of the children die before age five. This horror is extended to the Dominican state-owned slave plantations which feed the U.S. sugar market. It remains to be seen if the rebellion in Haiti will upset this relationship.

The few Haitians I met in Jimani were not talking. One man put it straight—how do I know you're not a CIA agent, he asked me through an interpreter. Some other Haitians I met over a dinner of goat meat and yucca in a local canteen advised me to stay away from Haiti. When I pressed the point they told me that an occasional pickup truck load of people were being brought into Haiti early in the morning. The next day I waited, but no truck arrived.

The Dominican military camp which sealed the border crossing was the scene of continuous activity, as was the Jimani hotel which boasted a well stocked bar where military personnel hung out. In the military camp, visible from the road, were several buses from the government-owned line in Santo Domingo. I was told by one Jimani resident that bus loads of Duvalier government officials had been taken to Santo Domingo in the days after Baby Doc's fall.

On February 12th I was awakened by the roar of bus engines followed by a small solitary aircraft. I jumped out of bed and found the astonished townspeople around the hotel talking excitedly, speculating on what had just occurred. I ran into a friend

continued on pg. 19

by Sandy McCroskey

On Thursday, October 24, the burgomeister of Berlin paid a visit to Amsterdam, and one of the things he patted himself on the back about during his televised speech was the way he has squashed the squatters' movement in his city. Only 2 or 3 years ago, Berlin had a community of 170-80 houses with 10-20 people each; now: zilch. Some people in Amsterdam feel the Berlin mayor's speech was a "signal," along international powerlines, for an increase in the ferocity of the repression.

On that same day, squatters in the Staatsliedenbuurt area in west Amsterdam rallied to the defense of a woman and her child, who had come home the night before to find themselves evicted by the police. Four people forced their way into the building. When the police arrived, a cop fired two shots at the unarmed people inside, and hit one person in the arm. It was a "warning shot," he said. The police then beat a hasty retreat—to call for reinforcements.

"The police told the papers that they felt so 'threatened' that they fired two bullets..."—Monique, interviewed at Café Marconi—"That was realistic," in view of the sizable crowd of the notoriously unpredictable squatters who were massed in front of the door.

With the arrival of ten buses carrying 700 thugs from the M.E. ("Mobile Units"—heavily armed riot police) the forces of public order stormed the house. The squatters threw everything they had at the cops—handfuls of stones—and everyone on the scene was beaten up. There were 32 arrests. Police accompanied some of the wounded to the hospital to deliver them afterwards to jail. A number of the squatters were bitten by police dogs after being arrested.

The next day a few hundred people gathered at one of the squatters' cafes in the area (the *Rioolrat*, or "Sewer Rat") and moved towards the evicted house, until they were confronted by riot police. It was around this time that the word began to spread that one of the people arrested the previous day had died in a police cell.



The forces of resistance in the street withdrew to reappear as a couple hundred people waiting anxiously around the 'Rat' to find out something definite about the grim rumor. (There wasn't enough room for everyone inside.) Riot police were unleashed on this gathering. CS gas—"tear gas" is putting it mildly—was fired, not for the first time on these streets, and the area was sealed off. Police vehicles were driven at high speed towards persons on the street, in keeping with the general effort to terrorize the neighborhood.

Police Murder No. 35

Hans Kok, age twenty-three, is the thirty-fifth person to die in a Dutch jail cell in the last ten years.

He was a methadone user, how convenient for them: "a drug addict, dead of unknown causes." The doctor at the jail had given him a shot of librium on Thursday evening because he was "excited." "The next day at 2 pm he was found dead in his cell."

Estimates of the time of death vary, according to by whom and when given. The police say he was probably dead before 10 am., while a prisoner says he heard him throwing up around three hours later. The police claimed that "there were so many people who needed special attention," they were not aware of his condition. But a prisoner says he heard a couple cops in the middle of the night discussing Hans as being very bad off. The police claimed they gave him his breakfast; the autopsy showed that, at any rate, he didn't eat it.

Family members were only allowed to see Hans' face after much pressure was exerted by their attorneys. Due to the expressed desires of the police, funeral ceremonies were cancelled and the body speedily and discreetly interred, under

Amsterdam Squatters Hold the Line



Hans Kok - Oct. 24, '85 (from "Grachten Krant")

cover of night.

The report of the Dutch Minister of Justice on the death of Hans Kok runs to 160 pages, but only one and a half have been released to the public. The verdict is that Hans probably died because he "used drugs," though it is conceded that the police "made a few mistakes."

"That night small groups started smashing windows of Council buildings, painting slogans all over the city and setting fire to institutes responsible for contacts between the City Council and the population...On Saturday, a demonstration with several thousand people marched through the city center. As it reached the Town Hall it was confronted by a line of riot police, which led eventually to a confrontation...On some occasions CS gas was used...That Saturday night, the 26th, hit and run actions were held on a massive scale. The traffic police headquarters was burnt to the ground, destroying three computers as well. Several cop cars were burnt, the Alien Office was set alight, several more Council outposts were burnt down...On the national monument on Dam Square, the slogan *Amsterdam Police Murder City* was painted. During the night five arrests were made, which brought the total number of arrests since the 24th to about 50 people.

"Not only Amsterdam was the scene of unrest. In the City of Haarlem, firebombs were thrown at 3 Council buildings and a Courtroom, causing extensive damage. A police building was set alight in Zwolle, and windows were smashed and slogans painted in solidarity in several other Dutch cities. There were solidarity actions in Germany as well, where windows of the Dutch consulate and Dutch companies were smashed and slogans like *24/10 Amsterdam comrade murdered in a police cell and Police murder international*. It was only a month ago that a demonstrator was killed at a protest against a meeting of a neo-Nazi party in the German town of Frankfurt, when he was run over by a watercannon.

"The total damage to Council and police property in Amsterdam alone is over \$150 million. This violent reaction to the first dead squatter is a break with the usual forms of protest. With a few exceptions (the burning down of a big supermarket with investments in South Africa in September) Holland doesn't have a history of violent resistance...The Government policy has always been to de-escalate, to react to social protest with a mass of civil servants to encapsulate the protest..."

The above quote is from *stichting reel*, via *Black Flag*. When I arrived in Amsterdam, about a month after Hans died, his name was always in the air, on the radio, in conversation, and his death had become a matter of daily public controversy even in the legal media. However, the streets were again quiet—on the surface anyway. In the Staatsliedenbuurt, there was a definite tension in the air. People were keeping an ear to the ground.

Squat City

It used to be that you could obtain a guide to the squatters' neighborhoods from Tourist Information as you came into the city from Centraal Station, but as of

late this autumn, they only had the address of one collective. A few years ago, the squatters' citadel known as Wijers, which housed 160 people, faced newcomers to the city from opposite the Holiday Inn. It is no longer there, and there have only been one or two *gekraakt* ("cracked" or squatted) buildings per year in the business center of town. This is the estimate given by a Dutch couple who participated in the taking of eight new places during one day in November. The day's actions were reported in the *bluf!* (one of the Amsterdam movement's several newspapers) for the week of the 28th, which adds, "In the canal-zone the cracking of Warmoestraat 14 failed, it was full of stuff and the cops were there quickly."

Recent evictions have taken place in the less "visible" areas and the current police procedure is to take a house while the family living in it is absent. As they did in one instance this November to a woman with two small children. The police claimed that the house was empty, because the mother was taking all their things to another place for safe-keeping. She returned in the morning, and was standing outside the boarded-up building with her two children, and no place to go.

However, the media took an interest in this case and public indignation was so great that the woman was given her place back. Late in the month came the announcement that there would be no more evictions!—until next year. Happy holidays.

Not counting some mid-town streets where the ambience is universal shopping-center limbo, there's hardly a block of the city that doesn't have a squat on it. Not all areas seem as embattled as the Staatsliedenbuurt. By way of example, at Schinkelstraat 14-16 and thereabouts is the veritable complex called *Binnenpret* (Fun Inside), where there's a restaurant, a café, a meeting place for Moroccan youth, theatre space, a small recording studio, a sauna, a bakery, an art studio and a children's place. The rumor is that soon it will be the site of a radio station.

Binnenpret is supposed to cost 80,000 gulden a year, but so far they've only been paying for the gas and electricity. On the 10th of February, it will have been in operation for two years, and the degree of harassment has been minimal. Neighbors complained at first about the noise from the restaurant late at night, so now they feature acoustic music exclusively and close at midnight. The restaurant is spacious, shiny and new-looking—nothing like the dark, dingy squatters' hangouts of the legendary past. (The food is delicious, and a full meal costs a mere 8 gulden '15—that's only about 3 dollars.)

The squatters at Conradstraat 11 have quite a lot of space in their control, it seems to have been an old army installation, and they run a cheap "sleep-inn" (10 guilders or 3-4 dollars)—but when I dropped by, they were all involved in a large meeting—in Dutch—and to tell you the truth, this reporter wasn't prepared for the temperature in the unheated building.

At Tetterode, the squatters have several buildings, including a women's disco (*Anarka*—an ad for a Friday night dance promised "still more heaters"), a silkscreening studio, the "Little Pig" café. Right around the corner, at Bilderdijkkade 61-a, is Café Marconi, from where emanate the signals of both (legal) Radio X and (pirate) Factum FM (see article).

At the Radio Café I mentioned my surprise at finding out so little about the squatting movement inside those trendy mid-town *koffiehuizen* with maybe a cannabis leaf on the sign outside and names like "Ecstasy" and "Oz." It seems that these places cater to the crowd referred to as the "discos," which is like the Amsterdam equivalent of "yuppies."

Which isn't to say that there aren't squatters' cafes where hash is available. (These days you can also get Netherlands sensi at unbeatable prices.) Just that it is a luxury which is scarcer on that scene, and people have other things on their mind in places like the Staatsliedenbuurt.

The Rioolrat is a cozy little bar that was always full of warm people (and, on one occasion, seven dogs) whenever I stopped in to shake off the chill during my visit to 'Dam in November. When the word ALARM went up on the 'Rat chalkboard one Friday night, it did not seem to be anything out of the ordinary to the pub's habitués. One by one they slipped out the door into the chilly wind, the lights were put out and the 'Rat closed while the crowd reassembled at Popeye's Coffee-shop, where the police were trying to close him down for operating without a license. (The cops withdrew, for that night, but Popeye seemed somewhat shaken.)

The Rioolrat has become a famous place. One night in November a gang of soccer fans paid a less than friendly visit. The game in Utrecht between that city and Amsterdam had been called off just one hour before it was to start. So—as Pirotska told me—"the Utrecht supporters stayed in Utrecht and made a riot there. The Amsterdam supporters decided at the Centraal Station to go to the Rioolrat, and they tried to burn it down."

Why, of all people, did they pick on the squatters? "Because they hate them. But also, the media has portrayed squatters as violence-seekers, throwing bricks at people and breaking up the streets. I think the football fans are attracted by these articles. But they're very exaggerated."

The episode had an unusual outcome. The Rioolrat, with its rooftop sculpture of a defiant fist protecting the planet, still stands, because of the intervention of the police!

Deserving Public Servants

While it is true that Holland's welfare system is one of the best in the world, housing has always been a problem in densely populated Amsterdam and has come to be for many people the most difficult to obtain of basic human needs. Now that welfare—of which 40% of the populace are recipients—and social services spending is being cut by the government, in inverse proportion to the rise in the cost of living, all in the name of "the economic crisis"—sound familiar?

Much of the following information comes from Mark of *Tegengas* ("against gas"), a group formed in opposition to the high price of natural gas. This is highest in poor areas such as the Staatsliedenbuurt, where *Tegengas* began. The municipality shuts off the heat on many people in the dead of winter to pressure them to pay their bill. One of *Tegengas*' first actions was the prevention by 40-50 people of a shut-off on the 7th of last March. They now have three offices, hold regular public forums and are mobilizing toward the goal of changing the system. They have also turned the heat and lights back on for many people in the course of this winter.

The Staatsliedenbuurt ("State-leaders' area," because all the streets are named after politicians), built in 1900, was one of the city's earliest workers' areas. Many of the population have always been communists and anarchists. (One of the newspapers on the wall of *Koervoet* (Crowbar), another squatters' café there, was the *Dokwerker Amsterdam*, with a headline applauding a recent demonstration against police action.) Today, there are 10,000 homes and 23,000 legal citizens, plus many "illegal" aliens.

When the "Club of 100," the Chamber of Commerce, planned the reinvigoration of the "sleeping" inner city, building, in 20 years, a totally new area for business interests, many factories closed and the workers' areas were altogether neglected. The situation was so obviously desperate that even a priest spoke in a Staatsliedenbuurt church in support of squatting.

In 1965, the houses, fallen into disrepair, in the Staatsliedenbuurt and the area known as the 'Pijp' were to be divided by the council of rehousing and given to worthy seekers. Cases classed as "urgent" by the council went undecided for four or five years. (*IF THEY BEAT ME DEAD* is the title of a pamphlet published shortly after Hans' death, to express the solidarity of the people of the Pijp—another site of in-

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by Sandy McCroskey

Radio X, the first legal radio station in Holland to be oriented to "subversive and alternative youth culture," began regular broadcasting this January. (It had a test flight for three days in November during Amsterdam's International Youth Media Festival.) Radio X gets its license at a time when the situation for pirates is becoming even more precarious than usual. This is due in part to the same changes in the broadcasting situation in Holland which Radio X, "with an eye to our future," seized upon as a "windfall," (as one of its founders, Ronald van Wechem put it, in *Zender*—Amsterdam's monthly for radio fans—no.9).

RADIO X-PERIMENT IN AMSTERDAM

Veteran
Air Pirates
Seize
Cable License

I interviewed Ronald late in November. He lives in a large squat in mid-town with several other people, a couple of whom—Piroska and Ingrid—are also involved in Radio. "Radio stations in Holland are illegal, but in the next few years they are going to give some licenses," he told me. "The licenses will probably be given to the people who want to get on the cable, at this moment." (Thus, even as the "counter-culture" gets a legal station, it goes *on de grond*—"in the ground," on cable.) Besides X, popular commercial stations such as Unique, Decibel and WAPS as well as another one which originates from the "counter-culture," MVS (*Man/Vrouw/Sexualiteit*) Media, are taking this step. "A strategic move?" asks *Zender*, so as to be in the right place if eventually licenses for broadcasts in the free ether are "divided out?"

"There are about 10,000 radio pirates in Holland, I think 200 in Amsterdam—but in Amsterdam I think 1,000 radio stations are caught by the police in one year. So it's very expensive, if you're not commercial, to keep on coming back. It costs a lot of energy to organize parties and to get money together. So that's why we decided to try to become legal, because then you don't have the pressure of getting back on the air every time."

The figure of 200 pirates is unofficial, "because the only people who can afford a listeners' *enquête* are the national works." Of that number, maybe forty are on the air at this particular moment. "Last year, the police came and came and came, they want everybody to get on cable..."

Though Amsterdam's cable system is the biggest in all Europe with almost 400,000 connections, it has its disadvantages. Because Radio X is *only* legal for cable, the situation is "not optimal. Because not everybody listens to the cable, and anyway the cable is much easier for the government to control. They can just push one button and you're gone. If you were on the free air, they'd have to send for the police, etc., to get you out of there."

By far the greater number of pirate stations make money through commercials. It doesn't take long to recognize such a station as a pirate. "Anyone who has a commercial spot every ten minutes is a pirate, because the official government radio (and television) only has commercials on the hour..."

"There are some pirates who make I think 2 million guilders profit a year, that's really a lot for such a small town."

TV Piracy: When "Crime" Paid

"Before there were a lot of radio pirates in Amsterdam, there were many television pirates, I think forty or something. They made a lot of money. In one night, you could earn 10,000 guilders, which is about \$3,000.

"For example, Germany and Belgium are also on cable. But the cable system picks it up from the free air, and the signal from Germany is very weakened. A very small transmitter can broadcast on the frequency of Germany, you push the button and Germany gets off the cable and you get in the cable. You have only to go to the videotheque and borrow video film for two guilders or one dollar and put it on the air, and everyone will see it. A movie which is still in the cinema, you can put it on the cable, or they used to do it—four years ago, they used to do it—and a lot of people would view it and you'd have a lot of money, thousands and thousands of guilders you'd earned in a few days.

"Television piracy was forbidden, or

made impossible because the cable was secured, or locked, I don't know exactly how to explain it, it's technical. But that means a lot of people who did it only for the money, they also went on commercial radio..."

There are still some television pirates, "but they're all on free-air, and everyone is watching cable so they don't have a lot of viewers now. There are some for example, not in Amsterdam, but in northern Holland, in the countryside, there are a lot of very popular stations, because in the countryside you don't have that much cable and it's easier to get on free air. There are a lot of television pirates who make a lot of money by playing sex movies and horror movies, violent movies, which are very up-to-date because it's very easy to get to a videotheque and and hire some.

"But in Amsterdam, it's impossible at the moment. The cable system liked television pirates, because people would want cable television to watch the pirates. They lost in court, so now they are not allowed to broadcast any pirates anymore. They have to switch off as soon as there is a pirate on. When they see a pirate, they close it down, or they get a signal, not from Amsterdam but from, for example, Utrecht..."

Folk-Sport

"Radio and television pirating in the Netherlands has become a beloved folk sport.

"After the disappearance of the sea-zenders (Noordzee, Veronica) in 1974 (ratified throughout the Netherlands by the Treaty of Straatsburg 'on combatting television and radio transmission from outside the national territory') it was not long before in the east of the country the first illegal mid-gulf transmitters arose. That some of them in particular were popular can be easily seen from a police report from 1979, wherein mention was made of the failure of an attempt by the PTT and police to take the station 'Paloma' off the

airwaves, because of the growing mass of hundreds of furious listeners.

"In the years thereafter the first FM-pirates also appeared, above all in the border towns and in the large cities in the west of the Netherlands. The emergence of the squatters' movement after 1979 took care of the first gulf 'action-stations': the Free Emperor (Amsterdam), Rataplan (Nijmegen), Vrij Den Bosch. This radio directed itself initially above all to the spreading of 'action news' (squatting, Dodewaard (nuclear station), the women's movement) and the 'live' transmission during large happenings (Coronation Day 1980, evictions, demonstrations). There later followed in the largest cities similar stations: Stadsradio (Amsterdam), Oranje (Rotterdam), Zwarte AA (Breda), Gladiool, later Zebi (Utrecht), Dwarsboom (Groningen), etc. If now a great number of these stations no longer exist, that is partly due to strict persecution from the PTT (coupled with a restricted financial base), partly also to the decrease in the momentum of the 'movement' since the end of 1983." (This is from *Zender* 9 again.)

The Death of GOT

"X is a result of some ex-pirates and some still-operating pirates, which are all non-commercial (WHS, Rabotnik and GOT). They play either non-commercial music or give alternative information—'alternative' is a little bit, not really where it's all about, but information you don't hear too much on official radio.

"I used to be with Radio GOT. (The name was a joke, you know, 'God' is in the air.) GOT was a non-commercial pirate, which combined non-commercial music with information about squatting, etc.—but not only squatting.

"Before that, I was with another pirate called the 'Free Emperor,' which was named after a house, called the 'Big Emperor,' and it was one of the first radio stations in

Amsterdam, local radio stations, not official. Well, but that was *only* squatting, you know? And you have a very small minority of listeners who are always very well-informed. If you're in a very small circle, information goes round very quickly, and if you have a radio station for that small circle, trying to get to them, they already know more than you.

"Squatting is just one part of what you want to do. So we made up a new radio station, Radio GOT, which was in the first instance accepted with a lot of skepticism by the squatters because, 'they're also playing music and music is apolitical.' But we thought that by giving a complete picture of a different life-style, more people are interested in you. Because if you only present one part of yourself, for example, the part which speaks or the part which thinks, other people think, 'What?! you only do *this*?' You have to make it clear that you do more things."

Radio GOT did give much attention, in its own manner, to the movement—after all, that's the milieu in which it originated. There were direct broadcasts from squat-centers such as Wijers (a large building which once gave the squatters a very visible presence near Centraal Station). "The only 'sin' of the station was to offer the listener a broader scale of subjects than squat-actions alone," remembers *Zender*, "Think of the 'Night of SM' or the satire in the otherwise bloodserious documentary 'Mouth Open and Listening,' and of the stupefying music-collages in programs such as the 'Embryonale Fruitbasket.'"

"That's what we tried to do with GOT. But GOT's equipment was stolen three times, it was all taken by right-wing more-or-less fascists—they don't say they're fascists, but they have a lot of things against foreigners—older people, people who make a lot of money."

"Many people tuned in to GOT, as was well indicated by the reactions. There were interesting contacts with all sorts of groups and individuals. The 'New Sound' of GOT attests that a worthy alternative to the established media is more than possible. In March of 1985 however came, quickly and unexpectedly, the end. GOT vanished from the air..." (—*Zender* no.9).

"The police called us. They said, 'First we're going to get the commercial ones, and then we're going to get the non-commercial ones. But you, Radio GOT, we're going to get anyway, this year, sometime. Before, we've only exterminated the commercial ones.'

"So we knew we were going to be caught by the police. Last week, one pirate was convicted of a half-year sentence. Those are the punishments you get, plus you lose a thousand guilders of equipment, which is a lot to acquire when you don't have any commercials. When you have commercials, you make 200 guilders in one hour, it's very quick.

"The pirates that are operating now are the very hardheaded commercial ones, who keep coming back. And there are a few, I think two or three, non-commercial at the moment, but they are quite small, they don't broadcast twenty-four hours a day. They're all on one frequency, 95.5, and it goes for two or three hours a day."

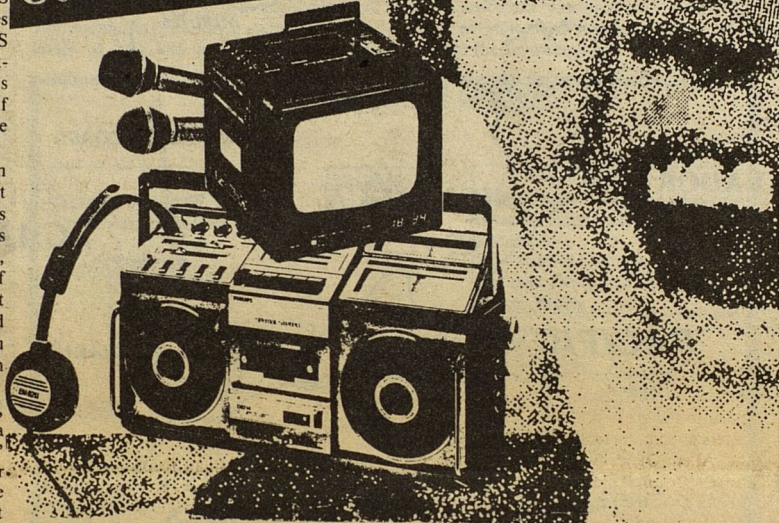
To Rule the Air Waves

"There's one regional radio station, which is called Radio *Stad*, Radio City Amsterdam, but it's only transmitting three hours a day. And there are five national works, 3 FM and 2 on AM. The broadcasting situation in Holland is very strange. For example, the Christians, they have got their own license, which doesn't mean that they have a station, it only means that on the five national works they have got one day—but not one day all at one time, two hours here, two hours there, six hours there..."

"It's very very mixed-up, and also unpopular to listen to, because it's mainly—there's two Christian (one Catholic), three American-like commercial, but they're also boring, one good, one progressive-cultural, and one 'socialistic,' or Social Democratic, but it's also very populist, with lots of quiz-shows."

In order to qualify for one of the slots on the legal cable now being dealt out by

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Miskito/Maya



continued from page one.

In 1850, under pressure from the United States, Britain ceded its claim to the East Coast in exchange for a "neutral" canal zone through Nicaragua (in fact, the canal zone was to be jointly controlled by Britain and the United States, but due to political instability it was never built). The Miskitos resisted annexation by Honduras, to whom Britain had ceded its claim, and finally accepted annexation by Nicaragua only with the understanding of local autonomy and non-interference with tribal government. Strong separatist sentiments endured after the coast was incorporated into the Nicaraguan Department of Zelaya in 1894 and opened to exploitation by such companies as Standard Fruit, Wrigley's and the Nicaraguan Long Leaf Pine Lumber Company.

Starting in 1909, the U.S. Marines occupied the area to protect these and other interests. The Miskitos gave open support to the Sandino insurgency until the Marines withdrew in 1931. Ten years later a devastating hurricane hit the East Coast, leaving ruin and disease in its wake. The foreign companies withdrew, the economy went bust and the Costeños returned to seasonal farming and poverty.

By this time the Somoza dynasty was in power. Throughout the more than forty years that the Somozas maintained power, they accumulated wealth at the expense of the populace and brutally crushed resistance. But they pretty much ignored the sparsely-populated East Coast, which remained outside the mainstream of Nicaraguan society. Health care facilities were few and inadequate. In 1961, Somoza allowed the Bay of Pigs invasion to be launched from the Miskito coast. But deep in the inaccessible jungle, traditional Indian life was undisturbed.

In the sixties, lumber and mining interests returned to the area to exploit mahogany and gold. These mostly foreign companies destroyed the rain forest with



In Guatemala's Maya Highlands, Indian culture survives despite government genocide

Ray-O-Vac Gives Guatemalan Laborers a Raw Deal

Ray-o-Vac battery producers have taken up union busting these days, as they threaten to close the main Central American plant in Guatemala and throw more than 200 workers out of a job. After building their empire as a subsidiary of INCO (International Nickel Company of Canada, the world's largest nickel pro-

ducer, and this continent's largest polluter of carbon dioxides), company officials are claiming "unprofitable" status and are presently deciding whether to close the factory entirely or to lay off 50% of the workforce. Duralux, S.A. makes Ray-o-Vac batteries in Guatemala and they recently constructed a new automated plant in Honduras. Funds are readily available for undertakings of this sort, but coming up with paychecks for their workers tends to cause distress.

Duralux is the result of a typical multinational enterprise in Guatemala. INCO chose to locate in Guatemala because its cheap labor force and the banality of political violence make exploitation an easy task. Before Sitradux (Union of Duralux workers) was formed in 1980, workers had to work 80 hour weeks in

order to be considered for pay raises and promotion. Sexual harassment and abuse was common, and the average salary was 127 quetzals per month (at this time 1 quetzal was equal to one dollar).

Threatened Jobs, Threatened Lives

Sitradux was formed during one of the worst waves of repression to hit Guatemala in recent years. Union organizing in Guatemala means risking your life, which is evident in the case of Sitradux which lost two of its members on May Day, 1980, to right wing death squads. Since that time, Sitradux has grown to encompass 2/3 of the workforce of Duralux. Pay has increased 100% and the work week no longer exceeds 50 hours. The union has protected the rights of the workers, while company officials have tried to intimidate union organizers with death threats, kidnappings

and psychological warfare. Although conditions have improved for workers still employed, the last 5 years have brought massive layoffs and firings which have reduced the workforce to less than 50% of its original size.

Ray-o-Vac officials, rationalizing their actions in Guatemala by citing the "unprofitability" of the Central American market, have nonetheless seen fit to build a new, fully automated plant in Honduras. It suffices to note that no union exists at the Honduran factory. Workers are concerned about the obvious implications of this new factory which is able to produce for the entire Central American market, currently the focus of the Guatemalan enterprise.

In September, ROV products were placed on a list of products subject to price

impunity and paid neither taxes or fair wages, but few Costeños realized that this was due to the fact that Somoza was getting his cut. The National Guard which was terrorizing Nicaragua at this time was not active on the East Coast. Few Costeños participated in the revolution which toppled the last Somoza because few Costeños had been affected by the "Somocismo."

The only anti-Somoza activity on the East Coast centered around an Indian organization called ALPROMISO, with ties to the Moravian Church and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. ALPROMISO surfaced briefly to fight for land rights in the early seventies.

After the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) came to power in 1979, it sought to quickly unify the entire country behind the revolution and the historic isolation of the East Coast abruptly ended. One of the FSLN's first actions on the East Coast was to establish a Sandinista "mass organization" amongst the Indians. This organization was built on the remnants of ALPROMISO, which had been kept alive by village elders throughout the seventies. The new organization was named MISURASATA, for Miskito Sumu Rama Sandinista asla Takanka (which is Chibchan for Sandinista Union of Miskitos, Sumus and Ramas).

However, friction between the Indians and the new revolutionary government was evident from the start. The initial conflicts were over the fact that the new government literacy programs were only in Spanish, a language which is hardly spoken on the East Coast. This policy fit the image, prominent among Costeños, that the Españoles have no respect for their cultural identity. The East Coast literacy programs were eventually broadened to include English and native tongues. But suspicions had deepened and more conflicts were to follow. The exploitation of precious timber on Indian land continued without the land rights ever being clarified. The lumber industry was now being overseen by the new Sandinista-created IRENA (Nicaraguan Institute for Natural Resources and the Environment) which is responsible for setting limits on deforestation and making sure that profits are reinvested in the country. Indian leaders argued that profits from trees felled on Indian lands should be reinvested not only within Nicaragua, but within the Indian communities. It was over land-based issues such as these that ALPROMISO had been formed ten years earlier.

In 1981 MISURASATA broke from the FSLN. As negotiations deteriorated, the Sandinistas accused MISURASATA's half-Miskito FSLN-appointed leader, Steadman Fagoth Müller, of being a Somocista agent. Following his arrest, Miskitos staged an occupation of a village and secured his release. He then fled to Indian territory in Honduras with 3,000 Miskitos, established there a military training camp for Indian refugees and started to seek contact with U.S. officials in Miami and Washington.

For centuries the Indians had freely crossed over the River Coco which cuts through the heart of Miskito territory and now forms the Nicaragua/Honduras border. Suddenly this freedom of mobility was severely checked as the border zone

became intensely militarized. MISURASATA exiles armed themselves on the Honduran side while the FSLN bolstered their troops on the Nicaraguan side.

In early 1982, following a series of anti-government attacks along the Coco, the Sandinistas relocated nearly 10,000 Miskitos from their traditional homes to Tasba Pri, one hundred kilometers away. The FSLN troops burned the abandoned villages, purportedly to prevent their being used as command posts by the guerrillas. By this point MISURASATA had been transformed into an anti-Sandinista guerrilla group under the leadership of Fagoth Müller. Fagoth dropped the "Sandinista" from the organization's name, rendering it MISURA. It was at this point that the Reagan Administration discovered the Miskito situation as a tool in their ideological and military war against the Sandinistas. From this point on, the facts have been obscured by political cant, claims, counter-claims, obfuscations and lies.

The Reagan Administration inflated the number of Miskitos who had fled Nicaragua to 170,000—there have never existed 170,000 Miskitos in all Nicaragua. The Administration made claims that hundreds of Miskitos had been massacred,

group receiving the most aid from the CIA.

However, with the formation of MISURA, MISURASATA did not come to an end. Rather, MISURASATA's leadership was taken up by a Miskito warrior called Brooklyn Rivera. He maintained the "Sandinista" part of the name because he still supported the revolution. When Rivera broke with Fagoth and fled to Costa Rica, it was to help "rescue the revolution."

In Costa Rica, Rivera's MISURASATA joined forces with ARDE (Democratic Revolutionary Alliance), a contra group led by defected Sandinistas. Brooklyn Rivera does not consider himself to be either a counter-revolutionary or a separatist. He maintains that MISURASATA is fighting to neither overthrow nor secede from the Sandinista government. It is fighting for, in Rivera's words, "Indians' right to self-govern their own land within the framework of the Nicaraguan state...A regional government for the Atlantic coast people within the framework of Nicaragua."

In 1983 Rivera began writing a proposal for legal recognition of "Indian institutions, customs, laws, systems of economy and traditional organization." He asserts that MISURASATA's struggle is not against the revolution but against racism.

In 1984 Rivera and other MISURASATA leaders entered into negotiations with the Sandinistas after declaring a temporary cease-fire. This act resulted in MISURASATA's expulsion from ARDE, but unfortunately resulted in little more. The negotiations repeatedly broke down, with accusations of bad faith on both sides. Talks were resumed this spring and the preliminary cease-fire is still in effect, however shakily.

Armstrong Wiggins, a Miskito representative who was present at the most recent FSLN/MISURASATA talks in Bogota, Colombia, works with the Indian Law Resource Center in Washington DC. In his view, the problem is that "the Sandinistas want the Indians to fit into the revolution—not the revolution to fit the Indians." He contends not only that taxes and revenues from Indian lands should be spent in ways which are beneficial to the Indians, but that the Indians should be the ones to decide what is beneficial. The Indians do not want to go backward, he says. They want to have their lawyers and medical doctors—but they want them to be Indian. He calls for a permanent withdrawal of FSLN troops from Indian land and an Indian exemption from military conscription. He is suspicious of those who use the Indian struggle to their own political ends. "Neither of the superpowers are representative of Indians," he says.

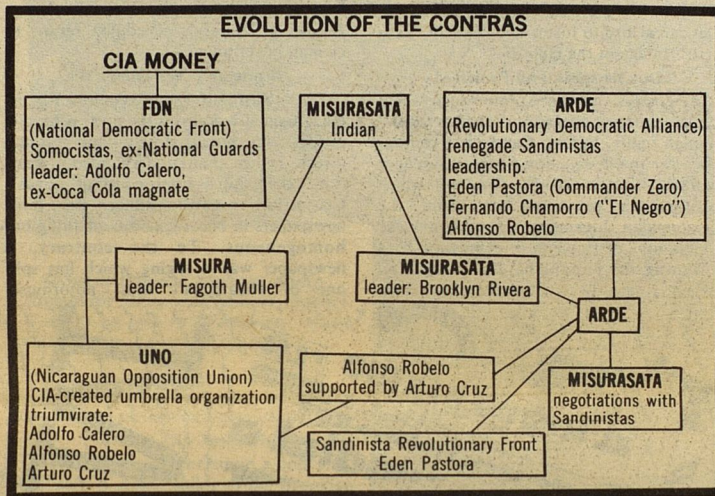
Since the inception of the FSLN/MISURASATA talks, the contra groups have branded Rivera a "communist sympathizer," fearing the loss of the Indian front in their campaign to topple the Managua government. "They also don't understand," says Rivera, "that our struggle is not to gain state power in Managua. Our fight is to de-militarize our territory and de-traumatize the condition of our people."

Rivera speculates that the Sandinistas' unwillingness to accept anything less than complete control of the East Coast is in large part due to the area's strategic importance. Access to the Caribbean is important not only to maintain communication with Cuba, but to defend against a possible invasion. In the wake of the Grenada invasion, the Caribbean has become increasingly militarized. Reports from Washington indicate that military spending in the Caribbean has jumped from one million a year to twenty million a year since the Grenada invasion. Led by Barbados, several Caribbean island nations are currently forming a multi-national army which is being funded by the United States.

The Sandinistas, for their own part, are making an attempt to reconcile the Indian situation. They openly admit to making many "errors" in dealing with Nicaragua's ethnic minorities. A 1982 amnesty resulted in the release of over three hundred Miskitos who had been imprisoned for guerrilla activities. Over one hundred members of Sandinista security forces have been tried, convicted and served time for human rights abuses of Indians. Resources, including much-needed medical services, have been focused on the Atlantic coast region. A new Miskito/Sandinista mass organization called MISATAN has

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despite denials by the United Nations and Amnesty International. To substantiate these claims, Alexander Haig produced some photographs of burning bodies. The photographs were identified by the photographer as being of victims of revolutionary violence four years earlier being burned by Red Cross workers. The Sandinistas, meanwhile, claimed that the Miskitos had been forced to flee by counter-revolutionary guerrillas.

Fagoth Müller's behavior from this point on lends credibility to the Sandinista charge that he was a Somocista operative from the very start. Rumors circulated that he held Miskito families captive to get fighters for MISURA. In order to secure funds and guns, he brought MISURA into alliance with the Somocista FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Front), by far the largest of the counter-revolutionary groups. Led by former Somoza National Guardsmen, the FDN was and is the contra

The CIA and the Reagan Administration have been constantly pressuring the contra groups to unite under a single umbrella organization on pain of withholding funds. There have been many attempts at such a union, but they all shortly collapsed due to the basic mistrust among the Somocistas, disaffected Sandinistas and Indians which make up the contra forces. MISURASATA has boycotted all such attempts, including the most recent, UNO (Nicaraguan Opposition Union). Rivera has consistently maintained that if the FDN assumed power they would be even more insensitive to Indian rights than the Sandinistas. He accuses Fagoth of opportunistically betraying the Indian cause. "The indigenous question was taken advantage of by foreign forces," he says. "We are not in agreement with that."

from MESOAMERICA, A monthly newsletter in San Jose, Costa Rica.

IBID

controls by the government. At the same time, Duralux announced its plans to close or greatly reduce operations in Guatemala. Workers are extremely agitated because the company is breaking its promise to negotiate a new contract that would allow everyone to keep their job. The price controls are a product of the inflation that has plagued Guatemala since the quetzal (Guatemala's national currency) was devalued almost 2 years ago.

The situation, at present, is at a standstill—this could change at any moment, since union officials are pressing for a solution to the problem. The company is leaning towards reducing the work force since closing the factory entirely will obviously have unpleasant repercussions.

Meanwhile, Sitradux is asking sympathizers to write to the government urging

them to resolve the situation quickly. The secretaries of Economy and Labor are those who have power to remove the product from the price controls list, thereby allowing Duralux to continue present operations. The power of INCO/Duralux/Ray-o-Vac in Guatemala is unclear; but there exists the speculation that the batteries were placed on the price controls list as a deliberate attempt to break the union and move operations to Honduras, a more profitable venture. Sitradux is also seeking international solidarity from all groups, especially labor oriented, bringing attention to the fact that this extremely rich and profitable company is trying to scam its workers.

Workers in U.S. Also Screwed

As if scamming Guatemalan labor is not enough, the ROV saga would seem to con-

tinue right here in the heartland of America. After completion of a new world headquarters in Madison, WI, and reporting profits in the last fiscal year, the company laid off over 60 workers, due to a drop in contracts by big name customers like the U.S. government. The Madison ROV union does not seem concerned by the layoffs because, according to one union official, "we're just in a slump now." Since the layoffs 2 months ago, a few workers have returned to their jobs, though their seniority remains in question. Other workers are convinced that they will not be called back. They see this as an attempt by the company and a bureaucratic union to oust undesirable members.

The Madison factory is the base for ROV International, which reports enterprises in Portage and Fennimore, WI,

Atlanta, GA, and Japan. No present link can be established between the Central American firms, although it is a well known fact that all ROV factories were once united under INCO. In 1981, INCO became bored with the battery business and sold the Latin American firms to former INCO officials, and the North American firms became ROV International. Information is unclear regarding the current status of the ROV/INCO link; although the monopoly was broken up, all of the factories still produce under the ROV name. ROV International is owned by a Mr. Tom Pyle of Madison, WI, and 2 associates. More information was unavailable as the headquarters is secretive with information about owners, stockholders, associates, etc.

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MEDIA, CENSORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

by Bill Weinberg

The Reagan Administration line which is accepted uncritically by most of the United States mainstream media maintains that El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala are fledgling democracies which merely suffer from "authoritarian" tendencies, while Nicaragua is a "totalitarian" Marxist-Leninist state.

A perennial barometer of the degree of tolerance and plurality in a given nation is the degree of diversity of opinions and viewpoints which are allowed to find their way into printed matter—the degree to which the flow of information is controlled. Critics of the Sandinistas are quick to point out that state censorship exists in Nicaragua. They always seem quick to overlook the fact that the climate of political terror which exists elsewhere in Central America renders official state censorship unnecessary.

Much has been made of Guatemala's imminent "return to democracy" which is to follow the recent elections for a civilian president. Guatemala has been ruled by military or military-dominated regimes for thirty years. The last presidential elections, in 1982, resulted in the military coup which brought General Rios Montt to power. Now, as Montt's successor General Mejia Victores prepares to relinquish power, many wonder how much liberalization will truly be tolerated. Certainly the climate of repression will not be overturned immediately.

Many journalists are among the thousands of political killings and "disappearances" which have been perpetrated by Guatemala's official and unofficial security forces since the beginning of the decade. Guatemala's Journalists' Union reports that over one hundred journalists have been murdered by government-sponsored hit squads since 1980.

It is therefore not surprising that Guatemala's two leading newspapers, *La Prensa Libre* and *El Grafico*, both present the same homogeneous reporting. The United States is portrayed not only as a culture which provides products to be sought (like Walkmans and McDonald's hamburgers) and heroes to be emulated (like Michael Jackson and Madonna), but as the great protector from "communist subversion." "Communist subversion" is synonymous with "Nicaragua."

Ironically, virtually no mention is ever made either of Guatemala's leftist guerrillas or the military's brutal counter-insurgency program. But nearly every week, buried deep in the final pages, are small photographs which show only a face. The caption reads: "Disappeared." A small blurb tells the person's name, occupation, place of residence and whereabouts when last seen by friends or family. No further explanation is given or necessary.

Color Photos, Boldfaced Lies

El Grafico is the more popular of the two papers and its design is obviously modeled after that of *USA Today*—lots of flashy streamlined graphics, stylized headlines and color photographs. *El Grafico* is owned by Jorge Carpio Nicolle, one of the two presidential candidates who made it to December's run-off election. His party is the UCN (National Centrist Union) which backed a "centrist democratization project." This is the perfect image to augment the United States' purported role of trying to find a moderate "center" between the extremes of the violent right and the violent left.

However, Carpio showed his true colors in a recent *El Grafico* column "If you, dear reader, are an authentic Guatemalan, if you love your country and your fellow citizens, if you love liberty and you love your children, if you know how to think for yourself and are not influenced by the dishonest propaganda of those who want to put us in chains and tie us to the great

dragon, the Soviet Union, you should vote for Jorge Carpio."

The UCN has maintained close ties to rightists such as Carlos Arana Osorio, whose presidency in the early seventies was characterized by widespread repression and human rights abuses. Ironically, it was *El Grafico* which reported in March of 1972 that Arana's first year in the presidency had been a "paroxysm of violence unprecedented in the history of Guatemala." Of course, the guerrillas were blamed for most of the violence.

Since then, under the government of Rios Montt, the leaders and newspapers of Guatemala have started to maintain that the guerrillas have been crushed and that the country is at peace. In reality, the guerrilla movement has moved out to the jungles and mountains where there is more support among the Indians and campesinos, but where it is invisible to the country's literate voting population, the overwhelming majority of whom are city-dwellers. So the "rightists" of the seventies can afford to foster a convenient "centrist" image in the eighties.

Double-speak and Prolefeed

El Grafico has been notoriously silent on government violations of journalists' human rights. In fact, Carpio was responsible for the destruction of the newspaper workers' union at *El Grafico*, which resulted in his expulsion from the Guatemalan Journalists' Association for "violations of freedom of expression."

During the months before the election (when I was in Guatemala), big color

tenders. Nearly all bookstores in Guatemala sell nothing but "pulp"—lurid paperbacks and comic books along the lines of what Orwell called "prolefeed." Traditional leftist material such as the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao can be found in a handful of bookstores in downtown Guatemala City which are frequented by students and intellectuals. But the "disappeared" notices in the back

"Guatemala's newspapers make virtually no mention of either Guatemala's leftist guerrillas or the military's brutal counter-insurgency program. But nearly every week, buried deep in the final pages, are small photographs which show only a face. The caption reads: 'Disappeared'. No further explanation is given or necessary."

pages of *El Grafico* and *La Prensa Libre* are a grim reminder of what happens to those who become too vocal. Journalists and student activists make up a highly disproportionate number of the "disappeared." It remains to be seen how much or how quickly this situation will change following January's scheduled return to civilian government.

Nicaragua's Newspaper War

The Sandinista government in Nicaragua also controls the press within its borders, but not as closely—and through direct, rather than underhanded, means (i.e., censorship as opposed to hit squads). Censorship notwithstanding, the three newspapers in Nicaragua are anything but homogeneous. To the contrary, a newspaper war is raging which has split one of Nicaragua's most notoriously

of the most vocal and courageous critics of the Somoza regime and initiated *La Prensa*'s tradition of opposition to the government.

In January of 1978, Pedro Joaquin was assassinated and the paper came under the control of his son, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, Jr. The assassination backfired on the Somocistas by angering the populace and turning public opinion even further against the regime. *La Prensa*, however, began to drift to the right, although it continued to criticize Somoza. Nicaragua's only other newspaper at that time was *Novedades*—which was run by

Somocistas and was therefore strongly pro-regime and anti-revolution.

In 1979 the regime fell. The five-member Sandinista junta which came to power included Pedro's widow, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. She resigned the following year, partially in response to the impending newspaper imbroglio. With the Sandinista victory, Pedro's pro-Sandinista brother Xavier tried to take the reins at *La Prensa*, in hopes of turning it into the official Sandinista organ. When this attempt was thwarted by Pedro Jr., Xavier departed from the newspaper and took three-quarters of the staff with him, to form the pro-Sandinista *Nuevo Diario*: "The New Newspaper for the New Man."

Meanwhile, *Novedades*, the old Somocista paper, was disbanded and its equipment was appropriated by the new revolutionary government. This equipment was put to use to start *Barricada*, the official newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Carlos Chamorro, another one of Pedro's sons, was chosen to be editor. Subsequently, *La Prensa*, under the editorship of Pedro Jr., took a sharp turn to the right and became increasingly critical of the Sandinistas. Nicaragua now has three newspapers, all run by members of the Chamorro family who had been close to the near-legendary Pedro Joaquin.

As *Barricada* became more popular, *La Prensa* fell to second place for the first time since its inception. In March of 1982, in response to the rising tide of U.S.-sponsored counter-revolution, the Sandinistas declared a state of emergency which included restrictions on the press. In December of 1984, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, Jr. defected to Costa Rica in protest of censorship. *La Prensa* came under the editorship of another of Pedro's brothers, Jaime (Pedro Jr.'s uncle).

The Outspoken Opposition

Jaime Chamorro complains not only of censorship, but of occasional close-outs (the longest of which lasted for three issues), mass confiscations of papers and threats and verbal harassment against *La Prensa* staff. In August of 1984, the state of emergency was amended and the government said that it would maintain prior censorship only for information of a military nature.

In an interview (—which took place before the further restrictions imposed in October of '85—Ed.), Jaime told me that he agrees that censorship of military matters for security reasons is justifiable. But he claims that articles which have nothing to do with military matters continue to be cut on a daily basis. Articles about protests of shortages, articles about resistance to military conscription, articles about the Miskito Indian insurgency, articles about Nicaraguan refugees in the United States and Costa Rica, and even political cartoons are all censored.

Jaime maintains that the censorship has gotten worse since the elections and gets worse still whenever there are no U.S. representatives in Managua. He maintains that censorship is an integral part of the Sandinista agenda. He points out that im-



photographs of Jorge Carpio broadly smiling and giving the fashionable, American "thumbs-up" sign were on billboards all over the country and somewhere within every issue of *El Grafico*—usually the back cover.

However, Carpio ultimately lost the election to his Christian Democrat opponent, Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo. Cerezo is considered the leftist candidate and promises that his economic program will help the poor (this is the only possible basis for Carpio's unsuccessful attempt to play the card of anti-Soviet paranoia). However, the Christian Democrat Party which Cerezo represents has until recently been controlled by the right. Its leadership has included Rios Montt, who masterminded Guatemala's counter-insurgency program, and Carpio's brother, Roberto Carpio Nicolle, who fought in the CIA-orchestrated coup of 1954 which ushered in Guatemala's long reign of military terror.

Few newspapers exist in Guatemala outside of *El Grafico* and *La Prensa Libre*. None of them either significantly compete with or vary from these two big con-

powerful families, the Chamorros, who are part of the coffee aristocracy and have been a potent force in the nation's politics for over a century. Among the forces battling for the hearts and minds of Nicaragua is an opposition press, *La Prensa*—a newspaper which is openly, vehemently and unequivocally critical of the government.

It is important to note that nothing of the sort exists or is tolerated in El Salvador, Honduras or Guatemala. If nothing else, the censorship in Nicaragua at least indicates that there is one newspaper which the government sees as enough of a threat to censor—which is more than you can say for the "fledgling democracies" of Central America's U.S.-aligned nations. In Nicaragua today, journalists are not shot from passing cars or dragged from their homes in the middle of the night, never to be seen again.

Nicaragua's bitter newspaper war is dominated by the memory of a revolutionary martyr whose legacy is even more hotly contested than that of Sandino. That man is Pedro Joaquin Chamorro who, as founder and editor of *La Prensa*, was one

Inside the Philippine Resistance

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of Filipinos have flooded into the streets, and tens of thousands have joined the New People's Army (NPA), the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines, to fight the "U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship."

While many older Filipinos harbor fond memories of the second U.S. invasion, saying "Hi Joe!" to any white male in the street, a growing number of youths are skeptical. Said one young base worker at Subic, "Sure the Americans liberated us. But the Russians also liberated Eastern Europe...and they've outstayed their welcome...Everyone seems eager to liberate us or protect us, but no one is willing to really let us rule ourselves."

Sixty Cents an Hour

Today, the American liberators walk up and down Magsaysay Boulevard in downtown Olongapo, past nightclubs like the Flamingo and the Woodstock, alongside burger stands and Shakey's. Uniformed Shore Patrol and Marines patrol the street, rock and country music blare, and hundreds of the 16,000 prostitutes in the town grab at the Americans. "This place is crazy," said a sailor who works on the deck of the aircraft carrier the U.S.S. Constellation. "It's an adult Disneyland where anything goes—drugs, sex, you name it." While Americanization side-by-side with severe poverty is nothing unusual in the Philippines—from Dunkin' Donuts to the American DJs on FM radio—Olongapo has a unique twist. It's a "Disneyland" where the "kids" are U.S. military men and the "rides" are human beings.

Olongapo is often called the "biggest brothel in the world." The prostitutes come to the city from the most economically devastated areas of the country, as well as to Angeles City near Clark. "These girls don't do this for fun," says Jim Mendoza, the Olongapo coordinator for the New Patriotic Alliance, or BAYAN. "Their parents have to swallow their shame for the money." The prostitutes are vulnerable to the superstrains of VD, which studies have shown rise whenever a large ship comes into port. They are often victims of drugs, botched abortions and beatings. One can see dozens of their abandoned, mixed-race children on street corners—begging, withdrawing from drugs or practicing their mother's trade—giving the city the feel of old Saigon. Many of the women hope to escape by marrying an American before they become too old for the job. Meanwhile, Mendoza says, the brothel owners are given choice seats in church on Sundays as "respected citizens."

Nevertheless, because of the economic crisis, the base is the "bread and butter" for thousands of Olongapeños. Under the Bases Labor Agreement, base workers earn the average equivalent of 60¢ an hour, far less than Navy base workers in the U.S. or Japan. Even one employee who has worked in the Ship Repair Facility (SRF) for seven years makes less than \$1 an hour. Declining to be named, he says that American students earn more at a summer base job at Subic. "It used to be that workers would strut into a local bar with their IDs still clipped on as a status symbol," says Mendoza, "but no more."

Mendoza, a former worker at the Naval Magazine, comments on the strained relationship between Americans and Filipinos on base. "It's kind of hard to get along with most of the whites. They have a superior attitude and act like they own the place..." he says. "The officers obviously have a condescending view of us, but try to hide it. The blacks are a little more relaxed...I think the officers try to keep the sailors scared of Filipinos to keep them from talking to us." Another SRF worker, who also declined to be named, said, "We're often given an order by an American who's less educated than we are, doesn't know what he's doing, yet gets paid loads more."

The base workers have gone on strike three times around economic demands—some prostitutes once joined them

on the picketline—and have now raised some new concerns. May reports in the pro-government *Bulletin Today* revealed that 28 Filipino workers on U.S. bases have died of poisoning by asbestos or non-ionizing radiation from radar.

Low-level industrial sabotage, the workers say, is becoming more common—but not to the level once engaged in by the sailors themselves. Mendoza recounts how, in the midst of antiwar sentiment among GIs in 1972, mines destined for North Vietnamese harbors were defused by Americans in the Naval Mag. Today, both sailors and workers are under the ever-watchful eye of the Naval Investigative Service (NIS), the Navy's intelligence agency. It is the NIS, Mendoza



(above) Pag-asa garbage dump slum with Navy watchtower, (right) T-shirts on sale in Olongapo, "Fuck with us & we'll do it again"

says, and not the Philippine authorities, who controls surveillance operations here.

"Bases of Our Insecurity"

In a barbershop I strike up a conversation with a black sailor from Brooklyn named John, whose ship recently arrived from Bangkok. "This place looks a lot more poor than Thailand," he says, "and it's getting hot." John explains: "A few days ago, some bros in the Marines told me they'd just come back from a patrol (along the base perimeter). They ran into the NPA—the National People's Army or whatever it's called—and laid an ambush for them...I guess both sides backed off, 'cause they didn't shoot. But it was close."

Close indeed. In 1974, an apparently accidental encounter with the NPA along the border touched off a two-month U.S. military operation in the area. In 1981, there were reports of U.S. Marines backing up their Filipino counterparts in showing force in Bataan villages. And in 1985, the *New York Times* reported the presence of an NPA camp inside the huge, heavily-forested base itself. (The Aeta tribal people who were relocated for the base have torn down much of the perimeter fence to sell for scrap.) The 1979 Bases Agreement allows the U.S. to actively pursue any forces that attack the bases; and war games in June inside Subic focussed on the danger of an NPA assault of some kind. However, underground activists in Olongapo say such an attack is extremely unlikely, as it would alienate potential support among base workers and would bring down the full force of the U.S.

Even so, the U.S. preparations for intervention worry Filipino nationalists, who fear the bases could become a flashpoint for a third U.S. invasion. Prof. Roland Simbulan from UP, author of *Bases of Our Insecurity*, revealed in June the presence of U.S. Special Operation Forces (SOF) at Subic and Clark, a report that was later confirmed by the U.S. Embassy. The SOFs are distinct from the Army mobile training teams and civic teams deployed on different islands. At least 16 SOFs based at Fort Campbell, Kentucky,

were reported in late 1984 to have been killed in covert direct combat in Central America—their families were told they had died in car accidents—and analysts like Simbulan wonder if the pattern is recurring in the Philippines. Philippine political life is rife with rumors of U.S. military advisers being spotted in the field, or of the U.S. Air Force providing facilities, pilots or even jets that drop napalm or chemicals in guerrilla zones in Mindanao, or of helicopters being shot down with Americans aboard. (U.S. officials have confirmed that Clark has been used in counterinsurgency operations by the Philippine military.)

Such rumors were given substance in June, when President Marcos told a French TV crew that, should the insurgency "get out of control," he would request the "entry of foreign ground troops."



Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile followed, stating that evidence of substantial foreign aid to the NPA, which he admitted does not yet exist, would be grounds for U.S. intervention. Close on the heels of these pronouncements, evangelist Rev. Jerry Falwell told a July Prayer Breakfast, honoring Philippine-American Friendship Day at the Manila Hilton, that if the Philippines was in danger of falling into Communist hands he would recommend the use of U.S. combat troops. To the grimaces of Filipino reporters present, he said that the NPA is a front for the Soviet Union.

Soviets Support Marcos

No one before Falwell had tried to equate the NPA and CPP, both member groups of the National Democratic Front (NDF), with the Soviet Union. From Marcos to the State Department to the Pentagon, it is agreed that not only is the NDF fiercely independent of foreign manipulation, but that the foreigners who count aren't very interested in manipulating it.

The assumption in the U.S. is usually that each "liberation movement" in the Third World must have some foreign patron, most notably the USSR. However, the experiences of many of these movements show that the USSR and China not only do not support them, but see to it

that their Communist Party stalwarts stand in the way of revolutionary momentum. Soviet aid to the Argentine junta and Chinese support for the Chilean junta have been notable examples. The Philippines is no different.

Rev. Elmo Manapat, a figure in the anti-dictatorship movement, sits in his office of the Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition, located in a church in the Santa Ana slum district of Manila. He explains Soviet policy in the Philippines: "There are two Communist Parties in the Philippines: the PKP, the first one, and the CPP, which formed in 1968. The thing is, the PKP is a pro-Moscow organization, and the directive of the Soviet Communist Party is for the PKP to make friends with Marcos, and to hail Marcos as a nationalist who is a victim of American imperialist intrusion...It's pro-fascist because they always justify the program of Marcos."

The PKP, which surrendered to Marcos in 1974, has some of its cadre in Marcos' Labor Ministry. Some of its Huk guerrillas have now been enlisted by the government to fight the NPA in Central Luzon. And the head of the Philippine-Soviet Friendship Committee is none other than the First Lady herself, Imelda Marcos, who has received awards from the Soviet Embassy. After her recent visit to Moscow (she also visited Beijing), she remarked how the Soviets are so much easier to deal with than the Americans.

Due partly to this collaboration with Marcos, the PKP's influence is tiny, and even the TUPAS union, a member of a Soviet-aligned trade union confederation, is losing membership to the more militant and anti-regime KMU unions. Moscow and Beijing have both pledged not to support the NPA, while expanding economic cooperation with Manila. If this seems unusual, remember that the US, USSR and China all sent advisors to the "modernizer" Shah of Iran—all in the spirit of detente, of course. The Philippines may be so much within the U.S. sphere of influence that it is not seen as worth the effort by foreign countries to bring it under their control. They might also fear the independent example that the NDF poses for other Third World movements.

It is not uncommon in the Philippine legal and underground movement to hear support for Poland's Solidarity union, opposition to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan or Chinese invasions of Vietnam. But at some point, the NPA, which relies solely on arms seized from the military or bought on the black market, will have to figure out how to arm its thousands of new recruits. Rumors abound in the country that the Soviets, faced with new realities, have offered token shipments of arms, but have been turned down with an icy "Thanks, but no thanks." The alleged ex-chairman of the CPP, Jose Maria Sison, who often writes poems and political tracts from prison, adamantly opposes any Soviet aid, which he believes would have strings attached.

Yet even if the NDF is truly non-aligned, Pentagon analysts assert, the expulsion of the U.S. bases that it advocates would give the USSR a military advantage in the region. Rear Admiral Louis Chatham of the Seventh Fleet says, "To move out of Subic would abject the South China Sea to the Soviets." The reason Chatham gives is the presence of a Soviet naval base in Camranh Bay, Vietnam, which before 1975 was a U.S. Navy "sister base" to Subic.

Camranh services 30 ships—one-third the number of ships in the U.S. Seventh Fleet—and a handful of aircraft. The Seventh Fleet which is serviced at Subic has 550 aircraft and 70,000 personnel; and Subic is close to other U.S. island territories. The Soviet ships at Camranh are far from home, and are positioned more likely to strengthen Hanoi's hand against China rather than to threaten the Philippines. Indeed, Radio Hanoi, until recently referred to the NPA as "Maoist bandits" (whether the Vietnamese finally recognized the NPA's growing strength or its de-emphasis of Maoism is not clear). Subic itself may have been more useful in the days when Washington saw China as an expansionist "yellow peril."

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HAYMARKET

The first of May is recognized worldwide as international labor day, except, ironically, in the U.S., where Mayday has been renamed "Law Day." Labor Day has been postponed till fall.

May 1, 1986 is the centennial of the enactment of a resolution by the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions formed in 1881, which in 1884 resolved: *...that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886.*

Though Congress passed a bill in 1869 (June 25) limiting the work day to 8 hours, there was no enforcement on industry. It remained a dead letter and applied only to government employees who consequently received wage reductions.



After the Civil War, but way before your pappy was born, workers rocked the country with general strikes and boycotts.

Employers responded with lock-outs, wage reductions and scab labor. Laws were made and enforced prohibiting labor organizing and boycotts as conspiratorial. The media and police condemned unions as "un-American," targeting anarchist organizers.

The Pinkerton Detective Agency and Protective Patrol supplied an army of 1600 guards, strike-breakers and union infiltrators. Riots and bloodshed followed when Pinkertons were hired by companies to handle "disorder." Pinkerton even owned and ran its own jails.

Labor activists attempted to change the system through electoral politics and legislation. Election judges forged ballots and tally sheets. Disillusioned, candidates and their supporters allied themselves with the anarchist socialists. Armed resistance clubs such as *Lehr und Wehr Vereine* were formed throughout the country to protect activists against the militia, causing debate over the question of armed resistance.

Although a call for the eight hour workday was the rallying point for labor syndicalists and Anarchist Socialists, the latter saw it as a compromise with the system of wage slavery at best. Yet they supported it as a step toward revolution.

Chicago became the forefront of the 8-hour movement. Its violent history of labor disputes and police abuse was second only to New York.

100th

ANNIVERSARY

Two months before May 1, the McCormick Harvester plant on Black Coal Road in Chicago had been the scene of heated labor activity and frequent clashes with the police. McCormick fired labor organizers despite its promise to allow recruiting activities.

On Feb. 16, '86, the plant shut down, locking out 1400 workers. 1000 marched in response. 500 police and Pinkertons were hired. On March 2, police broke up a meeting of locked-out workers.

On April 17, 20,000 demonstrated in the Calvary Armory, and on the 24th, 5000 workers representing 25 unions paraded to Lakefront where Justice Schwab, August Spies, and Sam Fielden and others addressed a crowd of 25,000.

As May 1 approached, the fury built in national perspective with a focus on Chicago. The Anarchists called for demonstrations and marches with labor unions. The police stated that no disorder was expected, yet they employed 1350 deputies. Pinkertons were hired by employers.

May 1, 1886, massive rallies, demonstrations and celebrations, almost entirely peaceful, swept through Chicago and other major cities. May 2 passed without much action in the streets.

On May 3rd, 6000 strikers assembled on the road to hear Spies and others speak. As 500 scabs were leaving the McCormick plant, some of the strikers confronted them, driving them back into the factory. Police fired into the crowd. 200 more cops arrived, firing and clubbing into the terrified crowd, killing four workers and wounding several more. Six police were injured. The straight and left press inaccurately reported the encounter, exaggerating the death and wounded toll.

A meeting was called for Haymarket square for Tuesday evening of the fourth. About 3000 assembled to discuss the McCormick incident and hear Spies, Parsons and Fielden speak. A few flyers had called to arm for the occasion, but were never circulated. For two hours the meeting was relatively quiet. Rain clouds appeared, and the crowd dwindled to a few hundred. As the meeting was closing, a detachment of 180 police led by captains Bonefield and Ward approached the podium and declared the meeting unlawful and ordered it to disperse. The speakers were descending from the makeshift podium when a dynamite bomb was hurled into the ranks of the police. The explosion killed one officer instantly and mortally wounded several others. After a pause of horror and confusion, the police rioted, clubbing and shooting into the fleeing crowd. In moments the street was clear except the dead and wounded. Evidence later uncovered that Rudolph Schnaubelt, who had followed Spies that day, was hired by police as an agent provocateur to throw the bomb. Schnaubelt was never apprehended.

The press railed at the anarchists of Chicago, calling to make an example of Spies and Parsons, denouncing labor and the eight hour movement. Many unions and labor groups turned against the anarchists in an attempt to avoid media attacks. The event drew international attention, becoming the cause celebre of radicals around the world.



Chicago police went wild, rounding up every outspoken advocate of labor organizing or associate of radicals. Pinkertons rounded up all the "leading anarchists." The jails filled as police invented conspiracy upon conspiracy. The press tried and convicted the eight anarchists even before official charges were made. The color red was removed from advertisements and billboards to counter accusations that Chicago was a communist town. The coroner claimed the cause of death to be "a bomb thrown by an unknown associate of Spies, Parsons and Fielden." A hand-picked grand jury indicted 31 men on 69 counts of murder and conspiracy. Only eight men stood trial, and only two had been at the Haymarket rally. A few bought immunity with testimonies against the anarchists.

A defense fund and lawyers were no match for the fixed jury and biased judge, who accepted a relative of one of the deceased cops to serve as a juror. Parsons, who had fled to Wisconsin, returned to be tried with the other accused anarchists. None of the evidence against the Haymarket defendants related to the rally or the bomb. The prosecution relied solely on the defendants' writings and speeches to implicate the eight in 'conspiracy'. They were found guilty and sentenced to death.

On Nov. 11, 1887, four of the convicted, Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, and George Engle were hanged. Louis Lingg was found dead in his cell. Oscar Neebe, Sam Fielden and Justice Schwab remained in prison until they were pardoned by Illinois Governor Altgeld, in June 1893.

George Barnard Shaw responded: "If the world must lose eight of its people, it can better afford to lose the eight members of the Illinois Supreme Court."



CHICAGO 1986

Several groups wave the Mayday banner, few in the spirit of the Haymarket martyrs. They are usually met with confrontations from corporate and state police. While the 'Big Names' (Congresspeople, Chicago's mayor, representatives of the AFL/CIO, possibly Jesse Jackson and Studs Turkel) plan to control certain events, a diverse band of experienced anarchists and revolutionaries are gearing up to seize the spirit of Haymarket as well.

In Chicago on Nov. 29, '85, a conference was called to plan the activities of the Haymarket centennial. The Chicago Anarchists United, working with representatives from many other cities, formed an agenda that includes various workshops, demonstrations as well as art, entertainment and interaction with the Haymarket Centennial Committee and other liberal groups. Some activities include the erection of gallows, recitals of the martyrs speeches at their trial and a dedication of the Haymarket Monument. For more info contact: CAU Haymarket 86 Bulletin, Box 102, 1200 W. Fullerton, Chicago IL 60614.

The SHIMO Underground, a revolutionary group with chapters around the country, walked out of the November planning conference after a faction acting on a letter from San Francisco signed 'blueberry', limited their participation in the conference. The letter accused SHIMO of being RCP sympathizers, citing a letter in the *Revolutionary Worker*. SHIMO continues to outline an alternative program, calling for eight days of demonstrations, confrontations, war-chest tours, blockades, be-ins, die-ins, guerilla theater, marches, meetings, concerts and other assorted efforts of mayhem beginning April 28. Contact them at: SHIMO Underground/Haymarket Organizing Group, Pob 4900, Chicago IL 60680.

From around the continent and overseas, pledges of participation and support have come. Diverse forms of propaganda are invited to promote social change through word and deed. The common thread is the commemoration of the martyrs and celebration of the victory of the eight hour movement, but the fabric is meant to send a message to the world. There promises to be an outpouring of support.

In Australia, anarchists are celebrating their 100th year of the Melbourne Anarchist Club. A conference will examine anarchist history and plot their future in the expanding anarchist movement. Delegates from Australia are traveling the world to exchange information with anarchists. To find out more: AACCC, POB 20, Parkville 3052, Melbourne Australia.

SUDS AND BLOOD

ISSUE 1 - DECEMBER 85
FOR WIDEST POSSIBLE DISTRIBUTION

EVERY COORS YOU BUY
PAYS FOR
MURDER
IN CENTRAL AMERICA



JULY 19, 1979. AN EVENT OCCURED WHICH MUST BE LOOKED UPON AS AN EXAMPLE TO PEOPLES AROUND THE WORLD WHO ARE NOT FREE. THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA DEFEATED THE SOMOZA NATIONAL GUARD AND SEIZED THE GOVERNMENT OF THEIR NATION AFTER GENERATIONS OF BRUTAL OPPRESSION. THE WAR COST BETWEEN 40,000 AND 50,000 DEAD AND FLATTENED THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY. YET NICARAGUANS FACED AWESOME HARDSHIP WITH JUBILATION.

Garner 85



IF WE LET EM GET AWAY WITH THIS THE REST'LL JUMP TOO!

NATURALLY THIS EVENT WAS LOOKED UPON WITH JOY BY THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS OF THE WORLD...



YES SIR!

PRESIDENT REAGAN PROVED THIS BY IMPOSING A TRADE EMBARGO AND ASSIGNING THE CIA TO TOPPLE THE FLEDGLING GOVERNMENT.



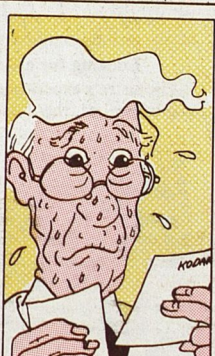
THE EMBARGO WAS DEVASTATING AND SET BACK REBUILDING BY DECADES. BUT THE UGLIEST WEAPON IS THE 'CONTRAS'.



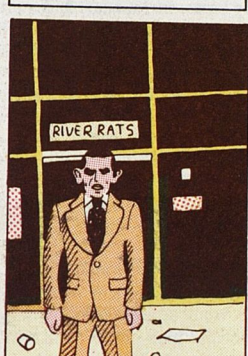
OFFICERED BY EX-SOMOCISTAS THE CONTRA STRATEGY ASSUMES THAT YOU NEED ONLY TERRORISE PEOPLE SUFFICIENTLY AND THEY SOON COME AROUND.



SPECIALISING IN RAPING AND MUTILATING TEACHERS AND HEALTH WORKERS THESE 'FREEDOM FIGHTERS' HAVE COST NICARAGUA 10,000 LIVES SINCE '82'.



APPALLED BY THE CARNAGE, CONGRESS SHUT OFF AID TO THE CONTRAS AND ORDERED A HALT TO CIA 'COVERT' FUNDING.



ENTER GENERAL JOHN SINGLAUB (RET.), FIRED FROM HIS POST AS SECOND IN COMMAND OF US FORCES IN SOUTH KOREA FOR GIVING LIP TO JIMMY CARTER...



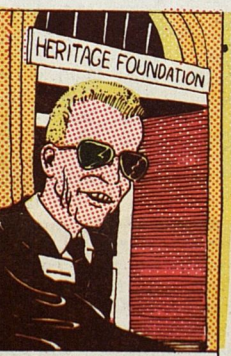
SINGLAUB IS NOW CHAIRMAN OF THE WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE, THE LEAGUE HAS CHAPTERS WORLD-WIDE.



THE GENERAL FLIES ABOUT THE WORLD BEING HOSTED BY VARIOUS ANTI-COMMUNIST ORGANISATIONS AND FASCIST DEATH SQUADS.



IN THE U.S. DONATIONS AND SUPPORT FLOWS FROM BUSINESS ORGANISATIONS AND WEALTHY INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING J PETER GRACE AND JOSEPH COORS.



JOSEPH COORS OF ALBERT COORS BEER CO. IS PRESENTLY UNDER INVESTIGATION FOR UNSAFE CONDITIONS IN HIS NON-UNION BEER PLANT.



HE IS DESCRIBED AS AN ARDENT AND EARLY SUPPORTER OF WACL AND A CLOSE FRIEND OF RONALD REAGAN.



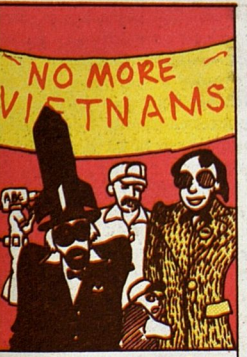
MONEY RAISED IN THE U.S IS LABELED "FOR HUMANITARIAN USES ONLY" AND FUNNELED TO THE CONTRAS VIA ORGANISATIONS LIKE THE UNIFICATION CHURCH AND...



SOF EDITOR BOB BROWN AND FRIEND... HE ALSO HAS A MONKEY ON HIS SHOULDER.



A 1984 POLL BY CBS/NEW YORKTIMES FOUND 55% OF AMERICANS FELT WE SHOULD NOT AID IN THE DESTABILISATION OF NICARAGUA.



AGAIN, AMERICANS IN GREAT NUMBERS ARE PLEDGED TO COMMIT ACTS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE TO PROTEST THE ACTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.



MEANWHILE NICARAGUANS PASS OUT RIFLES AND DIG TRENCHES. (IT HAS BEEN ASKED HOW MANY CONGRESSMEN WOULD DARE PASS...



...OUT RIFLES TO THEIR CONSTITUENCIES?) THE CONTRA WAR GOES ON...

BOYCOTTS THRUOUT THE WEST AND MIDWEST HAVE CUT DEEPLY INTO SALES OF COORS BEER. ALBERT COORS BEER CO IS PRESENTLY ATTEMPTING TO REPLACE LOST REVENUES BY EXPANDING INTO THE LUCRATIVE NEW ENGLAND MARKET. THEY HAVE ALREADY CAPTURED A SIGNIFICANT PART OF TOTAL BEER SALES. IF JOSEPH COORS SUFFERS SERIOUS LOSSES AS A RESULT OF HIS RIGHT WING ACTIVITIES THIS WILL HAVE A CHILLING EFFECT ON THE OTHER WEALTHY WHITE MALES WHO ARE MAKING SIMILAR CONTRIBUTIONS.

GIVE NICARAGUANS THE BEST CHRISTMAS GIFT OF ALL!

PEACE.

BOYCOTT COORS
Sandinista!!

For more information call
PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE at
617-497-9311

EVERY COORS YOU BUY
PAYS FOR
MURDER
IN CENTRAL AMERICA

BLAST OFF COMIX

5...4...3...
2...1...
ALL SYSTEMS GO!

WELL, ALL SYTEMS CHECK OUT OKAY!

BEAUTIFUL LAUNCH, TELL MR. REAGAN HE CAN GO AHEAD WITH A GREAT SPEECH TONIGHT!

HELLO? NASA? COME IN PLEASE! STRANGE, WE'VE LOST CONTACT!

HEY-LOOK OUT THE WINDOW! EARTH-- IT'S VANISHED!

PUBLICITY THE END

Inside the Philippine Resistance

continued from pg. 11

Among Filipino nationalists, the Soviet presence at Camranh is, in Manapat's words, a "boogeyman." The only "foreign enemy" the Philippines has, they say, is the one that already possesses bases in the country. If they can defeat the Americans, they ask, wouldn't they also be capable of defeating less-powerful Soviet invaders? Finally, they conclude, it is difficult to justify the presence of a base built in the last century by pointing at a base established in the last decade. Mendoza says, "If you're here to protect us, we don't need you. We can protect ourselves. If there are people who would be worried about peace and security, it would be us because we live here...It is your very presence here that creates instability and tension...If we come up with a country that is free and independent...The first thing we would do would be to ask our neighbors to have this as a zone of neutrality...We don't believe in this U.S. hegemony or this Soviet hegemony; it's these two superpowers warring with each other."

Mendoza goes on: "The Americans always say that the presence of the bases here is for stability in the Asia-Pacific region, to create a balance of power. But the way we see it, there's another reason, which we feel is the more important reason why they're here. Number one, to protect their economic interests in the Philippines, because Americans get a lot out of our natural resources...they dominate our economy through the multinationals, World Bank and other financial institutions." Mendoza pauses; a jet roars overhead to land at Cubi Point Naval Air Station. "...In this age of Star Wars and ICBMs, these bases are, strictly speaking, not that important militarily."

Perhaps in the geopolitical war with the Soviets, the Philippine bases have become

Navy will neither confirm nor deny. The sailors' reactions to the Navy's stance is to chuckle and roll their eyes upward. "C'mon," one tells me as we drink San Miguel Beer on Magsaysay Boulevard, "what base servicing carrier *doesn't* have 'em?" The t-shirts on sale in one shop give a more succinct position: "Remember Hiroshima. Fuck with us and we'll do it again."

Given that the Philippines is critical for the projection of U.S. nuclear and conventional forces to Asian hot spots, the question needs to be asked: hasn't the Philippines itself become one of those hot spots? Certainly the U.S. has more to lose there militarily, economically, and politically—the bases, investments and a pro-U.S. regime—than in Kampuchea, the most intense war currently in the Far East. The country in Southeast Asia where the U.S. can *most easily* intervene is now the country where the U.S. feels it *most needs* to intervene. With the combination of Asia's only growing leftist guerrilla movement alongside the largest U.S. bases in Asia, many Filipinos suspect that the springboard for intervention may become the destination for intervention.

"Military Reform"

A recent State Department report concluded that "Our interests in the Philippines are worth a high priority and costly effort to preserve." The question now becomes: how high and how costly? If all other measures fail, is a direct U.S. military intervention in the Philippines an option? No, say some analysts; Marcos would be too embarrassing to defend, and his corrupt and mismanaged military would be as unreliable an ally as the South Vietnamese army turned out to be. But, they add, if the regime changes its image or is ousted, or makes the military more professional and technical, the stage could be

ouster and new military policies. However, even during periods of the most vociferous State Department criticism of Marcos' military misconduct, arms sales to that same military have continued.

What the notion of "military reform" does on both a local and national level is to create a "good cop/bad cop" dynamic. The good cop concentrates on public relations, while the bad cop is kept aside to do the dirty work. After all, in a war somebody has to. Sister Sally Salvador, a human rights worker now in the U.S., explains her experience in Mindanao. In the town where she worked, lower-ranking officials would commit abuses against the people. A higher-ranking official would come along *after* the damage was done and put a stop to it. He is greeted warmly by the people, who do not think of what role he might have played in previous abuses. "I believe," the sister says, "that this means turning an oppressor into a savior."

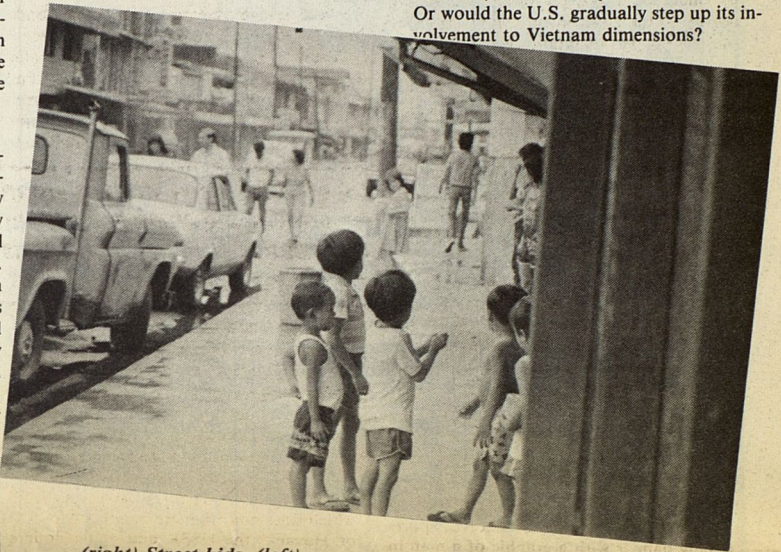
Looking for a Good Puppet

The sister's experiences can be seen as a microcosm of the national situation. A

solution." He is the only figure who can keep the factions of the military together. Mendoza says of the U.S. government, "Their number one criteria in supporting a leader in a foreign country is how well this leader would serve their interests. So even if this leader is not popular anymore, like the Philippine people already hate Marcos, and he's very much isolated, until the Americans find a good puppet—a puppet who delivers the goods to them—I think they will continue supporting Marcos." It should be remembered that the U.S.-sponsored coup against South Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem installed the generals who paved the way for direct U.S. intervention. Nobody expects a coup unless Marcos is about to fall to the NDF.

"The Vietnam of the 1990s"

What would be the U.S. response to an NDF-led government? A trade embargo and naval blockade a la Cuba? Would it involve bankrolling a counter-revolutionary army, as has been used against Angola and Nicaragua? Would it involve the selective use of naval guns and bombers, most recently used in Lebanon? Or would the U.S. gradually step up its involvement to Vietnam dimensions?



(right) Street kids, (left) Americans with prostitutes



new leadership may curb some of the practices of Marcos—break up the monopolies of his cronies, cut down on the number of death squad killings, and institute some land reform measures. But the roots of the problems remain—so the poverty, the resistance and its suppression will go on. Liberal Party leader Abraham Sarmiento says, "We may dismantle Marcos and replace him with someone worse. The structure of society remains." Dismantling only Marcos, others say, would only disguise the real culprits. It is not the cronies who ultimately determine the economy, they say, but the multinational companies and agencies. It is not independent "death squads" who do the killing, but government soldiers and bombs. It is not Marcos who ultimately calls the shots—it is Washington.

A clear parallel can be seen in El Salvador. Salvadoran President José Napoleon Duarte and Chief of Staff Col. Blandon are touted by the U.S. as the "soft cop" moderates (like Enrile and Ramos) against the "hard cops" Col. Ochoa and Roberto D'Aubuisson (like Ver and First Lady Imelda Marcos). Duarte's campaign promise was to curb death squad killings, institute economic reforms and begin a peace process. Yet under his reign, tens of thousands have died, Air Force bombings have intensified and the peace process has stopped dead in its tracks. Unions are abandoning Duarte's coalition, and land reform has been aborted. But most importantly, the good press Duarte has received as a "moderate" has enabled Washington to step up its counterinsurgency program dramatically. The Salvadoran experience is pointed to by those Filipinos who see a new civilian-military government as mere "window dressing" for U.S. intervention.

Yet even a change of government is unlikely at this point. U.S. government directives refer to Marcos as "part of the problem, but also necessarily part of the

One point is made by all Filipinos of all political persuasions: the Philippines would be no Grenada. The archipelago is larger in population than the Caribbean and Central America *combined*, coming just short of Vietnam. And more than statistics bring up the parallel with its Southeast Asian neighbor. Rep. Stephan Solarz (D-NY), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, calls the Philippines "the Vietnam of the 1990s." While insurgent forces in the archipelago have difficulty without any bases of operations in adjacent countries, any invader would have difficulty consolidating his hold over 7,100 rugged and heavily-forested islands. Underground activists optimistically boast that the Sierra Madre Mountains of Northern Luzon, the birthplace of the NPA, are "ten times more forested than the Ho Chi Minh Trail." Nothing that a little Agent Orange couldn't clear out in a jiffy.

The State Department concurs with NPA projections that within 3 to 5 years it will reach a "strategic stalemate," or parity with the military in the field. As it goes onto the offensive, the prospects of U.S. forces replacing a collapsing army would increase. Sison sees 1991—the expiration date for the current Bases Agreement—as the critical period. A CPP official told me in a Northern Luzon guerrilla zone that the rebels would be willing to "negotiate" over the U.S. bases, rather than face a bloody final struggle with U.S. forces, but that the bases eventually must go.

If the U.S. feels its bases are immediately threatened, it could move Clark Air Field from the undefendable plains of Central Luzon to its islands of Tinian and Saipan, where it has already purchased 18,000 acres. Air Force operations could also be moved to Thailand or Australia, provided that nationalist movements in these countries don't get the upper hand.

Subic poses another problem. Attempts by New Zealand and the Republic of Belau to establish the first "nuclear-free zones"

obsolete. Yet in the many regional and local wars that rock Asia, the bases may be indispensable. Over the years, Subic and Clark have been used as springboards for direct U.S. military involvement in China, Korea, Indonesia and especially Indochina. During the Vietnam War, they were the main support bases shipping troops and weapons to the battlefield. And with the advent of rapid deployment units, the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, and eastern and Southern Africa have been added to the list of hot spots covered by the 20,000 U.S. military personnel stationed in the Philippines. Clark was used in the Iran hostage mission; and the bases would certainly be primary in any future "oil war." In Olongapo, sailors sport t-shirts that read "Persian Gulf Yacht Club" and "I Got My Tan Off the Coast of Iran."

Manapat alleges that the bases also play a central role in nuclear strategy, not only playing an essential strategic command role, but serving as shipment points and storage for nuclear weapons. He says that the nuclear weapons make the country a target for attack. He points to nuclear emergency manuals and other evidence on the bases to support his claim, which the

set for a dramatic jump in U.S. military aid and assistance. If the generals efficiently fight the war against the NPA and mass movements full-time and reforms are instituted to legitimize the regime, then they will be more "deserving" of direct U.S. combat support. The better the government looks, the more likely the intervention; but Washington only helps those who help themselves.

Changing the image of the military may mean changing the leadership of the military. In a process Washington calls "military reform," the most inefficient generals would be replaced by West Point-trained military men. The criteria are not who is the least implicated in human rights abuses—all top officials by now have been—but who can turn the military into a meaner, more efficient fighting force. The military leaders who profess this aim, such as Gen. Fidel Ramos and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, also happen to have closer ties to the U.S. and a more capitalist orientation than the Chief of Staff, Gen. Fabian Ver. Some junior officers have organized against the leadership of Ver, whose recent acquittal did not lay to rest allegations of his involvement in the Aquino assassination. The U.S. has also been using its leverage to push for Ver's

MEDIA, CENSORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

continued from pg. 10

mediately after the Sandinista victory in 1979, the organ of the ultra-left MAP-ML (Popular Action Movement-Marxist-Leninist) was closed down by the new government for publishing articles urging workers to take over the factories. He points to an article in a recent issue of the University of Nicaragua's journalism publication, entitled: "Censorship: A Form of Resistance to the Ideological Penetration of the Enemy" (*Cuadernos de Periodismo*, Dec. 1983). He maintains that Pedro Joaquin Chamorro gave his life for freedom of the press and the Sandinistas are betraying his heritage—as are the other two newspapers which both support the Sandinistas.

However, every issue of *La Prensa* is full of uncensored articles which are highly critical of the government. Many critics of the newspaper maintain that *La Prensa* knowingly goes beyond its limits just so that it can complain of censorship. Outside *La Prensa's* office is a bulletin board which proudly displays in full public view all of the articles which have been cut on a given day. Anyone in Managua who is curious enough to find out what is missing from the latest edition can walk down to the office and take a look. The censored articles are also freely distributed by mail to foreign journalists, U.S. representatives and prominent conservative Nicaraguans.

La Prensa faithfully prints all Reagan Administration denunciations of the Sandinistas. Many Nicaraguans say that the paper's increasingly crass and sensationalist style is a vivid contrast to *La Prensa* of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro.

The Chamorro Heritage

Barricada, the official Sandinista paper under the editorship of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro's son Carlos Chamorro, sports a daily banner with a graphic of a man in military fatigues firing a rifle from behind a barricade. The editors maintain that all three newspapers are subject to prior censorship—*La Prensa* hasn't been singled out. They maintain that *Barricada* and *Nuevo Diario* do not complain about the censorship because they understand that it is a necessity at this time. *Barricada's* style is clear and concise and attempts to appeal to people who are fresh from the government literacy programs and are reading a newspaper for the first time.

While its portrayal of events in Nicaragua is somewhat less sensationalistic than that of *La Prensa*, it is also subject to its own distortions. For instance, *Barricada* routinely refers to all anti-government guerrillas as "Somocistas"—including those groups, such as important factions within ARDE (Democratic Revolutionary Alliance), which are led by defected Sandinistas who fought against Somoza in the revolution and still refuse to ally themselves with that majority of contra forces which really are Somocista.

On the rare occasions when *Barricada* speaks out on international issues, the results are rather embarrassing. *Barricada* claims to receive international news from a wide variety of press services including AP,

UPI and TASS, but it would seem that an over-representative proportion comes from TASS. *Barricada* has denounced Poland's Solidarity Union and supported the Qadhaffi government in Libya and the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan.

Barricada also publishes a weekly English edition for North American journalists and "brigadistas" (volunteer workers).

Nuevo Diario, under the editorship of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro's brother Xavier Chamorro, remains independent but strongly supportive of the government. Both *Barricada* and *Nuevo Diario* include cultural supplements which have by far the most creative graphics, layout, poetry and photography that I have ever seen in any Central American newspaper. The staff of *Barricada* and *Nuevo Diario* both maintain that Pedro Joaquin Chamorro gave his life for the struggle against Somocismo and that *La Prensa* is betraying his heritage.

There also exist many small-scale regional publications which are produced in communities across Nicaragua by Sandinista cultural organizations. They are usually full of songs, poetry and children's

"Costa Rica's re-militarization can only be sold to the people by convincing them that Nicaragua constitutes an aggressive communist threat which needs to be defended against. Costa Rica's newspapers have taken up the task with a passion."

drawings. The kinds of views and information which are allowed into these publications is tightly controlled, but they serve to teach young people the skills of journalism and newspaper production. Community-based, participatory publications such as these are non-existent in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala.

Nicaraguan bookstores carry very little which does not originate in either Moscow or Havana (the USSR and Cuba donate books for free). If you want to read the works of Marx, Engels or Lenin, or a highly favorable biography of Sandino, Che Guevara or Leonid Brezhnev, you can find what you're looking for in any Nicaraguan town. But you may find little else. Street-hawkers sell second-hand pulp from Mexico and Guatemala and sometimes raggedy, moth-eaten back-issues of *Time* and *Newsweek*—these latter at ludicrously expensive prices. Despite strong anti-U.S. sentiment, the culture of "Gringolandia" is emulated, as it is everywhere in Central America. The Nicaraguan radio stations play the latest from Michael Jackson and even *Barricada* follows the exploits of North American baseball teams!

Costa Rica: Neutrality Under Attack

The conflict in Nicaragua, including the newspaper war, is having a great impact in Nicaragua's southern neighbor, Costa Rica. Costa Rica is something of an anomaly for Central America. Fairly prosperous and democratic, it has been without a standing army for over thirty years and maintains a policy of "perpetual unarmed neutrality." The United States is currently doing everything within its power to overturn this policy and is already attempting to develop Costa Rica's national

police force, the Civil Guard, into a full-fledged military. In a telling twist of irony, this process is taking place under the auspices of U.S. advisors at a location just south of the Nicaraguan border—a training base converted from a hacienda which had belonged to Somoza and been his favorite vacation spot. Since 1980, U.S. military aid to Costa Rica has increased from zero to \$10,000,000. Costa Rica is currently receiving from the U.S. thousands of M-16 rifles, mortars, armed personnel-carriers and a Voice of America radio transmitter which is to be strategically positioned just below the Nicaraguan border. When the four transmission towers are completed they will be able to broadcast into even the most remote areas of Nicaragua.

This process of re-militarization follows a long tradition of peace and neutrality and can only be sold to the Costa Rican people by convincing them that Nicaragua constitutes an aggressive Communist threat which needs to be defended against. Costa Rica's newspapers have taken up the task with a passion.

If Guatemala controls its press through political terror and Nicaragua controls its press through censorship, then Costa Rica's methods most closely mirror those

of the United States: the major newspapers are controlled by an elite minority who toe the political line. Small publications with dissenting views exist and are tolerated because they don't have the circulation or the influence (i.e., money) to make a significant difference.

Costa Rica's leading dailies, *La Nacion*, *La Republica* and *La Prensa Libre*, have succeeded in creating a popular image of Nicaragua as an expansionist monster intent on fostering communist subversion within Costa Rica's borders. Headlines such as: "Costa Rica Prepared Before the Threat of Invasion" (*Prensa Libre*, Oct. 3, 1984) have served to produce a sense of paranoia. Already the atmosphere of militarization can be felt, especially in the north of Costa Rica, where ARDE and other contra groups recruit mercenaries from the campesinos and instigate border skirmishes with Nicaraguan patrols. Recent skirmishes have resulted in Sandinista forces and Costa Rican Civil Guards exchanging fire over the frontier. Thanks to the media indoctrination, these skirmishes are seen as "Nicaraguan aggression." Independent right-wing paramilitary groups are forming in northern Costa Rica in response to the perceived "threat."

After a clash which ensued when ARDE troops attacked a Nicaraguan border post, a paramilitary group called Free Costa Rica sent a letter to then Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge asking for permission to recruit, arm and organize civilians: "This country has to show those who do not believe in freedom that it is ready to give its blood in order...to fight against this gang of mercenaries who have usurped power in Nicaragua." The Vice-President of Free Costa Rica is also the Assistant

Director of *La Nacion*. The Director of *La Republica* is a member of another paramilitary group, the National Patriotic Union. It is of little surprise that these newspapers' editorials criticize neutrality as "cowardly and dangerous."

Journalists who have attempted to report favorably of the Nicaraguan revolution have been harassed and even fired from their papers. If they manage to find an alternative means of getting their story out, such as public television, they often find themselves lambasted on the editorial pages. Meanwhile, the newspapers portray the contras as heroic Christian freedom-fighters.

Costa Rica's virulently anti-Sandinista and anti-neutrality press have also provided a soapbox for right-wing refugees from Nicaragua's newspaper war. Since their self-imposed exile from Nicaragua, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Jr. and rightist opposition candidate and U.S. banking interest representative Arturo Cruz have been producing a *La Nacion* supplement entitled *Nicaragua Hoy* (Nicaragua Today). The logo of *Nicaragua Hoy* is a map of Nicaragua outlined in barbed wire. It contains nothing but inflammatory anti-Sandinista propaganda.

Alternative Media and Politics

However, a few small dissenting voices can be heard, even amidst this clamor. The student publication *Universidad* is strongly in favor of neutrality and opposes the process of re-militarization. The Nicaraguan *Nuevo Diario* can be found on the Costa Rican newsstands one day later and at a slightly higher price than in Nicaragua.

Costa Rica is the only Central American country which can be said to have alternative media, even if it is still in embryo. There is a small feminist publication called *Nuestra Voz* and an anarchist publication called *Acracia*. *Nuestra Voz* is published by the Alliance of Costa Rican Women, one of the many new alternative political groups which have arrived on the scene in response to the new militarism. Another of these groups, the CEP (Costa Rican Ecology Party), is openly committed to principles of nonviolence and hopes to start a Costa Rican Greens movement.

Another, the PRD (Radical Democrat Party), was founded by Juan Echeverria, one-time Minister of Public Security and member of the National Legislative Assembly. He has publicly deplored the stranglehold that the United States has on the Costa Rican media. He asserts that there is a great deal of overlap amongst the handful of wealthy stockholders who control all three newspapers as well as the radio. He claims that this elite group has met "more than once" to discuss "how to deal with the news" with officials of the U.S. Information Agency, the independent propaganda machine which is linked to the U.S. State Department and is best known for the development and programming of Voice of America.

Juan Echeverria sees the unrestricted flow of information as the only hope for democracy in the region. A well-informed people ultimately cannot be used as pawns in the geo-political games of the super-powers who are attempting to carve out their turf in Central America. "Somoza was not defeated militarily," he says. "He was defeated politically. Hours after Somoza left Nicaragua, thousands of new rifles from Israel were found in his bunker. They had not been used because there were no men to use them." —October, 1985.

MARGARET RANDALL ORDERED OUT

Margaret Randall, US-born author, photographer and political activist, was ordered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to leave this country by Oct. 30. She refused to comply and, together with 12 co-plaintiffs, has filed a suit against the Attorney General and top INS officials in an effort to overturn the notorious McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which is being used to exclude her.

Randall, married to a Mexican at the time, took Mexican citizenship, then moved to Cuba in 1968 and in

1981 to Nicaragua. Among her books are *Cuban Women Now*, *Carlota*, *Sandinista's Daughters*, and *Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution*.

The Boston Committee to Defend Margaret Randall (c/o CASA, 1151 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138) says: "The decision to refuse Margaret resident status is based entirely on ideas and opinions she has expressed in her writings...."

Committee members and endorsers include Margaret Burnham, Ann Froines, Denise Levertov, Brooke Shields, George Wald and Howard Zinn. They called on supporters to write Alan C. Nelson, Commissioner, INS, Room 7100, Chester Arthur

Bldg., 425 Eye St., NW, Washington, DC 20336, protesting the denial of resident status to Margaret Randall and demanding review of her case. —reprinted from PEACEWORK-American Friends Service Committee, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140

□ The U.S. spends as much on digestive aids and shaving products as the total annual income of Nicaragua.

• The amount a typical North American spends on alcoholic beverages in one year could cover the total living expenses of one Honduran for half a year.

□ The cost of one Sears VCR would cover the total living expenses of a

Salvadoran for over 10 months.

• Nabisco earns more in sales each year than the combined GDP's of Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama.

□ The U.S. spends as much on cosmetics, hair care, and disposable diapers as the combined GDP's of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras.

• If U.S. military aid to El Salvador in 1984 were instead divided among the poorest 20% of the Salvadoran people, their average annual income would quadruple.

—reprinted from CENTRAL AMERICAN NEWSLETTER, P.O. Box 56246, New Orleans, LA 70156-6246

Miskito/Maya

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been formed. Brooklyn Rivera criticized it as "an official organization of 'white Indians,' imposed from above by the Sandinistas and created for international consumption." Rivera charges that MISATAN leadership was appointed by Sandinista officials, not elected by Indians. The FSLN still upholds its 1979 program which calls for breaking the traditional isolation of the East Coast and integrating cultural minorities into the national life.

Refugees and Re-militarization in Costa Rica

Nicaragua's East Coast conflict has sent a flood of refugees into Costa Rica. Authorities estimate that up to two hundred thousand refugees, the great majority of them undocumented, are currently in Costa Rica, and more are coming every day.

The refugee camp outside Costa Rica's Caribbean port Limon is home for about eight hundred Costenos who have fled Nicaragua since 1982. As refugee camps go, it is well-supplied. It has adequate housing, fresh water, food, health care facilities and a school-house. Radios play

widespread support. They tell of constant harassment by security forces. They say that their homes are frequently intruded and searched without reason—often in the middle of the night. They say that those who deny entry to security forces are routinely arrested and accused of supporting the contras. Protest is met either with verbal threats of retaliation or further arrests.

The refugees complain of bureaucratic encroachment into their way of life. They say they are forced to work in government collectives which limit their earnings while the war has caused prices to soar. Many say that they have witnessed the Sandinista army aerial-bombing Indian villages by helicopter.

They claim that the security forces justify any kind of abuse with the accusation of contra complicity, even where no evidence exists. While some refugees expressed enthusiasm for the contras, especially MISURA and MISURASATA, they themselves expressed no interest in fighting. They say that the East Coast had always been peaceful before the arrival of the Sandinistas and their policy of military

that the refugees had about their current situation is that they have been at the camp for several months—some even years—and they don't know when they will be leaving or where they will be going next. Without their fishing boats or land they have no means of livelihood.

Colon Bermudez, an official of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in San Jose, Costa Rica, says that the U.N. is looking for land in Costa Rica where the refugees can farm and become self-sufficient. The land and work programs will be shared by poor Costa Ricans in an attempt to integrate the refugees into Costa Rican society and reduce their visibility. When asked whether the refugees' hopes of returning to Nicaragua are at all realistic, he replies that "sadly, the fate of the refugees, as all Central Americans, has more to do with decisions made in Washington and Moscow than anything that they can do for themselves."

The influx of refugees has been picked up by Costa Rica's newspapers as a means of turning public opinion against the Sandinistas. Costa Rica has no standing military and maintains a policy of "permanent unarmed neutrality." The United States recognizes that overturning Costa Rica's neutral stance may be a necessary prerequisite for overthrowing the Sandinistas. On the Santa Elena Peninsula, immediately south of the Nicaraguan border, Somoza's old vacation hacienda has been converted into a military training base where US and Israeli advisors are currently transforming Costa Rica's police force into a full-fledged military. The U.S. is pouring thousands of M-16 rifles, personnel-carriers, jeeps, patrol boats, radios and uniforms and millions of dollars in military aid into Costa Rica. The U.S. Foreign Aid Authorization Bill for 1986, passed in March of 1985, makes an exception in the current law to allow for training of police officials in "a country which has a long-standing democratic tradition, does not have standing armed forces and does not engage in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." Costa Rica is the only country that fits this description. One of the last remaining de-militarized zones in Central America is being lost. After a forty-year tradition of peace and neutrality, the Costa Rican people are accepting this process of re-militarization only because their media, controlled by stockholders who are sympathetic to US interests, are convincing them that they need to defend themselves before the Nicaraguan "communist threat." The refugee issue has been seized upon because the refugees are the only visible evidence of this "threat." According to Costa Rica's newspapers, unless Costa Ricans cooperate with US efforts to use their country in the effort to depose the Sandinistas, they can expect their country to be swamped with refugees who will compete with citizens for jobs and spread disease. The refugees do not, in fact, pose any health threat, despite this sensationalism which has succeeded in creating strong anti-Nicaragua sentiment.

Guatemala's Maya Highlands: from War to Genocide

In contrast to the great amount of play the Miskito war has been getting in both United States and Central American

media, the Guatemalan military's counter-insurgency against the Maya Indians has been largely ignored.

The majority of Guatemala's population is made up of Indians who remain culturally distinct from the ladinos who have always held political power. In the remote mountains of El Quiche and Huehuetenango, many Indians do not speak Spanish at all. For centuries they have resisted ladinoization and today the Maya languages, mythology, dress, calendar and agricultural methods which were in use before the arrival of the Spanish, still live. The Maya creation myth, the *Popul Vuh*, teaches that the gods formed the first human out of maize, and today Maya identity still centers around the yearly cycle of communally planting and harvesting maize. Over the centuries, traditional Maya beliefs have merged with Catholicism to form an organic, and in recent years, an increasingly socially-conscious spirituality. Ever since the Spanish colonization, the Mayas have lived in extreme poverty. Deprived of adequate land, they have in this century been forced to migrate from their traditional mountain communities to the hot lowlands, to seek seasonal employment at starvation wages on the plantations of the coffee-aristocracy. On these plantations, housing is crowded and unsanitary, working conditions abysmal and health-care nonexistent.

The Indians remained detached from ladino politics and culture even as revolutions were crushed and Guatemala came under military control. In the late 1960s, leftist students and intellectuals began to form an urban guerrilla movement in an attempt to disrupt military rule. In the early seventies, after a period of violence and repression had gripped the cities, the guerrilla leaders started going into the Indian communities to organize. Among these were a small number of Indians who were returning home after having been exposed to leftist ideas in the universities. Maya villages, often with the support of church workers, had already started forming committees to protect their meager lands. From these beginnings, a guerrilla struggle took hold in the mountains. This rural struggle proved much stronger than the urban one had been. By the end of the seventies, the various guerrilla organizations had formed a single coalition—the URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity).

Guatemala's military rulers were greatly dismayed by this development. The formation of all-inclusive rebel coalitions had been major turning points in the history of Nicaragua and El Salvador. The Guatemalan regime under General Romeo Lucas Garcia made a decision to nip the URNG in the bud, by any means necessary. A meticulous counter-insurgency plan was developed and executed under the direction of Garcia's brother, General Benedicto Lucas Garcia. The first phase of the plan—the "pacification stage"—called for the simple elimination of any and all villages suspected of being nuclei of guerrilla support. Indians were massacred by the hundreds; their homes and fields were burned to the ground.

In March of 1982, General Lucas Garcia



Indians in Guatemala line up to receive goods from the military

reggae music, people talk in the shade of corrugated iron dormitories and the camp administrators patrol the ground with bullhorns in hand. The walls of the simple dorms are covered with brightly colored murals painted by the camp's children which depict tranquil Caribbean scenes—but a closer look reveals helicopters and gunboats on the periphery.

I spent a day interviewing several refugees at the Limon camp. All the people I spoke to were unanimous in their resolve not to return to Nicaragua until the Sandinistas are ousted.

When I ask why they had to leave Nicaragua, the most frequent reply is, "We couldn't take the pressure no more." When I press for details they paint a picture of life in Nicaragua which contrasts dramatically with life in the western part of the country where the Sandinistas enjoy

LATINAMERICA PRESS, Lima, Peru. Oct. 4, 1984.

conscription.

Many of the young black and Indian refugees at Limon are deserters from the Sandinista Popular Army. They say that young men sometimes no more than fifteen years old are forced into the army, given a rifle, a uniform and perhaps a month of training and then sent out to the front lines to fight against fellow Costenos.

They say that escaping from the Sandinista military outposts had not been difficult—the soldiers keeping night watch were often fellow Costeno conscripts who couldn't have cared less if anyone deserted. The difficult part had been dodging border patrols on the long foot-journey through the trackless jungle to Costa Rica.

Fleeing Nicaragua had been dangerous for all the refugees. Most of the civilian refugees had come down the coast in crowded fishing boats. Upon arrival their boats had been confiscated by Costa Rican authorities. The most frequent complaint

May Day 1980, after attending a celebration for International Workers' Day. Duralux is the result of a capitalistic transnational, INCO, invading the third world marketplace, only to manipulate the economy and locate a cheap labor force. As this manipulation ceases to turn a profit, the company disintegrates. At present the workforce numbers less than half of those working in 1980 when Sitradux was formed and INCO was the backbone of the company. Sitradux, dedicated to creating better working conditions for its people, has tired the company officials. Duralux is using the threat of closing the factory as a means to weaken and destroy the union. Workers are trying desperately to save their jobs and save 400 families from an uncertain future.

A boycott of ROV batteries in support

of the mistreated workers is certainly in order. Purchasing these products is participation in the system which is oppressing fellow workers. A boycott causes profits to suffer and applies pressure where it is quick to be felt and reacted to, demonstrating to corporations that workers are united world wide.

We call on individuals to protest these abuses of workers and boycott the products of all companies engaged in sleazoid practices. Company officials will respect the demands of the workers only if we take the decision out of their hands!

The International Coca-Cola boycott of 1984 as a response to the mistreatment of workers in Guatemala was extremely successful because the company involved, Coke International of Atlanta, GA, did not want to risk its share of the market.

Should Duralux decide to shut down operations entirely, Sitradux will certainly call a boycott. It will be important for us in the U.S. to respond to this boycott, especially in light of the abuse of American workers by Ray-o-Vac International. Sooner or later, most companies (except those financed by the government—i.e., military) must respond to their consumers. This is our only recourse.



RAY-O-VAC

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Regardless of the ties which may exist, it is obvious that something is amiss in the battery business, more specifically in the labor end of the business. Madison workers claim that the plant would be shut down in 24 hours if an honest inspector from OSHA would appear in the Mix Room. Workers in Guatemala have been kidnapped and threatened. There is not a lot of recourse for the workers here in the land of the free, nor in Guatemala, the land of the oppressed.

Boycott Blood Stained Products

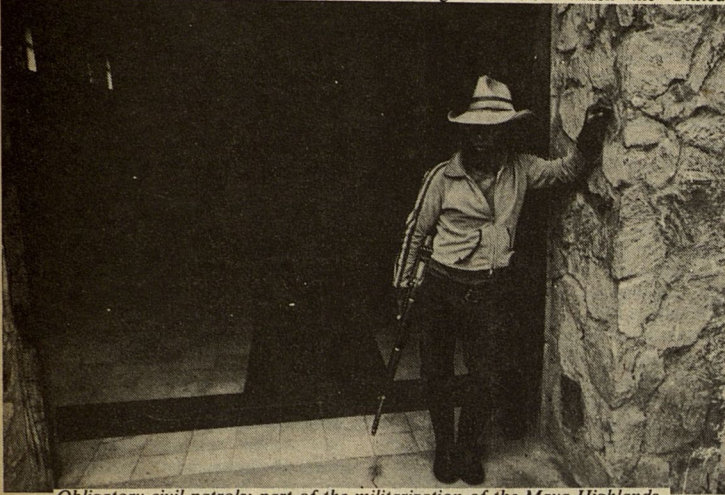
Blood stains the hands of Duralux officials in Guatemala where union members Judith and Edgar Gonzalez Garcia died on

was deposed in a coup that brought General Efraim Rios Montt to power. A "born again" follower of the California-based Church of the Christian Word, Rios Montt streamlined the counter-insurgency plan with concepts and phraseology much slicker than such crude euphemisms as "pacification." In his evangelical zeal, he aspired to destroy the guerrilla movement by destroying the Indian culture which gave it life. He implemented a program of "Guns and Beans" which attempted to

dependent on the military for all of their needs. The first major step in this process was the relocation of vast numbers of Indians into "model villages"—prefabricated settlements organized around four "redevelopment poles"—two in El Quiche, one in Atla Verapaz and one in Huehuetenango.

"Re-education Centers"

The model villages are clearly modeled after an historical precedent—the "strategic hamlets" which the United



Obligatory civil patrols: part of the militarization of the Maya Highlands

"win over" the Indians—not merely intimidate them into submission, but permanently break their guerrilla loyalties and eradicate their identity as a people. When accused of a "scorched earth policy," Rios Montt stated: "We have no scorched earth policy. We have a policy of scorched communists." However, the overwhelming majority of those affected by the counter-insurgency plan were not even guerrillas, much less communists. A turning point in the government's official position on the guerrillas was reached with the termination of the "Guns and Beans" program and the inception of the "Roofs, Work and Tortillas" program. Rios Montt now claimed that the guerrillas had been crushed and the next item on the national agenda was rebuilding the countryside along new lines.

Rios Montt was deposed in yet another coup, in March of 1983, which brought to power General Mejia Victores, considered by many to be to the right of his predecessor. By this point, over 20,000 Indians had been killed, 250 villages destroyed and nearly a million people displaced. Those who could, fled across the border into Mexico; others moved deeper into the mountains and became internal refugees. Those who had some familiarity with ladino culture fled to Guatemala City. The guerrilla bands retreated north into Guatemala's vast and mostly uninhabited rain forest, El Peten.

The "pacification" now satisfactorily carried out, the counter-insurgency plan entered its second phase—the "consolidation stage," which was initiated with the implementation of Rios Montt's final legacy—the "Food for Work" program.

The strategy of the "Food for Work" program is to make the Indians completely "Guatemala Vows to Aid Democracy," NEW YORK TIMES, Dec. 6, 1982.

States built in Vietnam to isolate the peasants from the Viet Cong. In the words of Guatemalan Colonel Otto Erick, the model villages are "re-education centers for those peasants who have been influenced by the country's insurgents."

An analysis of the goals and methods of the model village program has been provided by the EGP (Guerrilla Army of the Poor). The earliest and most prominent of the organizations which make up the URNG, the EGP is also the most predominantly indigenous—virtually all of its fighters are Indian (however, it is worth noting that, as with the other guerrilla organizations, the command is made up almost exclusively of ladinos).

According to the EGP, there are five primary aspects of the model village program:

1.) *Civil Patrols.* Obligatory for all men between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five, these patrols are made up of around twenty men and are usually led by a former sodier. Weapons are frequently antiquated and the actual defense capacity of the patrols is limited. But as the patrol members enforce curfews and land allocations and imprison and punish violators, they begin to identify more with the Army and their old community ties disintegrate. The patrols also provide cheap labor for construction of roads, landing strips, trenches and more model villages. Some 900,000 men currently belong to Civil Patrols.

2.) *Re-education Programs.* Many villagers are subjected to a seven-to-ten month "re-orientation course" to break guerrilla loyalties. These courses include intensive instruction in Spanish for those who speak only Maya tongues. The Indians are at all times discouraged from speaking their traditional language.

3.) *Army Bases.* One army base in each of the four "development poles" coordinates security forces in the area. Male Indians are strongly pressured to join the Army after receiving indoctrination from the Civil Patrol.

4.) *Fundamentalist Sects.* While the Catholic Church is discouraged from taking an active part in the life of the new villages, evangelical Protestant groups from the United States have easy access to the settlements. These groups, which preach unquestioning obedience to authority, are allowed to place their churches in prominent and central locations in the model villages. They are often responsible for distribution of food and basic goods under Army supervision. Fundamentalist missionary work in Guatemala escalated greatly under the Rios Montt regime. Ten years ago, followers of Protestant sects made up less than ten percent of Guatemala's population. Today they make up nearly thirty percent.

5.) *Agricultural Programs.* Farming in the redevelopment poles is under strict military control. The Army dictates what crops are to be planted and rations out food (not money) in exchange for labor. The cultivation of maize for subsistence is replaced by the cultivation of cash crops such as broccoli and asparagus for export. This agricultural program serves three purposes. Receiving "food for work," Indians who want to save money to leave the model village and find a paying job have no choice other than to join the Army, where they are subject to yet greater indoctrination. By rationing out food which has been donated by US aid agencies, the



An exhibit in El Quiche, Guatemala displays government propaganda on the "redevelopment program"

government saves millions that it would otherwise have to spend on salaries. Finally, and most importantly, the program breaks the traditional Maya "maize-earthman" relationship and the ancient religious rituals which surround it.

The EGP document also reads: "The military objectives of concentration and control of the population require enor-

mous costs...which represent one fourth of the national budget. The magnitude of this military effort must be supported by outside financing." Guatemala received 73.9 million dollars in US aid in fiscal year 1985. The Reagan Administration has promised one million dollars specifically for the "redevelopment projects." The US is just beginning to resume military aid to Guatemala after the Carter Administration suspended it for human rights violations. In the interim, Guatemala received military aid from Israel which served as a "US proxy," in the words of one Israeli official. Guatemala still receives arms ranging from Galil rifles to fighter jets from Israel, but Reagan has been leading a push for resumption of US military aid, claiming that Guatemala's government has received an undeserved "bum rap."

The "scorched earth policy," the terrorization and massacre of the Indians, with which the counter-insurgency plan began five years ago, continues. But the tactic of mere physical extermination has now been expanded to a highly organized and sophisticated program of cultural extermination.

It is yet to be seen what will happen when or if the guerrillas return from the jungle to the mountains. It is yet to be seen whether the Mayas, who withstood the genocide of the Spanish and kept alive their culture in repudiation of ladinoization for centuries thereafter, will now submit to this new genocide without resistance.

Refugee and Relocation in Mexico

In 1980 the first Indian refugees from Guatemala's counter-insurgency program started undertaking the perilous mountain journey into southern Mexico. Since then, there has been a steady stream of refugees—a stream which reached a peak in 1983 but still shows no sign of subsiding. The trek is precarious. The refugees must travel by foot through the mountainous terrain which is heavily patrolled by the Guatemalan military, before reaching Chiapas, Mexico's southernmost state. The number of Guatemalan refugees in Mexico is about equal to the number of Nicaraguan refugees in Costa Rica—approximately two hundred thousand. In Mexico, the refugees continue to face relocation and threats to their cultural identity.

Chiapas, like Guatemala, has a large Maya population, although the Guatemalan Maya speak Quiche dialects, while the Mayas of the Chiapas highlands speak Tzeltal and Tzoltzil. The refugee camps in Chiapas are actually for the most part Chiapan Indian villages which have tripled in size by allowing the refugees to settle there. This has put a tremendous strain on resources in the villages, most of which were already quite poor. Many of the refugee settlements have no fresh water, inadequate supplies of food and a continuous malaria problem.

On numerous occasions, the Guatemalan Army has made incursions into Chiapas to terrorize the refugee settlements. Refugees and Mexican Indians alike have been beaten and shot to death. Refugees have been abducted and forcibly returned to Guatemala. On one occasion, in January of 1983, the refugee settlement

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Inside the Philippine Resistance

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in the South Pacific are a headache enough for the Pentagon. But the loss of Subic would force the Navy to rethink its regional and global war strategies. One alternative said to be currently discussed in Washington is the cordoning-off of Subic from the rest of the Philippines, and guarding it with a massive ground-force—not unlike what was done with Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba or the Panama Canal Zone. Surrounded by a ring of mountains, Subic could be a staging area for (in the words of a Georgetown University study) the "reconquering...of Luzon."

The prospect of another ground war in

Southeast Asia may not be too inviting a prospect for the U.S. public. The costs of the last one—in terms of money and American youth—were just too high. However, the Pentagon could launch an air war with few American deaths, and "carpet-bomb" the Filipinos into surrender—perhaps years later. The good feelings many Filipinos harbor towards Americans would explode with the bombs; many Filipinos who disagree with the NPA have vowed to join it to fight off any "foreign invader." It's sad to think of Manila citizens digging trenches the way they are doing today in Managua.

The Philippine bases are perhaps the only places in the world today where U.S.

troops and anti-U.S. guerrillas live, sleep and clean their guns only a few miles from each other. As long as the bases stay, they serve as a possible "tripwire" for intervention, and an invitation to war. The longer the bases stay, the more U.S. officials feel they must block any moves toward radical change in the Philippines, in fear that a change could mean the ouster of the bases. In a vicious circle, the more Washington tries to stifle the old dreams of Filipino nationalists, the more likely the bases will be removed whether the U.S. likes it or not.

Symbols of Subjugation

For many Filipinos, the bases are a symbol—of the dead in the Philippine American War, of John Wayne, of low wages, of Madonna videos, of World Bank austerity measures, of prostitution. For these Filipinos, the dismantling of the

bases—or in the case of Subic, its conversion to a shipbuilding and repair yard—would symbolize more than an anti-American victory. For many it would mark the end of over 400 years of domination by foreigners, with all the poverty it entailed, and a Philippines that could look to its own cultures. It is jarring to realize that what could now be called the poorest country in the Far East is the one most tied to the U.S. economy, and the seediest cities within it are the ones adjacent to the U.S. bases. On a motorized boat chugging into Subic Bay, one Filipino base worker tells me, "I work for the Navy because I'm poor. I'm poor because the Navy is here."

It is the symbol the bases pose for Filipino nationalism that lead for the call for their removal, which in turn leads to the possibility (perhaps probability) that

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at Santiago El Vertice was looted and destroyed. The Mexican military, which has a large base in the nearby city of Comitán, has done little to protect the refugee settlements.

However, despite the poor conditions and risk of military raids from across the border, the refugees have expressed a strong desire to remain in the Chiapas highlands and have even attempted to resist the Mexican government's efforts at relocation. The Chiapas highlands are culturally and climatically similar to the Guatemala highlands. The economy of Chiapas has long been tied to the flow of Guatemalan migrant workers at harvest time. There is a natural affinity between the Guatemalan and Chiapan highland Maya groups, which share the same culture, if not the same language.

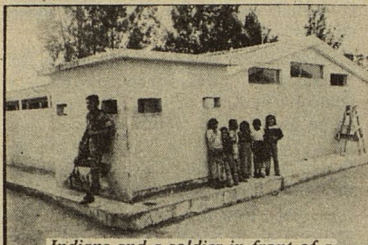
The Diocese of San Cristobal, which includes most of the Chiapas refugee settlements, has been highly supportive of the refugees and poor Indians in Chiapas, providing them with both material aid and political support. This work has won San Cristobal's Bishop Samuel Ruiz an international reputation as a pillar of the liberation theology movement. Don Samuel has been highly critical of the government of Guatemala. He says of the refugees: "Burning their homes, threatening them, denying them food—these are the things which drove them out of Guatemala. This is unacceptable." Don Samuel maintains that the violence in Guatemala has become completely indiscriminate: "Previously, violence was selective...With respect to villages, only those suspected of having collaborated with the guerrillas or harboring people who had escaped from areas of insurrection were massively repressed. But since March of 1982, repression has become generalized, entire villages being indiscriminately destroyed by the scorched earth technique and complete populations being massacred in the most insidious ways imaginable."

However, when I spoke with Don Samuel, he told me, "I am not a theologian of any sort. I am a priest doing my job. Christ has always been the God of the poor and it is the job of his followers to work to create heaven on earth. I have no conflict whatsoever with traditional Christian teaching." When I point out that organizing with the Indians is not what the Church has always done in the past, he replies, "In the past, missionaries have not always recognized that God has been working with natural peoples since before Christianity was introduced. We try to be sensitive to this fact." Don Samuel claims that there are over 20,000 refugees currently in Chiapas despite the relocations. He compares the situation of today's Indians in Guatemala to that of Jews in Germany fifty years ago. He claims that the rulers of Guatemala are seized by an irrational hatred, cloaked in the rhetoric of opposition to communism. Bishop Ruiz himself has been attacked as a communist in Mexico's right-wing press. Church workers of his diocese have been physically attacked—one was even abducted and released.

•MESOAMERICA, San Jose, Costa Rica.

ed days later in Mexico City. It is assumed by most in the diocese that these acts were perpetrated by the *Brigada Blanca* (White Brigade), a right-wing paramilitary group which, according to Amnesty International reports, includes many members of Mexican federal security forces.

Bishop Ruiz has been especially critical of the Mexican government's policy of relocating the refugees to the Yucatan peninsula, largely against their will. When I ask why he thinks Mexico has adopted this policy, he says; "That is for you to answer, because you are an American. It is your government, your president, which has pressured Mexico into this policy. For two years the demands of the refugees to stay in Chiapas had been met. Why has this changed?" He suggests that the US needs to protect Guatemala's image, and several thousand refugees massed along the border makes for a pretty poor image. The



Indians and a soldier in front of a military garrison in El Quiche

refugees are less visible once they are moved deeper into Mexico.

In 1984, COMAR (Mexican Commission to Aid Refugees) began relocating the refugees to the states of Campeche and Quintana Roo in the Yucatan peninsula, where the culture is unfamiliar and the climate is much hotter and drier than in the Chiapas highlands. Upon arrival in the Yucatan, the refugees, many of whom had never been outside their own villages before being forced to leave, are suddenly isolated in an alien environment. It is only after the refugees arrive in the Yucatan that they receive three-year visas. Those who resist the relocation and stay behind in Chiapas are granted visas which are good only for three months, after which they face deportation to Guatemala. It was through the efforts of Ruiz' diocese that a group of Chiapan peasants offered 125 hectares of land as a "loan" to the refugees for their use until they can return to their homeland. This plan, which would enable the refugees to stay in the Chiapas highlands, was approved both by the UNHCR and local COMAR representatives. But ultimately, COMAR, under orders from Mexico City, turned down the plan and removed the refugees.

The COMAR refugee camps in the Yucatan are well-equipped compared to the makeshift settlements in Chiapas. Virtually no COMAR money (most of which comes from the UNHCR) is spent in Chiapas except on the relocation effort. Many refugees in the Yucatan camps say that they co-operated with the relocation only because they had been promised that houses already constructed, running water already in place, plenty of employment and land to cultivate would be waiting for them when they arrived. In fact, they arrived to find that arrangements for employment and land are still being negotiated

with locals and that even basic medical equipment is in short supply.

The Yucatan camps are often without fresh water and at some of them people die every week from amoebic dysentery. During the relocation, when people are crammed together for many hours on buses and trains, health among the refugees is often dramatically worsened. Ironically, the diet which COMAR provides the refugees at the Yucatan camps does not include maize, but a processed maize-flour which is less nutritious (and cheaper in bulk). However, the refugees move toward self-sufficiency by growing their own maize as soon as land is procured for them.

In early 1983, the Guatemalan government launched a campaign to repatriate the refugees. Guatemalan military radio stations broadcast into Mexico that Guatemala was now at peace and urged the refugees to return. This was at the same time that the Guatemalan Army was raiding the Chiapas settlements and publicly alleging that the refugee camps were full of communists and subversives. In December of 1983, Guatemala proposed to Mexico a plan which called for the refugees to be returned *en masse* to Guatemala, where they would be concentrated in camps under military "protection." Mexico responded that the refugees would be repatriated only on a voluntary and individual basis.

In March of 1984, the US State Depart-



3 members of the civil patrol

ment issued a declaration that the US was prepared to assist the refugees to meet their basic needs if they were returned to Guatemala. The governments of Guatemala and the United States have a common goal in this scenario: to protect the international image of the counter-insurgency program. If Guatemala has given Mexico every opportunity for border skirmishes in Chiapas, we can guess that this is because Guatemala would like to involve Mexico more deeply in the Central American conflict and thereby sabotage Mexico's role in the Contadora process. This would seriously diminish the possibilities of success for the Contadora's plan for a negotiated settlement and removal of foreign forces in Central America.

One of the reasons that the Mexican government has been so inflexible in its policy of refugee relocation is that Chiapas is currently in a politically volatile state and the presence of the refugees there would exacerbate the situation. Chiapas is for the most part Indian and very much outside the mainstream of Mexican society. Chiapas is Mexico's richest state in coffee, timber, energy potential and tourism potential—yet the population remains poor and marginalized. More than sixty percent of Chiapas have no contact with mass media. Chiapas has Mexico's highest

rate of malaria, highest rate of illiteracy and most unequal distribution of land. Indian and campesino militancy is quickly rising. Independent groups such as the Emiliano Zapata Campesino Organization are fighting for land outside the established framework of Mexico's ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party). Leaders of such organizations have been harassed and imprisoned. Some Indian villages are on the border of violence between those who cling to traditional ways and those who have been converted to fundamentalist sects. Into this environment, thousands of refugees are streaming every month. The Central America conflict does indeed seem to be on the verge of spilling into Mexico.

In an attempt to integrate Chiapas culturally and economically with the rest of Mexico, PRI has embarked on the far-reaching Plan Chiapas. The Plan calls for the introduction of large-scale agriculture, the development of new tourist facilities, the building of dams, the exploitation of oil and the construction of a military road along the Guatemalan border. The Plan is meeting resistance from environmental groups who anticipate the destruction of the last large stretch of Mexican rain forest, the Lacandon Selva. The Selva's native inhabitants, the Lacandon Maya, now number only five hundred and are quickly being assimilated. Chiapas already has many hydroelectric dams, the construction of which has aggravated tensions between campesinos and landowners by flooding arable land.

Maya culture is under attack in Chiapas as well, although it cannot be overemphasized that the attack is nowhere near as deliberate or brutal as it is in Guatemala.

But Ronald Reagan "is" not a Maya. The people who are fighting the Mayas are good guys, holding the line against communism. The Miskitos, however, are seen in the same light as the victims of the Final Solution.

The left, on the other hand, is capable of minimizing the plight of the Miskitos. According to much leftist "reasoning," if Reagan wants to stamp out the Sandinistas, then obviously they can do no wrong.

Jose Barreiro, writing in the most recent issue of the Native American journal *Akwesasne Notes*, says the following:

"In 1985, the Miskitos are a metaphor, another signal to America that the question of the Indian must be answered. The world has been looking for a metaphor. In 1948, the Jews were a metaphor for victimhood, their dehumanization at the hands of the Nazi fundamentalists symbolizing the epitome of barbarity. In 1985, the Miskitos are a metaphor, a metaphor for...the complexity, the truly unique situation of Indigenous peoples worldwide."

The indigenous peoples are the "unknown quantity" which does not fit into the plans of the superpowers. The impossible yet incessant attempt to make this unknown quantity somehow fit only serves to illuminate the insensitive and destructive political manipulation which surrounds us on all sides.

All quotes not footnoted are from interviews with the author, October 1985.

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the bases will be used to combat Filipinos. The Americans came to fight the Spanish, but ended up fighting the Katipuneros. They came to drive off the Japanese, and ended up directing a war against the Huks. Now the U.S. military stays on for a war with the Soviets, but could very easily end up in a battle with the New People's Army. It is doubtful that the third invasion would be as successful as the first two, or whether it would simply delay the inevitable.

There may come a day, in a decade or two, when the U.S. will be faced with a dilemma. To keep any influence or credibility it may have left in the Philippines, it may have to leave the bases. At that point, the only alternative would be a bloody war that neither side could really win.

Postscript: COUPS DON'T CURE POVERTY

Last July, I was watching the TV news on Channel 4 in Manila with a group of Filipinos. The American anchorman read a press release issued by Enrile and Ramos. "Someday," said one of the younger Filipino men, "those two guys are going to throw out Marcos. They're the only ones with enough American backing to do it." Then he sighed and continued, "The thing is, they're no better than he is."

While some Filipinos did describe the Enrile-Ramos military faction as a possible buttress against the Marcos-Ver faction, others saw the two groups as Tweedledee and Tweedledum.

On February 23-26, Enrile and Ramos did oust President Marcos—starting with the government station Channel 4. They are being played up as democratic heroes—even being pictured with a statue of the Virgin Mary. Upon a closer examination, they look more like the last rats off a sinking ship. Enrile, like Marcos, owns millions of dollars of real estate in California. An alleged assassination attempt against

him was Marcos' original impetus to impose martial law. Ramos' Philippine Constabulary is one of the most dreaded military branches in the countryside. I personally witnessed a PC light tank ram a crowd of strikers in Bataan in June. The general himself (a relative of Marcos) is under investigation for covering up a massacre of other strikers in September. Enrile and Ramos obviously did not free the political prisoners long held at the military camps they took over. They had put many of them there in the first place.

Are the so-called "rebel" commanders trying to retain and shore up their own positions? How about Vice-President Salvador Laurel, who stayed in the martial law government until 1980? Will President Corazon Aquino merely be a public relations figurehead in the government of "Marcosism without Marcos"? Only the Filipino people will be able to tell. A week after Haiti's military ousted Jean-Claude Duvalier, Haitians were in the streets protesting the inclusion of his old henchmen in the new junta. Filipinos have similar "rising expectations."

Aquino, whose prominent Cojuangco family owns a huge sugar plantation, is not likely to be very responsive.

In 1981, her husband Benigno was in exile in Boston, when he said: "Look, you have a situation where Marcos falls, you come in, the communists back off, and the people expect you to make miracles. How do I put back 3 million jobs? How do I bring down the price of gasoline, for Pete's sake? So people will say, 'Jesus Christ, you're the guy we waited eight years for? You're even worse!'...The thing I can say is, the first guy that comes in will be blown out in six months. Then a second guy will come in and he'll be blown out in six months."

Just before Aquino's ill-fated return home in 1983, he said: "If you made me president of the Philippines today, my friend, in six months I would be smelling like horseshit. Because there's nothing I can do. I cannot provide employment. I cannot bring prices down... I mean, let's face it. When people are hungry, you can bring down St. Peter and you won't get a stable government."

BITTER SUGAR

continued from pg. 5

and asked him to explain it to me. He said that the buses were full of Haitian government officials who were being taken to an expensive hotel, the "Dominican Concorde" in Santo Domingo.

On the return trip to Santo Domingo I paid better attention to the sugar cane fields that spread out along the road to Barahona. Dark-skinned Black men, the *viejos*, worked along the railroad paralleling the road. The *viejos* are part of the 250,000 Haitians who live in the Dominican Republic. Most had come during previous cane seasons, never returning to Haiti, making their homes among the fields where they work.

Railroad cars designed to haul sugar cane were being loaded from Cabrouets, two wheeled carts drawn by teams of oxen. A long train of cars filled with cane passed and behind it bands of children followed scooping up fallen pieces to devour.

The cane fields are subdivided into the Bateys. In each Batey are 300 workers who cut and load the cane. While the majority of Cane workers are Dominicans employed in the processing factories, on the railroad or as drivers, Haitian Kongos brought from Haiti by the promise of work are the ones who actually cut the cane: some of the world's most brutal work.

The Kongos are drawn from the desperately poor millions that inhabit the urban shantytowns like Port-au-Prince, where 30,000 people are homeless and the average wage is \$200 a year, or the rural areas where people live on \$33 a year. They come to recruiting centers where 15,000 are chosen from tens of thousands that respond to radio ads for workers in the Dominican Republic.

Those 15,000 think they are the lucky ones, even as their passports are taken away and they are loaded on buses for the cane fields. Once they cross the frontier the Kongos soon discover that there really is no turning back. As the foremen and the *viejos* constantly remind them, they have been bought.

Dominican sugar production is organized into *ingenios*, a system of sugar mills

fed by nearby plantations. The Dominican Republic owns 12 *ingenios* which cover 247,000 acres; private Dominican investors own three more. American investors control the rest of the production. That segment accounts for 40 percent of Dominican sugar production and another 15,000 Kongos.

The Kongos who labor in the private cane fields are often obtained by professional slave catchers. They are paid \$11 a head to lure Kongos who are fed up with conditions on the government plantations with promises of better work.

On the private plantations conditions are even worse. There isn't even a pretense made of a wage, just one meal a day and work. The Dominican government was in fact subsidizing the labor costs of the

"The horror of hunger and starvation which haunts Haiti is extended to the Dominican state-owned slave plantations which feed the U.S. sugar market. It remains to be seen if the rebellion in Haiti will upset this relationship."

private operations since the Dominicans had paid Duvalier \$86 a head for the Kongos in the first place.

By the time the Kongos arrive at the Batey, they have begun to suspect the reality of their situation. They have been kept in outdoor pens, denied food and without permission are injected with unknown drugs. In the Batey they are dumped on the ground in the midst of the cane fields and often wait for weeks before the work begins. They are allotted 75 cents a day when they can get it and soon run up credit at local company stores.

Disturbances in the Batey result in clubbings and shots from the police. Escape is difficult and while some succeeded in reaching Santo Domingo, nearly all are trapped. To run is to risk death and many who tried have been shot down.

One of the most remarkable things about Santo Domingo is the 12 mile esplanade along the waterfront. It seems that sugar money has been good to this city until one enters the working class districts. In the first two weeks of February a Santo Domingo newspaper reported that 405 people had been picked up trying to leave

the country. Reportedly they leave by a variety of unorthodox methods, including one incident where 61 refugees were picked up in a 22-foot boat headed for Puerto Rico.

Confrontations with police have also been on the rise since riots protesting an increase in food prices last April. On February 14th, police dispersed an unpermitted demonstration in Haina, a Santo Domingo suburb where there have been repeated uprisings. Their courageous resistance to the Dominican regime over the years has made Haina a rallying cry throughout the country.

Throughout the Dominican Republic people expressed support for the rebellions in Haiti. The Dominican people share the hatred held by Haitians for the Ton Ton Macoutes, Duvalier's private Gestapo which until the dictator's fall on February 7th ruled Haiti like the mafia.

Several Dominicans I spoke with believed that the frontier with Haiti was closed to prevent the Macoutes from fleeing the vengeance of the Haitian populace. They felt that the Dominican government feared the population would join in the hunting and killing of Macoutes which has become something of a national sport in Haiti.

Lurking in the shadows of events unfolding in Haiti is the United States. The U.S. has had a big investment to protect on the island since the marines invaded Haiti in 1915 and the Dominican Republic, for the first time, the following year.

Soon after the invasion the old system of obligatory work for landlords and forced labor on the roads was reinstated. 15,000 Haitian peasants revolted against the Yankees and in 1918 the U.S. marines launched a counter-insurgency campaign against the rebels. Practicing search and destroy tactics which were later used against Augusto Sandino's rebel army in Nicaragua, the marines killed thousands of peasants.

Haiti would henceforth be the cheap labor pool for the sugar plantations the U.S. would set up in Cuba and the

movement" and are in total solidarity with the actions of the U.F.F. as part of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and against the American military machine.

Throughout the trial, Ray Levasseur (defending himself) and a team of lawyers including William M. Kunstler repeatedly destroyed all the evidence the state conjured up by the state (including the usual plants, lies, etc.). The state at least could prove the 7 might have been able to do bombings since manuals on explosives were found. The state also produced coded meeting notebooks, but even their attempts at decoding (along with deliberate falsifications, changes of testimony, etc.) could not make the bombings match up with the notebooks.

The 7 all come from working class backgrounds, and have experienced all the shit the state pours on us—fighting their economic wars, unemployment, the hell of bringing up kids in a society where kids are regarded as uneconomic or a "burden" until they're old enough to go down the mines or into the factories...

The 7 have committed the "crime" of showing solidarity with armed struggles in El Salvador, Ireland, Nicaragua, South Africa and wherever U.S. imperialism dominates and puts down poor people struggling for basic rights like food, shelter and healthy kids. This also includes the struggle here in the U.S.

"Climate of Fear"

Here's something from Ray Levasseur's opening statement: "This government talks about a climate of fear—implies a climate of fear generated by the U.F.F. which is a false claim. But they do not want to talk about the fear and terror felt by Black people in this country. They do not want to talk about Michael Stewart, a young Black man who was brutally beaten to death by members of NYC Transport

Dominican Republic. However, the system was hit hard in 1959 when Fidel Castro took power in Cuba and put an end to the slave trade. Trujillo, the dictator of the Dominican Republic, who styled himself after Mussolini and had 40,000 Haitians massacred in 1938, was assassinated in 1961. After a breath of freedom, Lyndon Johnson sent in 35,000 troops from the 86th Airborne to "save lives" and reinstate the corrupt Dominican ruling class.

In 1957, Francois Duvalier, "Papa Doc," seized power in Haiti and tightened his grip through the Ton Ton Macoutes and the use of feared voodoo imagery. In 1966, Haiti and the Dominican Republic signed the first agreement for the employment of Haitian agricultural workers for the sugar season. An agreement that had remained in effect up until this February 7th.

The "Dominican Concorde" hotel is far from the bustling downtown and working class slums of Santo Domingo. It's in a neighborhood unlike any other in the city. Expensive German cars sit behind high iron gates in the car-ports of recently built mansions. Occasionally, an especially large mansion belonging to a powerful figure will have a military guard-post in front.

The hotel itself is a monument to tacky American opulence, with a casino and bar filled by an assortment of U.S. tourists. Sitting next to me at the bar was a man who couldn't resist buying me a beer. He was from Miami, he told me, a refugee from Cuba for 25 years. When I told him I had been up at the Haitian border he gave me a worried look. "My son was there before Duvalier fell," he said. "He was selling a small rice milling plant to a Haitian businessman." He continued with a weary expression, "thank god he got out," and downed his drink.

"I hope you're not political," almost pleading me as he downed another and pointed out a bulky man in an expensive suit. "That's a bigwig in the government here. He helped get my daughter into medical school in Santo Domingo along with a lot of my friends who fled Castro" he explained. Then in a low voice looking me in the eye, he said, "If they can't open the border, there'll be problems...without the workers from Haiti, you know."

Police, but those cops were never tried for murder. As evidence will show, the government is not one to talk about Eleanor Bumpers, a 67-year old Black grandmother who was shot-gunned to death by the Emergency Service Unit of the NYC Police Dept. Her murderers have never been brought to justice.

"Or Willie Turks, a young Black man who was beaten to death on the streets of Brooklyn—this borough we are in—by Ku Klux Klan-thinking Whites. They were never charged with murder. The government does not want to talk about the kind of bombing that recently happened in Philadelphia where eleven Black people (men, women and children) were killed when police dropped a powerful bomb on the house they were living in. The police officers have never been charged with a crime. Those are the kinds of crimes that speak of malicious intent.

"They're coldblooded crimes with the most evil intent. Government hypocrisy and racism tries to prevent us from seeing that just as in South Africa, where the struggle is for self-determination and freedom, there is also within this country a nation, a nation of Black people who must live under real oppression, a nation with a 400-year history of pride and resistance, a nation whose goals are self-determination and freedom."

The whole of Ray's opening statement is an inspiration and shows exactly where they stand. If you want a copy, send us a donation and we'll get one out to you. All proceeds go to the 7.

How can these fine revolutionaries be convicted on this kind of evidence—when the murderers of Michael Stewart go free? It's all more evidence why we can't trust the legal system or the purely legal method of struggle. Contact address: **Ohio 7 Defense Committee** P.O. Box 530, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025.

Ohio 7 Convicted

by Outside Agitators

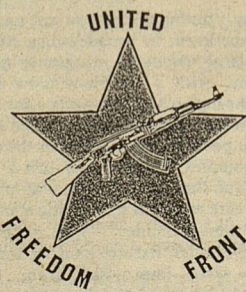
NEW YORK CITY — On March 4, after a record sixteen days of deliberation, a Brooklyn federal court jury convicted six of the so-called "Ohio 7" on 27 conspiracy counts concerning bombings of military and corporate buildings in Westchester, Queens, the Bronx and Long Island. A mistrial was declared on 39 remaining counts, where the jury declared itself deadlocked. Each of the four men in the group was convicted on the next day of an additional bombing. No sentencing date has been set for the six, who face jail terms of from 25 to 65 years.

Here we go again with the million dollar question: who are the real conspirators? In this case, it's the seven people accused of being the United Freedom Front, on the other side are the heads of state, judges and the ruling class. The seven—Raymond Luc Levasseur, Patricia Gross, Carol Ann Manning (the only one to be acquitted), Thomas William Manning, Richard Charles Williams, Barbara Curzi and Jaan Karl Laaman—have been on trial for a series of bombings carried out between 1982 and '85. The targets were offices of South African airlines, IBM, Union Carbide and other large companies who make vast profits from murder. They deny all charges and plead "guilty of being innocent."

While in jail, they have all been kept in solitary confinement, as the state conveniently forgets that everyone is innocent until proven guilty. They've been stunned twice. Once was in court when they weren't allowed to present their opening statement. The woman had to make a strong protest against being body-searched

by male guards. One father had to go on a hunger-strike for thirty days to get his kids released from state custody and into the hands of relatives.

These are all people the state has no real evidence against. There are no fingerprints, no witnesses, and no dynamite was found.



An Underground Life

The "Ohio 7" (so-called by the press because five were arrested in Ohio) have been labeled by the state as criminals and terrorists, but this is not so. The 7 are Freedom Fighters with clear ideas, intentions and goals. They explained to the jury why as revolutionaries fighting the wrongs of present day society, they were forced to take up an underground life (we only need to remember the murders of members of the Black Panther Party to understand this). They have lived underground successfully for a number of years along with their children (Ray has been underground for ten years).

While never admitting to being the U.F.F., they consider themselves as part of the "armed revolutionary underground

Hold the Line

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tensive squatting—with those of the Staatsliedenbuurt.)

Here the people have been doing things for themselves for years that the city just couldn't be bothered to do. It was the squatters who established the neighborhood children's nursery, which includes a garden and a small zoo.

Mayor Ed van Thijn's straight-faced refrain is, "It's very tragic, but we don't have the funds." The face of the "socialist" mayor can be seen all over town, superimposed on a photograph taken on October 24th of the cop shooting from behind the door to hit squatter Martin Slingerland in the arm. Last year, a People's Tribunal was convened in the Staatsliedenbuurt, which involved trained jurists, a scientist, representatives of neighborhood groups, shopkeepers, city planners, even kindergarten workers. A document was sent to the mayor, who wouldn't answer, and the verdict came down to "humiliate him." With spit in the deserving public servant's face, he had to hide inside a government building.

New police strategy papers released to the squatters, probably by a dissenting officer, reveal a reorganization of the Amsterdam police forces with the stated aim to suppress all social protest. The "anarchy" and "lawlessness" must be quelled, and the logical place to start is in the liberated zone of Staatsliedenbuurt.

As the documents make clear, what the police are most afraid of is "that peculiar phenomenon, namely a firmly organized minority group" which seeks autonomy, frequently cracks buildings "and does not hesitate to further or maintain their objectives through violent means."—"violent" is defined—"Furthermore it is a serious problem that for a number of renovated residences that belong to diverse building corporations, no rent will be paid. Thus the city renewal threatens to come to a standstill." It is remarkable that they have spelled it out so forthrightly. This is the reason, as *Grachten Krant* ("Canal News") notes, that the Staatsliedenbuurt is the only field of operations assigned for the newly-demarcated Police District 8,

whose office at Marnixstraat is "clearly an anti-krakers' bureau."

Informed sources describe the secret police scenario as follows. The enforced evacuation of one particular building, originally slated for a date in November (then Hans died) and now for Jan. 17, would be the probable provocation for a riot. The police hope the riot attains a scale that will give them an excuse to impose stringent emergency measures. The aim is to isolate an alleged "hard core" militant element who would continue to stand their ground and against whom maximum force would be justified.

Army intelligence vehicles have been seen passing through Staatsliedenbuurt of late...Mark told me that he's perplexed about a strategy. The other residents of the neighborhood, many of them elderly or members of other minorities, see the squatters stealing gas and they don't report it, because they have equal reason to feel besieged by the system. And it is knowledge worth passing on, how to turn off the damned gas meter. Gradually a community feeling has developed, and when the word goes round that another household is being forced out into the street, what results is a *community* action, involving everyone.

No one in Tegengas is talking about "building little bombs," Mark told me, because that would alienate too many of these people. And no one wants to see it come to that. But if they want to move in the ME'ers, cordone off the area, pick out a few supposed "leaders," and reduce a number of the houses to uninhabitability—what's going to stop them?

Parliamentary action? (Isn't that a contradiction in terms?) I expressed to Mark my wonderment, as an American, at the "fact" of proportional representation (of parties) in the Dutch parliament. But it would be difficult to find anyone in the squatters' movement who expects anything from parliamentary process.

I am told that none of the political parties have concerned themselves with squatting, including the p.p.r. (*politieke partij radikalen*), who joined with the Communists and the Pacifists in a "Green Pro-

gressive Ticket" for the European parliamentary elections last year. That's "straight" politics—and many of the squatters I talked to in Amsterdam disclaimed the label "political" for their way-of-life.

After all, why does one squat? Because it is better than freezing to death on the sidewalk. Is that a "political" choice?

Someone To Blame

Kaatje is a 20 year old Dutch woman who rents a small, self-renovated apartment in the Staatsliedenbuurt, but squats with her boyfriend in London. To make ends meet, she collects "social" on both shores. There was a sketch on Kaatje's wall in which one person (whose child is running around with a safety pin through his head) was wearing a *swastika* and I said, "You, er, don't know these people?"

This fall in Philadelphia, USA, a squat was burnt to the ground by a gang of self-styled "Nazi punks" who had been refused entry to a party. And since coming to Amsterdam, I had learned of the death a couple years ago of a young black man named Kerwin, stabbed by a sixteen year old racist skinhead.

Kaatje (who didn't know those people well) told me that there was a time when a small gang of racist youth had been going around painting slogans like, "Hitler made one mistake, he shouldn't have gassed the Jews but the Turks," and attacking punks—it was "skinheads vs. punks." One evening, two of them followed someone to his house, where they threatened to attack him if he came out. He called the 'Rat, and three hundred people gathered to march on the house. This crowd included "old people, foreign people—Turkish people, black people, English people..." The two fascists were literally thrown out of the neighborhood.

Kaatje said it best: "How can you be an anarchist and a fascist?! It doesn't make sense. It's like fire and water—they just don't mix!"

The squatters' communities seem united in opposing such tendencies. And it was remarkable, to me, that the city of Amsterdam had erected a statue in the Vondel Park in memory of Kerwin, on the anniversary of his death, August 25, 1984.

"Whenever something like that hap-

pens, the media are just—*bof!*—right on it. All the old stories come again, from the war, from fascism..." Monique told me, at the Radio Café. "Yes, but there are two sides to Amsterdam on that," added Piroška.

"In the south of Amsterdam, where a lot of conservative rich people live, they feel that foreigners take workers' places. More and more of them are voting for a party which would throw out all the foreigners. It's illogical—"

"In every European country, there are lots of foreigners, from Turkey, from Morocco, from all over. They were brought here to do the dirty work: to get the garbage off the streets, to clean the toilets. When it was good here, when we had enough money. But now there's a lot of unemployment and people are saying, well there's so much unemployment and there's so many foreigners, so when you take all the foreigners out, we have so many jobs again. It's crazy...but they think it's logical.

"I think it's always the same in every country when it goes wrong, when there's an economic crisis," Monique concluded. "People always want to have someone, some group of people to blame. But if you send all the foreigners away—who's going to pick all the garbage off the street?!"

Money Changes Everything

Kaatje showed me a poster: under the Chamber of Commerce's current slogan, "Surprising Amsterdam," a hooker riding a hypodermic, a fat businessman counting bills...Amsterdam goes on with its plans for "economic growth." The Chamber of Commerce wants Amsterdam to be the site of the Olympic Games in 1992, which would make the city an even greater tourist attraction. Wave after wave of spectators and speculators who could care less about the people who live there, eating away at the social infra-structure and sense of community which "certain elements" in certain areas such as the Staatsliedenbuurt are fighting to preserve.

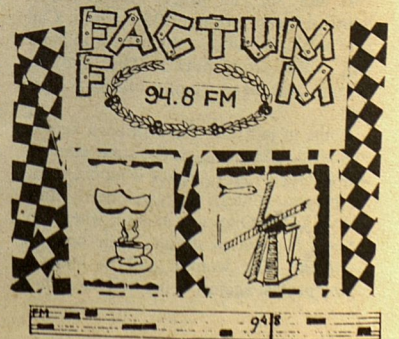
Yes, the world gets smaller...The enemy is clearly defined in *Grachten Krant* as "the exploiters, the oppressors, the pillars of this capitalist society—this 54th State of America!" So what's to be the outcome? And how does it look, where you live?

against the bar and listen for a while until your tongue is loosened. If you have something worth saying, Factum will make sure it gets heard.

With the sneaking suspicion that there's a lot happening that just doesn't get reported in the legal media, Factum is on the prowl—in Amsterdam and abroad—for "unheard news." The station will also transmit music—there are some masters of the mix aboard—and satire.

Factum is facing defiantly the rough seas which are surely ahead for Amsterdam's radio pirates. It also serves as a headquarters for another project which aims at providing information which otherwise might be suppressed, the International European Information Exchange. (Ask for Ingrid Boz.) This came together during the media festival early in November.

Though a computer network is in the works, it is now set up as a phone relay among seventeen stations in the Netherlands, Germany, England, France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Australia and Canada. A code-word or headline is passed along the line to the connected stations, who can then call the station of origin for the complete scoop. Links with the burgeoning Green Network are now being established. Stay tuned.



AMSTERDAM Air Pirates

continued from pg. 7

the city broadcasting authorities, a station has to prove that it serves an audience or fulfills a function that none other does. This is why the "team of four enthusiastic media-sociologists" who direct Radio X had to, in the words of Ronald's article in *Zender*, "define a clear target group." Radio X gives this profile of its audience: "...those who have always had trouble, the deprived, the victims of this society."

Radio X's target group as self-defined covers a wide spectrum. It will of course be more difficult hereafter for another station with similarly-defined objectives to obtain a license.

Ronald's assertion may be merely rhetorical that, with this quintessential youth station, "All remaining radio will

RADIO X

become superfluous"—but some people may choose to read that differently. The author of an accompanying article in *Zender* is apprehensive "that Radio X's true significance is as a sign of the end of so-called 'free radio.' I do not have to be able to tell the future to know that the Radio Control Service (RCD) in November—the month that Radio X started—shall step up all activity and pull the last 'die-hards' of the illegal radio-circuit out of the air...Now that they can say, 'Don't worry, kids, you still have Radio X.'"

The author also accuses the "four-man crew" of X of being leftist sectarians (*sektaries*, which a Dutch friend tells me is somewhat pretentious diction) and asks, concerning X's target-group, "Since when did being unemployed become exalted to a criterion for salvation?" However, Radio X apparently directs itself as well to some people who manage to own automobiles, since Ronald announces "a financially attractive agreement with the ministry for Traffic and Waterways. As you drive your car through the city, it is certainly handy to hear from us where the traffic jams are, where the street is broken up, where you can still drive..."

"An alternative route for the alternative circuit!"

Another article, in the same number of *Zender*, calls the granting of licenses "a divide-and-conquer tactic," around which legal as well as illegal stations can only sail through mutual cooperation.

I asked Ronald about the role played by the stations in mobilizing people when a squat is threatened with eviction. "Yes. But Radio X can't do that now. You can do it—in an interview, but not as yourself, because you are a person who can be identified and caught. But we always have pirate broadcasts. We are not bound to the cable. If there is an eviction, you can always get on free air, under a different name, you know what I mean?"

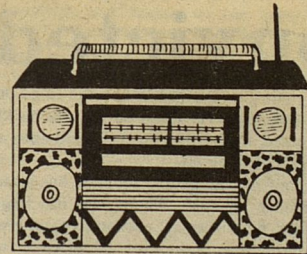
"Are they still evicting squatters pretty regularly?"

"Last two weeks, we've experienced more...small houses. One floor. In one case also a radio station..."

Radio X shares studio space in the back of Radio Café Marconi with its colleague, Factum FM, which flies the pirate flag.

Unheard News

Or, in Dutch, Radio *Proeflokaal* Marconi—the word for "bar, bodega" means



literally "testing-place," an apt name for this experiment in broadcasting. Marconi is a large room in a former school-building, with a double-window in the back through which the studios for X and Factum are visible. Their signals go first to a more powerful transmitter in the squatters' complex at Tetterode, just a block away, and then to Amsterdam at large.

The café was built by a young man named Bouwer—"builder"—with some help. The stylish light fixtures hanging from the ceiling were improvised from found materials; some of the furnishings came from a burnt out café; the huge coffee-maker was found on the street. Café Marconi runs on donations, benefits, ingenuity—and a sense of purpose:

"You have no access to the media. It is a declaration like that sign with the arrow aimed at heaven; a medium is usually a form of 'one-way traffic.' Naturally, there's a place for listeners' questions, greetings or complaints. But to demand air-time, or to honor the studio or the editing room with your emphatic presence, ultimately, it's made clear, that is not permitted. That is only for the 'qualified'..."

"The entrance must be forced...Your presence in the Radio Café makes you an accomplice, as you utter your free intention in the free ether." (*Zender*, again.)

Factum also means, I was told, "Fuck dem." Anyone who comes to the café can get on the air. Or maybe you'd rather lean

■ united states

Alternative Media, POB 1347, Ansonia Sta., NYC 10023.

Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, NY 13683. *native american*

Anarchy, P.O.B. 380, Columbia, MO 65205.

Bayou La Rose, P.O.B. 6130, Kansas City, KS 66106. *anti-authoritarian*

Big Mountain News, 124 N. San Francisco St., Ste. B, Flagstaff, AZ 86001. *native american*

the Blot, 15 Keswick St., #4, Boston, MA 02215. *ink for people*

Broadside, P.O.B. 1464, NYC 10023. *folk music*

Central American News, P.O.B. 56246, New Orleans, LA 70156-6246.

Circle A, P.O.B. 57114, Atlanta, GA 30343-1114.

Circle Network News, P.O.B. 219, Mt. Horeb, WI 53572.

City Limits, 424 W. 33rd St., NYC 10001.

Columbus Free Press, P.O.B. 8234, Columbus, OH 43201.

Connexions, 4228 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609. *int'l women's quarterly*

ConScience & Military Tax Campaign-U.S. Newsletter, 44 Bellhaven Rd., Bellport, NY 11713.

Covert Action, 1074 Nat'l Press Bldg., Wash. DC 20045.

Crazy Horse Spirit, 2524-16th Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98144.

the Crazy Shepherd, 808 E. Wright St., Milwaukee, WI 53212.

Cultural Survival Quarterly, 11 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138. *indigenous people's issues*

Daily Impulse, P.O.B. 90312, San Diego, CA 92109.

the Dandelion, 1985 Shelby Ave., St. Paul, MN 55104.

Delaware Alternative Press, P.O.B. 4592, Newark, DE 19711.

Dialogue, c/o Brad Ott, 916 Euterpe St., New Orleans, LA 70130. *alt. monthly newsjournal*

Earth First!, Box 235, Ely, NV 89301. *radical environmental journal*

East Village Eye, 611 Broadway, Rm. 609, NYC 10012.

El Salvador's Link, P.O.B. 2002, Madison Sq. Station, NYC 10159.

Emancipation, Box 840, Wash. DC 20044.

Fifth Estate, P.O.B. 02548, Detroit, MI 48202. *non serviam*

Freedom Spirit, Freeway Hall-2nd Fl; W., 3815 Fifth Ave., NE, Seattle, WA 98105.

Free Spirit, 34 Prospect Pl., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

Free Venice Beachhead, P.O.B. 504, Venice, CA 90294.

Gay Community News, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

the gentle anarchist, P.O.B. 1313, Lawrence, KS 66044-8313.

Green Action, c/o Gentle Strength Co-op, 234 West University, Tempe, AZ 85281. *environmental communications network*

Green Letter, P.O.B. 9242, Berkeley, CA 94709.

the Green Newsletter, 304 Alden Ave., New Haven, CT 06515.

Greenpeace Examiner, 1611 Connecticut Ave., NW, Wash. DC 20009.

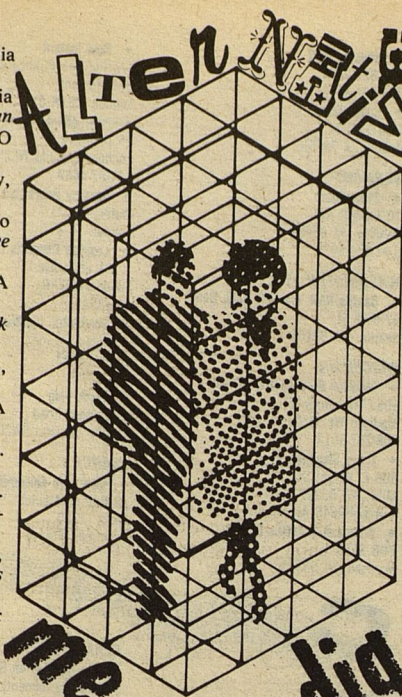
Grey Zone, 1407 Wynne Ave., St. Paul, MN 55808.

the Guardian, 33 West 17th St., NYC 10011. *independent radical newsweekly*

Haiti Alert, P.O.B. 943, Miami Beach, FL 33139.

Harbinger, 211 East 10th St., NYC 10003. *journal of social ecology*

Hard Times, P.O.B. 924, Maywood, NJ 07607. *fanzine*



Heartland, P.O.B. 3445, Jackson, WI 83001.

Heretic's Journal, P.O.B. 12347, Seattle, WA 98111. *for social & spiritual liberation*

high frontiers, P.O.B. 40271, Berkeley, CA 94704-4271.

Hopeless Tasks, P.O.B. 10469, Seattle, WA 98101. *animal rights, punk*

Humanity Whirlpool, P.O.B. 42294, LA, CA 90042. *anarcha-zine*

the Independent, 625 Broadway, 9th Floor, NYC 10012. *film & video monthly*

Inside Joke, c/o Elayne Wechsler, P.O.B. 1609, Madison Sq. Station, NYC 10159. *newsletter of comedy & creativity*

Instead of Magazine, P.O.B. 433, Willimantic, CT 06226.

In These Times, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. *independent socialist*

the Insurgent, P.O.B. 1435, Cathedral Sta., NYC 10025.

Jane Doe, Binghamton Women's Center, P.O.B. 354, Binghamton, NY 13902. *women's encampment newsletter*

Kindred Spirits Journal, P.O.B. 542, Lewisburg, PA 17837. *green*

Klanwatch Intelligence Report, 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104.

Lancaster Independent Press, P.O.B. 275, Lancaster, PA 17604.

L.A. Weekly, 2140 Hyperion Ave., LA, CA 90027.

Living in Fear, 121 Church St., Columbia, SC 29201. *IWW, punk*

Lovin' Forceful, 723 College Ave., Morgantown, WV 26505.

Man-ah-atn, 842 Broadway, 8th Floor, NYC 10003. *native american*

the Marijuana Report, P.O.B. 8698, Portland, OR 97202.

Maximum RockNRoll, P.O.B. 288, Berkeley, CA 94701.

MERIP Reports, Box 3122, Wash. DC 20010.

Midwest Resistance Newsletter, 1027 5th Ave., SE, Cedar Rapids, IA 52403.

Militarism Resource Project, P.O.B. 13416, Phila., PA 19101-3416.

Mill Hunk Herald, 916 Middle St., Pittsburgh, PA 15212.

Ministry of Truth, 203 Lynwood Blvd., Nashville, TN 37205. *anarchist monthly of theory & practice*

the Minnesota Weed, P.O.B. 8011, St. Paul, MN 55108.

Missouri Valley Socialist, Box 31321, Omaha, NE 68131.

the Mobilizer, 853 Broadway, Rm. 418, NYC 10003. *mobilization for survival newsletter*

Multinational Monitor, P.O.B. 19405, Wash. DC 20036.

Mutual Aid Alternatives, 221 Central Ave., Albany, NY 12206.

NACLA-Report on the Americas, 151 W. 19th St./9th Floor, NYC 10011. *info on Latin America*

Nat'l Anti-Klan Network News, Box 10500, Atlanta, GA 30310.

the National Boycott Newsletter, 6506 28th Ave., NE, Seattle, WA 98115.

The New Abolitionist, 2521 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218. *newsletter of nuclear free america*

the New Cannabis Times, 404 Constitution Ave., NE, Wash., DC 20002.

New Indicator, UCSD B-023, La Jolla, CA 92093. *collectively produced university-community newspaper*

New Iron Column, 1728 W. Ball Rd., Apt. 4, Anaheim, CA 92804. *anarcho-punk*

New Options, P.O.B. 19324, Wash. DC 20036.

New York Native, 249 W. Broadway, NYC 10013. *gay newspaper*

Nicaraguan Perspectives, P.O.B. 1004, Berkeley, CA 94701.

the Minnesota Weed, P.O.B. 8011, St. Paul, MN 55108.

Missouri Valley Socialist, Box 31321, Omaha, NE 68131.

the Mobilizer, 853 Broadway, Rm. 418, NYC 10003. *mobilization for survival newsletter*

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New York Native, 249 W. Broadway, NYC 10013. *gay newspaper*

Nicaraguan Perspectives, P.O.B. 1004, Berkeley, CA 94701.

North American Farmer, P.O.B. 176, Ames, IA 50010.

Northern Sun News, 1519 E. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55404. *anti-nuclear plants & weapons*

Northwest Passage, 1017B East Pike, Seattle, WA 98122. *independent regional paper*

Notes for a New Underground, P.O.B. 3402, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

The Nuclear Resister, Box 1503, Ukiah, CA 95482. *jailed no-nukes report*

Nuke Notes/Solidaridad!, 540 Pacific Ave., Santa Rosa, CA 95404. *no nukes/no intervention in Central America*

off our backs, 1841 Columbia Rd., Rm. 212, NW, Wash. DC 20009. *women's new-journal*

Outrage, 108 Schuyler Pl., Ithaca, NY 14850.

PeaceWork, 2161 Mass Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140. *peace & social justice newsletter*

Popular Communications, 76 W. Broadway, Hicksville, NY 11801.

Popular Reality, POB 3402, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Post-Amerikan, P.O.B. 3452, Bloomington, IL 61702. *independent community newspaper*

Prairie Sun, 521 S. Gilbert, Iowa City, IA 52240. *entertainment & current events*

Press Clips, 1424 16th St., NW, Suite 601, Wash. DC 20036. *people for the american way*

the Progressive, 409 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703.

Progressive Platter, P.O.B. 638, Boston, Kenmore Sta., MA 02215. *int'l music review*

the Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. Ave., NW, Wash. DC 20009.

Progressive Student News, P.O.B. 1027, Iowa City, IA 52244.

Puerto Rico Libre, P.O.B. 319, Cooper Sta., NYC 10003.

R.A.D., P.O.B. 867, Morro Bay, CA 93442. *fanzine*

Processed World, 55 Sutter St., #829, SF, CA 94104. *anti-office work*

Radical America, 38 Union Sq., #14, Somerville, MA 02143.

reagan death, c/o pete, 114 W. Gilman #14, Madison, WI 53701. *fanzine*

briefs for civil disobedience and first amendment cases typed in, ready to fill in the blanks, print out, and deliver to the judge in minutes.

A network of US correspondents for the news service is only beginning to form. While at this point there is no provision for payment to writers, some time charges may be waived by the system operators in Madison. Writers may withhold print rights on feature type pieces, and leave an online address to negotiate rates directly with publications.

Costs to US users include a \$25 lifetime account fee, plus on line charges 10¢ per minute evenings and weekends, 30¢ days and a "redeye special" at 2-6 AM local time of \$4.50/hour. An advance payment for time is not required, but will guarantee that your service is not quickly interrupted.

There is no additional telephone cost

RECON, P.O.B. 14602, Phila., PA 19134. *keeping an eye on the Pentagon*

Red Bass, P.O.B. 10258, Tallahassee, FL 32302. *literary journal*

Resistance News, 330 Ellis St., Rm. 506, SF, CA 94102. *anti-draft*

(REVOLUTION), P.O.B. 306, Onondaga Hill Sta., Syracuse, NY 13215. *a journal of 21st century thought!*

Ripper, 1494 Teresita Dr., San Jose, CA 95129. *fanzine*

Science for the People, 897 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

Seditious Delicious, P.O.B. 6981, NYC 10150. *anti-authoritarian poetry any style*

S.E.T. Free, P.O.B. 1124, Albuquerque, NM 87103. *anti-TV newsletter*

Shelterforce, 380 Main St., E. Orange, NJ 07018. *nat'l housing publication*

Shmate, P.O.B. 4228, Berkeley, CA 94704. *journal of progressive jewish thought*

SIPAPU, Rt. 1, Box 216, Winters, CA 95694. *alternative press newsletter*

Slam, 357 E. Holt Rd., Williamston, MI 48895. *fanzine*

Smash It Up, KGNU-88.5FM, P.O.B. 1076, Boulder, CO 80306. *radio show looking for anarchist or socially aware bands*

Social Ecology Newsletter, Box 384, Rochester, VT 05767.

the Southern Libertarian Messenger, Rt. 10, Box 52A, Florence, SC 29501.

Southern Life, P.O.B. 10932, Raleigh, NC 27605. *"all the print that's fit to eat"*

the Spark, P.O.B. 528, Pt. Townsend, WA 98368.

Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, 198 Broadway, NYC 10038.

Survival International USA, 2121 Decatur Pl., NW, Wash. DC 20008. *rights of indigenous peoples*

Survival Network Newsletter, 1430 Urania, New Orleans, LA 70130.

Synthesis, P.O.B. 1858, San Pedro, CA 90733. *social ecology newsletter*

Tabloid, P.O.B. 3243, Stanford, CA 94305. *a review of mass culture & everyday life*

Troubled Times, P.O.B. 1539, Santa Cruz, CA 95061-1539. *fanzine*

Twisted Imbalance, 209 Syme Hall, Box 03541, N.C. State, Raleigh, NC 27695-7315. *anarcho-fanzine*

Upfront, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012. *political art documentation/distribution*

the Utne Reader, 4306 Upton Ave., S., Mpls., MN 55410. *alt. media review*

Whole Life Times, 18 Shepard St., Brighton, MA 02135.

Woman News, P.O.B. 220, Village Sta., NYC 10014.

Women's Voice, 2303 N. 44th St., Box 14-225, Phoenix, AZ 85008.

Workers' Democracy, P.O.B. 24115, St. Louis, MO 63130.

World War III Illustrated, 176 E. 3rd St., #1A, NYC 10009. *comics magazine*

Yardroots, 2900 35th Ave., Oakland, CA 94619.

2600, P.O.B. 752, Middle Island, NY 11953-0752. *telecommunications info*

from at present 150 major cities served by Telenet, as a local call carries your messages to and from Denver at no extra cost. Telenet expects to merge soon with Uninet, increasing the coverage area, but rural users may still face an additional phone bill.

Equipment You can access the Greenet using any home computer equipped with a modem, the device that allows data to be sent on phone lines. 300 baud modems are available for under \$50, but for heavy use a 1200 baud modem (around \$250) will quickly pay for itself in reduced on-line charges.

To Join call 608-256-4185. There is a \$25 join fee. The rates are \$6/hour evenings & weekends, local time. Special rates are available in Denver. Canada rates are \$4 more.

greenet

The International GREENET and the GREEN NEWS SERVICE are now online, using the Unison computer networking system of Denver GEONET in Germany and England to exchange news, views, and information between what is becoming a global network of alternative, opposition, counterculture, and third world media, activists and correspondents.

Another area is devoted to planning and building an American Greens gathering in the fall of '86.

Organizations wishing to conduct their business online may establish both public and private meeting areas within the Greenet, and receive free time for group organizers proportional to total use.

An on-line do-it-yourself Legal First Aid kit is in the works, with basic motions and

areas, you will receive in your "inbox" all new notes on the subjects and conferences, or just the branching subcategories, to which you have subscribed, in an area distinct from personal messages.

Some initial areas of discussion include: fighting apartheid, genetic engineering, Central America (we hope to feature a 'town meeting' with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega), housing and squatting, agriculture, and Police justice issues.

When you join asynchronous discussion

UNITED STATES

ARKANSAS

- Fayetteville RAR: c/o PASE 401 Watson St. Fayetteville, AR 72701
- Citizens Against Arkansas Marijuana Laws Suite 103 5518 Baseline Rd Little Rock, Ar. 72209

CALIFORNIA

- People's Telecom 1442A Walnut St. #151 Berkeley CA 94709 415-540-0671 X151
- Coyote Howls P.O. Box 21701 San Francisco, CA 94110 415-626-1113 ask for Margo
- Geoff Yippee 2162 36th SF CA 94116 415-564-4562
- Dennis Peron 3745 17th St. San Francisco, CA 94114 415-552-9629
- Reefer Raiders 6702 Van Nuys Blvd. Van Nuys, CA 91405
- Bound Together Books 1369 Haight St. San Francisco, CA 94117 415-431-8355
- Bart Cheever POB 23654 San Diego, CA 92123
- Misso's Organic Farm Route 2, Box 142-A Tule Lake, CA 96134

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

- Maniac: Suite 89-C 1718 Connecticut Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009 #310-13
- People Opposed to Trancs Box 6811 Silver Spring MD. 20902

DELAWARE

- Delaware Alternative Press POB 4592 Newark, DE 19711

FLORIDA

- Jim Evangelist: Reality Kitchen 809 NW 4th Ave Gainesville, FL 32601 904-376-BLUE

GEORGIA

- Paul Cornwall P.O. Box 53265 Atlanta, GA 30355 (legal assistance available)
- David Christian 1110 Lindridge Ave Atlanta, GA 30324

ILLINOIS

- SHIMO Underground POB 4900 Chicago, IL 60680
- Chicago YIP POB 87254 Chicago, IL 60607 312-226-3248, Ron
- RAR: c/o IPIRG Southern Illinois Univ. Carbondale, Ill 62901 618-453-5215

IOWA

- Free Environment: Univ. of Iowa POB 1225 Iowa City, IA 52244
- Anonymous 511-56 St. Des Moines Iowa 50312

KENTUCKY

- Lux. RAR: c/o Tony Briggs 417 Ferrisburg St. Lexington, KY 40503

KANSAS

- Gentle Anarchist PO Box 1313 Lawrence, KS 66044

MAINE

- Gulf of Maine Books 61 Maine St. Brunswick ME 04011 207-729-5083
- 207-833-6051 Gary Lawless

MASSACHUSETTS

- United Campaign to Return Marijuana to the Pharmacopeia (UNCRAMP) P.O. Box 790 Cambridge "A", MA
- N.E. Green Computer Net c/o Dave Filipowski 10 Roundhill Rd Lexington, MA. 02173 617-862-1139
- Sleepy Hollow Direct Action Committee N.E. Network c/o Skip Martin Brookfield Rd. Brimfield, MA 01010 413-245-7407

MICHIGAN

- United Marijuana Smokers of Michigan (UMSOM) 11280 McKinley Taylor, MI 313-287-9077
- Wave Forms Box 1761 Dearborn, MI 48121 313-581-4798
- Wild Cat Ranch 2640 Campbell Rd. Commons, MI 48619
- SHIMO Underground PO Box 1563 Kalamazoo, MI 49007
- Joe Zackelle P.O.B. 381 E. Lansing, MI 48823

MINNESOTA

- Todd, c/o Northern Sun News 1519 E. Franklin Minneapolis, MN 55494
- The Heathen Science Monitor POB 3181 Traffic Sta. Mpls. MN 55403
- the Backroom Anarchist Center 3200 Chicago Av. S. Mpls. MN 55407 612-822-3670

MISSISSIPPI

- Greg Ethridge 132 Stonagate Madison, Miss. 39110 601-856-7601 or 354-9841

NEW MEXICO

- New Mexico Greens 2005 Silver SE Albuquerque NM 87106 505-243-2430 Trapper 505-243-0843 Rona

NEW YORK

- North American Greens c/o 9 Bleecker St. New York, NY 10012 212-533-5028
- New York RAR c/o Christy 127 W. 22nd St. New York, NY 212-316-0426
- Red Balloon Collective c/o POLITY—S.U.N.Y. Stony Brook, NY 11794
- Alternative News Collective 585 Harriman Hall, Main St. SUNY—Buffalo Campus Buffalo, N.Y. 14214 716-831-2412
- Alternative Cultures Library Off Campus College Office SUNY-Binghamton, Vestal Pkwy. East Binghamton, NY 13901
- Bing. Committee on Central America PO Box 662, Westview Station Binghamton, NY 13905
- Whole in the Wall Restaurant 39 S. Washington St. Binghamton, NY 607-722-0537

OHIO

- Columbus YIP & RAR POB 8275-A Columbus, OH 43201 614-221-0444
- Eastern Ohio RAR POB 436 New Philadelphia, OH 44663 216-339-4644
- Dayton RAR POB 166, Wright Brothers Station Dayton, OH 45409
- Andy Kessler 11420 Hessler Cleveland, OH 44106 216-229-9442
- Anti-War Activists Com. 216-321-2366
- Emma Goldman Society 1693 Coventry 44118 Cleveland OH 44118 216-371-7660

PENNSYLVANIA

- Whole in the Universe Gang RD 1, Wholebrook, PA 15341
- Pittsburgh YIP 5564 Wilkens Ave. Pittsburgh, Pa. 15217
- Akhenaten Society/Green Party Nuclei Box 76 N.P. Summerhill, PA 15958
- Attorney Neil Price Revolutionary Legal Defense Box 154 Tire Hill, PA 15959
- Merle Truesdale: c/o GROW 18 Bluff Rd. Columbia, SC 20201 805-254-9398

SOUTH CAROLINA

- Black Hills Alliance Box 2508 Rapid City, SD 57709 605-342-5127

TEXAS

- Michael Helsem 1031 Dewitt Dallas, TX 75224 (214)941-8476

- Houston RAR 713-521-9574 713-521-3293
- Susan Olen POB 17802 Austin, TX 78760

VERMONT

- Steve Rizzo 10 Enright Ave. Windsor, VT 05089 (802)674-5029

WASHINGTON STATE

- Seattle RAR: c/o Left Bank Books 92 Pike St. Seattle, WA 98101

WISCONSIN

- Madison Greensnet c/o Bryon 1053 Williamson St. Madison WI 53703 608-257-5517
- Crazy Shepherd 808 E. Wright St. Milw., WI 53212 414-374-0648 Ask for Jim
- American Cannabis Society POB 9208 Madison, WI 53715

- New Instant c/o Playan Publications BCM Instant London WCIN 3XX
- International Times 25 Denmark St. London, England WC2 01-387-4682
- Smokey Bears: c/o Clinton House Watergate St. London SE 8
- Legalize Cannabis Campaign c/o 1 Elgin Ave. London W93RR 289-3883
- Polytronic (Festival info) 4 Englands Lane London NW3 722-3299
- Black Chip 55 Dupont Road London England SW20 8GH

FRANCE

- Viper: c/o Sinsemilla Editions 10 Rue de Maillet Paris 72220 Ecommy, France

GERMANY

- Die Gruenen im Bundestag, (Federal Parliament), Bundeshaus, 5300 BONN, W.Germany. (0228) 692021
- Die Gruenen (Address for all regional parliamentary and policy groups, nat. policy groups) (Name, issue): c/o National Office Bundesgeschaeftsstelle, Colmanstr. 5300 BONN.
- Amnesty International Heerstr. 178, 5300 Bonn 1.
- Peace Movement: KOFAZ (Comm. for Peace, Disarmament, Cooperation), Gottesweg 52, 5 Koeln 51.
- Autonome Friedensbewegung: c/o Friso Nernstweg 32-34, 2 Hamburg 50
- Aktion Suednezeichen Jebenstr. 1, 1 Berlin 12.
- USA Contact GAL-Hamburg, AG Intern./Tom Todd Bartelsstr. 30, 2 Hamburg 6, tel: (040) 439 2991.
- Die Tageszeitung Auslandsredaktion- Wattstrasse 11-12 1 Berlin-Wedding 491-30-463-9708
- Anti-heroin: Jugend Hilft Jugend Max Brauer Allee 116 D2 Hamburg 50 040-380 9547
- Anti-fascist: Anti-SA-Kommission K.B. Linden Allee 4 Post Box 7685 D2 Hamburg 19 040-435320
- Eco/No Nukes: BBU Friedrich Ebert Allee 120 D53 Bonn 1 0228-2233099

CANADA

BRITISH COLUMBIA

- Open Road Box 6135 Station G Vancouver, BC, Canada V6R 4G5

ONTARIO

- ELF (The Everything Liberation Front) PO Box 1031, Adelaide St. Stn., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K4 594-0234
- AANN (Anti-Authoritarian News Network) POB 915, Station F. Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2N9
- Rock Against Racism POB 2541, Sta. D Ottawa, Canada K1P 5W6 613-230-9868
- Kenn Quayle POB 6705 Stn. A Toronto M5W 1A5 534-4046
- the "Black Umbrella" Box 76 N.P. Summerhill, PA 15958
- Attorney Neil Price Revolutionary Legal Defense Box 154 Tire Hill, PA 15959

QUEBEC

- The Greens of Quebec, P.O.Box 262, Succursale Jean-Talon, Montreal, Canada H1S 222.
- Galerie Fokus 3726 rue St. Hubert Montreal Quebec Canada H2L 4A2 514-845-1814

EUROPE

UNITED KINGDOM

- Alternative Wales: c/o Union Wholefoods 105 Rhosmaen St. Llандаelion, Dyfed, Wales
- Alternative London BCM Alter London WCI W5XX

- Police Tactics: GAL Demokratie & Recht/Guenther Bartelstrasse 30 D2 Hamburg 6 040-4392991

HOLLAND

- Stuf Vry POB 1386 Groningen 050-264788 Holland

DENMARK

- People Against Heroin: Hertra Dg Videra Badsmandsstraede 43 1407 KBHK Denmark
- Anarchist Bogcafe 41 Nansensgade Copenhagen, Denmark

NORWAY

- Gatevisa Hjelmsgt 3, Oslo 3, Norway

SWEDEN

- "Svarta Manen" (Black Moon) Gotgatan 26, Stockholm, Sweden 08/41 9446, 08/44 3986

- "Kafe 44" Tjarnhousgatan 44 Stockholm Sweden

FINLAND

- Musta Tuuli Box PL 151, 000141 Helsinki 14, Finland

GREECE

- IDEODROME Dafnomili 25, 11471 Athens Greece

Contacts

Events

- March 16-24, Central America Week (MOBE)
- March 21-23, Mid-Atlantic Greens conference, Phila., (215) 692-0413
- March 21, Anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre
- March 24, Anniversary of the assassination of El Salvador's Archbishop Romero
- April 4, National Divestment in South Africa Day in commemoration of Martin Luther King
- April 6, Anniversary of Execution of Solomon Mablangu, African National Congress freedom fighter
- May 3, Smoke-In at Wash. Sq. Ph. NYC, 11am, followed by Legalize Marijuana march on the UN
- May 4, NYC Rock Against Racism concert, Central Park 12 noon
- May 10-16, National Alliance of Mental Patients conference, Washington DC
- May 17, "Making the War in Central America Visible" Spring Action (MOBE)
- June 21, World Day, (201) 691-0526

Match the Commercial Game *

- 1.) Celebrate the moments of your life
- 2.) We build excitement
- 3.) Where you're going you've always known it
- 4.) We hear you
- 5.) The taste of a new generation
- 6.) We're bullish on America
- 7.) You're in good hands
- 8.) Come to were the flavor is
- 9.) Discover a whole new world
- 10.) Quality is job #1
- 11.) You've come a long way baby
- 12.) The taste some people can't live without
- 13.) Leading the way
- 14.) Capitalist tool
- 15.) Reach out & touch someone
- 16.) You've got the future on the line
- 17.) Who could ask for anything more?
- 18.) The more you hear the better we sound
- 19.) Be all you can be
- 20.) We bring good things to life
- 21.) Take the plunge
- 22.) Magically delicious
- 23.) What the big boys eat
- 24.) Something special in the air
- 25.) That's entertainment
- 26.) The right choice
- 27.) Aim high
- 28.) Aren't you glad you use it?
- 29.) The wonder drug that works wonders
- 30.) We do the most unheard of things
- 31.) Master the possibilities
- 32.) The right move
- 33.) A great way of life
- 34.) If you're confident raise your hand
- 35.) Catch the wave
- 36.) You know when you've got it good

- a. GRAPENUTS
- b. ATT
- c. KODAK
- d. LIPTON
- e. FORBES
- f. UNITED
- g. RYDER TRUCKS
- h. PONTIAC
- i. ATT
- j. GTE SPRINT
- k. TV GUIDE
- l. COKE
- m. US AIR FORCE
- n. ALLSTATE
- o. BAYER
- p. WHITE CASTLE
- q. LUCKY CHARMS
- r. TOYOTA
- s. MICHELOB
- t. US AIR FORCE
- u. WHEATIES
- v. MASTER CHARGE
- w. ATT
- x. SURE
- y. REICHOLD CHEMICAL CO.
- z. GENERAL ELECTRIC
- aa. MERRILL-LYNCH
- bb. PEPSI
- cc. MARLBORO
- dd. AMERICAN AIRLINES
- ee. ATT
- ff. VIRGINIA SLIMS
- gg. FORD
- hh. CAMEL
- ii. US ARMY
- jj. DIAL

A National Vietnam War Protesters Memorial is being built to commemorate all those who died opposing the Vietnam War. For more info: Vietnam Victory Memorial, POB 9364, Phoenix, AZ 85068.

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Greetings:

The Toronto office of the Ecomedia Network (an international alternative news and information service) has begun to send out news packages of information received from the Network and other sources on a regular basis.

The recipients of the packages MUST do one of the following:

- **If you put out a publication, use the material for articles or news items.
- **If you have a public space or informal meeting place, make copies of the material for distribution.
- **If you have the resources, make copies for distribution in your mailings.

The purpose of the Ecomedia Network is to receive, produce, and disseminate any and all information received.

If you would like to participate (by doing one of the above), please let us know and we'll add your address to our mailing list. Further information regarding the Network is also available from us.

There is no cost to you to receive our packages, although donations of money, publications, news reports, etc., are greatly appreciated!

Hoping to hear from you,
David Barbarash
c/o EKOMEDIA TORONTO
Box 915, Stn.F
Toronto, CANADA M4Y 2N9

Dear Editor

I am putting together a book of personal stories by people who are acting alone or in small non-structured groups to affect social change. I would like to hear from anyone who is personally taking a stand in the areas of nuclear weapons, hunger, environmental issues (eco-saboteurs especially), women, minority, gay and worker's rights. Stories are welcome on other social issues as well, and can also describe the efforts of someone other than yourself whose story you feel should be told.

The main thesis of the book is that confrontational politics on a small scale is the path to real social change, that individual acts of courage are the proper and necessary response to a political system which is no longer representative of people's needs. My feeling is that thousands of these acts of courage are occurring every day.

I encourage anyone who is personally involved in a struggle for social change to write and tell me about your experiences.

Donald Currie
4006 25th St.
San Francisco, CA 94114

Dear *Overthrow*,

Thank you very much for your paper. I find it very interesting.

I was wondering could you print my name and address and let people know that I need some Pen Pals? It's lonely in prison and it's very hard to meet new people so please take care of this for me ok.

Thank you,
Jim Trimble 161658
Md. State Pen. B-518
954 Forrest St.
Baltimore MD 21202

Dear Friends,

I'm writing you from Greece and I hope that you'll get my letter. I read about your magazine in the Greek magazine *Ideodromio* so I decided to write you and send a small magazine which is produced by some friends in Athens. It's a monthly and it's name is *To Ktinios* (The Beast).

We are a small anarchist collective, cooperating with other groups among the Greek and International libertarian movement. I hope that you'll send us information about your work in the USA and I believe we will cooperate with your group. We've read lots about the yippie movement of the sixties but we do not know anything about your work. Please write us soon and we will send you more anarchist papers in Greek.

The first issue of *The Beast* contains songs from alternative punk groups and rock musicians from Greece, Germany, and England, and an article on the european urban guerillas.

You can contact us at:
Yiannis Kastanaros
Argiroupoleos 27
Athens 114 71 GREECE

hello fellow activist,

when i helped plan the 84 war chest tour, i knew from living in dallas all my life that local authorities would not take kindly to civil disobedience. i even thought somebody might get killed. but under the cameras, police behaved themselves, & arrested people only at the end, when they went for a swim in front of city hall. all 96 were soon released & out of town (to everyone's relief); but the humiliation inflicted on the city's image was not to go unavenged. 3 were singled out as leaders & prosecuted with some rather drastic charges, but only Greg ("Joey") Johnson returned to fight them in court. that december i watched in horror as Joey was vilified as a terrorist in an emotional, spectacular show trial filled with lies and distortions of the crudest absurdity, but the jury was swayed, & went for the maximum sentence—\$2000 fine and one year in prison—ostensibly for burning a flag, which a peculiar texas law was invoked that makes any *nearby witness* guilty of, the case was immediately appealed, & Joey freed because of a woman who saw him on t.v. and came down to put up her new car for the bond. the district court may not rule on it for months, or it may rule tomorrow; the fact is, however, that none of the vietnam era instances proceeded far enough to set a definite precedent, indicating there is indeed hope of a favorable verdict (even if this isn't declared a mistrial, which any impartial reader of the transcripts would certainly vouch for): public opinion can make a difference here. the judges are: Vance, McClung & Meloney/Court of Appeals, Dallas County courthouse/Dallas TX 75224. please get everyone you can to write them.

thanx
Michael/COMMITTEE TO FREE JOEY
P. O. Box 14006
Dallas TX 75214

Overthrow Editor,

I got the address of your publication from the Shimo Underground and was told that it was the *finest publication* of its type put out by the Yippies. I would like to be placed upon the *Overthrow* mailing list to receive your publication but I have no funds due to being imprisoned by The Man. I am a revolutionary spirit that is confined for making a direct political statement to our court system and consider myself a P.O.W. I hope to hear from you soon.

I have fought my war against the government mostly alone and would welcome letters from progressive, revolutionary minded *real* people.

I am a true revolutionary now, no armchair to it.

Revolutionary Greetings,
Harold Thompson #93992
Morgan Co. Regional Correctional
Facility—Box 2000
Wartburg, TN 37887

ANARCHA-PAGANISM

Although most anarchists seem content to ignore or actively discourage any spiritual component of life and culture, especially including their own spiritual longing, a growing segment of the movement is looking for ways to express these desires. We cannot deny the power and the vision of our connection to the rest of life, the Earth, and the Universe as a whole. We need to find a way back to involvement in the sacred, but it must be a way that is in harmony with the other parts of ourselves, especially our political commitment.

A spiritual path which is oppressive to women and gays (Christianity and Judaism for examples) which denies the joys and struggles of this world (above, Hinduism, Buddhism), which attacks the Earth and the ecology (above, especially Christianity), which insists upon conformity and to submission to a hierarchy or guru (above, Moonies, Rajneeshis, Est, Scientology etc.)—obviously these are choices that do not fit our principles.

There is a tiny but growing spiritual movement, a home-made religion with no gurus or churches, a great love and respect for the Goddess within all of us, based on nature and the cycles of life,

and on pleasure and ecstasy. It's called Witchcraft.

In the beginning of religious experience, humankind looked at the world and saw beauty and power, delight and mystery, and the sacred in everything. Our ancestors were all worshippers of the sun and moon, of the mysteries of sex and fertility, of love and death and of the cycles of the seasons of the Earth.

Witchcraft springs from this primeval root—the mystery and beauty of the universe and humanity. We think that the intuition of our ancestors was correct—that beyond all of our intellectual categories and social differences there is a force of creation and destruction moving through the universe connecting us all to each other and all of the rest of existence. This mystery and power Witches name the Great Goddess.

The Goddess is beyond personality, being the creating, sustaining, and destroying power that moves through all of existence. She can be seen and known through Her myriad facets—the Earth, the Moon, the planets, the Sea, each other. We name Her facets Isis, Anna, Terra, Venus, Kali, and through these Goddesses approach Her.

Although the Goddess is the underlying reality there are also Gods in the Craft, seen as facets of a Male Principle which is one pole of the energy flow through the universe. He is Her son, lover, brother, friend, the Horned God of animal vitality, lust for life, green growing things, Her male half, and goes by many names as well—Frey, Cernunnos, Attis, Pan.

Witches think of the Universe as an intricate web of ever-increasing complexity, a web of relationships which ties everything to everything else. Human beings are relatives to the rain, the snails, the Earth, the Sun, the trees. Divinity is everpresent and life itself is a divine gift. It is totally meaningless to call humanity 'divinely appointed ruler of the Earth', because we *are* the Earth, we *are* Her creatures. When we pollute, strip-mine, or otherwise exploit the Earth and act as though we were not part of Nature we do great damage to ourselves as well as our sisters and brothers.

Witches aim at the integration of all of our parts and the re-cognition that all of our faculties, needs, desires, and natural processes are sacred. Life is sacred and good, we share our pleasures with the Gods. Our nature as human animals is sacred and good.

Witches seek to tune into the powers flowing through Nature, to experience and understand. The cycles of nature—the birth, maturation, and death of the vegetation each year, the waning and waxing of the Moon each month, the cycle of the Sun, are the sources of our Festivals and rituals. Since all of life is sacred and deity everpresent a Witch will pause to reflect on the beauty of life and relax into the flow whenever she can.

Books about the modern Craft, especially the politically activist wing, that you might be interested in are: *The Spiral Dance* and *Dreaming The Dark*, both by Starhawk, *Drawing Down the Moon* by Margot Adler, *Witchcraft and the Gay Counter-culture* by Arthur Evans, *Changing of the Gods* by Naomi Goldenberg. There are many other books of value but these'll give some idea.

Groups of radical Pagan activists have sprung up in different places and if you'd like to explore a Pagan spiritual-political path please write: *Pagans for Peace*, c/o Sam Wagar, Dragonfly Farm, Lake Saint Peter, Ontario, K0L 2K0 CANADA (anarcha-Pagan network, publishes monthly newsletter), *Reclaiming*, P.O.B. 14404, San Francisco, CA 94114 (feminist-ecologist, quarterly newsletter), *Faerie Fire* c/o Pagansword, Suite 432 (dept. R), 263A West 19th St., New York City, NY 10011 (Revolutionary Warrior emphasis, Native support, quarterly magazine), *Pagans Against Nukes*, Blaenberem, Mynyddcerrig, Nr. Llanelli, Dyfed, WALES, U.K. (ecological, quarterly).

Yours, in the spirit of Revolt,
Sam Wager
Dragonfly Farm

Greetings to all my sisters & brothers,
From the dungeons of Babylon I send love & strength to all of you who struggle for the sake of our unborn generations. Thank you for the excellent coverage & support *Overthrow* gave me, Albert Garza & Leonard Peltier during our 42-day fast we did in 1984 at the federal prison in Marion, Illinois. Thank you, too, for the hard work you are doing to gain my brother Leonard's freedom.

I have been kicked out of the federal prison system and I am now being held captive in Greed's Ironhouse at McAlester, Oklahoma. Since the riot of Dec. 17, 1985, this entire prison population has been subjected to vile & incredible reprisals. The brothers are being held on 24-hour-a-day deadlock solitary confinement in tiny sealed-tomb, tiger-cages. I have been sentenced to 180 days in the hole for liberating a prison bus in honor of the great people's victory in the streets of Saigon on April 29, 1975. My comrade, Rickke Green #84244, has been on deadlock almost the entire time since I escaped 11 years ago. So far as I can determine, Comrade Rickke is the *only* bona fide Black revolutionary political prisoner left in the Oklahoma State Prison system.

We need *Overthrow* desperately in order to keep current on the happenings outside and to remind us we are not alone. I have no money to pay for a subscription, but I can promise you that if you send me a free subscription it will be well read here in this KKKoncentration KKKamp. Yippee!

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse & Comrade George,
Standing Deer
aka Robert H. Wilson #83947
McAlester State Prison-Box 97
McAlester, OK 74501

Dear *Overthrow*,

In January we are going to start a monthly News Bulletin. We need and want all kinds of information on what is going on or what is going to happen within the anarchist movement outside of Sweden. We're also interested in news from the peace, ecological and squatters movements. So, if you publish a magazine, a bulletin or what ever, *please put us on your mailing list*, and we'll send you the bulletin in exchange.

(For obvious reasons we can't afford to subscribe to all the anarchist/alternative publications.)

For the last few years we've been producing the TOTAL magazine, an irregular anarchist paper, but now we've realized the great need for a regular news bulletin for the Swedish anarchist movement.

So after the last issue of the TOTAL magazine (published in December) we're going to work hard on spreading anarchist counter information.

Hoping to hear from you soon,
TOTAL collective
c/o Nya Bokcaféet, Box 150 15
104 65 Stockholm, SWEDEN

promise me anything,
but send me Overthrow



- Send me information on the North American Green network.
- Enclosed is \$10 for one year's worth of your paganistic, atheistic publication, plus exorbitant postage.
- Contact me right away about organizing upcoming events in my area and nationally.
- Enclosed is a \$12.95 donation. Please send me your 733-page pamphlet, BLACKLISTED NEWS, describing Yippie! history and activities.

You're a disgrace to God & Country and if John Wayne were with us today, I'm sure he'd say the same thing. Enclosed is \$100.00. Go buy yourself a ticket to Trotskygrad!

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