



Life Begins Where The State Ends

Before the most brutal police action in recent West and East German history on November 14th, the Mainzerstrasse in East Berlin was a culturally and politically vibrant center for the left in the city. Twelve houses - among them a gay house and cultural center, a wimmins' and lesbian house, a bookstore and an info coffee shop - had been squatted by over 100 people from East and West Berlin for more than six months. Several times, the houses had been targets of neo-fascist attacks because of their openly leftist and often radical politics. Like all the other 130 squats in East Berlin, the Mainzerstrasse was represented in the squatters plenary which was negotiating with the city administration for contracts for all the squats. Despite rhetorical claims, the SPD/Alternative List senate refused to offer contracts for the houses in the Mainzerstrasse. Then, on Monday November 12th, heavily armed police forces evicted 3 other long-term squats in different parts of East Berlin in a surprise attack. They were not met with any serious resistance, since the general analysis had been that the city government would not evict any squats before the federal and city elections on December 2nd, 1990. When the inhabitants of the Mainzerstrasse learned about the evictions, which took place without any legal basis, some 50 people gathered for a spontaneous demonstration on a nearby avenue and a small barricade was erected to protect the demo from cars. The police took the demo as a pretext to drive through the Mainzerstrasse in full force, shooting CS gas and water blasts into squats and regular tenants' buildings alike as a premeditated provocation.

After the departure of the police forces from the street, people in the Mainzerstrasse started to build serious defense barricades as a means to prevent imminent eviction attempts as long as possible in order to gain time for political negotiations. Over the course of the afternoon and that night, more than 1000 supporters gathered in the Mainzerstrasse while police forces tried to attack the street several times without being able to break through the barricades. At the same time, concerned neighbours and representatives of the ex-GDR's civil rights movement as well as parliamentarians from the PDS and the New Forum formed an ad-hoc round table in support of the squats and unsuccessfully tried to negotiate a political solution with the SPD/AL governing coalition. Tuesday saw a massive media propaganda effort by the Social Democrats and the police forces throughout the FRG, in order to criminalize the squatters and disclaim the legitimacy of their demands. West-Berlin's mayor Walter Momper (SPD) called the squatters "chaots willing to kill" and stated that the "lawless space Mainzerstrasse" had to vanish immediately. He denied that social problems, such as the fact that there are tens of thousands homeless in Berlin while in East Berlin alone 25,000 apartments remain vacant and rents in both parts of the city are skyrocketing, are at the heart of the conflict. At the same time, special police units - among them the infamous anti-terror commando GSG 9, the federal border protection service and others - were sent to East Berlin from around the FRG. It is interesting to note, that no ex-GDR police officers were deployed for these actions. Last minute negotiation efforts by



A lull in the fighting on the Mainzerstrasse....

members of the Alternative List, the civil rights movement and the Lutheran bishop of East Berlin failed - the responsible Social Democratic government officials simply refused to pick-up their phones or to make time. In the early morning hours of Wednesday, over 4,000 police sealed off the whole neighbourhood around the Mainzerstrasse. Shortly after 7 a.m. the police attacked the streets with yet another round of CS gas (which causes asthmatic attacks, vomiting, eye irritation and states of mental disorder), water tanks, eviction tanks, and police commandos that came over the roof-tops of neighbouring houses. Blend shock grenades and CS gas grenades were deliberately aimed at people on rooftops and on barricades. The police also used rubber bullets and live ammunition, injuring two squatters with so-called "stray bullets". For about three hours over 800 people defended the streets with rocks, molotov cocktails and barricades, then the police forces had broken through the last barricades and the remaining people gathered in the last two houses. Over 400 people were arrested and often brutally beaten during the arrests and in police custody. One woman still remains in intensive care with life-threatening injuries inflicted by police beatings.

On Wednesday evening, more than 15,000 people gathered in East Berlin for a peaceful demonstration in support of the squats and in protest against the police brutality. The demonstration was later broken up by heavy police forces. For days now, the neighbourhood around the Mainzerstrasse has been turned into a military occupation zone with police forces everywhere. The street itself has been completely sealed off by police while construction workers are demolishing the houses.

Support actions for the squatters have taken place across the FRG, and Western and Eastern Europe. In several cities in the FRG, demonstrations and nightly attacks on banks, department stores and police stations took place. In Copenhagen, the FRG embassy was attacked with molotov cocktails. In Milano (Italy) and in Prague, hundreds of people tried to occupy the FRG consulates. Over 100 organizations from the Left in the FRG have issued an appeal demanding that the houses are given back to the squatters, that the charges be dropped against all people who were arrested, that the city government offers contracts to all squats and that the mayor and the senator of the interior of West Berlin step down. The Alternative List left the governing coalition with the Social Democrats as a consequence of the police activities. Several reasons can be found for this indiscriminate use of military force by the administration:

- The Social Democratic Party is desperately trying to gain votes for the elections on December 2nd by attempting to establish a "law and order" profile with the conservative voters.

- The city administration wants to split the squats with the threats of police brutality and evictions along the lines of "good and non-violent" squats which might receive contracts if they bow to the government's conditions, and those "disobedient" squats fighting for self-determination, in the hope of pacifying the whole squatters movement.

- The new standards for police measures against radical and militant leftist opposition which were set over the week are meant as a warning for the citizens of

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Barricades In East Vancouver

Squatters Resist Eviction

Statement on the eviction of the Frances St. squats, November 27/90

At 9 a.m. on Tuesday, Nov. 27, over 80 riot police including the Emergency Response Team (ERT), the RCMP bomb squad, a helicopter, dog teams, fire trucks, and two earth moving tractors were deployed at the 1600-block Frances St. in Vancouver's East-End. Their targets were six squatted houses, occupied since February 1990.

Surrounding three of the houses were six-foot high barricades, and inside were a group of squatters who had erected the barricades against an expected eviction of their homes. A Supreme Court order for eviction had passed on Nov. 23, and also on that day squatters and supporters had erected barricades on Frances St. and the alley behind the houses. After 5 hours of negotiations with police, the barricades were dismantled with an agreement there would be no police action until Nov. 26. On that day, the squatters again set up barricades, this time around three of the houses, and also securing the inside of one of the houses.

During the Nov. 23 negotiations, police stated they would notify the media and squatters before any police action, and would indicate how they would act. However, it wasn't only the squatters who used the extra time to organize, but also the police. The massive para-military action, with an arsenal of automatic weapons and tear-gas, was put into effect with the pretext, fabricated by the police, that a "new criminal element" now armed with 3 shotguns and 2 handguns, had moved into the squats. The fabrication included "reliable sources" and an alleged "ex-squatter" who saw the weapons. The very existence of such a person cannot even be verified and is suspect at best. Police statements, faithfully reproduced by the media, were clearly part of a constructed counter-insurgency program that aimed to isolate and criminalize the squatters:

"It's not a social housing or a squatting issue anymore... We are now faced with a group of criminals who have stockpiled weapons in a house. We've received reliable information that the original group has been taken over by people who could care less about social housing. They have expressed a desire to kill a policeman." (Police spokesman Constable Bob Cooper)

In fact, no firearms have been found despite extensive police searches. It's difficult to find material that doesn't exist! The most police can produce are canisters of gasoline (used to ignite fires, plainly carried around on Nov. 23), buckets of rocks, lightbulbs filled with paint, and some molotov cocktails. Hardly justification for the ERT assault and snipers on the rooftops. The people behind the barricades had not changed, but police clearly had to justify their own drastic shift in tactics from Nov. 23 to Nov. 27. Adding to the "militant criminal anarchist" angle, members of the bomb squad were called in, in case of "booby traps", and houses in a two-block radius were evacuated.

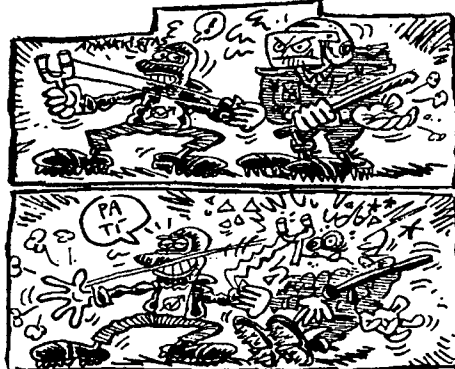
As people gathered around the police perimeter, targeted individuals were arrested or allowed to cross the police line and then arrested. During the 7-hour siege several hundred people gathered around the area, most supportive of the squatters and chanting "Troops out of East Van" and "Housing is a Right", and yelling warnings to the squatters whenever members of the ERT moved toward them.

Eventually police lines advanced towards the barricades with heavy machinery and arresting 8 people. Four other squatters withdrew into the barricaded house, which police demolished, again using the heavy machinery. After this assault, the four remaining squatters emerged waving their fists and maintained their defi-

ance in the face of cops armed with automatic rifles pointing at them.

In total, 27 people were arrested. Many were subjected to physical assaults during their capture, and while in custody. By Nov. 29 all had been released, 12 charged with mischief and obstruction of justice, the remainder having not been charged at all. Prisoners were told the investigation was "ongoing" and further charges could be laid. While in custody, prisoners were shown surveillance photographs - for no other reason than to indicate police "knew everything" and to intimidate the prisoners. Of course, the police themselves didn't need to go too far for photographs and videotapes, as journalists not only reprinted the innuendo put forward by the cops, but clearly acted as intelligence gatherers for them.

The days following the para-military assault saw a liberal out-pouring from tenants rights groups, community "leaders", as well as trade unionists denouncing the extent of the police operation and demanding an inquiry. Even "progressive" members of the Vancouver city council participated in this "attack on the police", whilst also collaborating unanimously to declare the evicted houses a "public nuisance" and passing a special demolition permit. With this, the houses were demolished on Nov. 29, despite the fact that some squatters still had possessions in the houses, and despite the fact that some of the houses were still liveable. In fact, only two of the



six houses had received heavy damage. One of the main demands by the squatters all along had been to occupy the houses until demolition day, which the developer Ning Yee didn't even have until the city council, including the "progressives" of COPE, unanimously gave it to him. A few squatters who had stored their belongings in a comrade's bus, which was raided by the police, found money and other items missing.

Police Repression Builds Our Resistance

It was important that the police action of Nov. 27 did not intimidate the growing resistance in Vancouver - that people did not retreat back into the safety of their houses, or friend's houses. So on Nov. 29 a strong, angry protest was held. Gathering at Grandview Park in the East-End, well over 100 people marched to the 1600-block Frances, where some squatters made speeches on their determination to fight on and continue squatting. From here the demo proceeded towards the downtown area, blocking up traffic, with a banner in front which read "Police Repression Builds Our Resistance". On the route, an agitated driver tried to drive through the demo, nearly injuring a comrade, and was quickly set upon, escaping with a few dents. The second stop for the demo was the main target of the people's rage: the Vancouver Police Department station. The main entrance was blocked and police inside, clearly intimidated, locked the doors and called in more officers. A police car

outside was attacked but because there was no preparation beforehand, people lacked the necessary tools to do real damage such as paint, iron bars etc. Before the cops could organize or call in more officers, the demo moved down through the tourist-trendy Gastown area. Here people became bolder, and some began knocking over postal and newspaper boxes - but again any higher levels of property damage were stopped by lack of preparation. The protest then moved back up to Hastings, and prior to reaching Granville St., 8-i0 motorcycle cops arrived and attempted to cordon off the demo, bumping into people in the rear and hitting others who got in their way along the side of the demo. Here, the demonstrators, now numbering between 30-40, became more organized, linking arms and not allowing the cops to stop the demo or to intimidate them. The determination of the demonstrators, to continue the demo to a point they had decided it would end, and not to allow the police to send them back on the "legal" domain of the sidewalk, was an important and empowering process. Also important was the minor property damage/disturbance that developed - a militancy that gave direction to people's anger, even if only in a small way. Although a handful of pacifists tried to control this aspect of people's actions, the demo itself was strong and relatively coherent. It was mobile to avoid police build-up, many people were masked, and had preparations been made beforehand, many actions against the police and financial targets could have occurred. Most of all, it was needed to regain some power and strength after the police assault on Nov. 27.

Conclusion

With their overt repression the police hoped to break people down, to tap a growing radicalization amongst the squatters. But instead, the opposite has occurred, repression has radicalized people even more. The experiences at the hands of the police, the discussions in the jail, the surveillance the police openly displayed, the fabrication used to militarily attack the squats, has in many ways contributed to a process the police had clearly hoped to curtail. There is also continuing harassment of people, including blatant police presence around people's homes, and the very real threat of police raids as police continue their "search" for weapons. In fact, one house was raided in conjunction with the police assault on Nov. 27 under the pretext the person, a relative of one of those arrested, was a "weapons dealer".

The parallels to the confrontation in Oka have not been missed; the extreme offensive launched by the state; the criminalization of resistance; and the counter-insurgency techniques; have all occurred in a common pattern. It's clear that the Native struggle for sovereignty and the struggle for autonomy and self-determination manifested in the occupation of empty housing, present a threat to the state. Because when people struggle collectively, and fight together, they gain power and develop possibilities for fighting back.

Direct your Anger!!

The "Criminal Element", Vancouver 1990

Taken from the magazine: Resistance "Documents And Analyses Of The Illegal Front". Resistance has been coming out for over a decade now and covers "militant autonomist, anti-imperialist, national liberation, feminist and anti-nuclear struggles in advanced capitalist countries". It has one of the very few sources of information on armed struggle in North America and Europe that is in English and coming out of North America. We highly recommend this magazine for people who have any interest in these forms of struggle. A long overdue issue (#14) should be out any time now. Write to: Friends Of Durruti, P.O. Box 790, Stn. A, Vancouver, B.C., V6C 2N6 Canada.

Interview With A "Machetero"

The following interview with Filiberto Ojeda Rios was taken from the August issue of NACLA Report On The Americas. Since then he has, along with another Wells Fargo defendant Luis Alfredo Colon Osorio, reintegrated himself into the clandestine struggle. The communique which accompanied their return to the struggle from clandestinity follows this interview.

Seven years have passed since a Wells Fargo employee drove off with 7.2 million in Hartford, Connecticut. In 1985, the action was attributed to Los Macheteros, the machete wielders, a Puerto Rican liberation organization that since 1976 has claimed credit for a series of armed attacks against FBI and U.S. military installations on the island.

Filiberto Ojeda Rios, 56, is a founder of Los Macheteros. He is currently under federal indictment in Hartford, accused of conspiracy in the Wells Fargo case. On August 30, 1985, he and 14 other independentistas were arrested in an early-morning raid carried out by 225 FBI agents and members of the Puerto Rican Ancillary Police.

Ojeda was kept in preventive detention for 45 months, the longest pre-trial jailing for any prisoner in U.S. history. Now that he is free on bail, the FBI closely monitors his movements through an electronic beeper permanently strapped to his ankle. He may not leave San Juan without permission from the Hartford judge; he must report daily to court authorities and is under a strict curfew.

Los Macheteros says its goal is to draw international attention to Puerto Rico's colonial status and, through armed action, to pressure the United States to withdraw from the island. Ojeda has testified before the United Nations and the U.S. Congress.

His political activism dates from the 1950's. From 1961 to 1969 he lived in Cuba, studying political science at the University of Havana. There he joined a Puerto Rican revolutionary organization, the Movimiento Pro-Independencia. A year after his return to Puerto Rico, he was arrested and accused of participating in another pro-independence group, the Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario en Armas, though these charges were later dropped. Now, if convicted, he faces a sentence of up to 250 years.

The Wells Fargo trial is currently awaiting a Supreme Court ruling on whether taped conversations of Ojeda in his home may be introduced as evidence. Ojeda and the eight other independentistas charged in the case are protesting the decision to hold proceedings in Hartford, believing they would only receive a fair trial in Puerto Rico.

The Wells Fargo trial has been delayed for two years. When will it begin?

Very important things have been happening. In July 1988 the federal district court judge in Hartford suppressed evidence that the FBI obtained through electronic surveillance, because the tapes were not immediately sealed as required by law. The FBI delayed the sealing for 84 days, time enough to alter the contents of the tapes in its laboratories in Washington. The violation was so evident that the presiding judge saw no alternative but to suppress the tapes.

Prosecutors immediately appealed the decision before the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York. A panel of three judges thoroughly reviewed the case and unanimously confirmed the opinion of the district court. This decision was then appealed by the government to the Supreme Court, and a hearing was held on February 28, 1990. The Court opted to remand the case to the Second Circuit and to order further findings to determine whether government agents had acted with justification.

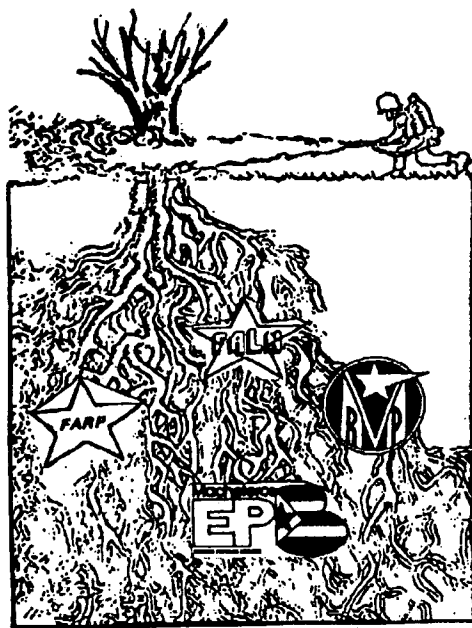
The fact that three senior judges from the Second Circuit, in addition to the district court judge, unanimously agreed that the FBI had violated the procedures

for electronic surveillance makes the acceptance of the appeal very suspicious. This demonstrates that [the Supreme Court's] intentions are either to pressure the Second Circuit into justifying the government's position and permitting the use of the tapes, or to avoid responsibility for condemning a clear violation of the law by the FBI.

This is an important case because of its political nature. Whatever is decided by the Supreme Court establishes a binding precedent in the United States. If the evidence is suppressed, other persecuted organizations who are victims of the same type of violations by the FBI can appeal on the same grounds.

That is where things are now. We are waiting for the courts to decide, and the trial could start by September, in Hartford.

You were recently found innocent in an important case in Puerto Rico.



Yes, on August 26, 1989. In 1985 I was charged with resisting arrest and assaulting two FBI agents during the attack on my home. As they admitted during the trial, they tried to murder me. It was an extremely important trial. It was covered every day by the media, and the Puerto Rican people became involved. This trial raised many issues, like language and jury selection. Most Puerto Ricans do not speak English, but federal proceedings have to be held in English. Prospective jurors had to stand in front of the judge to be quizzed on their understanding of English. This was very offensive to people. I undertook my own defense in Spanish, because I have the right to speak to the people in Spanish.

The main issue was that this was a case of an independentista against the FBI as an institution. The jury, made up of Puerto Rican workers, saw this clearly. They did not see just me on trial; they saw themselves and the Puerto Rican people on trial. They made a historic decision: They unanimously acquitted me.

Why did you get involved with Los Macheteros?

The FBI has institutionalized repression in our country. It created "subversive" lists with the names of

more than 150,000 independentistas, who often find themselves thrown out of work. FBI agents organized and trained death squads within the Puerto Rican police department.

Los Macheteros is a clandestine organization formed in 1976 that uses armed struggle to oppose U.S. repression in Puerto Rico. It is a continuation of our long struggle for independence. People who believe in independence have to protect themselves against repression; clandestinity provides that type of protection. Of course, clandestinity does not mean hiding from the people, only from the repressive forces. You have to be immersed in the population to be able to progress toward the goal of independence.

One branch of Los Macheteros does organizing in communities around concrete issues. For example, squatters struggling for housing get our support. Workers on strike get our support. Another part of the organization undertakes military actions, such as attacks against U.S. military bases in Puerto Rico.

You refer to repression in Puerto Rico. What have you personally experienced?

I was first arrested in New York City, for a day, for demonstrating against the Playa Girion [Bay of Pigs] attack against Cuba. Then, when I tried to go to Cuba, FBI agents threatened me with five years in jail and a \$5,000 fine. While I was in Cuba, the FBI questioned my family about my whereabouts. I was arrested by the FBI in Puerto Rico in 1970. They accused me of being a Cuban agent, and they started a smear campaign against me, saying that I was working for the Cubans and not for the Puerto Rican people. Over the years, my whole family has been visited by the FBI. My sister's apartment in New York was ransacked a couple of times; nothing was stolen, but all her things were thrown around on the floor. My brothers have been harassed at work. The FBI tried to get them fired.

In the early 1980's, the FBI began watching me constantly. They put microphones in my home and car and wiretaps on my phone and on the public phones across the street from my house. They tailed me by foot, car and even airplane. Then, in 1985, they attacked my house. They said it was to arrest me, but I truly thought they intended to murder me. They came dressed in military garb, with painted faces and bazookas, using air cover to control the whole neighborhood, as if it were a military commando operation.

This was in connection to your alleged involvement in the 1983 Wells Fargo incident?

Yes, that's correct. But the surveillance was part of their investigation into Los Macheteros as a political organization. In 1985, Los Macheteros assumed responsibility for the Hartford action. At that point the FBI redirected its investigation; instead of accusing us of political activities in Puerto Rico, they decided to accuse us of criminal conspiracy and robbery. It was convenient for them. They could try us in Hartford, even though they alleged that a conspiracy took place in Puerto Rico. This is one of the reasons we are demanding a change of venue. If we are going to get a fair trial, it will be in Puerto Rico, not Hartford.

The Bush administration has proposed a plebiscite to determine whether Puerto Rico will remain a Commonwealth, become a state, or achieve independence. How have Puerto Rican independentistas reacted to this?

There are two tendencies among independentistas. One is that of the Puerto Rican Independence Party,* which will participate in the plebiscite and is convinced

* One of Puerto Rico's three major parties, social democratic and pro-independence. The other two are the pro-statehood New Progressive Party and the pro-Commonwealth Popular Democratic Party.

that Washington will not grant statehood even if this option wins. We think that this is not only a grave mistake, but a very dangerous policy, because it dissipates any sense of struggle. If statehood will never be granted, even if it wins by a large majority, then why should we struggle [against it]?

Everything seems to indicate that there have been offers and negotiations behind closed doors behind the U.S. government and the leaders of the participating parties. The PIP has been led to believe that the United States has no intention of incorporating our nation as a state, and this is exactly the line that has been fed to the people. At the same time, President Bush has been actively campaigning in favor of statehood.

The second tendency, adhered to by other independentista organizations, is to boycott the plebiscite, because we consider it illegitimate, a plebiscite without freedom, a manipulation of the Puerto Rican people. It is a plebiscite to calm international opinion, to ease the pressure for decolonization. The United Nations has established that a "transfer of powers" is necessary before a legitimate plebiscite can be held. A process to enable people to think freely and control their lives must take place first. Only then - and it may take years - can we legitimately call for a plebiscite.

For example, most of the industries in Puerto Rico are owned by U.S. financial groups. The U.S. pharmaceutical and electronics industries are the backbone of the economy. People fear that independence would cause these enterprises to leave Puerto Rico. With an official unemployment rate of over 20%, really perhaps close to 40%, people fear for their jobs, for their survival. Sixty-five percent of Puerto Rican families receive food checks, the equivalent of food stamps in the United States. The injection of federal funds into the country is so great, that the government keeps a hold on nearly every Puerto Rican family. How can we have a legitimate plebiscite under conditions that create such a sense of dependence on the North American system, a colonial system?

Does Los Macheteros have a plan to move toward economic independence?

In March 1984 we put forth a program of national reconstruction, to move economic power into Puerto Rican hands. Our aims were nationalistic and pluralistic, not the creation of a socialist economy, but a reform of the capitalist system, using some elements of a socialist program. We proposed a mixed economy that would combine private businesses, cooperatives, and publicly controlled enterprises. At the same time, we also stated our willingness to negotiate with foreign-owned industrial establishments, to seek their cooperation in plans for national reconstruction.

In order to carry out this program, political empowerment is essential. We want to ensure the implementation of a true democracy, with representation from all sectors of society, particularly those traditionally ignored and abused by the colonial administrators: workers and the poor in general. The most important thing would be to establish a provisional government and congress to convene a popular discussion of what type of government and what type of system we Puerto Ricans want.

This is not the first time that the United States has proposed a plebiscite for Puerto Rico.

No, this would be the third plebiscite in less than 40 years. The first, in 1952, established the present Commonwealth. But it solved nothing. Unemployment, corruption, crime, drug addiction, mental illness - all these problems grew worse. The second plebiscite was in 1967.* The FBI tried to manipulate the various parties, create conflict among them, and interfere with possible participation by independentistas. It was a

** In the 1967 plebiscite, commonwealth status won 60.4% of the vote, statehood 39.0%, and independence 0.6%. Voter abstention was close to 30%, with most independentistas and several pro-statehood forces boycotting the balloting due to FBI interference.*

farce. The fact that there is now talk of a third plebiscite shows that the first two meant absolutely nothing. Just as this one would mean absolutely nothing.

Is the popular movement prepared for nationwide struggle?

The interaction of progressive forces in Puerto Rico has scarcely been one of strong solidarity. Colonialism and FBI intelligence operations have kept them divided [by playing up] issues with a low degree of relevance, or through vicious personal attacks. Colonialism has many ways of distorting a society that is alienated not only from the means of production, but also from the basic elements of national consciousness and self-esteem. Even those who understand the nature of colonialism lose faith in the people's struggle and become demoralized. Individualism, arrogance, mistrust, personal conflicts and manipulation - all these tend to have an effect on popular organizing. The enemies of the people, mainly the FBI, reap the harvest of division and deepen the rifts.

Nevertheless, there is an objective reality - that of a colony in deterioration - influencing the movement of the Puerto Rican masses towards freedom and true democracy. The enormous number of people without work, the high crime and general corruption, the deterioration in services for education and health care that were of low quality to begin with, the high cost of living, the ecological deterioration and environmental contamination - all of these elements of Puerto Rican reality determine the path of progressive forces and the real possibilities for unity.

There is a very strong tendency toward organizing at the local level around the diverse issues that bring people together. As a result, hundreds of independent local organizations have appeared. And there is a movement to unify all these local organizations into a popular front to coordinate on national issues.

Do you expect to win your case in Hartford?

The U.S. government tries to isolate us by calling us terrorists. But the people of the United States must see that this is false. To struggle for independence is our right, just as it was your right in 1776. We need support in the United States in order to get the fairest possible trial in Hartford - which will never be as fair as we could have gotten from a jury of our peers in Puerto Rico.

(NACLA Report On The Americas)

the torture-centres and the bloody raids.

The Turkish and Kurdish people know this servant of the oligarchy from his terror-actions and murders. He himself said that he had taken part in 140 raids by "risking his life".

The Palestinian people and the peoples of the Middle East know him as a collaborator with the CIA and MOSSAD, who planned murders together with them and wanted to create enmity between the peoples.

The intellectuals of our country know him from the Ziverbey-Palace, the secret torture-centre of the MIT.

There is no one who doesn't know him.

He had led the raid against the brave fighter of the THKP-C (Popular Liberation Party-Front of Turkey) ULAS BARDAKCI and shot him.

He was a professional torturer who had spread the torture methods of the CIA and MOSSAD in our country and educated torturers.

In the torture centres of the MIT he led the tortures of our people and tortured them.

He was one of those who had organized the massacre of Mayday 1977, during which tens of thousands of people were shot and 34 revolutionaries murdered.

He was one of the leading members of the Counter-Guerrilla that murdered many revolutionaries in cooperation with the fascist MHP (Nationalist Popu-

DEVIRIMCI SOL COMMUNIQUE

The following communique concerning the execution of Hiram Abas was carried out by Devrimci Sol (The Revolutionary Left), an organization that has been part of the resistance to the fascist government of Turkey. For the most part in North America there is relatively little exposure of the struggles in Turkey, including the Kurdish and Armenian liberation struggles, and consequently knowledge of the resistance there is minimal. In 1980 a military coup occurred when social and political conflicts intensified to the point of threatening the stability of the Turkish system. At that time there were massive demonstrations and strikes as well as militant attacks upon state and capitalist interests. The repression that followed after the coup saw hundreds of thousands arrested and tortured with many thousands murdered or imprisoned. In the face of this brutal repression many leaders of leftist groups and organizations fled the country. The people from these groups that stayed were largely unprepared to deal with what was occurring and consequently resistance was limited. One of those groups that stayed was Devrimci Sol. They were organized mainly in the ghettos of the larger Turkish cities and because of their past history of fighting fascists (such as the Grey Wolves and the MHP) they were able to organize a resistance to the military dictatorship. Since 1983 the Ozal government is supposedly meant to represent a return to a "democratic" system but in reality it is the continuation of the military dictatorship under a different guise. The left in '83 regrouped as Sol Birlik (Left Unity) and sought to open a dialogue with the Ozal government while discontinuing the armed struggle. Devrimci Sol rejected this path and has continued to organize resistance.

AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLES OF TURKEY AND THE MIDDLE EAST - HIRAM ABAS

Our organization DEVIRIMCI SOL (Revolutionary Left) condemned HIRAM ABAS to death. On September 26th 1990 this death penalty was carried through: HIRAM ABAS was executed by our organization.

Who was HIRAM ABAS?

* He was one of those who organized the coups of March 12th and September 12th and declared war on the people.

* As a leader of the Counter-Guerrillas he had planned and practiced several murders.

* While keeping a leading position in the National

Security Service (MIT), an institution that is responsible for the murders and massacres, he was responsible for murdering and torturing thousands of revolutionaries.

* To destroy the organization of the Kurdish people's liberation, he planned and hatched several plots in cooperation with other states.

* In cooperation with the CIA and MOSSAD he planned plots against the Palestinian people.

* He was one of those who practiced the state's policy aiming at the passivity of the people by terror, tortures, murders and massacres.

There aren't any documents necessary to prove the offences of HIRAM ABAS.

The revolutionaries and patriots know him from

Macheteros-Ejercito Popular Boricua

Communique

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE

Puerto Rican compatriots:

Twelve years ago, when our organization, the Ejercito Popular Boricua, Los Macheteros, first publicly expressed itself, we took an oath. We swore that we would never lie to the people or attempt to manipulate their opinion with opportunistic, false or deceptive statements. Today we renew that oath.

On this solemn date which marks the cry of rebellion and struggle of our people in pursuit of their independence and liberation, we have taken a step that responds to the grave situation which our people are facing. Companeros Filiberto Ojeda Rios and Luis Alfredo Colon Osorio have returned to what has been their fundamental means of struggle during the last two decades, the struggle from clandestinity. This decision responds to the cry of our people, who understand that it is the effort and duty of every patriot is to be united with the people in moments when they are confronting a historic moment of supreme definition. In the same manner, this decision responds to the policy of the Ejercito Boricua Macheteros. It is a policy of preparing ourselves to develop a patriotic struggle designed to advance our process of liberation and social justice, united with all our people.

Los Macheteros have been brutally victimized by the government of the United States for having assumed a patriotic and militant posture in defense of our rights. They, with the power they have to distort the truth, have done everything possible to make our people and the international community believe that those who struggle for the liberty of our country are criminals and terrorists. The truth is that the criminals and terrorists are them, not us. We never invaded their territory, nor subjected their people to the indignity of slavery; nor tried to destroy their culture, or kill their youth in dirty wars. We never used their women and all their people as guinea pigs for experiments. We never contaminated their environment, nor created a state of dependency or a sense that without us they could do nothing, nor deprived their people of all sense of self-respect. We do not control their immigration, their free commerce, their communications; we do not formulate repressive policies nor attempt to steal their natural resources or liquidate them as a people, creating divisions in the very bosom of the North American family. Still less have we introduced extremely corrupt norms into their way of life, nor the moral degeneration which corrodes our society. We have never introduced rampant crime and drugs into their country. The only truth is they have committed all these crimes against us, not we against them. How can they so distort the truth until they make themselves look like good guys and we, who have done nothing but defend ourselves against their aggressions and defend our legitimate rights, are presented as the bad guys? It is the classic story of the thief who escapes, and who, to cover his escape, cries, "There goes the thief!". They are the criminals! They are the terrorists!

Why have we opted to resort to clandestinity and continue our just struggle from this position? The primary reason is that all those who struggle for social justice and independence have been brutally repressed. The mere defense of our most legitimate interests is used by the colonial powers to repress us, to open files and lists of subversives, subject us to state terrorism and the fabrication of cases designed to put us in jail. Our people, today more than ever, suffer inhuman conditions: drugs, alcoholism, criminality and corruption drown us in spiritual misery and moral decadence; our ecological



balance is being destroyed and our environment poisoned; once again the shadow of death looms over us as a consequence of the threat of yet another war that will devour our youth; the gave economic situation crisis reduces the reach of our salaries and we hardly manage to pay our debts and survive.

On top of it all, the government of the United States, with the ex-director of the CIA and now President of the United States at its head, Mr. George Bush, tries to impose on our people his hegemonic policy and to continue his control and dominion over our people and soil. For these purposes, and in order to counteract the effect of the revolutionary struggle developed by Los Macheteros and other patriotic organizations in the country, they have invented strategies that divide our people even more and which, in the end, constitute a sophisticated farce which is all the more shameful for its sophistication. This is the disgraceful plebiscite. Its great lie is clearly evidenced in the attempt to fool our people and the international community by conducting a plebiscite designed by them in clear violation of international law. We are in favor of a plebiscite. But it must be a plebiscite with a transfer of powers. We will struggle for this transfer of powers. Otherwise, the plebiscite is completely unacceptable as one which is not conducted in freedom and with a totally dependent people. How can they hope to convince anyone that this plebiscite is valid when 65% of our population receives foodstamps, when our education is subjected to their interests; when the means of communication are controlled by them and when mental dependency due to the effects of colonialism is so overwhelming?

The Yankee policy is a dirty, fraudulent policy. It is a policy of war. Using their extraordinarily effective mechanisms of propaganda, they are able to distort the truth and try to make the people believe that white is black and black is white. This has been the daily bread of the people of our nation for 92 years, with the result

that they have managed to artificially divide Puerto Ricans, counting on the collaboration of their house servants who have taken care of their interests and are eager to render them services even when indignity, opportunism and lack of self-respect is the price. Those back-porch collaborators, those Judases which do everything possible to guarantee that our people feel inferior to those who oppress us, those who for a few pieces of silver sell their conscience and become shameful pawns in the service of perfidious, racist and expoliting masters, will one day have to pay the price of their betrayal. Because they are conscious of what they do. They know, in the most profound recesses of their consciences, that they are serving the Yankees for a price. And that price is a few crumbs that are shared among those who function as intermediaries in order to permit the government of the United States to wield economic and political control over our country. Even when it means frustrating our independent economic development, the ruin of our farmers, the perennial state of dependency that we suffer, the enormous emotional problems and the lack of self esteem from which we suffer as a people, our inability to control anything that has to do with guaranteeing our security and development according to our own efforts and keeping us from freely taking in our hands the reins of our destiny.

The government of the United States has done everything possible to prevent us from making contact with our people; it has organized campaigns against us, using unscrupulous people who lend themselves to the sad labor of executing, consciously or unconsciously, the same kind of operations that characterized COINTELPRO and which emanate from the offices of the FBI.

We are certain that the government of the United States and its sinister FBI will repress and harass family members and loved ones of those companeros. They will also begin a witch hunt against all those independentistas who have supported us during the last years. In response to this, we ask our people to have no fear. They are not superior to us. Don't respond to their questions. Close the door on them and do not allow yourselves to be intimidated. They have no right over us, and we must make this clearly known. To our family members, we say that we know they will suffer. But we ask that they understand that the suffering of all Puerto Ricans who suffer as a result of this system so full of injustices obliges us to respond for the benefit of the larger Puerto Rican family. We look towards the future with optimism. We have no doubt that we will triumph. Truth and reason are ours.

Lares, Puerto Rico
September 23, 1990

**LONG LIVE LOS MACHETEROS!
LONG LIVE FREE PUERTO RICO!
UNTIL VICTORY, ALWAYS!**

Ejercito Popular Boricua

Actions...

These short notes are all taken from the capitalist media due to the fact that we haven't seen any mention of them in the radical/revolutionary press (that we've seen, that is). We ask comrades to send along info when such actions do occur.

Greece

Two anti-tank missiles were fired at the European Community's offices in Athens, Greece on December 16th. It is unclear if there was an armed group that took responsibility for the action or if it was an accident of some sort.

Italy

A bomb that went off in an U.S. military club in Vatican City was directed at the nearby Vatican Radio.

The bombing on December 25th that damaged the U.S. military club, the Vatican Radio headquarters and a music hall was claimed by anarchists in a phone call to the Italian news agency ANSA. "We celebrated the Holy Christmas in our own way, dynamiting Vatican Radio, an organization which pushes ideological drugs."

U.S.A.

On November 12th two vehicles and a building at McChord Air Force Base in Tacoma, Washington were firebombed. Shortly afterwards 6 people were arrested, one of whom was military personnel, and charged with the action. At this time it is unclear if the action is politically motivated but it is interesting to note that the base is a staging area for U.S. troops being sent to the Middle East. This action received negligible coverage in the capitalist media.

Life Begins Where The State Ends continued...

the ex-GDR whose social and economic conditions are deteriorating rapidly. They are supposed to understand quickly that any serious protest and resistance has to remain within the limits the system sets, otherwise they will be brutally punished. In short, the message is: any resistance against the new order and regime is fruitless.

- The escalation of force by the police also sets new standards for future militant and social movements to be aware of. The FRG government is clearly afraid that the potential for social unrest during the coming transition period is growing. Therefore they want to destroy the existing basis and the structures of the militant left before-hand and split the left in general along the lines of "violence" versus "non-violent protest".

- On a European scale, the FRG government and police forces are following the guidelines set by the TREVI-commission. TREVI stands for "terrorism, radicalism, extremism, violence, international" and functions as the West European counter-insurgency planning committee. According to the TREVI-commission guidelines, all squats in Western Europe are to be evicted by 1992.

Any examples of self-determination and alternatives are being perceived as a threat to the New Greater Germany; the internal opposition has to be pacified or extinguished, especially in the designated capital. As one squatter said after the eviction: "It is not a coincidence that the state chose Berlin and this particular time to show its full force. In the Mainzerstrasse we attempted to create different living conditions with as much self-determination and solidarity as possible against the growing racism, neo-fascism and police-state measures. The state forces became clearly afraid of us because here people from different movements and ordinary citizens lived and talked with each other, and we were developing a new reality as an example for others as well. We always knew that ultimately we would not be able to win a military confrontation with the state forces, and we were trying to negotiate a political solution for months before the eviction. But it was also known that we would not give up our houses that easily or quietly. And the last 48 hours have also been an incredible experience in solidarity and struggling together."

(from a comrade in West-Berlin 19/11/90)



Subscriptions for this bulletin are \$10.00 for 10 issues. We will also be publishing a magazine that will expand upon what we cover in the bulletin. At this moment we have no subscription rate for it but we hope to publish it at least twice a year. The bulletin will come out at least 10 times a year on a near monthly basis. We are also in the process of setting up a small mailorder literature service. Please send \$1 for the mailorder list. We accept cash (conceal it well) or money orders but no cheques. If sending a money order please do not put 'Arm The Spirit' just leave it blank. We look forward to hearing from you.

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

Devrimci Sol Communique continued...

lar Party) to prevent the revolutionary struggle from developing.

To cast a shadow on the Liberation War of the Palestinian people he hatched plots to close the representative administration of the PLO in Turkey.

He was one of those who planned the hunting and destruction of the revolutionary and patriotic organizations and taking from the people their democratic, political and economic rights.

There are so many offenses that they cannot be counted.

The fact that HIRAM ABAS was a people's enemy was not to be hidden.

Because of his offences against the revolutionaries and the people he didn't earn death once, but thousands of times.

With the execution of HIRAM ABAS our organization has shown that the people's justice will be carried



through, no matter what position he was kept in.

In spite of his numerous actions against the people HIRAM ABAS was pushed out after the oligarchy didn't need him any longer. This is the common character of the bourgeois and fascist governments. We have lived it hundreds of times, those who weren't needed any longer by the state were pushed out without respecting their present position. The fact that the leader of the coup of September 12th, KENAN EVREN is protected now will not mean that he will be protected forever. None of the people's enemies should forget this fact!

We declare once more: It isn't important whether the enemies of the people are protected by the state or not. They can't escape the People's Justice! The leader of the coup of September 12th will take the same end as HIRAM ABAS.

Those who lead the war against the people today, the government of Ozal and his voluntary helpers will never be forgotten by the revolutionaries and the people.

THE REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE WILL SURELY
BE CARRIED THROUGH!
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE!
LONG LIVE THE DEVRIMCI SOLI
DOWN WITH THOSE WHO DECLARE WAR TO
THE PEOPLE AND OPPRESS THEM!

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT
Militarized Revolutionary Unions

News In Brief...

Greek Anarchist Arrested

On November 8th a Greek anarchist, Kiriakos Mazokopos, was seriously wounded when a bomb exploded causing him to lose his left eye and hand. He was arrested an hour later by security at a hospital where he was receiving treatment. A further police investigation turned up weapons and explosives at a location rented by him. This comrade has been charged by the state with: possession, use and transportation of weapons and explosives as well with a bombing and an execution, as a member of the armed group Revolutionary Solidarity.

During the inquiry process against Mazokopos, he defended social struggles and anarchist tactics:

"I understand that I undertake great responsibility for things and situations which have occurred and perhaps others. For reasons of personal principles it is totally unthinkable for me to have any other stand against this inquiry."

My principles, which have been formed within a social movement which since the fall of the dictatorship (and always in proportion with priorities which authority sets) are standing against authorities' activities."

That movement, which during this period, is the only voice of resistance and protest in Greece against the "new liberalism", against the "new liberal" totalitarianism which wants to predominate all over the world."

This information was received from the Initiative of Anarchist Solidarity (I.A.S.) which is comprised of various anarchist groups and individuals in Athens. They formed the I.A.S. to help build and expand solidarity within Greece and in other countries. They can be contacted at: I.A.S., P.O. Box 30658, Athens 10033, Greece.

GRAPO Militants Captured

In our last issue we reported on the arrest of GRAPO militants in Spain. We erroneously stated that there were 6 guerrillas captured when in fact there was 5. They are Fernando Silva Sande, Maria Jesus Romero Vega, Jesus Cela Seoane, Guillermo Vazquez Bautista and Olga Oliveira Alonso. They were captured by state security forces in Madrid with a number of weapons and were allegedly planning to kidnap an industrialist. One of the GRAPO members, Jesus Cela Seoane, was released from prison during the course of the ongoing hungerstrike. It is possible that the security forces simply followed him until he made contact with other GRAPO militants. All were tortured and held for many days without seeing lawyers etc. by the police and face extensive charges for their activities in the armed clandestine struggle. During the course of the police action they had been hoping to catch another GRAPO militant but he managed to evade capture.



Arm The Spirit is an information collective focusing on militant and revolutionary struggles. Our perspective is autonomous but we see a need to discuss and analyse all forms of left resistance in order to contribute to a revolutionary process. We welcome and encourage others to join us in our work.

La Lucha Continual