

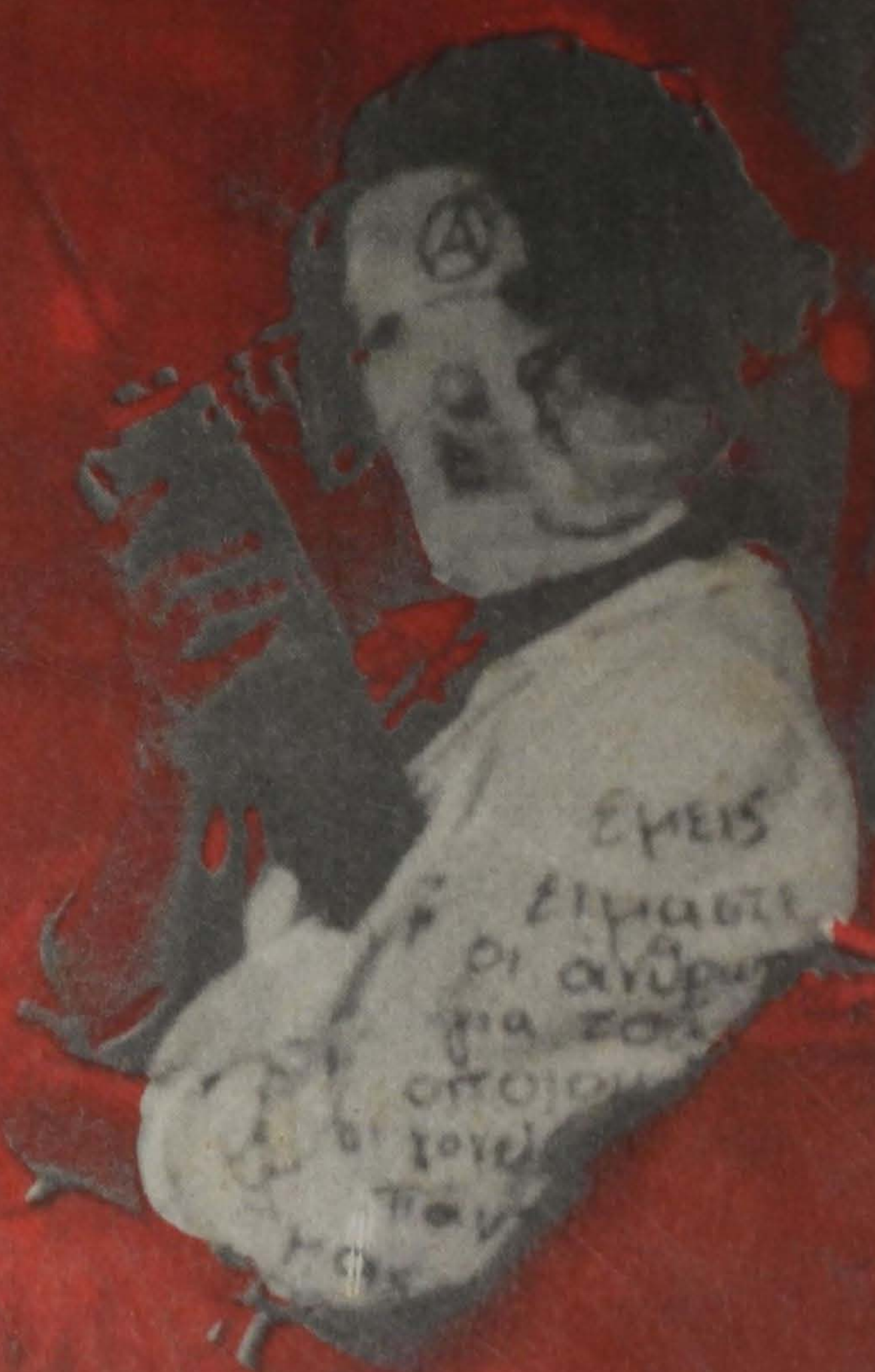
**MAYDAY POSTER INSIDE**

**BIG MOUNTAIN DIRECT ACTION APPEALS**

# OpenRoad

Issue Nineteen Summer 1986 \$1.50

## Anarchist Murdered in Greece



**B.C. Land Claims**

**SPECIAL HOUSING INSERT INSIDE!**

# War Project Under Attack

WACKERSDORF—On December 11th, 1985, the clearing for the first German nuclear reprocessing plant (WAA) started here in Oberfalz, Bavaria. It is intended for completion in 1995, at the same time that the allied imposed treaty prohibiting this country from the production, possession, or use of atomic weapons runs out. With its weapons-grade plutonium produc-

tion capability, at that time Germany will be able juridically and technically to be an atomic power and to fulfill its assigned role as a NATO great power. But this war project will not be constructed without opposition.

After the local resistance and the environmental organizations had exhausted all the legal possibilities, direct action was taken to stop the construction. On

December 14th, a huge demonstration took place at the site, leading to its occupation by several thousand activists, many from other areas of the country. With this occupation the resistance against the reprocessing plant reached a new quality and left the legal path.

On December 18th the protest village was cleared by 4-5,000 police, who arrested 1,000 occu-

piers and spread their terror throughout the region. This resulted in an increased will to resist, and, after numerous at- tally repulsed attempts, the site was again occupied on December 20th.

Aside from this brief interruption, the site of the nuclear reprocessing plant was occupied until January 7th and during this time over 70 houses were built from the trees that had been cleared, the numbers of occupiers rose, and most importantly, support from the people of the region increased considerably, although these people had at first been sceptical of the black-dressed autonomists and punks.

Despite very cold temperatures, the site was occupied day and night until the site was again cleared by more than 4,000 cops (special police groups and paramilitary border troops equipped with dogs, helicopters, submachineguns, etc.) and 800 people were arrested on the 7th. Nevertheless, the occupation was a success because:

- the Bavarian Home Secretary has always said that an illegal action, such as the occupation of a house or a site is not tolerated "in our honest country" for more

than 24 hours,

- the resistance itself, and the people of the region were increasingly radicalized. The arrests only reduced the fear of imprisonment and almighty state power,

- radical groups were accepted by the once conservative Bavarian people.

Although the opposition to the reprocessing plant comes from a wide spectrum (Greens, alternatives, church groups, pacifists, anti-nuclear activists and anarchists), a common form of direct action was found, and the autonomist hope that radicalization of the movement would reach the level such as at Gorleben was realized.

The reprocessing plant was originally intended to be built at Gorleben, but the resistance there was so radical and militant (including over 60 attacks in 1984 on construction and operating companies with several million Deutsche Marks of damages) that the state and capital chose to build the plant in the 'good' and conservative Oberfalz in Bavaria. But Gorleben too was originally 'good' and conservative, and is now an insurgent region.

(Echomedia Berlin)

LOGO FROM BERKMAN'S BLAST (1916-17)



## Court Spectators Jailed

WEST BERLIN—Roger Szatkowski, a French national who was arrested on September 30, 1985 during a riot in Berlin-Kreuzburg protesting the police murder of Gunther Sare in Frankfurt, was sentenced to a two-year prison term. He had been charged with the violent breach of public peace and property damage.

His trial was heard December 19th by a judge well known from other trials against Berlin squatters. 60 people wanted to attend the trial but the judge refused to move to a courtroom larger than the 24-person courtroom where it

was held. Supporters who came in were hauled out again and on the whole treated like rubbish. They were provoked not only by the courtroom cops but also by the police witnesses. After one person who wanted to attend the trial was beaten in the face, a tumult began which alarmed the pigs. Soon 150 cops arrived, throwing the courtroom spectators out, beating them with sticks and then kicking and tossing down stairs. Many people were injured.

The police followed them out of the courtroom to an underground station where 19 people

were very brutally arrested, with one woman being kicked in the stomach. The cops transported those arrested to the police station and put them into solitary cells, and, in addition, chained many of the women. The prisoners were given a very brutal I.D. procedure.

So the case was heard without the public in attendance. That was an important interest of the state security, who managed the case. The whole proceeding was a farce, with the judge intent on conducting a repressive trial. Roger was not permitted to choose his own lawyer, and his interpreter was not able to keep up with the fast speaking judge and prosecutor. At last the state was the winner and Roger received a two-year sentence for throwing a coke-can on a police car.

But this case wasn't intended only for Roger—it was meant for all the people in resistance in Berlin, and elsewhere.

(Echomedia Berlin)

## NATO RUNWAY RESISTED BY FRANKFURT MILITANTS

Frankfurt—Heavy fighting at the Startbahn (NATO runway) at Frankfurt airport led to superficial injuries to three cops and more serious injuries to several demonstrators. On the evening of November 11th, 1985 about 800 people went to the fortification of the Startbahn where militants attacked a concrete wall with molotov cocktails and set a gangway up in flames. The cause of this furious action was the fourth anniversary of the brutal clearing and destruction of the village set up to resist the construction of the runway.

At the same time in the city of Frankfurt a demonstration of 1,200 people march peacefully to remember the brutal police attack of four years ago. The leader of that police action is currently on trial. Following the destruction of the 'resistance village' the cops had gone on a rampage in the centre of Frankfurt, beating several people viciously. This year the cops arrested 15 people for I.D. violations, and a dustbin and tramline cabin went up in flames. The mayor of Frankfurt had banned this demonstration because he expected riot actions.

The next day less than 1,000 people demonstrated against the permanent ban on demonstra-

tions since the death of Gunther Sare. The organisers (Greens, Communists, Grey Panthers, etc.) were disappointed on account of the low turnout.

(Echomedia Berlin)

## Police Powers Widened

Ottawa-Canada moved closer to becoming a police state on Friday, March 28th when the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in an 8 to 1 decision that police are now allowed to enter private dwellings without an arrest warrant, even if there is no immediate threat to life involved. This ruling means that Canadian police have wider and more sweeping arrest powers than in either the U.S. or in Britain.

In a passionate solitary dissent, Justice La Forest warned that widened police arrest powers will now be 'uncontrollable' and probably used mostly against the poor and politically weak. The majority decision gives 'the police an almost unfettered discretion to break into a home day or night whenever they suspect

turn to Police Powers pg. 2

## POLITICAL PRISONER JUDY CLARK IN SEGREGATION

New York-Jailed activist Judy Clark has been sentenced to two years in isolation at Bedford Hills Prison. This is her third stay in isolation since her arrest in 1981 in connection with a Black Liberation Army led attempt to expropriate about \$1 million from a Brinks truck. She was held in segregation for two years awaiting trial and after sentencing upon arrival at Bedford until she successfully fought to be allowed in general population.

On September 4 1985 she was charged with conspiring to escape. In spite of the investigation revealing no illegal or suspicious activity on her part she was found guilty and sentenced to two years in isolation. Here she is locked in a cell 23 hours a day

with no access to facilities or work programs. The length of the sentence is unprecedented at Bedford where women who have actually escaped and later been found or who have been detected while attempting to escape have received six months to a year segregation time.

More than a third of her sister prisoners have written letters protesting the situation. A campaign has begun to demand her release back into general population.

Judy Clark may be written to at:  
Judy Clark  
#83-G-313  
Bedford Hills Correctional Facility  
247 Harris Road  
Bedford Hills, NY 10507



GERMAN POLITICAL POLICE SPY ON DEMONSTRATORS

Ann and Brent to Serve Complete Term

# SENTENCE APPEAL REJECTED

"She is a political thug; committed to civil disobedience."  
—Prosecutor Hill

BACK ON THE COURTROOM AGAIN. YOU can picture the scene, I'm sure. On the one side, the lawyers defending the two jailed activists arguing for feminist ecological principles and people's justice, and on the other side, the two prosecutors upholding the government, law and societal justice. And seated on the elevated throne of judgement, three drones working for the bosses protecting the clones yet all arrogant enough to suppose that their political and moral cushions are the lawful ones, the only ones...the right ones. And yes, they certainly are...right-wing, that is!

The two main characters of this drama are the ones that aren't even actively participating in it because, of course, they're doing their time. The real-life drama behind bars that has nothing to do with actors but everything to do with being silenced and powerless. Two members of **Direct Action**, a guerilla group based in Canada responsible for the only major attacks against state-sanctioned power since the FLQ, were represented in Vancouver court on Feb. 17, 1986 for an appeal of the lengthy sentences they received in the summer of '84.

Ann Hansen is serving a life sentence for conspiracy to rob a Brinks' armoured truck, eco-sabotage of a B.C. Hydro substation, bombing of a Litton cruise missile components factory, participation in the **Wimmings Fire Brigade** arson of a video porn outlet, and several related minor charges. Brent Taylor was given a 22 year term in B.C. for the Brinks' conspiracy, and a run of minor theft and B & E charges. (He later received 9 years for the Litton action, to be served concurrently with the 22.

The reality of waging war with the system is that if they snatch you up, you are forced to spend your time dealing with these very institutions that you gave away your freedom in order to oppose. Yet there is a necessity to try the legal avenues, not because you believe in them but to do a little gambling on the one-armed bandit slot machines. Sometimes you beat them at their own game and at least you have the satisfaction of exposing more of the guts of their hypocrisy. So, after going through a lengthy jury trial and then convictions, and then guilty pleas and sentences, Hansen and Taylor were left with only one last resort for decreasing the length of their sentences which was to literally 'appeal' to the same justice system that meted them out in the first place. This sentence appeal was not before their peers or even the public, but rather three judges who have done this every day until they are numbed to any outside reality. The same three who heard Julie Belmas' pitiful kiss-ass of an appeal. We can predict the outcome of their appeal and it will not surprize or shock us.

Clayton Ruby, a Toronto lawyer known and respected for his sharp legal perceptions and community cases, was representing Hansen and Taylor at the appeals, having previously acted for Taylor on the Litton charges. The crux of his arguments was that a sentence

allegations of 'leadership roles' for Hansen and Taylor. Ruby argued that with concrete evidence, such as on the wiretap tapes, of Direct Action operating as an anti-hierarchical, anti-authoritarian collective of activists, it was ludicrous to attempt to paint a picture of

Prosecutor Hill made an attempt to impress with his brilliant count of the number of times each perjorative word in the "language of treason" was used in their political statement...i.e., "militancy—26 times"... "guerrilla...18 times"... "revolution...resistance...attack..." etc.! Dully unimpressed, it was more like a joke to have our politics analysed by the politically and historically uneducated! They continued on with much replay of the most condemning extrapolations that could be isolated from Ann's and Brent's previous writings and trial sentencing statements. It was much more of an evangelical diatribe on the criminality of leftist values than it was a legal, factual look at the charges themselves.

"We play into the hand of the guerrilla if we lessen the sentences...we do an injustice to society in general."  
—Hill

And at the winding down of the charade, the defense is allowed a brief last-ditch response. Again, Ruby insisted that this was not the place, nor the job of the court, to debate political positions. He continued that the defendants should not be crushed with brutal sentences because they adhere to a set of values "which everyone in their right mind would also adhere to." With a very impassioned plea, he insisted that Hansen's and Taylor's motives were good and their beliefs were humanist and spiritual. Leniency, compassion, and fairness were the fitting response needed now, he concluded.

It is doubtful if the plea of leniency fell on anything other than deaf ears, before a panel of judges from whom you hear: "...it is all people from an intellectual background, middle and upper classes, who are concerned about these things (ecology, pornography, nuclear war, etc.), not from the working class...for example, the Baader-Meinhof gang and the Red Brigades...they tried to say they were led to do such actions from frustrations, which is merely justifying nihilism..." (Judge Nemetz).

At any rate, the quote definitely shows a curious progression of connections and attitudes! The judges have reserved decision on the appeal to allow them time to consider the presentations. The Free the Five Defense Group can be sent correspondence, information or donations at: P.O.B. 48296, Bentall Station, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V7X 1A1.

**UPDATE**—In a B.C. Court of Appeal decision on March 18th, both Ann Hansen's and Brent Taylor's lengthy prison sentences were upheld, while Julie Belmas, who renounced guerrilla politics and turned on her former comrades, was rewarded with a five-year reduction of her 20 year prison term.

Along with Ann and Brent's refusal to denounce armed politics, the myth of their roles as 'leaders' of the clandestine group Direct Action was a major factor in the court's decision.



POLITICAL PRISONER ANN HANSEN AT KINGSTON PENITENTIARY

reduction was warranted on the grounds that the two had virtually been crucified as 'political' (read 'terrorist' in the state's eyes). This was out of the bounds of universal sentencing principles which demand that the sentence be given based on the charge itself and be comparable. Yet the harsh prison terms received were way out of line even with those given for similar offences or to repeat offenders and murderers. A second defense presentation was to contradict the Crown's

'leaders' issuing orders to 'soldiers', and rather that it was more a situation of different abilities.

In essence, what we've seen was a successful set-up, by the police and the Crown, in creating a climate of fear surrounding particularly Ann and Brent which the trial judge, S.M. Toy, fell for, punishing them for their values and 'Leadership'. At the appeal, the Crown continued in their branding of them as treasonous heretics.

## Passports Now Machine Readable

OTTAWA—In a move which was intended to make it harder for 'terrorists' or criminals to use lost, stolen or forged passports, but which will make it much easier for the state to control its own citizens, all passports now issued by the Canadian Department of External Affairs are machine readable and passports issued earlier will be replaced with the new ones when they are renewed. The passports have been redesigned to meet a standard developed by the International Civil Aviation Organization.

Canada is one of the few countries that has switched to full production of the machine readable passports. The U.S. adopted the ICAO standard in September 1981 and according to a spokesman for U.S. Customs at Chicago "Most passports that have been issued by the Department of State to U.S. citizens are now machine-readable". Australia, Britain and Singapore have also adopted the ICAO standards and plan to introduce automated passports.

This leads Ronald Sutherland, director-general of External Affairs to optimistically forecast that automated passports could be in worldwide use within the next decade. Because the system is based on a single international standard, it could lead to one vast immigration data base.

Sutherland says that the new passport has been improved in several ways, but its most important feature is the data on the bottom of the first page, which encodes key information about the bearer and allows the passport to be scanned automatically. This information could be altered by officials at border crossings to indicate where and when the passport was presented, thus allowing the state to keep tabs on visitors and to monitor the travel of its own citizens. This information could make travel difficult for activists, for countries may refuse admittance to travelers which have been branded as 'subversives' by their respective intelligence services.

A Canadian company, Advanced Technologies Corp. of Ottawa, is at the forefront of developing the

scanning devices known as special verification readers. It is one of the few companies in the world that has developed the machines and sold them to national authorities in several countries for testing. Although in Canada 30 readers were sold to External Affairs, none have yet been installed for bureaucratic and financial reasons. Another reason is the lack of an automated system at Customs inspection lines, but the Immigration Department and R.C.M.P. are now working at developing such a system. Although a Customs spokesman said the 1984 decision to proceed with the new passports was 'controversial' he said the automated readers will likely be installed and tested in the long term.

[Globe and Mail]

cont. from page 1

## POLICE POWERS

an indictable offence has been committed and that the perpetrator is there' the judge writes. La Forest says judges have no way of checking police abuse of this power because of the vague standards involved. Police might even distort the seriousness of alleged crimes after forcing entry into private homes, he warned. The U.S. Supreme Court recently struck down as unconstitutional similar warrantless arrests, and British law restricts arrests without warrants to specific crimes.

[Vancouver Sun]

The following article deals to a large degree with a controversial dispute between the Hamburg militant autonomists, anti-imperialists and anarchists, and some of the more liberal leftist elements such as the Greens. As with so many internal-Left disputes, there are many sides to the story.

We have included the following view, from the Berlin Echomedia paper Resistance, because we find that their politics are close to ours. If you, our readers, can throw more light on this story, please let us know.

HAMBURG—Despite a lengthy police operation to divide the left-wing support in this city for six squatted houses in the district of St. Pauli, street pressure stayed the evacuation of the 'Hafenstrasse' (Harbourstreet) houses which had been planned for December 5th, 1985.

Following a large demonstration on December 4th of 1,000 autonomists, anarchists, anti-imperialists and militants, and their preparation the next day to militantly defend the radical houses, the state backed down from its original intent.

The radical houses of Hafenstrasse have been a thorn in the side of the social democratic government (Senate) of Hamburg for some time. The squatters have been and still are deeply engaged in political and cultural activity. As the Senate, the security agency, and police have continuously harassed this 'refuge of criminals' the squatters were compelled to guard themselves juridically with leases.

During the last hungerstrike of the political prisoners (December '84 to February '85) and after the death of Gunther Sare in Frankfurt, a series of riots enlivened Hamburg, and a police station was burned to the ground. All these actions, according to police, stemmed from the Hafenstrasse, so they started a large-scale press campaign to politically legitimize the 'final solution' of the Hafenstrasse problem, and to browbeat the squatters. "One has to reckon with dead persons at the evacuation" warned the cops. This was followed by numerous attacks on the houses, an incendiary attack, assaults by skin-heads, police, and others.

But the state didn't succeed with these methods to smash the solidarity between the autonomists and anti-imperialists of the Hafenstrasse and the rest of the left-wing scene in Hamburg. A broad movement, reaching deeply into the left-wing liberal spectrum (Greens, alternatives, unions, etc.) always stood in front of the houses. Their relationship with their neighbours of St. Pauli were also very good, because these people (workers, unemployed, foreign workers, etc.) saw that the (former) squatters were good partners in the common fight against the terror of the police and sanitation companies. Yet with the neo-nazis on one hand, and the press on the other, holding the Hafenstrasse as a great troublemaker in the headlines of the papers, the officials were given enough time to prepare the 'final strike'.

The social welfare centre, responsible for the rent payments for welfare recipients, quietly stopped paying rent for some of the people of the Hafenstrasse. This money is always directly remitted to the landlord, in this case a housing construction company called SAGA. Neither the welfare centre nor SAGA informed the persons concerned that the rent wasn't being paid, so this measure must be seen as a step by the responsible politicians to create a pseudo-judicial reason for the evacuation and the disruption of the group of people living in the houses.

The greatest obstacle to the success of this plan were the liberals, so, in October, the security agency attempted a cunning manoeuvre to split up the broad supporting movement. Lochte, the chief of the security police in Hamburg, gave an interview to the alternative paper *tageszeitung* (taz) in which he was able to spread unhindered his lies. He spoke about three women, living in the Hafenstrasse, who supposedly were members of the Red Army Fraction, who abused the naive and prepared the others for the terroristic politics of the RAF, etc. etc. The old story: leaders and sheep. But the attempt to split the group of the Hafenstrasse was

# "Solidarity with Hafenstrasse"

only a side issue. Lochte's main intent was to spread the headline 'RAF in the Hafenstrasse' in the taz, thus carrying the split into the lines of the left-wing spectrum. This trick must be seen in the context of public discussion about the RAF and their recent activities, in which some 'innocent' persons (ordinary U.S. soldiers) were killed. The public sentiment of witch-hunting again was created and caught the Greens, the alternatives, the left-wing liberals, and everyone who is inside the system; accepting the witch-hunt on a gut level, because of their opposition to armed struggle in their mind; so they can all live easily with the violence of the state, but retire terrified in their snail's shell of the dogmatic ideology of non-violence, if someone else resorts to even a stone.

The interview with Lochte in the taz is a part of this strategy, with which he wants to enforce two essential interests of state security: on the one hand to maintain dialogue with the left-wing liberals under the motto of 'the protection of the constitution for the sake of all democrats' and to create on the other an area without justice, tolerated by these leftist liberals, for all the people who can't be included into the existing structures of power.

The taz, the only leftist daily paper in West

movements, except on the Letters to the editor page. Non-parliamentary groups were ridiculed, denounced and concealed, and all reports are composed of messages from the news agencies. No more committed journalism. Many people, from different movements (women's, anti-nuclear, anarchist, squatters) still are angry if you mention the taz. Mass cancellation of subscriptions, counter-statements, angry letters, the occupation of the offices, were some of the counter-measures taken against the changed reporting of the paper. But nothing changed; the news reports didn't become more fair. So the left has to live with (and is dependent upon) a paper about which Lochte, in the interview described above, said: "If the taz didn't exist, we (state security) would have to establish it." He compares this with the practice of the CIA, for example, to infiltrate into insurgent regions the leftist papers or to found new ones if none exists, in order to split up the resistance and to create fights within it.

Lochte puts into practice this strategy. After his interview, two reporters proudly handed Lochte a copy of the taz with the autographs of the entire editorial staff. Less generous was the treatment accorded to the people of the Hafenstrasse. An interview was

themselves, they made a mistake, as Lochte had planned and expected. About 40 people destroyed the production equipment of the Hamburg taz. Their financial crisis (the result of green opportunism) and now this attack (at first some said the damage was 200,000DM, afterwards 30,000DM damage was claimed) seemed to be the end of the taz. But the wide solidarity of liberals, greens, pacifists, church groups and others broke their silence and financially rescued the paper temporarily. And the fascistic attack on the taz saved it morally. Lochte was grinning.

The state waited to let the fronts harden, and then proceeded to reap the fruit it had been sowing. At the end of November a secret meeting of police, the Home Secretary and SAGA decided to vacate the former squatted houses, officially because some of the tenants didn't pay rent. The Hafenstrasse residents became aware of this before however, and mobilized for December 4th, the day before the planned eviction, in order to prevent this police action. The taz reported this only on December 4th, although support was needed in Hamburg on this day and the mobilization had been organized five days earlier.

The demonstration on the 4th of 1,000 autonomists, anarchists, anti-imperialists and other militants from all over West Germany signalled that the eviction would not be possible even without the presence of the leftist liberals.

On the next day these 1,000 people were well prepared (helmets, stones, molotov cocktails, catapults, etc.) to militantly defend the houses against the 600 police being gathered in St. Pauli. For a long time the police and politicians responsible for the action didn't dare to proceed with their plans and it seemed a complete triumph for militant politics over the state and reformism. But in the afternoon a law court issued a temporary prohibition of the eviction, and faced with this decree, the Senate renounced the eviction. The media, including the taz, emphasized this juridical decision while indignantly reporting that the Hafenstrasse remained occupied. But the court made this decision only because it was obvious that the



ARROW MARKS BODY OF GUNTHER SARE, KILLED BY POLICE DURING ANTI-FASCIST PROTEST

Germany today, started with the alternative movement at the end of the '70's as a forum for all discussions between leftists. For a long time it was really open for all trends of the movement. It reached its highest circulation during the fights in Berlin to support the squatted houses ('80-'81). At this time the paper was economically successful, because it did not side with this or that trend of the movement. But just as the squatters were defeated and with them the dream of a free and self-determined (autonomous) society, in the taz, those people who represented the politics of the green parliamentary way prevailed. Today the taz is essentially the central organ of the Green Party and is written by professional journalists. No longer is there a place for the more radical groups or

to take place under the headline 'Solidarity with Hafenstrasse' and a preceding conference with the squatters was agreed upon, but which never took place although the squatters were eager to assist in the writing of the article. The full interview text, some 40 pages, vanished, and only a shortened text with comments from the two reporters appeared in the taz. And this abridged version expressed exactly Lochte's objective. This behaviour and the contents of the published text caused a furious reaction from the autonomists and the anti-imperialists, but the uncritical silence of the left-wing liberals seemed to imply that Lochte's strategy was working.

At this stage, when the people of the Hafenstrasse were forced to defend them-

forced eviction of the houses would cause a violent riot in Hamburg. So nevertheless it was the 'pressure of the street' that was the decisive reason for the abandonment of the eviction.

Another result of these events in Hamburg is the insight by the radical and anti-parliamentary spectrum that they have, independent of left-wing liberals, with whom it is necessary to cooperate in many cases, to create their own structures to improve communications between the various groups and to reach a clearer understanding of the social situation and the forms of resistance and strategies to use. It became evident that a better form of organization than the present lax and dissolute one was needed by the autonomist, anarchist, and all the anti-parlia-

Interview with Big Mountain Activist

# Fighting for Survival

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OLYMPIA, Washington, Big Mountain Support Group were in Vancouver for a week in January to raise awareness about the forced relocation of over 14,000 Hopi and Navajo people from Big Mountain and the Joint Use Area (JUA). The Hopi and Navajo have shared the land in what is now called the JUA for hundreds of years without conflict.

In 1909, coal was discovered in the JUA. In addition, the land was found to be endowed with tremendous reserves of untapped oil, natural gas and ground water resources, as well as 'unknown' uranium potential.

And this is where the problems all began.

In 1921, when Standard Oil found oil on the Navajo Reservation, they went to the matrilineal traditional leadership, who voted 75 to 0 against any kind of exploration or exploitation of the natural resources. Undeterred, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) went out and found five Navajo men who were willing to sign the leases. The Federal Government then said that they would only recognize these five men as the tribal leadership. The same system was developed for the Hopi, and, in fact, was so successful that it was the model for the far reaching Indian Reorganizing Act of 1934.

In 1933, several multinational corporations interested in the natural resources on the 1882 Executive Order Reservation (subsequently called the JUA) petitioned the Federal Government to define who owned the rights to these resources. The Government replied that "It would appear that both tribes owned the mineral rights to the area." It became obvious that if any exploitation of the resources was to happen, the land would have to be divided between the two tribes, giving the corporations easier access. At this point, the two attorneys who represented the government appointed tribal councils (and who were at the same time directly connected with the multinationals) became involved.

Through a series of manoeuvres they convinced the two tribal councils to sue each other over the rights to the land. They also convinced the councils to sign away future mineral rights and use the revenues to pay for this legal action, thus guaranteeing the multinationals the right to go in. It finally went to court in 1960, and, as a result, gave the Hopi exclusive rights over the Hopi Reservation. The Hopi and Navajo had undivided mineral rights and interests to remainder of the JUA.

We talked to Marilyn James, a Colville tribal member from the Okanogan and Cheesaw bands about the history of the struggle and the ongoing resistance.

**We have been led to believe that there is an ongoing dispute between the Navajo and the Hopi people. How true is this?**

**Marilyn:** The dispute is between the Progressives (Government appointed Tribal Council) and the Traditionals. The myth involved here is that there is a dispute between the Indians when in fact the U.S. government only recognizes the progressive factions of both tribes. Less than 15% of the people vote for the tribal leadership because they do not believe in that form of government and don't recognize it.

**In 1971, there was a renewed push for a 50-50% surface partition of the JUA. How did they go about doing this?**

The bureau of Indian affairs, their attorneys and the Federal Government hired Evans and Associates, a P.R. firm from Salt Lake City, Utah, to stage a 'range war' between the Hopi and Navajo and brought in the press. They hammed it up about how the Indians were fighting amongst themselves. One of their famous divide and conquer tactics. The U.S. Government thought that they had better pass a law to "Save the Indians from themselves." They called this the 1974 Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act (PL 93-531). The law was never really brought to the people, so it was passed without the majority of the people knowing



what was going on, and without impact studies.

This particular law is based on fraud, it is based on cultural genocide, it is based on the Federal Government's non-recognition of the traditional government. The traditional people have gone to the U.S. Government and have tried to tell them that they do not want this law. They want the law repealed.

**Public Law 93-531 mandated that the land be partitioned and whatever Indians were found to be 'on the wrong side of the fence' to be relocated. What effect does this law have on the people who are expected to relocate?**

The Navajo people live a really isolated existence on the land. They live totally self-sufficiently on their land and have no electricity, no running water, their main meat source is mutton. They are basically shepherds and they need a wide land base to graze their sheep. The rest of the land on the Navajo reserve is pretty well taken up so they have to be relocated to hostile border towns like Flagstaff, Tuba City, or into what I call 'reservation ghettos'. These are big housing projects where people don't have sufficient land or water supplies for sheep and gardens. They have never had a sewage bill, tax payments, rent payments, etc., so when they move into these other situations in society they have to use an economic system that is foreign to them. Out of 3,300 Navajo people relocated, 60% have lost everything.

The banks go in and get lists of these people and give them loans that they can't possible repay. Then they foreclose on their homes and property and move them out. Or, they sell them deeds to totally worthless land that has no water at all. Many of these people go back to the reserve, but since this is illegal they are forced to go underground and live with their families, creating an almost

unbearable burden.

Also under this law they have the Life Estate Program for the elder people. Under this program, the elders can live on the land until they die. But, in effect, the government relocates all their support systems, all their children and grandchildren who help them herd the sheep and help chop wood etc., so these elders are left to do all the work themselves. In effect, the government is saying we'll let you stay here until you die, but we'll put you into an early grave. The law attacks from many, many sides.

**Why was herd reduction included in this law?**

The Hopi progressives said that the Navajo were over-grazing the land, so they cut the herds by 90%. In one woman's case her herd was reduced from 200 to 20. Since mutton is their main food source it's one more way of starving them of the land. In terms of over-grazing, any intelligent person could

## ON THE ROAD:

After all the promises...finally we have published an issue on schedule. But it's no one-shot affair—our next issue is already on the drawing boards and should be printed by mid-summer. An anarcha-feminist issue, with an insert written and produced entirely by women, it will provide a fresh *Open Road* outlook on the world and personal politics.

As for this issue, we hope you like it. We were hoping to include a communique section, but difficulties in acquiring the assistance of translators precluded the realization of this hope.

figure out that from the strip mining that they're doing there, not one acre has ever been successfully reclaimed and no amount of grazing could have caused that kind of devastation.

The crux of the matter is the natural resources which the multinationals want to get their hands on. In 1980, a study was done and for every man, woman and child on the Navajo reserve their total income, including every welfare dollar, independent wage and all natural resource sales, was \$594 million. The Dupont company went in and took natural resources off the land that very same year and off those resources made in excess of \$26 billion. Gulf Oil went in and made in excess of \$30 billion. Peabody Coal (which operates the largest strip mining operation in the world on the Black Mesa) and Mobil Oil would not release their financial statements. So that's the kind of money that's being made.

**What effect is this having on the environment?**

They are destroying this desert plateau area. They have a coal slurry line which runs from the Black Mesa to Nevada which is 286 miles long, and which consumes three million gallons of water a day, a rate which is much greater than the aquifer can replenish itself. The high desert plateau area is a delicate balance of underground water and precipitation, and if the water level drops too low then they are endangering all life.

There are 49 uranium mines on the Navajo reserve. Uranium is only found in water bearing geological layers and they are pumping the water out of the mines and freely into the desert. This water is radioactive. It doesn't just evaporate, it seeps back down into the water tables. So they are contaminating the aquifer, which is one of the major aquifers on this continent. It supplies drinking water and irrigation for crops for the whole south-western region of the U.S., not to mention the pollution from the radioactive gasses and tailings. Many of the elders are watching even the ten per cent of their sheep that are left get sick, go blind, crazy or die. They are afraid to eat the meat because they fear it is contaminated.

**What does the land mean on a spiritual level for the people?**

The Hopi and the Navajo are the two most culturally intact tribes left in the U.S. and the 14,000 people to be relocated represent a large percentage of the traditional people that are left. In Hopi prophesy, they believe that if any of this land is disturbed there will be a great calamity on this earth and they are trying to avoid this. The people believe that the area is one end of the spiritual pole of this planet.

The people understand that Big Mountain is a Holy place, and that it has an essential role in maintaining the forces and energies in North America. Their stories and prophesies tell them they are born of that very place, and they are to protect the earth as their mother. They maintain ceremonies which may only be performed in certain places at certain times. For these reasons they are willing to defend the land with their lives.

**It seems crucial that people become involved.**

The native people are crying out for  
*turn to Relocation pg. 9*

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# Anarchist killed by Police

In our last issue we reprinted a story on the riots in Greece which followed the police-murder of the young anarchist Michalis Kaltezas (photo below). Shortly after the paper was printed, we received the following indepth report on the event from our Greek comrades. In our earlier Blast story, we erroneously stated that Michalis was shot as he threw a molotov-cocktail at a police bus. This we now find out was not the case, and we apologize for this mistake.

ON THE 17th OF NOVEMBER, THE ANNUAL march commemorating the November 1973 insurrection took place in Athens, despite the size of the police opposition, the anarchists who participated in the demo managed to break the windows of the South African Airways office and the restaurant of the luxury Hilton Hotel. After the march special anti-riot police troops chased groups of anarchists to Exarchia Square, which is the traditional anarchist stronghold of Athens. Four police vans that passed through the square were attacked by the people gathered there. Late that night some cops that appeared in the square were chased back to a police van in a nearby street. A petrol bomb was thrown against the van. Just as the group of anarchists was retreating back to the square, a cop, Athanasios Melistas, took out his gun, shot and murdered in cold blood the fifteen year old anarchist, Michalis Kaltezas. It was a quarter to twelve on the 17th of November, on the same day that the military junta, 12 years before, had begun the final suppression of the 1973 insurrection. Michalis Kaltezas was, since May '85, a member of Anarchist Attack Groups which have repeatedly organised Molotov Cocktail attacks against police and burned many police cars. Some 60 enraged anarchists and libertarians, when informed of the murder, squatted the University of Chemistry\*. They organised their defense against the heavy police forces that encircled the building and attempted an unsuccessful attack. Sporadic clashes with molotov cocktails and stones were taking place all night long. At 10:20 in the morning of the 18th of November special military troops (parachutists) using fire escapes, with guns in their hands, and bombarding the squatters with tear and suffocating gasses managed to invade the building from the roof, while the MAT (anti-riot police) and the MEA (plain clothes police gangs) attacked from all sides. The 37 comrades that were arrested were brutally beaten during the invasion as well as during their transportation and detention in the police headquarters. Another group of 20 squatters managed to escape through the sewers of the building.

As the news of the murder became widely known, hundreds of people started gathering in the area between Exarchia Square and the Polytechnic School (which was the center of the 1973 insurrection). Groups of comrades were stopping buses and painting them with slogans such as: "Michalis Kaltezas, 15 years old - Murdered", "Cops, Pigs, Assassins", "Revenge", "This night belongs to Michalis", "The social war has started", "The blood is flowing, demanding revenge" etc. The sprayed buses were ordered by the police to withdraw to the depots because of fear that they would upset the Athenian population. Nevertheless, this plan did not work out, because of the traffic jam caused by the demonstrations in the center of Athens.

Outside the Polytechnic School more and more people were gathering and discussing

the murder and the invasion of the Chemistry School. Many of them as well as passers by were visiting the spot on the pavement where Michalis had been shot. A black flag was hanging from the tree beside.

Meanwhile a demo had been called for 5 o'clock, by the Committee Against State Repression, which was composed by leftist organisations. At 5 o'clock thousands of enraged people stood outside the Polytechnic School. The leftist "committee" announced that they would squat the buildings and called for a discussion. The anarchists protested and shouted that a demo should be made at once. A group of them walked on shouting slogans and after a while a very large and dynamic demonstration had started. The main slogans were: "Cops, Pigs, Assassins", "This night belongs to Michalis", "One bullet for every cop", "Violence against State violence", "Homage to Christos Tsoutsouvis"†, "Neither fascism, nor democracy, down with statism, long live anarchy", "Freedom for the squatters of the Chemical School" etc. The demo broke the windows of almost all the banks that were on it's way and set them on fire with molotov cocktails, while the slogan "That's how we pay homage to Michalis" was shouted. Just before the demonstrators reached the police headquarters they were attacked and dispersed by special anti-riot forces. Most of the demonstrators managed to return to the Polytechnic School. At about 7 o'clock barricades were set up while MAT, MEA, members of fascist parties, and members of the governmental socialist party started their

Note:

† Christos Tsoutsouvis was a member of "Anti-Statist Struggle"; he was murdered in May during an armed confrontation of his group with the police. Three cops were killed. The "Anti-Statist Struggle" had murdered the procecurator of the anarchists, district attorney Theophanopoulos.

attack against the demonstrators. Not only the anarchists and a few leftists participated in these clashes but also hundreds of oppressed youngsters, working people, students and unemployed.

Molotov cocktails, paving stones, wooden stakes and metal poles were used during the clashes while many banks and big stores were destroyed. The Polytechnic School was the base of the rioters, who needed medical care as the wounded were already numerous. When the police and civil forces of repression understood that their repeated attacks could not bring any result since the rioters defended themselves very effectively, they used the fire engines. However, this weapon was no use to them. Many times they managed, under the protection of the fire engines, to reach the outside of the Polytechnic School but the rioters obliged them to retreat. At about 3 o'clock in the morning a general attack was launched with tear and other suffocating gasses (some of which are pro-

attempting unsuccessfully to close the doors. While the general assembly, on Tuesday, was discussing whether or not the squat should go on, the self appointed 'committee' had already agreed with the government to end it. At the same time they managed to panic all the people that had not already been depressed by the caricature that the leftists had already made out of the squat. The anarchists insisted that the squat should go on but it was very hard for them to do it by themselves (many wounded anarchists, few people eager to stay in the squat etc.). We cannot but admit that the anarchists made serious mistakes during the events; unfortunately, we reserved for ourselves only the barricades at the time that our active presence was also needed inside the squat, in order to prevent the leftists from acting as they did. Although we should learn from from our mistakes we should not get depressed since what will live on from these events will not be the treacherous game of the ultra-

**"What will live on from these events will not be the treacherous game of the ultra-left, but the triumph of the barricades."**

hibited by international laws against chemical warfare). At 4 o'clock a group of MEA, fascists and socialists managed to break into the university but were thrown out by the squatters. Until 10 o'clock in the morning the buildings were being stoned by the fascists and the MEA. The squatters resisted despite their heavy losses (about 170 people wounded).

The squat of the Polytechnic was ended because of treacherous manipulations by the leftists. While the clashes with the police forces were taking place in the streets the politicians of the marxist-leninist parties had reserved for themselves a cosy shelter inside the buildings, where they had formed a non-elected "committee of the squat"; this 'committee' was in constant negotiation with the government and tried to end the riots either by calling the rioters into the squat, or by

left but the triumph of the barricades; the thousands of youngsters who replied convincingly to the murder of Michalis, erecting barricades, burning banks and the big stores. Through their acts those rebels paid homage to the memory of Michalis (in the way he would have wanted) and expressed their opinion about the use-value of this prison-like society (to be destroyed in flames).

In many cities of Greece squats, riots and demos took place as well. On following days the 37 comrades that had been arrested from the Chemical School squat, were brought before the examining magistrate. They were charged with heavy accusations. 21 of them were set free after paying 50 000 drachmas each, with the obligation of going to the police station twice a month. 16 squatters are

Turn to Rage pg. 9



Note:

\*The Chemistry School was squatted before (9th-14th of May) after the prohibition of an anarchist demo against state repression. The squat was accompanied by riots and violent clashes with the numerous police forces. Despite the huge state terrorism the squat ent on and it's demands were accepted by the government. The squat was dissolved victoriously when a huge demonstration (5000 people) passed the Chemical School thus providing a safe refuge for the squatters.

# Hammarket 1886 MAY 1986

FISCHER "I WAS TRIED FOR MURDER



AND I WAS CONVICTED OF ANARCHY"

# LIBERTY OR DEATH!

# Resistance Housing

## Stay Put And Fight

This special insert is meant to be a general introduction to the topic of resistance housing in urban North America. It can't cover all the technical, legal questions that need to be answered by individuals or groups who want to practice resistance housing, because they vary from Canada to the USA, province to state. The insert is meant only to scratch the surface of an exciting terrain yet to be fully explored by direct action activists.

Feeling squeezed between rising rents and crumbling ceilings, eviction notices and 'no vacancy' signs? Give landlords the slip - think 'resistance housing' and house yourself for a change.

Resistance housing means taking direct action with others to get and keep what is rightfully yours: decent shelter at an affordable rent, or, better still, for no rent at all. It means saying good-bye to passive housing consumerism and shoving aside all the landlords, speculators and faceless bureaucrats who stand between you and home-sweet-home. It also means challenging that time-honored feudal right of landlords to do what they want with their property at the expense of tenants, the homeless, and the community.

Above all, resistance housing means fighting for 'dweller control', for self-managed housing.

Resistance housing could be anything from organizing with other tenants to prevent a rent increase or reduce the rents, or taking over the building to resist and eviction. The actions could be used to force the authorities to act in favour of tenants or the homeless, or to solve an immediate problem directly without appeal to any authority. (see O.R. #15) Housing takeovers can be symbolic to call attention to a housing shortage, or for real, to house the homeless. Whatever the action, resistance housing relies on face-to-face organizing, without leaders, involving as many participants as possible. It's the anarchist alternative to paying up or packing your bags quietly and moving on.

Most of all, resistance housing is about tenants, the underhoused and the homeless, organizing themselves. Housing yourself today in North America is not easy:

- many tenants pay as much as 50% or more of their income towards rent;
- because tenants income tends to be lower than homeowners, and because tenants tend to be minorities, elderly, poor and low wage workers, they end up paying a higher portion of their income for lower quality



housing;

- there are an estimated 2 million homeless in the USA;
- even the Canadian State admits an estimated one half million Canadians can not afford decent housing.

No low rent housing is being built. Overcrowding in substandard dwellings is becoming the norm.

With a worsening housing picture throughout North America, choices for tenants are getting fewer and fewer. More than ever before, tenants find themselves at the mercy of the market: gouged and underhoused simply because they have no other place to go.

While Reaganomics continues to force people onto the unemployment rolls, thousands are forced to make their last stand where they live now, unable to afford to move on.

With few exceptions, North American tenants basically enjoy no rights while landlords - lords of private property - can almost always count on the powers of the courts to back them up.

We know that housing, a basic necessity, is just another commodity on the market for the private profit and control of those who own, manage and invest in it. To dream of eliminating speculation and exploitation of housing for profit under capitalism is hopeless. But to imagine a concerted effort to challenge the prerogatives of private proper-

ty while thousands swell the ranks of the homeless each month is to agree to a survival strategy for the years to come.

Resistance housing is fundamental to that strategy.

Resistance housing recognizes that tenants have the right to be secure in their apartment, to use it as a home, free from the

resolve them. And the homeless still need places to live.

Like any popular initiative searching for alternatives to a dependency on the State or capital, resistance housing ultimately runs into the problem of money. Free housing is the ideal, but rare is the home not privately owned which stands completely independent of any State assistance. Long-term, non-profit, self-managed housing costs. Where does the money come from?

Union financing maybe, but independent community funding is another story. Even for resistance housing, some form of dependency on the State become unavoidable (unless we are talking wilderness homestead), but it's no argument against actively searching for ways to give tenants and the homeless control over their own housing.

Occasionally, even a squat has to decide whether it wants to negotiate with the authorities for housing concessions, if not for direct control of the squatted building, and some squats in the US have turned into secure, low-cost long-term housing projects.

Whether its cooptation in the long term, or a good deal, the net result is housing for the homeless won through direct action. Any popular direct action initiative that results in reduced rents or stimulates low-cost housing programs is resistance housing that works.

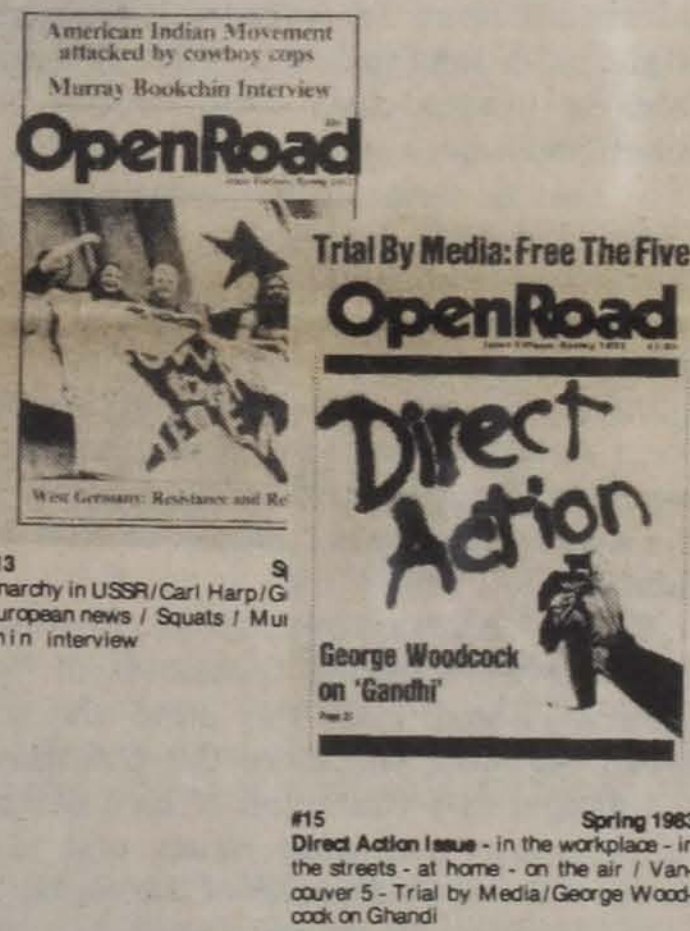
What is more, dweller control advanced through rent strikes or a building takeover (coops, too) can satisfy not only basic housing needs, but also, can lead to the preservation of threatened neighborhoods and their eventual revitalization. This is especially true for inner-city residents tired of getting displaced from their homes and their friends to make way for condos for the rich.

Once secured, resistance housing forms a base for further organization in the community, developing links, broadening the struggle and the vision to include urban issues in general, the quality of life in the city. Dweller control is the prerequisite for neighbourhood control.

As an arena for testing new ideas, for taking on the 'right', housing offers as much room to manoeuvre as any workplace or missile base, if not more because of the natural constituency and its vested interest. Everyone needs to be housed well. Everyone wants good housing. Tenants generally prefer to stay put in the homes of their choice, in the community of their choice, their chosen refuge from the madness outside. Resistance housing offers a radical vision to pull them together on the block or in the building to defend that interest.

For the vast majority, 'housing' is never seen as a political issue, but as a private matter. Most tenants prefer to pay their rent on time keeping up their half of a feudal relationship. Who ever questions the right of a landlord to collect the monthly rent?

Resistance housing suggests the possibility of a landlord-free future, for those who put 'home' on the direct action agenda.



## Lessons Learned

When the low-rental housing stock of Vancouver BC came under attack by EXPO 86, the world's transportation fair, hungry for prospective tourist accommodation, Vancouver's downtown core saw some desperate but organized squatting activity, unprecedented locally in recent years. What follows are some observations by some of the people who participated in it.

What did we learn:

- "If we ever did this again, it would be very important to be very clear and focussed about who you want to squat with. It's better to find a group of people to squat with before you enter a building. The next time, if other people came along, we'd open up other buildings to house them."
- "If the focus is saving the building for social housing, then you really have to

organize with people in the community to ensure you don't get kicked out right away. A crash pad and a long term housing fight

are separate goals."

- "When anyone and everyone can enter the squat, it becomes unsafe for the women and security for the women is important. A squat by its very nature eliminates lots of young mothers with children who need a secure place."
- "With 30 homeless people you don't know, it's very hard to get a collective atmosphere going. It might help if prospective new squatters went through a process of meeting with the original core group of squatters to discuss what their needs are, and maybe work out an agreement as to what's expected of everyone in the squat."
- But that's hard. How can we develop a means to activate a commitment to the squat, something to help define and maintain it?"

"Our squat wasn't a highly organized communal space because we were with people who were not used to living communally."

landlord's abuse, intrusion and intimidation. It recognizes that the homeless or the underhoused have the right to decent housing, and that when that right is denied them, they are justified in taking direct action to secure homes for themselves.

Resistance housing allows tenants and the homeless to challenge the existing relationships with landlords and property owners and that means expanding the zones of freedom for the traditionally powerless.

It goes beyond traditional 'reformist', and short-sighted approaches of housing activists who believe in electoral solutions (getting 'political'), petitioning the authorities, or relying on 'Mr Fix Its' and legal experts to get things done. Instead resistance housing is based on a commitment to self-organization and education and action taken directly by the people concerned.

Of course, any direct action approach like a rent strike or blocking an eviction involves a high personal risk; that's because the alternatives offer less.

Short-term strategies that aim for rent and eviction controls and basic reforms in the landlord and tenant laws are useful, but just do not go far enough. Legal strategies have clear limits. The courts and the entire legal system itself rest on a foundation of property rights. Legal action is no substitute for direct tenant action.

Nothing less than resistance housing points the way to a 'landlord free' future. En route, though, tenants are still confronted with daily rental problems and the need to





City Life / Vida Urbana, Boston

# ngsquattingsquatting

Not that long ago, squatting was considered as an exotic approach to housing practiced only by crash-helmeted Dutch or German punk anarchists who were always clashing with the police in the streets.

Today, squatting in North America is breaking through the fantasy barrier and becoming a genuine resistance housing alternative for the desperate and the homeless. The question is no longer, 'Can we squat?' but 'How do we squat more effectively and what are we squatting for?'

Squatting, simply put, is people taking direct action against the absurdity of a system that allows empty housing and homelessness to co-exist. From Vancouver to New York, San Francisco to Toronto, where-ever empty housing is abandoned and boarded up, the homeless already, on their own, are moving in quietly out of desperation, and turning it into their own living space, rent-free. People squat without any concern for organizing or being organized into long-term housing struggles, or they squat as part of broader campaigns to secure affordable housing.

When anyone seeks out abandoned or empty housing and moves in and fixes it up it shows that when neither the State nor the housing market can provide the homeless with affordable housing, the people will house themselves. Squatting is also a strong statement asserting the right to housing. It shows that human rights take precedence over property rights and directly challenges private property relations.

Squatting can be seen also as a logical extension of a rent strike, where tenants will 'occupy' or squat their own home, refusing to pay rent, or as a defensive move, to resist an eviction, to fight to stay put. It's been used as a means for groups working with the homeless to get people accommodation and at the same time, to help pressure local housing authorities.

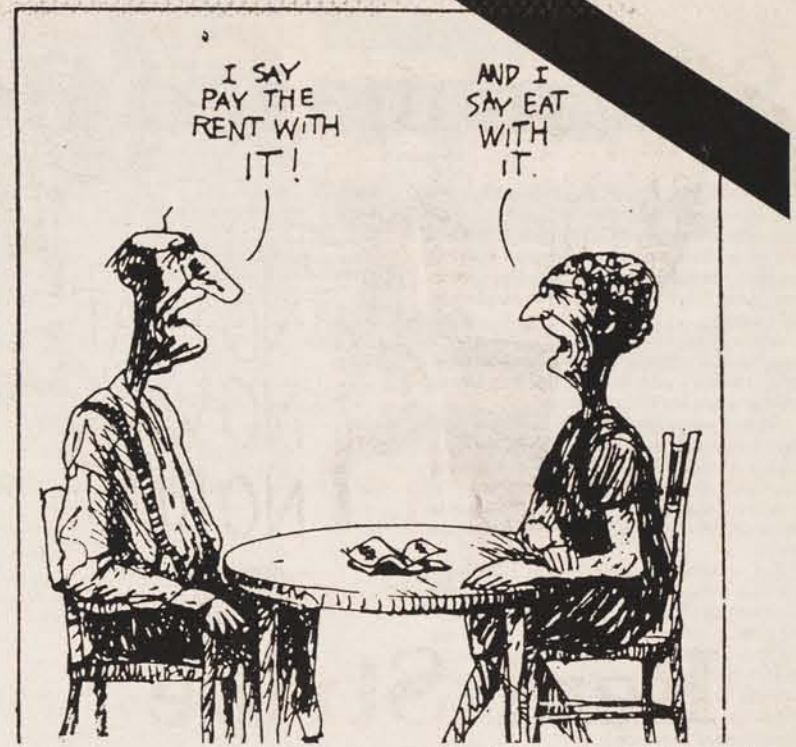
In New York City, home to an estimated 10,000 squatters, squatting had been an ongoing part of resistance housing strategy for years. In the '60s, the squatting community was so well organized, even the city

Meanwhile, another community group, the Harlem Reclamation Project squatted other homes with 16 families and held them for months despite police harassment and arrests. This was part of another national housing campaign, already active in four cities and with plans to squat in eight more.

Unlike ACORN, the aim of the HRP was to assert community rights to control housing in its neighbourhood and to use community resources, not government assistance to develop safe affordable housing and to provide jobs and job-training at the same time.

Some of the squatters are wary of State initiatives to recuperate squatters victories through measures like New York City's 'sweat equity program' (see next page) that offers the possibility of legal title to a building if the tenants/squatters agree to rehabilitate the houses and the neighbourhoods making them profitable again.

The squatters know they sometimes can successfully negotiate with the city to secure limited homesteading grants and loans, but



of relief.

For others, squatting not out of desperation, but to make a political statement, the legal debate is irrelevant. These squatters want to live outside the laws of property, outside any traditional landlord/tenant relationships and prefer instead to develop alternative living arrangements. They take their cue from the European squatting movement that has a highly developed alternative political perspective on the housing front, integrating it with other daily political activity.

The small but dynamic squatters movement in San Francisco typifies this approach. In one eight month San Francisco squat, the 30 or so squatters had converted the lower floor of an abandoned building into a skateboard rink, and renovated the upstairs to include kitchen

facilities, hot showers, and had even set up a free food program that collected donations from local grocers and distributed hundreds of pounds of free food to the hungry.

San Francisco squatters published their own newsletter called 'Brix and Bottles' (see next page) and consider themselves part of a loose city-wide network of 'political squatters.' As one of them said it: 'Squatting is a political movement in its own right. It's not just a punk-rock-junkie-crash-pad thing like it used to be.'

'We've learned about the necessity of a strong community and developing a process, as a group for making decisions and dealing with crises, the tactics and strategy of living a guerrilla existence on the front lines.'

## Rent Strike

Are you and your neighbours getting bullied by a landlord who refuses to make needed repairs to your apartment despite your reasonable pleas?

If you are tired of polite talk going nowhere, then it is time to get tough and talk rent strike. For tenants ready for the resistance housing warpath, no weapon is more powerful than a well-organized rent strike. Where other approaches like picketing the landlord's office, occupying it, or harassing the authorities fail, a rent strike can get results.

A rent strike can be anything from tenants refusing en masse to pay any rent increase, paying only the old rent, to paying no rent at all, depositing it in a safe account until tenant demands are satisfied. The rent money could be deposited in a third party or 'escrow' account in or out of the country, or used directly to pay for neglected building maintenance. Either way it is beyond the landlord's hands.

The strike could involve all the tenants of one building or, spread to several buildings across a city, owned by the same landlord. It could last for a year (like the longest and largest rent strike in history in 1975-6 in New York City, when 85 percent of 15,372 families withheld over \$25 million in rent in the Coop City rent strike), or rotate as a monthly on-again-off-again tactic (to keep the landlord honest with agreed upon commitments).

Depending on the location (Canada or US, it varies from province to province, state to state), it could be entirely legal based on rights won by earlier tenant struggles, or groundbreaking and illegal.

Either way, a rent strike means tenants are willing to take on the landlord as an organized group conscious of their interests, and capable of direct action. When tenants control the flow of rent money and even stop it, they attack the centuries old feudal right of a landlord to that rent.

Sometimes, just the threat of a rent strike has worked to goad a landlord into doing needed repairs or withdrawing a rent increase. Rent strikes are used mainly to improve building conditions and to fight rent increases, but they've also served to get rents reduced, to reverse evictions, to obtain better leases, and even as stepping stones towards actual self-management of the building.

They also give once passive and powerless tenants more control over their housing.

A rent strike presupposes existing tenant organization. Floor committees, building committees, inter-building committees (for same landlord), social housing project committees (public or private sector, it makes no difference to a rent strike), tenant unions or associations, etc., all form the backbone of any strike initiative. To be truly effective, a rent strike demands a high level of involvement by all the tenants concerned. No tenant can remain inactive. The strike also demands a lot of work to provide unity and to prepare for the inevitable legal complexities.

People are risking eviction from their homes

## Rent Strike



Metropolitan Council on Housing

tenants will eventually have to use the strike to legally defend their members from eviction while they are temporarily withholding their rents.

Do not forget, rent strikes, like workplace strikes, have a 100 year history in North America that has seen them evolve from revolutionary threats to, depending on where they occur, becoming just another mechanism to redress grievances recognized in law and official programs.

In some states of the US, it is legal for tenants to carry out their own repairs to their apartments and deduct the amounts from their rents. Elsewhere, an unofficial 'repair and deduct' practice exists, and tenants, like in NY, prefer it that way fearing full government control would hamper its flexibility.



Photography Photo, (January, 1979) Dave Retikoff

Early rent strikes in large US cities in the late 19th century were short, infrequent mass actions involving hundreds of buildings on strike simultaneously to protest rent increases. Today, rent strikes are more localized, longer (several months) and more frequent.

The focus has changed from fighting rent increases to improving conditions and services (a building by building issue) to, coping with abandonment and advanced building decay.

The most common form of rent strike in New York today, for example, involves tenants spending the rent money on needed repairs themselves. The success of this action has resulted in the incorporation of tenant control and plans for tenant ownership in 'official' housing programs that recycle buildings. Elsewhere, tenants are still withholding rents to force their landlord to negotiate particular grievances with or without the consent or cooperation of the State.

Just as excessive legalism can kill the enthusiasm of rent strikers and weaken the strike, so can excessive rigidity around just the one tactic.

Variations of the rent strike include:

- a rent slow down: where tenants hold back rents until the middle of the month when one tenants hands them all in to the landlord at the same time as a show of tenant solidarity and as a warning of more to come;
- a rolling rent strike: tenants retain control of their rent money until threatened with eviction, when they contest the eviction in court, then pay the rent due to the landlord, able to return home and withhold the next month's rent, thereby forcing negotiations through lengthy court fights.

For millions of North American tenants still figuring out how to get more heat or hot water now in run-down, poorly managed apartments a landlord-free future is still light years away.

For tenants who especially want to stay put in their apartments with affordable rents and basic services, but who are not ready to take over the building, a rent strike brings them a whole lot closer to self-managed housing.



referred the homeless to them for shelter. In one case, nine years after 80 families of squatters moved into three vacant building, the city finally bought the buildings and provided the needed money for rehabilitation of the property.

Today, NY squatters and their support groups are debating whether people should squat to force the State to provide more affordable housing programs, or if squatters should instead rely on the community to develop this housing and maintain it without assistance from the State.

One of the groups, ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) a national organization that has spearheaded squatting drives across the US during the past several years, organized hundreds of New York squatters this summer who were repeatedly arrested for taking over city-owned vacant houses. The city even took out a restraining order against ACORN to keep them away from 30 houses they claimed.

ACORN was hoping to pressure the city to give the squatters legal title to their buildings and develop a 'gift property program' of vacant housing give-aways to low income people. ACORN won such a program in Philadelphia recently. There they forced the city to turn over 200 homes a month to low income families under a 'Walk In Urban Homesteading Program' that opened up abandoned single family homes for the homeless.

There is no way they can have guaranteed control over the building and resist efforts by the State to recuperate it later and sell it off. This is why the argument favoring self-sufficiency, is so important. People are concerned about squatting a building and bringing other homeless persons into it, if they can't guarantee the security and stability of the place.

Squatting is also seen as one form of anti-displacement activity. TOCSIN (Tenants Organized in the Communities for Safe and Improved Neighbourhoods), is another NY community group that organizes squatting of single-room-occupancy hotels, to try to stop them from being converted into luxury inner-city condominiums. Squatters can act as a stabilizing force in a neighbourhood, demonstrating, as few others do, their capacity to preserve buildings, thereby keeping housing costs down.

In Pittsburgh, where some 2500 abandoned houses sit boarded up, ACORN succeeded through its high-profile squatting campaign in getting the city to agree to allow people to take over tax-delinquent abandoned buildings. The squatters sign a contract with the city promising they will make repairs and the city in turn obtains deeds for homeowners by bidding on properties at sheriff's sales. For people squatting out of desperation for a place to live, hoping for some security in their lives, the legal recognition of their squat offers a lot

## EVICCTIONS

Unless there is a publically organized attempt to resist an eviction with good media coverage, or violence or firepower, you seldom hear about the valiant efforts of beleaguered tenants in North America trying to fight off the sheriff, police or landlord's hired thugs.

But for ordinary tenants threatened with the loss of their homes, resisting an eviction can be a necessary last resort especially when legal appeals or negotiations fail.

Resisting an eviction makes sense for more than one reason:

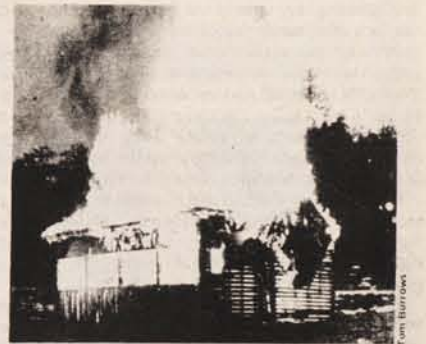
- it helps to buy more time to work out an alternative solution (like developing a self-managed housing proposal);
- it can be part of an effort to gain enough favorable publicity to embarrass the landlord or authorities into rescinding the eviction (especially when whole families or elderly people are involved);
- it helps dramatize the point and gain publicity for the right to housing;
- because there simply is no other place to go, no other choice to make other than to stay and fight;
- to encourage others in the same building, or neighbourhood to do the same.

There is a long and noble tradition of resisting evictions in North America. The rent strikes of the 1920's and 1930's in New York City and elsewhere, were characterized by massive resistance to evictions.

Once the police evicted the tenants, tenant groups would move them back in, after the police had left, or under the cover of darkness.

The fierce International Hotel tenant fight in San Francisco during the 1970's saw thousands of supporters of the elderly immigrant tenant residents surround the hotel and block the sheriffs and police who repeatedly tried to evict the tenants.

Resistance can begin by just ignoring multiple eviction notices to boarding up or barricading windows and doors from the inside, living in a prison of your own design, with a well-stocked pantry, physically resisting



The authorities in Vancouver, Canada, end a long battle with a squatter on the seashore by burning down the house while the squatter is out 1974.

eviction and the forces used against you. Some resistors prefer a flexible approach of flowing out, the back in, after each physical expulsion, preferably with the support of others.

During one highly organized Michigan state rent strike, soon-to-be evicted tenants could call on a 'Tactical Mobile Defense Unit', set up by the strikers, to help tenants physically prevent their landlords from entering their apartments. The defence unit was on call day and night, to reinforce individual tenants, to help them turn the water and gas back on or even to expel the landlord from the apartment.

Anyone planning to resist and eviction needs a minimum of good organization and has to deal with the element of risk and danger from the sledgehammer blows of either hired landlord thugs or agents of the State. But as one real estate broker put it after being confronted with a messy eviction scenario, complete with publicity, 'developers are scared shitless of having problems like this one (People refusing to move). It's a human problem, a political one.'

# Self managed Housing

The ultimate goal of any resistance housing is to turn it into self-managed housing, free from harassment of either landlords or the State. But how do you convert a squat or occupied building into a comfortable, secure, long-term home controlled by the people who live there?

It's a goal that can be as close as the support of a strong community organization, or just another pipe dream foiled by a lack of planning and back-up resources.

Many a squat has floundered, the building lost, because the occupants failed to come up with a practical proposal, possible financing sources, or even community backing at a critical moment. It's too late to discuss negotiations when the wrecking ball is at the door.

Yet occasionally, squatters find themselves face-to-face with a landlord or the State, forced through public pressure, to negotiate a building takeover, or alternative housing proposal with them. Is resistance housing then something to work with? Can it be secured in the best interests of the occupants? Or is it just another marginal experiment doomed to failure?

If the occupants want something more than another short-lived crash pad, they have to figure out a means to transform occupancy into control. Usually, in the shadow of the private property system, 'ownership' is equated with 'control'. This means that unless the building occupants want to pack up and move when the crunch comes, legal ownership of their space - whether it is an abandoned apartment building or an occupied empty house - may present itself as a serious, debatable long-term objective.

If people want to turn the space into low-cost, social housing, then they embark on the long twisted road to legal control of the property.

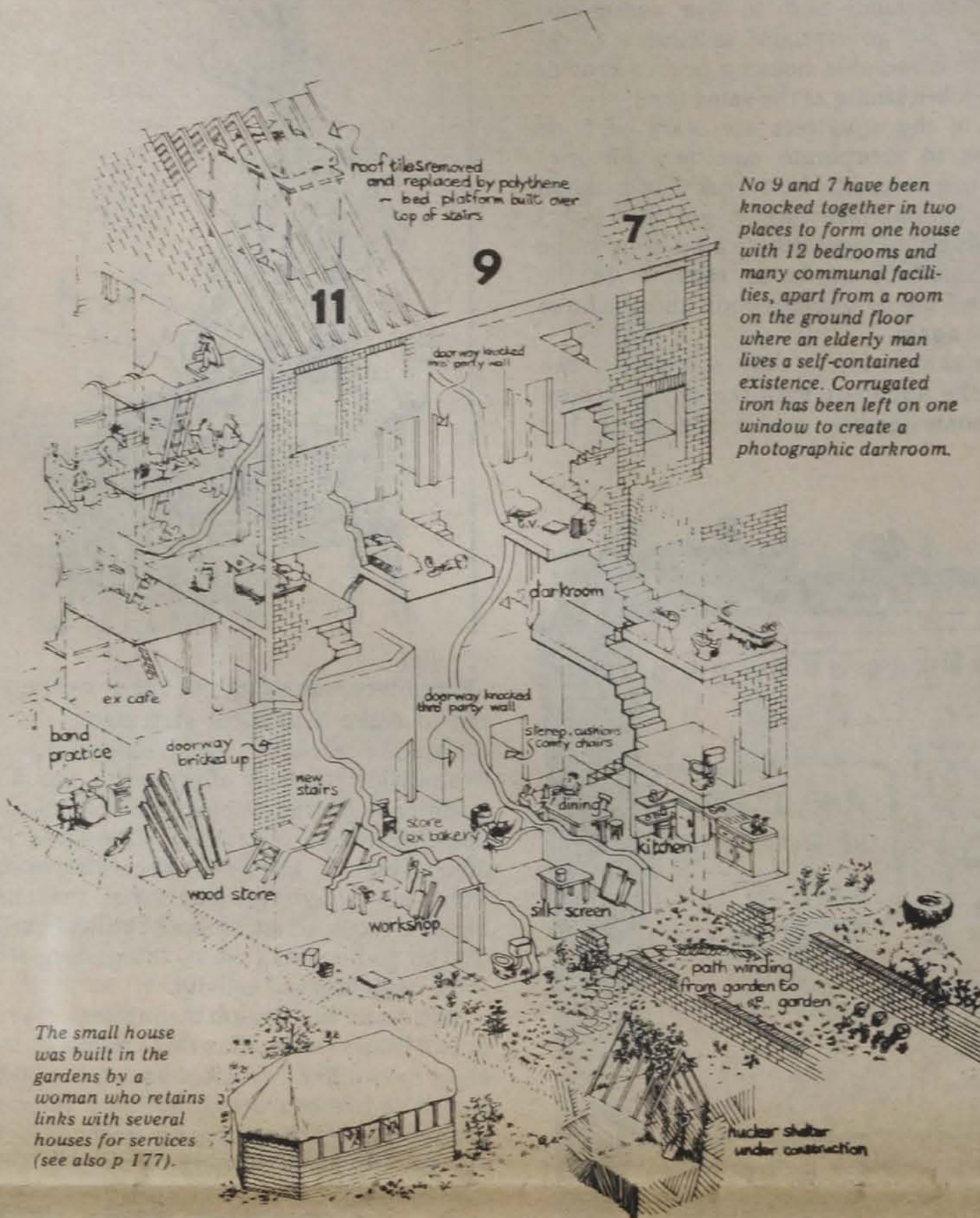
A non-profit housing coop can be one of the more likely possibilities. The occupants would aim to negotiate to buy and convert their building into a limited equity, non-profit coop that removes the property from the real estate market and guarantees its availability and affordability as future resident controlled housing.

It should be remembered though, that they do not necessarily give tenants full control, but as a compromise en route to full control, they can beat tramping the streets at the mercy of landlords and the housing market.



Buying a building and converting it to a coop is a long and difficult task that requires financing and skills. The skills can be learned. The hard part is coming up with the money, or, convincing the State or the community that self-managed housing in this instance is in everyone's best interests. It can prevent a confrontation, or further

Practically gutted by fire, No 11 was converted into a cafe/meeting room/dancing space/theatre on three floors with platforms at split levels. It was later converted into 3 bedrooms because of pressure of space and lack of communal maintenance.



The small house was built in the gardens by a woman who retains links with several houses for services (see also p 177).

confrontation; it can house homeless people; it can contribute to neighborhood stability; it can save a decent building.

But serious resistance housing in the end, means talking big money, something foreign to most activists.

'Creative financing techniques' can become an important part of a resistance housing scenario. Can tenants get into a 'leasing cooperative', forming a partnership with outside investors (like community groups or trade unions) that allows the partnership to own the building and lease it on a long term basis to the tenants through their cooperative corporation?

These are important questions for any long-term housing project. There are others:

- operating costs tend to jump up sharply when properties are first converted and renovated;
- tenants have to grapple with major financial questions even before a purchase, such as, is the price fair, what are the operating costs, upgrading costs, can the tenants afford the increase in rent (after, let us say they have been rent-striking for a roll-back in rents), is there financing available, subsidies for low income residents, how many tenants can afford to stay after the renovations;
- where will the money come from: the State, the community, many federal government programs that once financed and subsidized coops are ending.

It's also important for housing activists to beware getting stuck with someone else's bad investment, taking over substandard housing that is not affordable in the long run because of the amount of upgrading required.

Despite all the effort to set up a coop housing project, coop members in the end are still confronted with unavoidable contradictions, like being their own landlords and having to raise their own rents to meet the needs of outside financial institutions. There is no way around this one. And without the

NO OIL  
NO HEAT  
NO WALLS  
NO RENT

alternative of coop housing many properties would be lost to condo conversions and the speculative market, reducing the affordable housing stock even more.

At least with coop housing, tenants have an opportunity to develop a working model of self-managed housing where mutual aid and self-reliance can be practiced day to day, on the homefront, without living under the threat of a landlord's next whim.

The much criticized 'sweat equity' programs of New York, where workers/tenants are paid by the State to rehabilitate abandoned, unoccupied buildings means they may be able to bring the rehab costs down somewhat, but it still leaves lower income families hard-pressed to afford the prices of the renovated properties.

Community ownership and control of ur-

## RESOURCES

For more on direct action approaches to housing, check out the following:

### BOOKS:

(there is very little about squatting in North America, much more about tenants' rights.)

• **Squatter's Handbook**, published by the Advisory Service for Squatters, 2 St Pauls Road, London, N1 England. \$2 US each.

(Though English, contains much practical info about breaking and entering buildings and general squatting maintenance.)

• **Squatting, the Real Story**, edited by Nick Wates and Christian Wolmar; 1980, Bay Leaf Books. (The best book on squatting available, even though it's completely English.)

• **Housing, An Anarchist Approach**, by Colin Ward, Freedom Press, 1976.

• **The Tenant Survival Book**, by Emily Jane Goodman; Bobbs-Merrill Co.; 1972. (Excellent how-to book for tenants)

• **Homelessness in America; A Forced March to Nowhere**; by Mary Ellen Hombs and Mitch Snyder; 1982; published by Community for Creative Non-violence, 1345 Euclid St, NW, Washington DC; \$5 USA

• **Displacement: How to Fight It**, by Chester Hartman, Dennis Keating, etc.; published by Legal Services Anti-Displacement Project, 1982; \$10 USA from National Housing Law Project, 2150 Shattuck Ave #300, Berkeley, CA, 94704.

### PERIODICALS

• **Brix and Bottles**, c/o 1369 Haight St, San Francisco, CA, 94118; \$1 USA; an irregular San Francisco squatters newsletter.

• **City Limits**, 424 W 33rd St, New York, NY 10001, USA; \$2 USA. (An excellent urban monthly, full of news about the NY housing situation.)

• **Planners Network Newsletter**; 1901 Que St., NW, Washington, DC 20009, U.S.A.; (A monthly newsletter for radical planners with useful listings of current housing books and periodicals.) \$1 US

• **Crowbar**; Squatting news from Brixton; c/o BM Box Hurricane, London, England, WC1; (anarchist squatting news) \$1 US

### FILMS AND VIDEOS

• **Guide to community Media**, (an annual) from Media Network, 208 W 13th St, New York, NY 10011; (An excellent resource guide listing more than a dozen titles on squatting, rent strikes, resisting evictions, and more. \$2.50 plus postage. Highly recommended.)

### ARTICLES/PAMPHLETS

• **The Alternative Press Index**, available in any good public library—lists hundreds of articles on resistance housing subjects.

• **Rent, an Injustice**; a pamphlet from The Match, POB 3488, Tucson, Arizona, 85722, USA \$1

• **The Expropriation of Dwellings**, by Peter Kropotkin, 1882, reprinted in his book, **The Conquest of Bread**. A classic essay worth reading.

ban land trusts seems to offer another way out beyond single coop building ownership, but so far, this isn't a highly developed alternative. Communities are still having problems raising money and resources independent of the State.

## ahrg

This special **Resistance Housing** supplement was published in **Open Road #19**, Summer 1986, by the **Alternative Housing Resource Group**, an independent, volunteer group working towards a landlord-free future. We like to hear about your direct action housing experiences, and would welcome comments on this insert. Write to us at: **AHRG**, c/o Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver BC V6R 4G5, Canada.

Logging Stopped: Struggle Continues

# B.C. Indians Blockade & Win

Indians in British Columbia have struggled against the encroachment of European development and culture ever since the first arrival of the settlers at the beginning of the last century. Although the sad saga of decimation by disease, cultural erosion and forced removal is similar to that in other areas of North America, the Indians of B.C. are in a somewhat different situation now. The most important difference is that except for small areas at the southern tip of Vancouver Island and the extreme northeastern part of the province, the native people of B.C. have never signed a treaty with any government. Another difference is that a large proportion of B.C. Indians derive at least part of their living from the land, either through traditional food gathering or by commercial fishing or logging. Over the past ten years or so, concern about the rampant destruction of the forests by governments and corporations interested only in short term gains, and lack of recognition for historic fishing rights, has led to conflict with the authorities. During the past year attention has focussed on three struggles where native people took a radical stand and forced a halt to logging plans. The confrontations began after the provincial government issued logging permits for the disputed areas, whereas there had previously been a moratorium on logging pending settlement of outstanding claims. The Indians were joined in two cases by environmentalists, whose aims of wilderness preservation coincided momentarily with the aims of the Indians, which was to demand a voice in development plans. The Indians claim that since they were never defeated in a war or surrendered their claims to the land or sea resources that they have rights over the use of the land, and base their negotiating position on that premise. The government of B.C. categorically refuses to negotiate while at the same time continuing to allow large scale exploitation of disputed resources.

IN JANUARY, 1985, THE NUU-CHAH-nulth tribal council, on the west coast of Vancouver Island took MacMillan Bloedel, a large logging company, to court to prevent logging on Meares Island. While the trial was still in progress MB decided to send

crews onto the island to survey for roads and mark trees for cutting. When this became known an advance party of Indians and environmentalists landed on the island and set up camp. By the time the logging crew arrived on Jan. 30th, there were 150 protest-



POLICE READ INJUNCTION TO HAIDA BLOCKADERS

ers crowded along the 100 meter foreshore at Heelboom Bay, effectively preventing a landing. The company responded by suggesting that a landing could be made at any point along the island's shore. By the afternoon protesters had fanned out, setting up two more camps. The next two months were occupied by a cat and mouse game between the loggers and protesters. Surveyors managed to land and began marking trees. The protesters responded by driving long spikes into the marked trees, making them unable to be sawn. Company employees then resorted to marking the spiked trees with spray paint. This tactic was countered by copying the spray marks onto many unspiked trees, thus confounding the loggers even further. On March 27th the court set Nov. 1986 as the date for settling the land claim and ordered both the loggers and the protesters off the island. The company was allowed to remove the spikes.

Throughout the summer a general sense of uneasiness pervaded the land claims forums as more and more bands spoke up about long standing grievances. The provincial government responded by refusing to negotiate and attempted to polarize public opinion by raising the spectre of huge reparations that might have to be made to the Indians if it was found that they did indeed own the province 'lock, stock and barrel', as at least one native leader claimed. The government continued to issue timber leases on disputed land while teams of biologists, archaeologists and photographers combed the disputed areas, bringing back evidence of historic native use and unique ecological values.

In October, proposals to log the Stein valley in the interior were resurrected. Plans to log the Stein were shelved in the early '70s due to protests. The company (British Columbia Forest Products), promised to consult with all interested groups but made it clear that they would not abandon plans to log the valley. On Oct. 15th 200 people gathered at

the mouth of the Stein River to hear chief Ruby Dunstan explain why her people want the valley left unlogged. At another Stein gathering over 500 people hiked over the divide to meet at the Stein headwaters, all this in the face of government assertions that the valley is too remote to have any recreational potential.

On Oct. 30th, twenty Haida Indians blockaded a logging road on Lyell Island, in the South Moresby section of the Queen Charlotte Islands group. The blockade forced a logging crew to turn back. The blockaders pointed out that twelve years of legal wrangles, petitions, cabinet decisions, appeals and protests, logging was finally stopped by the direct action that they had taken. While the logging company went to the courts to get an injunction against the blockade, the Indians began unloading three fishing boats loaded with provisions and enough materials to build three cabins. On Nov. 8 the court brought down an injunction prohibiting the Haidas from interfering with the logging. This was a departure from the Meares case as the company was not prohibited from continuing to log. The next day the Haidas again blocked the road but stepped aside and sang songs when the loggers turned up to work. On Nov. 20th the blockade was resumed in defiance of the injunction and twelve protesters were arrested. Police reinforcements were flown in, the beginning of an escalation that would amount to over \$200,000 in police costs before the action was terminated. During the following days a blockade was set up each morning. The loggers would turn up for work and then the police would arrest the blockade. By the beginning of December 72 Haidas had been arrested. On Nov. 30th, ten Haidas were sentenced to between four and six months in jail for disobeying the court injunction. They were given a week to promise to stay away from Lyell Island in return for a suspension of

cont. next page

## Aims of the Movement

LARGE AREAS OF B.C. ARE BEING RAVAGED by clear cut logging, so why have resistance efforts been directed at three specific areas; Meares, South Moresby and the Stein? The Indians of B.C. view the preservation of the remaining natural areas as the only way that they can preserve an independent life. The land and sea base are essential for the maintenance of their culture. Some bands (including the Haidas with respect to South Moresby) regard some areas as sacred and will allow no 'development' of any kind.

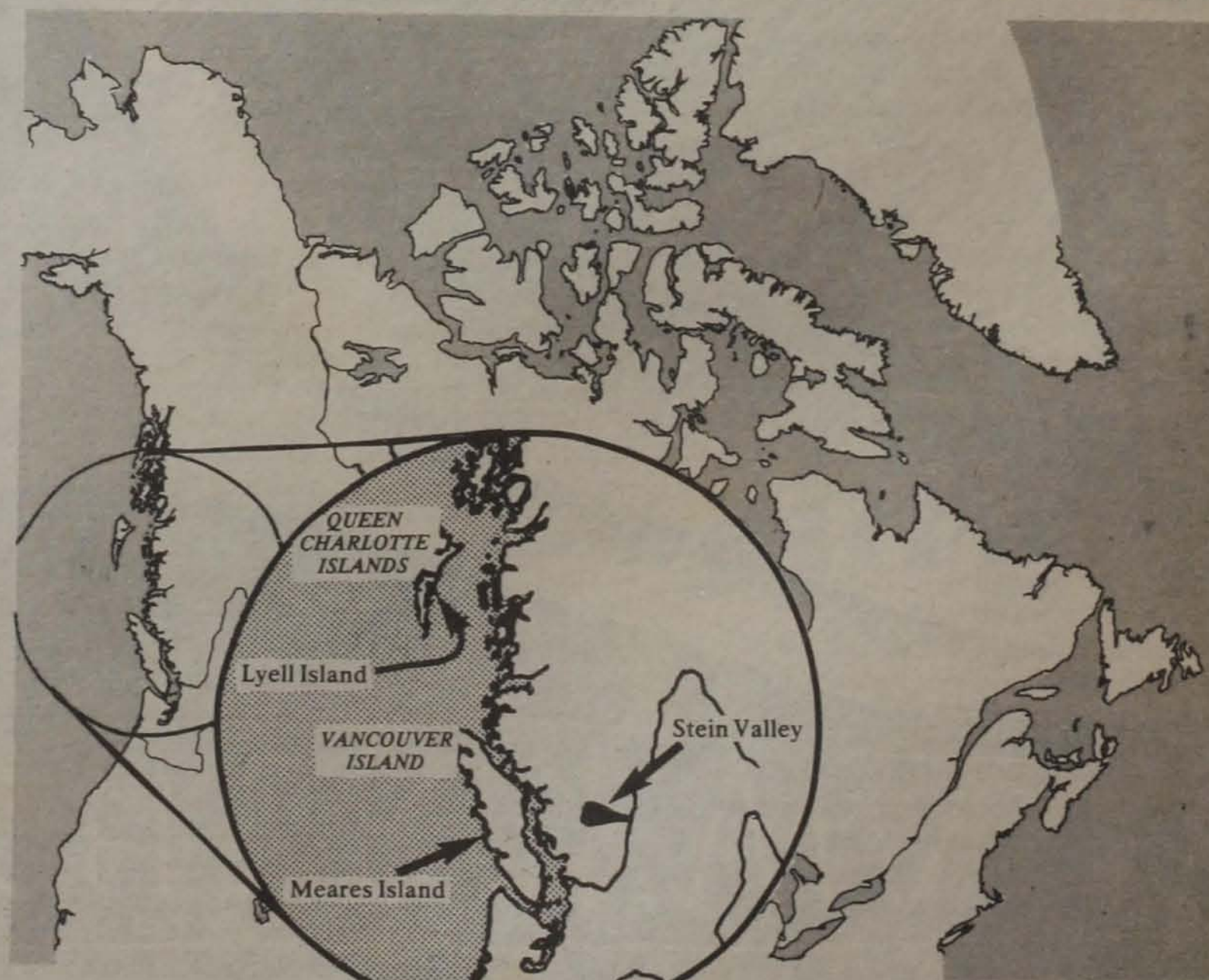
The environmentalists focus on the unique aspects of the ecosystems. Meares Island and the South Moresby group are covered by some of the last virgin stands of temperate rainforest that remain on the Pacific coast. Some of the largest and oldest trees on the planet are in these areas, Sitka Spruce, Hemlock and giant Red Cedars, one of which, on Meares, is known to be over 1500 years old. The Queen Charlotte Islands, of which South Moresby forms a part, is one of the only areas along the Pacific coast that escaped the glaciation of the last ice age, resulting in many species of plants and animals that are found nowhere else. These include the worlds largest black bears, and various mosses and flowers. The Stein valley is unique because it is the only major water shed in southern B.C. that has never been logged. It contains a range of ecosystems from ice and tundra at the headwaters through subalpine forest, then a large Douglas Fir forest and where the valley ends at the Fraser river, a Ponderosa Pine—Rabbitbrush benchland, reputedly the hottest place in Canada. Few rivers traverse such a variety of landforms, vegetation or climates in such a short distance.

Contact addresses:

[for Lyell Island]  
Haida Tribal Council  
Box 98  
Queen Charlotte Islands, B.C.  
CANADA V0T 1S0

[for Meares Island]  
Friends of Clayoquot Sound  
Box 489  
Tofino, B.C.,  
CANADA V0R 2Z0

[for the Stein]  
Stein Alliance  
2150 Maple Street  
Vancouver, B.C.,  
CANADA V6J 3T3



from prev. page

the sentence. The blockaders refused, saying that they would rather go to jail than to make such a promise. The judge then criticised the government for using the courts for political purposes and suspended the sentences anyway. Shortly after this the logging on Lyell was suspended for the winter season.

On Dec. 7th, twelve chiefs from the Stein region declared that they will allow no logging until land claims are settled. In March, 1986, the Wilderness Advisory Committee, a government appointed body, handed down its recommendations for the disposal of the disputed lands. In the case of South Moresby, the committee recommended the preservation of most of the area but would allow continued logging of Lyell. The Haida Tribal Council has declared that they will resume the blockade if logging on Lyell is attempted.



LOGGER FELLING MASSIVE CEDAR

# Relocation Resisted

cont. from pg. 4

support for this is a universal problem. The pollution that's happening isn't just affecting the red people, it's affecting all people. If people want to support nuclear disarmament, or block the transportation of nuclear wastes, they should also protest the mining of the uranium on Indian land. The native people of the U.S. and Canada own 90% of the uranium left on this continent. And they own 60 to 90% of all other ores and minerals that the government wants. Since we own 90% of it, the traditional people don't want any of it to happen, we don't want it taken out of the ground at all. If people around the globe could support that and place the land in sanctuary and call for a moratorium on the taking of natural resources, we would be able to stop the oppressors in their tracks. The same multinationals that are oppressing people here, are oppressing people in South Africa, Central America and all over the globe. We just have to identify them. Everybody has to get involved to make greater demands on the manufacturers to start making the goods which already have been designed and can be developed in an environmentally sound manner.

In the Indian way, we believe that what is in the ground is not meant for this generation, but is meant for our children's children and then hopefully we would be intelligent enough to realize that there are alternatives, or be able to use it without harming the environment.

**The government gave the people nine years to relocate on their own. What happens to the people who have refused to move?**

The deadline for forced relocation is July 6, 1986. The people there have stated that it is their life, their land and their culture, and they are refusing to move. The government has stated that if military action is necessary, it would be utilized in getting these people off. We have to look at the fact that the U.S. is moving a lot of military equipment into that area, the National Guard is also building water towers in the desert, and I can guarantee you that it's not for watering sheep.

**It appears, from your information package, that there a number of gatherings at Big Mountain, the Survival Gathering in April and a Circle of Life Gathering in June to name two, I know that many people would like to take part in one or more of them but can't afford to go for one reason or another. What other things can they do to help?**



MARILYN JAMES

We are making preparations there for the resistance and we need to make sure that there is an active support system out here to help them while they are resisting.

The Hopi people have gone to the United Nations three times to ask the nations of the world to reprimand the U.S. Federal Government for their actions against the native people. This coming year they will be going to the U.N. for their fourth and final attempt. People could start a letter writing campaign to the Canadian Government and ask that they recognize the Hopi people and listen to them when they come to the U.N. and put pressure on the U.S. Government about repealing this law.

People can also begin to educate themselves and their communities about the Big Mountain struggle and native issues through-out Canada and the U.S. It's important not only to stand up for human rights in the rest of the world, but also right here in our own back yard.

For more information please write:

Northwest Big Mountain Support Group  
p.o.b. 42640,  
Portland, Oregon 97242

or

Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offence Cmtte,  
124 N. San Francisco #B  
Flagstaff, Arizona 86001

## NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

**LIBRARIE ALTERNATIVE REOPENS**—After an eighteen month closure for extensive building renovations, Canada's only anarchist bookstore, Librarie Alternative Bookshop, has reopened its doors. The bookstore collective is actively seeking out new anarchist or anti-authoritarian periodicals, books, pamphlets, posters, stickers etc., to sell, and invites groups to send sample copies and terms of distribution for them to: **Librarie Alternative, 2035 boul. St. Laurent, 2nd Floor, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H2X 2T3**

**ANARCHIST MAY DAY IN CHICAGO**—May 1—4, 1986. A worldwide gathering of anarchists to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Haymarket martyrs and the establishment of May Day as a worker's holiday. Contact: **HAYMARKET 86, P.O.B. 102, 1200 Fullerton, Chicago, Ill. 60614 U.S.A.**

**COMPUTER NET**—Political and ecological activists have begun international networking over computer links, and a computerized Alternative International News Service is soon to appear. The Autonomous Group on Political Computing brings European Greens and leftists together on the Hamburg and London Geonet system, while the North American group housed on Unicen has links so far with Nicaragua, Argentina, New Zealand and Japan. Messages are passed between the two hosts daily. Both networks lease time from commercial hosts and can be accessed by any home computer equipped with a modem. Costs are \$6 per hour from the US or \$9 from Canada with no additional long distance charges from most cities. For info: **Greenet, 1053 Williamson St., Madison, WI 53708 U.S.A. [608] 256-4158 or Planet Tree Communications, 17 Mackson Rd., London NW3, England**

## BLOCKADES SPREAD

DURING 1985 SEVERAL OTHER bands used direct action tactics and in most cases achieved a speedy resolution of long standing grievances. The Canadian federal government has a policy of negotiating only ten claims at a given time. This is a delaying tactic. In some cases claims have been resolved outside the federal process by taking direct action.

**June 3** - Blackwater Indians blockaded a log dump located on land taken from them 70 years ago, when the tribe was ravaged by a smallpox epidemic and removed to another reserve. Agreement was reached over compensation.

**Nov. 2** - Four bands unite and halt gold exploration on Cairn Peak, east of Lilloet.

**Nov. 26** - Dredging for a marina development on Sanichton Bay on eastern Vancouver Island was halted when twelve band members boarded the dredge and seized the bucket. On Dec. 7th the courts ruled in favor of the band citing an 1852 treaty (one of the few ever signed in British Columbia). The marina development was stopped.

**Dec.** - Railway authorities halted trains when Indians at Gitwangak in northern B.C. blockaded a railway siding. The band claimed that the railway had been leasing part of their land to private interests since 1910. On Dec. 13 courts support the native claim and the railway agreed to pay 70 years worth of back rent and sign a formal lease.

## Rage in Athens

cont. from pg. 5

imprisoned until the trial takes place (if it ever does). Meanwhile the assassin cop Melistas was set free without the imposition of any restricting terms.

On Tuesday, the 26th of November, a march was organised by the "Libertarian Committee for Solidarity and Information". Although we announced that the demo was to be self-defending, the police declared that it was prohibited. At the same time tremendous police forces had surrounded the place from which the march was to start, with the intention of terrifying and preventing the peoples participation in the demo. However the prohibition was withdrawn when the police became aware that the demonstrators were firm in their decision to hold the march regardless of the police permission or prohibition. Thus, a big march which was purely anarchistic in its organisation, character and slogans took place. The 3500 - 4000 demonstrators made a sit-in outside the parliament denouncing the assassination of Michalis and demanding the liberation of the imprisoned squatters. The main slogans were "You talk about broken windows, we talk about lives", "Freedom for the imprisoned Revolutionaries", "Death to the Masters, Right or Left" and others already mentioned. At 10 o'clock the same day a car loaded

with explosives, exploded at the moment when a police van carrying anti-riot cops (MAT) was passing by. One cop was killed while several others were seriously wounded. Although the marxist-leninist urban guerrilla organisation "17th of November" claimed responsibility for the act, the police established a reign of terror against the anarchists. Many anarchists were arrested and interrogated by the police; houses were searched; people that 'look different' and had the bad luck of passing by a police van were beaten up by the 'enraged' cops. The center of Athens was 'squatted' by police vans filled with MAT. The witch-hunt of the anarchists has begun.

We desire your whole-hearted support through all possible means. The liberation of our 16 comrades should be the cause of anarchists all over the world.

### DOWN WITH THE STATE AND CAPITAL FOR ANARCHY AND COMMUNISM

contact:  
Libertarian Committee  
for Solidarity and Information  
Diethnis Bibliothiki  
2 Delfon & Didotou  
Athens 44, GREECE  
telephone: 3608635

cont. from pg. 3 HAMBURG

mentary groups, to be more effective and also in order not to be absorbed by communist or other parties within a certain alliance, only because their organization as a party makes them stronger.

To this end a great national and international meeting in the Hafenstrasse took place at the turn of the year, with discussions on these questions, and to organize for the next eviction attempt. This year there will be elections for the Hamburg Senate, and the ruling social democratic party (SPD) would like to pacify the city beforehand. That means that the attempted destruction of revolutionary groups will be intensified.

### Back Issues

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The Open Road Box 6135, Station G  
Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6R 4G5



GERRY HANNAH, IN PRE-DIRECT ACTION PHOTO

## GERRY HANNAH SONGS FROM UNDERGROUND

EVERY TRULY CREATIVE ACT is a triumph over the prisons that surround us; those of convention, society's 'laws', indoctrination, and pressure. Women are trapped in their husband's homes; young people in schools. For many of us, our experience of prison is just that—the weight of those chains clapped on us at birth because of the fundamental skew in social values that hands power to the pathological and oppresses everyone within its reach. Prisons come in a lot of different characters and parameters, but the worst are physical: the concrete walls, the electronic monitoring, the terrible isolation. Given the nature of the prisons outside and inside, any authentic political voice is welcome; to teach, to share, and to reaffirm.

Gerry Hannah is serving a 10 year sentence in conjunction, as the notes on the cassette carefully explain, with the activities of a clandestine organization active in the anti-nuclear and ecological movement. Before that, he was bassist with the Subhumans, one of the original punk bands in Vancouver and the most politically articulate. This tape is mostly acoustic folk (with occasional synthesizer) and though the musical style may have shifted, his political ideals haven't. Still bringing insight and expression to various struggles, the songs work as the best of political music; they make you think and they make you feel.

## Anarchist Newspaper Confiscated

MUNICH—The state prosecutor here confiscated the autonomous anarchist paper *Freiraum* No. 11. It was the fourth time that *Freiraum* has been seized by the state. On this occasion the paper was confiscated because it reported the violent police action in smashing the street festival or-

Recorded on a four-track in Matsqui Prison, the tape was mixed and produced by Gerry; he also plays the majority of the instruments (notable exception is Ron Wiggins on mouth harp).

The bravery of this tape is most evident on the songs the reveal Gerry at his most vulnerable; it takes a lot of strength to remain capable of the open expression of pain and doubt in the context of prison. The songs move from the deeply personal to well-observed political statements; "Living with the Lies" and "Holy American Empire" are clear-eyed appraisals of the unchanging mechanisms of power. The most painful to listen to is "The Madness", dealing with the barriers imposed on relationships and the resulting anger and helplessness, but I prefer to see the spiritual heart of the tape as "Rejuvenation". In this song Gerry comes to terms with his depression and stands stronger than ever, affirming his commitment to life and hope, and incidentally reminding us that we must also struggle on. "It's here in our souls that we're free". An uncompromising group of songs, with the courage to be honest about the subjects that are the most painful, and the strength to remain free in spite of the prisons we all inhabit.

*Songs from Underground* is available from: P.O.B. 34332, Station D, Vancouver, B.C. V6J 4P3.

ganized by anti-nuclear protesters in Haidhausen. Police also searched six private apartments, one printer and the Munich info-centre, where police seized another paper, *Radi-Aktiv*, the newspaper of the Bavarian anti-nuclear groups.

(Echomedia Berlin)

## LOOMPANICS CATALOGUE!?

Thrill and impress your friends with the Loompanics catalogue, bound to be a hit at any party. Death and mayhem abound in this right-wing wetdream of a distribution service, and it makes for some pretty ugly reading. An appalling assemblage of unintentional black humour ('Disruptive Terrorism' reads one ad, How to cause panic and much, much more'), a few genuinely interesting books that somehow have been appropriated into the Loompanics fold ('The Revolution of Everyday Life') and the straight ahead despicable 'Physical Interrogation Techniques—how to torture Infor-

mation out of an unwilling suspect'.

More frightening than the reading of the catalogue is the prospect that it will be used, giving rise to visions of hundreds of paranoid survivalists in their caves and bomb shelters (one of the things that you learn from Loompanics is that you too can survive the coming holocaust and live to rule over the debris), hunched over the catalogue, drooling mindlessly and absorbing every word with what passes for rapt attention when you're brain damaged—or lacking any fundamental moral principles—or both.

There is a certain grim humour in the thought that those who do order something in the catalogue are probably leaving themselves open for what looks like an FBI sting operation—it's hard to believe that it could be anything else. All in all, a demented mixture of fantasy, madness and the worst tendencies of American libertarianism. What is worthwhile is better purchased elsewhere, and the rest can only appeal to an immature and selfish mentality. For anyone else, it's nothing more than a cheap thrill.

**Loompanics Catalogue.** Published by Loompanics Unlimited, P.O.B. 1197, Port Townsend, WA 98368 U.S.A.

## Harlequin Romance of the Underground

**The Good Terrorist**—by Doris Lessing. Pub. by A. Knopf.

I'm already suspect of a title containing such a naivete of contradiction, but my curiosity got the better of my sensibilities. Don't bother reading this book! It is a waste of time unless, of course, you want to keep abreast with what is perhaps the prevailing way that radicals are perceived. It'd be destructive if it weren't so laughable. Lessing will not leave you impressed with her 'deep' understanding of an activist's history and motivation, but rather will knock you dead with the usual reactionary fantasy of what goes on behind the doors of our hearts and minds. It reads like it was penned by a police psychopathologist for the Harlequin Romance series...Special Edition 'The Loves of Guerrillas'.

The main character, Alice, is our 'good terrorist' presumably. Lessing speaks through this character, supposedly revealing a humanistic insight but which very thinly veils the actual moralistic judgementalism rampant in the portrayal of every individual we meet in this novel. Alice is the noble and mature one but a sharper eye can see that she is basically the neurotic, prone to tantrums, black-outs, and severe sexual repressions. There is no attempt at subtlety with the rest of the cast. They are boldly painted as emotional invalids...repressive personalities creating a world of unhealthy personal and political relationships.

Guerrillas, feminists, anarchists, queers, Russians, socialists, workers, Irish etc...not one group escapes being represented by a 'dolt'. Accounts of demonstrations, movement meetings and theorizings, development of support for the underground, politics of anti-

sexism/racism/classism are given only the most superficial of treatment at best and worse, are inaccurate and off-the-wall fictions. Who is Doris Lessing anyway, really, and where did she find the nerve to tackle this? It's even worse than Marge Piercy's milquetoast effort *Vida*. We don't need novellas and fictional romancings of our lives. Considering the real-life struggles that all progressive people are involved in on personal

and political levels, both as individuals and part of a movement, it is nothing but insult to see us caricatured as immature, egotistical, manipulative, adventurist, cruel and on and on...It's not the reality I have encountered of strength of creativity amongst the warriors from all these struggles.

But most dangerous of all is the book's culmination in a guerrilla action which is definitely a mindless, terroristic act. Lessing stereotypes those involved in the resistance underground as spontaneist thrillseekers willing to destroy and murder at whim, for their pleasure, using the most juvenile of political justifications. This book is negativist propaganda. It creates myths. It warps the truth of our history and knowledge.

## MATRAX TAPE

A highly uneven tape of a number of woman's bands from Canada, England and the states. Ranging from straight thrash to a more almost jazz sound, it's a diverse and often rewarding compilation. Production ranges from the good to the abysmal, but the energy and humour of these bands always comes through. Even allowing for personal bias, the Vancouver bands are a highlight, especially the Moral Lepers (sadly no longer with us) and Industrial Waste Banned (very much in

existence). Cracked Maris's wonderful contribution suffers from production that renders it inarticulate, but enough of the sound remains to show what might have been. Other great songs are by the Ruggedy Anne's, Unwarranted Trust, Topless Answer and the Frilly Questions. Worthwhile for it's documentation of the living underground of women's music, and very much recommended.

**The Matrax Tape** is available from: P.O.B. 34332, Station D, Vancouver, B.C., Canada, V6J 4P3.

## Revolutionary Fantasy

**Sandanista**—by Marie Jakober. Pub. 1985 by New Star Books, 2504 York Av., Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6K 1 E6.

A white North American fantasy of what participating in a revolution might be like, but not as bad as that might make it sound. Though written a mannered and occasionally irritating style, Jakober's genuine concern comes through at every turn, revealing more about her personal discovery of the conditions in pre-Sandanista Nicaragua than it does about the Nicaraguan people themselves.

Her shock is obvious (as indeed any sane person feels) at the terrible crimes committed by the despotic and American supported Somoza regime. Lots of solid factual material here. If you don't know about the extent of corporate investment in Central America, or how the Nicaraguan people were forced into literally selling their lifeblood to the States, you should. From here, however, the author draws a series of romantic characters that are meant to illustrate the various aspects of the revolution, and they remain just that, flat representations who never really live in their own right. She then makes the momentous discovery that revolutionaries have feelings, suffer, and have mothers just like the rest of us—or are mothers themselves. Dazzled by this idea, she seems overwhelmed by it throughout the book, with the result that her characters lack the real sympathy and sincerity she could have felt for them. Not a great novel, but propaganda of the best kind, and stands as a good introduction to the actuality of oppression and resistance under tyranny.

## BOOKS RECEIVED:

**SABRA AND SHATILA - A New Auschwitz** - by A. Weisfeld. First hand accounts and documentation of the massacres. Pub by **Jerusalem International Publishing House, Inc., Main P.O. Box 9420, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1G 3V1**

**SOLIDARITY FOREVER - An oral history of the I.W.W.** - by Stewart Bird, Dan Georgakas and Deborah Shaffer. A first hand account of the

of the early years of the Industrial Workers of the World. All but one of these interviews were filmed and recorded for the feature film **The Wobblies**. Pub. by **Lake View Press, P.O. Box 578279, Chicago, Ill. 60657 U.S.A.**

**SOVVERSIVI IN TOSCANA [1900 - 1910]** - by Georgio Saccetti - pub. by **Altre Edizioni - C.P. 90 - 06059 Todi [PG], Italy**

# What's in a name?

Open Road or Closed Road, We've been wondering for quite a while. Why call us **Iron Curtain**? True there were mix-ups in the beginning of our paper's name. **Iron Guard** were obscure Romanian fascist groups who later collaborated with Nazi occupation forces in World War II. At first not aware of similar sounding meaning in name. We thought that as punk anarchists that we were a new generation and wanted a name to that effect. **Iron Guard** was a real bad choice.

Then we opted for **Black Guard**. We were MISINFORMED that this name was also fascist sounding like SS or something (**Maximum Rock'n'Roll** said that). On the contrary 'Black Guard' would have been a very fine choice as the 'Black Guards' were anarchist martyrs in Moscow in 1918, who fought the bolshevik secret police and Lenin's consolidation of power. Instead we opted for **New Iron Column**, named after a Spanish revolutionary militia - which fought both Franco's fascists and Stalin's communists. Since A.N.I.C. I we have been exposed to A literature from all over the world - WE LEARN. Maybe you thought we were naive and politically immature - so not worth communicating with. Smacks of elitism on your part. We've sent A.N.I.C. many times. Maybe they are not all getting through? We have had this happen often.

On Porn Issue: We couldn't agree more with you! We've been subjected to much the same ridicule. Not so much B. Black or Fred as I would say... Al Medwin or Hank Purcell Jr. or Billy Mick or 'Ministry of Truth' or 'Factsheet Five'. Sexism in society as a whole is the problem, porn a reflection of this. Prostitution a similar issue. Women are victims in a larger 'game' and porn or prostitution are symptoms of this. State censorship is NO answer. We have never advocated this - but Direct Action and social revolution... Yes!

The Libertarian Party is a favorite target of ours here. Since Orange County is home base for the L.P. There is a saying here: living behind the 'Orange Curtain'. And I assure you we don't like it or the high tech militarist, affluent/rightist 'libertarian' - Bircherist death culture within it (the county). We are just stuck here - lumpen prole/vagrants from the depressed east and midwest. Displaced. Others of us grew up in LA/Watts area here. Poor. We are creating plenty of havoc in the belly of Reagan Country. We have come for their children. We have successfully penetrated local high schools - area prisons - punk scene here in general (which is rather large), inspiring the current surge of A youth mobilisations here. And not without risks... we have sustained numerous attacks and threats and one thwarted bombing attempt on us a week ago ('wiring' attempt on a car). We need your support. We certainly support **Open Road**. Articles on Big Mountain and Wollaston - excellent! We support V-5!

A New Iron Column  
1728 W. Ball #4  
Anahelm CA  
92804 U.S.A.

Dear Open Road,  
Isaw the advertisement you put out in **Maximum Rock'n'Roll**. Be-

ing involved in punk rock for a while can get someone sick as shit of circle A's all over everything. I've been interested (although fairly ignorant) of anarchism for years, how it ties into peace, and letting people be themselves without outside hinderance.

Whenever my friends and I are hassled by the police (never for a crime however, but for being young) it is ironic to see people with 'anarchy' written all over them sit passively giving police all they ask for (I.D., etc.) while one or two of us ask questions.

J.S.  
Baltimore, MD, U.S.A.

Dear friends,

Received the **Open Road/Resistance** and greatly enjoyed it. But I read in their "On the Road" statement that they were going to dictate the type of communiques you would print in the future. I greatly object to this, anyone attacking the ruling system should have some sort of English language media to issue their statements. At this time you alone serve this purpose, regardless whether they are anarchist or ML, do not desert the true freedom fighters.

For total revolution  
J.P.

## STANDING DEER

Greetings to all my brothers and sisters,

From the dungeons of Babylon I send love and strength to all of you who struggle for the sake of our unborn generations. Thank you for the excellent coverage **Open Road** gave me, Albert Garza and Leonard Peltier during our 42 day religious fast we did in 1984 at the federal prison in Marion, Illinois. Thank you, to, for the continued coverage that you gave my brother Leonard as his struggle for freedom continues. There was one slight error in your 'Leonard Peltier Update' which appeared in the Spring 1986 issue. The United States Penitentiary where Leonard is now being held is a maximum security prison rather than minimum security as reported. It is true that after the horrors of the dreaded Marion political prison, Leavenworth seems like a minimum security prison by comparison.

I have been kicked out of the federal prison sysem and am now being held 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 and incredible reprisals. We 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 honour of the great people's victory on the streets of Saigon on April 29, 1975. My comrade, Rickke Green #8244, who gets your paper, has been on deadlock almost the entire time since I escaped nearly 11 years ago. So far as I can determine, he is the only bone fide black revolutionary political prisoner left in an Oklahoma prison.

In the spirit of Crazy Horse  
and comrade George

Standing Deer  
A.K.A. Robert H. Wilson #83947  
McAlester State Prison - Box 97  
McAlester, Oklahoma  
74501 U.S.A.



## "Libertarians" and the CNT

Colegas,

We are very glad to know that **Open Road** is still hanging in there. Issue 18 looks great and, although **Malahierba** hasn't put out an issue in over a year, we will gladly make use of **Open Road** in Radio Klara y Libertaria, a free radio here in Valencia which broadcasts 18 hours a day in stereo and reaches three provinces. You may have heard of **Radio Klara**, as they've tried to close us down on several occasions, but we've come back each time stronger and stronger. What constitutes a Free Radio is: no financial backing from any political party or labor union, no advertising, and no support from any government organisation or related institution. Radio Klara calls itself "Libertaria" but there are groups which do programs at the radio that are not "Libertarians". There are various communist groups and others who have no idea of anything. However, the majority is "Libertarian" and are people who were in the CNT for many years but have had to abandon the CNT due to internal strife which has made the CNT an abysmal place for "Libertarians" to be (If I put "Libertarian" in quotes it's because there are many people who call themselves "Libertarians" who are, in fact, not "Libertarians" at all. A "Libertarian" is judged by actions and not by his/her words. Unfortunately, in both CNTs (the CNT has always been divided as the article I have included in this letter explains)\* there are certain individuals who are rather authoritarian in their attitudes. As a result, there are many "Libertarians" outside the CNT, waiting for the eventual "reunification". These "Libertarians" in the meantime are not sitting around doing nothing, while the internal battles between the two groups calling themselves the CNT are being fought out. These "Libertarians" are working in anti-militarist groups and feminist groups. Some have put their necks on the line and formed Free Radios. (The "communists" are now taking advantage of what the "libertarians" have done over the last few years in creating "Free Radios", risking jail of fascist violence to do it. Now that these stations are becoming more or less tolerated, all of a sudden you find

"Free Radios" sprouting up all over that are communist backed or just plain commercial. But it was the "Libertarian" movement which gave rise to these stations, and above all "Libertarians" who found themselves out of the CNT. Because all they were doing in the CNT was having to deal with the eternal internal "question".)

You will find in the article I have sent you, ...a more authentic exposition of the problem of the division in the CNT than what you published in issue #18. I tell you this not because I take any sides. As a matter of fact I sympathize with CNT/AIT, but I am not a member of either CNT, and will not be until their differences are resolved. The issue is very complex. Like me there are thousands of colleagues waiting for the reunification. The only thing that articles like the one you published in #18 do is divide the CNT even more. Lately there seems to be a strong desire to bury swords and come together. But there are still individuals who feel

the need to avenge certain injuries. You will find this especially among the old colleagues, those who lived the revolution and the early post-war repression. There are many divisions between them and these problems have also been passed on to the younger colleagues. The victim has been the CNT and the benefactor has been the state.

Try to familiarize yourselves a little bit more with this very delicate problem at a time when so many people are waiting for this thing to get straightened out once and for all so that the CNT can finally become a strong base for Libertarian activity. The division has only served to strengthen the 'left' PSOE+/communists and liberals. As you know, there is a very strong anarchist tradition in Spain. If the CNT manages to iron out it's differences (and mind you many of these differences have very little to do with ideology and more to do with old arguments and vengeances) perhaps there might be a very powerful Libertarian resurgence on the peninsula again. But we've got the police and the state doing what they can to divide us, and individuals in the CNT who won't sit down and work their differences out. Neither the one nor the other CNT is completely at fault. Both of them need to have a real desire to work to work out the problem. And until this happens, thousands of "Libertarians" will continue working on their own, waiting. Please, anything that divides us any more can only work against us. If you must publish something about the CNT or the Libertarian movement in Spain, please do it in such a way that will tend to support it's growth, and not divide it even more.

Salud y Anarquia Siempre!!!  
Russell

\* The article mentioned in this letter is a reprint from an issue of **Solidaridad Obrera Barcelona [CNT-AIT]**. At present we have not obtained a translation, but copies are available from **Open Road** for \$1.00 including postage. If possible the article may be reprinted in a future issue.

† The PSOE are the ruling party in Spain (social democrats).

The address of Radio Klara is:  
**Radio Klara**  
c/o Garrigues, 1 - 40 - M  
46001 Valencia, SPAIN

OPEN ROAD needs writers...  
and photographers and artists.

Our aim is to be a forum for the international anarchist movements. To do this we need written and graphic contributions from people on the spot. We need first-hand accounts of your aims, your struggles, and successes, what works and what doesn't. You can make the **Open Road** the paper you deserve. Send any and all contributions to:

The Open Road Box 6135, Station G  
Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6R 4G5

# ANARCHY IN BC

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