



Vol. 15 No. 2 June 28-July 19, 1976 Bellingham, Wn.

*Boundary*

**Internal Colonies**

**35¢**

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# On Armed Struggle

## A CONTINUING DIALOGUE

(Editor's Note: In our continuing attempts to foster dialogue and thought concerning the activities of the George Jackson Brigade, and the question of armed struggle/terrorism, we present the third of these responses to the subject and want to clarify that these and all previous opinions are solely those of the authors and reflect no collective stance of the NWP. Next issue will contain an article, "Armed Struggle: In Support of Revolutionary Violence" by Left Bank Political Collective.)

Dear Roxanne (and other Passage folks, if appropriate):

I just finished reading your article, "TERRORISM: The Question of Tactics," and feel a need to make a formal reply to what I consider about the most offensive article I've ever read in what's usually a real fine paper. I'll do it point by point, in an attempt to stay reasonably coherent.

1. I think that your definitions of the terms "revolutionary violence" and "terrorism" were at best wrong—at least in terms of verbalizing the feeling I, or anyone else I know, have for the terms—and, at worst, opportunistically contrived to better serve in the weaving and justification of your own political opinion. I'm not going to get into what I would consider more accurate definitions, as I basically agree with what the Left Bank response will have to say to that issue.

2. You say that you "...do not see this country even close to a state of armed struggle." Just who are you talking to? Other lefties? Do you have any contact to speak of with the people locked up in prison anywhere across the country? Do you hear the Black or Native American communities unanimously voting to "postpone violence until a receptive time"? After more than three years in the prison movement, I won't say that my impression is any less one-sided than yours; but I sure as hell will say that there's plenty of people in this country, in and out of the prisons, who wouldn't quite agree with your analysis, and I don't hear you even considering them. What I do hear you saying is that it's all right for poor and oppressed people to fight—just so long as the fighting's not close to home, where it might be a threat to all the folks who've been mouthing left rhetoric for years without realizing that to one hell of a lot of people in this country, every day is next to intolerable, and the concept of revolution is not a romantic, abstract little ego trip.

3. You point out that "...to postpone violence until a receptive time may mean significantly fewer deaths and less terror." If you want to discuss the few days, weeks, or months during which the actual physical overthrow of the government itself occurs, I might agree with you: if everyone in the world but Rockefeller were revolutionaries, I'm sure we could pull off a real bloodless

revolution. In that sense, use of violence is an admission of powerlessness. But the fact of the matter is that right now, the other side **does** have the power—and will continue to have, exactly as long as we allow them to....and until we reach that enviable situation where no one is willing to play mercenary to the capitalists, it's going to take violence to stop them. But there is a serious short-coming to your humane concept of "Postponing violence" to lessen deaths and terror: here again, it's real obvious that whoever you're dealing with in your life either feels at least reasonably comfortable with the status quo—or else you're totally insensitive to their suffering. Every day that goes by, the rich and their politicians and police forces and armies are killing, torturing, starving, and imprisoning people. Do these people not count against your toll of "(fewer) deaths and (less) terror"??? Ask Ernest Graham and Eugene Allen (two Black prisoners sentenced a few months ago to the gas chamber in California) to explain to you how postponement means "fewer deaths." Ask the scores of prisoners subjected to lobotomies, drug experimentation and other Behavior Modification techniques in Butner, Vacaville, and other American prisons, to argue for patience, in order to make it all easier in the end and create "less terror." Before you purport to speak for the people, Roxanne, I'd suggest you try dealing a little more with the people who are hurting on account of the way things are.

4. You say, "The arrogance of the Brigade seems most obvious: they think they know what is needed in America at this point and they intend to involve all the rest of us in their decision." I'll be the last to take issue with you about arrogance on the part of the Brigade, and in fact I feel real strongly that the tendency of people doing armed stuff to become arrogant and "heavier than thou" is the greatest danger of that kind of work. What we aboveground can do to cut down this tendency and make the underground more answerable to the aboveground—as well as vice versa—is to offer principled constructive criticism. That doesn't mean self-righteous trashing such as your article offered. I don't think that the George Jackson

Brigade has shown itself to be unwilling to accept criticism: for instance, after the unspeakably awful bombing of Safeway during business hours, the Left Bank Collective, of which I was then a member, issued a criticism (which actually was more a condemnation than a constructive criticism), and in fact we issued it to the straight press rather than tried to get it to the Brigade through the "Movement" press. This was not even done, in fact, (at least on my part) with any expectation that anyone who could do something that wrong was going to be receptive to criticism. But the fact of the matter is that they did take a long hard look at that action, admitted later that it was wrong, and have since changed their practice in their actions to show the concern for peoples' safety which the Safeway action lacked. As a result, I had to reevaluate my opinion of the Brigade upwards....which still doesn't put them among my top ten favorite folks, but I have respect for them as people who are struggling to be revolutionaries—which I think is the most that can be said for any of us, over or underground.

And, Roxanne, I think that everyone who is trying to be part of a revolution in this country—or any country—has an idea of what they think is needed at any given point; you condemn the Brigade for thinking they know and intending to involve all the rest of us in their decision. but can you tell me how exactly you are above the same "accusation"? To advocate inaction is certainly no less telling than to advocate action, once you realize that there's real suffering going on every moment that the status quo continues.

5. Your statements and analyses of the grand jury situation: a) "Because of the structure of the grand jury, a person is excused by simply answering that they do not have personal knowledge of the Brigade." I'm sort of assuming that this was a typographical error. If not,

[Editor's Note: We apologize for the typographical error. The word "not" was inadvertently omitted, thus distorting the meaning of the sentence in question.]

please find out the facts before you venture to write next time. This statement is simply, totally false. b) "So those who refuse to testify end up protecting the Brigade. They also are exercising far more caution and respect for other people than the Brigade has ever done." First, there are a pretty overwhelming number of arguments in favor of refusing to testify even aside from any such concern, whether or not my/our refusal in effect protects the Brigade. For myself, at least, I would refuse to testify even if I thought the only people who could stand to lose by my testimony were the Brigade; but first, that's far from the case, and second, specifics of this case aside, I'm refusing to cooperate at all for the simple reason that I don't talk to the government—about my friends, or anyone else. The second part of your statement was,

to me, reminiscent of childhood scenes of being held up as an example to the other children; pat someone else on the head, Roxanne. I don't want to, and will not, be used by you as a reproach against the George Jackson Brigade. c) "Mead chose to engage in illegal activities, so he knew what consequences he was facing. Other people were merely friends of Po's, or went to a hearing, or answered a telephone call: they did not make a similar choice. Ane yet they are having to suffer the consequences of someone else's decisions....the fact remains that all of these repercussions were initiated by the Brigade's choice of terrorism." Bullshit. I for one have spent the last several years of my life trying real hard to to tromp on the Government's toes any way I could—mostly by doing prison work. Considering that, if I had been really surprised to eventually get a subpoena for my efforts, I'd feel pretty damn sure I either wasn't too bright, or was at least real naive, and never really had any idea of just what kind of beast it was I'd been fighting against all along. Most of us subpoenaed are leftists, or possibly in some cases, are subpoenaed for living of hanging out with leftists. If we don't want trouble from the government, we don't belong on the Left, we belong in the suburbs. If it wasn't the Brigade, the government would eventually find a another excuse. Your willingness to advocate inaction to keep the government off our backs floors me. A revolutionary, if you ever elect to call yourself such, is someone who works to create change. An apologist for the status quo, on the other hand.....

d) I have real difficulty with your compulsion to cultivate "poor little girlism." I at least was real insulted by your plays for sympathy for us poor vulnerable little girls who are being picked on by the big, bad government, which struck me real heavily as the tone of this segment of your article (secondary, of course, to the ever-present trashing of the Brigade). Maybe this brand of sympathy would be in order, were we of the weaker side. But I believe that there is going to be a successful revolution in this country, and I intend to be a part of it in one way or another; and what this means is that I think the government, whether they know it or not, is ultimately the weaker of the two sides. So I don't go begging for sympathy because I'm getting ripped at a little bit by a frightened animal on the Endangered Species list. Support, yes, by all means; I need it and I welcome it with open arms. But if that brand of sympathy is what you're offering, if you want to feel sorry for me and cater to my weaknesses, keep it. There are people around who understand well enough to offer me the love and support to reinforce my strengths.

In the Struggle,

Michelle Whitnack







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\* In Bellingham, on June 30th at 2414 1/2 Jst

## Staff Comments

You remember what Mama said  
 You reap what you have sown  
 We don't want a piece of your pie  
 We wanna bake our own  
 This land was watered with our sweat  
 And paid for with our grief  
 This man says he owns it  
 Who's the righteous, who's the thief?  
 It takes time to build a nation  
 The river is deep and wide.  
 Time to make things, time to break things  
 And time is on our side.  
**FREE THE LAND**  
 Father, mother, sister, and brother,  
 Take a stand.

Chris Kando Iijima, Joanne Nobuko Miyamoto  
 From the album, "Grain of Sand"

"These united colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent" reads the Declaration of Independence. The right of self-determination of colonized peoples is one ideal in the 200 year-old document to uphold. Yet today U.S. maintains colonies, such as Puerto Rico and Native American nations, both inside and outside its borders. We dedicate this issue to the right of self-determination.

### Nationalism and Self-Determination

While self-determination is essential to freedom-loving people, the word "nationalism" is often feared. Nationalism conjures up visions of imperialist ventures such as the Spanish-American War or Nazi blitzkrieg in Europe. Distinctions must be made between the nationalism of dominant, international powers, which is basically a devotion to the interests of one nation at the expense of the rest of the world; and the nationalism of countries under foreign control which aspire for national independence. As African Amilcar Cabral states, present liberation struggles must be regarded as "a conquest of a small piece of humanity for the common heritage of humanity". This concept necessitates that the nationalism of emerging nations and those of the "internal colonies of the U.S." be essentially internationalist.

True national independence movements imply opposition to the capitalist powers. There is no way for a small capitalist nation to economically compete without being subservient to the big powers, such as the U.S. "Puppet governments", as in Vietnam, saw native people making economic and political policies primarily beneficial to the United States and its corporations—not to the people of Vietnam. Independence means control by all people, workers, women and minorities, over their own destiny.

### Boundaries of a Nation?

Real nations provide for peace within the local community and also within the community of man (sic) because they exist in the hearts of the people and peace, the unity of spirit and reason, is the natural condition of society-- Sotsisowah (John Mohawk), Native American leader.

In these days of national liberation struggles and newly emerging nations, it is important to bear in mind that there has never been anything sacred about national boundaries. Powerful nations, in search of new natural resources or markets for their goods, have had no inhibitions in changing the territory and character of a nation to accommodate its interests. The 19th C. doctrine of Manifest Destiny, which declared that the U.S. has the right and duty to expand throughout North America and the world, ignored the existence of the Mexican and Native American nations which were trampled in the U.S. acquisitions.

### Free the Land

Land, an important element in national independence movements, is recognized by the United States as an issue as well. Amidst Third World countries rising up and demanding and achieving independence and control over their land and resources (Angola and Vietnam) the U.S. is trying to hold on to its own most tightly controlled colonies. Indian Reservations hold vast amounts of coal, oil, uranium, water and other resources that U.S. corporations want to control. Puerto Rico's 78 year-old colonial relationship has provided a haven for U.S. companies to achieve super profits at the expense of working people in Puerto Rico.

The issue of land for national independence movements is two-fold, pointing out the cultural rootings of people in the land and the assumption of economic and political control over the land one works and lives on. Native American culture is directly tied to the land itself, whence comes the politics, economics and spirituality of Indian people. Native Americans are demanding a recognition of U.S.-Indian treaties which implies recognizing the sovereignty of specific land bases.

Most people in the U.S. are alienated from land because we have historically had no control over it. Ownership and control of U.S. land primarily falls in the hands of government and big business. Land struggles should be seen not only in the light of "national independence movements" but also as communities' demands for control over their neighborhoods, and workers' demands for control of their work environment. Freeing the land is significant for all people who have worked, struggled in, and been oppressed by this country. The land must be freed so that those who live and work on it can live in freedom.

M.C., K.S., R.G.  
 NWP Seattle Collective



# PUERTO RICO:

## 'Independence Now, Socialism Immediately!'

*(Editor's note: The following article explains how, right now, a few miles from Florida, a national liberation struggle is building that will affect U.S. imperialism as seriously as did the struggles in Vietnam and Angola. Puerto Rico is a classic colony, held first by Spain and, since 1898, by the United States. All judicial, legislative and administrative decisions about the island are made in the United States. Cultural life in Puerto Rico is designed for the pleasure of rich North Americans. And the economy on the island is structured to provide profit to American investors. Counterposed to United States control is a long history of fighting for independence, and more and more, socialist organization is being seen as a necessary part of longlasting national self-determination.*

### COLONIAL HISTORY

The Spanish first came to Puerto Rico in the 1490s, on one of Columbus' trips. Within 100 years, the native population—the Taino—was eliminated as a distinct ethnic group, through warfare, European disease, mass suicide and the tribe's refusal to reproduce. The Spanish colonizers tried to make the island pay for its own administration, but they never quite succeeded. They brought slaves from Africa to farm and mine gold; introduced forced labor, and reorganized the island's agriculture. But by 1750, profits from Mexico were paying for the administration of Puerto Rico, which was turned into the main Spanish military post in the Caribbean, guarding the Atlantic entrance to Central America, and trade routes from the South.

Between 1800 and 1820, the island was flooded by Spanish and South American bourgeois, fleeing the slave revolt in Haiti and independence movements in South America. These "refugees" got large land grants from the Spanish crown, and set themselves up as rulers in their new home, Puerto Rico. The people who had lived on the island for several generations resented these newcomers. A Puerto Rican nationality began to be defined. Over the next 75 years, the movement for independence from Spain took many forms, and had many objectives. People used letters to the King and armed insurrections to press their points, which ranged from kindlier colonial administration to socialism and independence from Spain. By 1898, the Spanish were ready to grant Puerto Rico its autonomy.

At the same time, the United States found it necessary to protect increased investments in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. Fearing the insurrections in those three Spanish holdings, U.S. troops swept aside all Spanish pretenses of liberalization and occupied the islands. Today, Puerto Rico is under the total legal and economic control of the United States.

### U.S. ECONOMIC CONTROL

Before 1898, the Puerto Rican economy was based on after-dinner crops: tobacco, coffee and sugar. Aside from a 10% slave population, labor was organized in a hacienda system, in which workers didn't get wages but were attached to a paternal landowner. There were some small farmers, and a developing merchant class. In the last years of Spanish rule, there were some moves towards urbanization, based around tobacco factories and trade, supported largely by U.S. capital.

The beginning of the 20th century was a period of rapid capitalist expansion, not just in the Caribbean

but throughout the third world. This expansion significantly changed the social structure of Puerto Rico, by changing the ways people earned their living. Sugar, which in 1895 represented 29% of Puerto Rican exports, in 1920 accounted for 66%. Coffee production shifted to Brazil. Agriculture was increasingly mechanized, and land use patterns shifted to account for the demands sugar made on the soil. Small farms decreased, and labor was shifted to the exporting centers. The Puerto Rican ruling class became a managerial class on behalf of U.S. capitalists, as Puerto Rico became the second-largest Latin American consumer of U.S. exports.

This essentially one-crop economy continued until the 1940s, when the Industrial Development Corporation introduced Operation Bootstrap, a rapid industrialization plan. Bootstrap combined a variety of incentives to U.S. firms—most notably 17-year tax exempt profits—with resocialization of the island, to make the work force better suited to the new industrialism. In the 1950s, hundreds of plants were built to produce handicrafts and small retail items. In the 1960s, there was a shift from labor-intensive industry to more mechanized, capital-intensive industries, particularly petrochemicals and pharmaceuticals. Tourism, with its attendant subclass of busboys, carwashers and prostitutes, became an important secondary industry as San Juan replaced Havana as a playpen for wealthy North Americans.

U.S. investments in Puerto Rico is significant despite the litter of abandoned factories and ghostly derricks, shut down when their tax-exempt lives expired. Six per cent of U.S. investment in the world, 40% of U.S. investment in Latin America, is in Puerto Rico. Investment in the island is greater than that either in Canada or in any African country. Puerto Rico represents one of the most important sources of U.S. capital accumulation in the world.

This rapid, profitable growth has had its impact on the social structure of the island. U.S. capitalists have shifting labor needs, and they manipulate Puerto Rican society to meet those needs. Forced emigration to the U.S. is one form. Forced sterilization is another. This campaign, spearheaded by HEW as a population control effort, has resulted in the

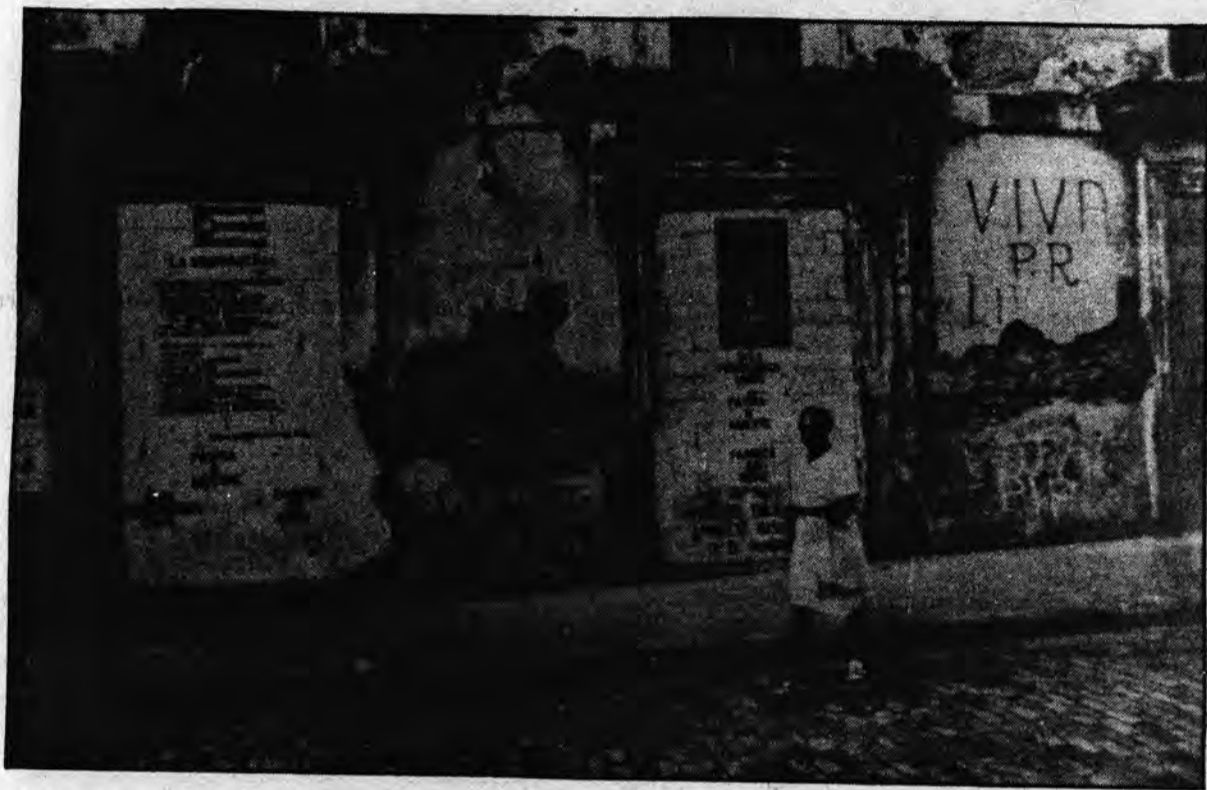
sterilization of 1/3 of all Puerto Rican women. Internal government documents indicate that the purpose of this sterilization campaign is the control of unemployment, in order to combat political unrest. Women are told that the operation is reversible; or they are told that sterilization is a condition of receiving public assistance; or they are not told at all, but simply sterilized when they give birth. Nearly 70% of the health grants from HEW to Puerto Rico in the past five years have been for sterilization clinics.

Exploitative industrial work has resulted in an increasingly militant industrial working class. Real wages in Puerto Rico average less than half the wages in the U.S., and the gap is widening. Unemployment on the island, according to the Chamber of Commerce, is over 30%, despite the emigration of almost a third of the Puerto Rican nation. Today, the United Workers Movement (MOU) represents 20% of Puerto Rican workers in over 100 different unions. MOU's leadership is openly socialist, and the MOU program is based on goals of independence and workers' control. Strikes in Puerto Rico are becoming increasingly militant, and are an important factor in politicizing workers. In the 1972 El Mundo strike, five National Guard helicopters were blown up on the ground just before they were to assault strikers. In the 1974 teachers' strike, leadership spent much of the strike in jail, and police occupied schools and attempted to force the continuation of classes with their riot guns. The 1975-76 cement workers' strike, which lasted eleven months, won a significant number of cement workers to MOU and to a socialist program. In short, the workers in Puerto Rico are rapidly and increasingly turning to socialist programs for the resolution of their intolerable working conditions. Several political parties are attempting to provide leadership.

### CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

Many parties, labor unions, citizens groups and other political organization in Puerto Rico support independence. The three leading forces are the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), the PR Nationalist Party (PNP), and the PR Socialist Party (PSP).

The PIP's strategy is electoral politics. It relies



photos from "Islands"





on a plan to unite the majority of the electorate around a program of independence. The PIP is the largest non-establishment electoral party. Its program calls for socialism to be built after independence is won electorally. The PNP is the party of the Puerto Rican revolution in the 1930s, 40s and 50s. It is the party of Lolita Lebron and the other four Nationalist prisoners—the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere. From 1930-36, and again from 1948-50, the Party was led by Don Pedro Albizu Campos. Most of the rest of his adult life was taken up by 22 years in U.S. and Puerto Rican prisons. One hundred thousand people attended his funeral in 1965. Campos provided leadership to and became a symbol of the Nationalist Party, and more broadly, of the roots of the struggle for independence movement and socialism.

The Nationalists built a people's militia and tried to defend the independence movement against law enforcement/military attacks by the U.S. When the Nationalists took over a small city in 1950, the U.S. launched a six-day war that either killed or jailed almost all Party members. To bring attention to the massacre, two nationalists attempted to shoot their way into Blair House, where President Truman was staying. One was killed, and one jailed, where he was joined four years later by four other Nationalists. The four chose to draw attention to Puerto Rico's plight by shooting into the U.S. House of Representatives, wounding several Congresspeople, including Gerald Ford. The Nationalist prisoners symbolize the militancy of the movement for independence, though the Nationalist Party does not have the mass base that it did twenty years ago.

In the early 1960s, a new political trend emerged in the form of the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI). The MPI began as an "alliance of classes, progressive ideological tendencies, and different generations," organized around "as radical an ideological line as is feasible," according to its first political statement in 1963. In these years of intensive development of U.S. capitalism, the destruction of the economic, political and cultural life of the Puerto Rican people was quickened. MPI, which evolved into the PR Socialist Party in 1971, organized the sharpening class struggle together with the traditional strength of the independence movement. A new stage in the process of Puerto Rican liberation was under way. In 1975, PSP defined its program, analyzed the class structure of Puerto Rican society, and outlined the strategic and tactical objectives of the period. The

PSP sees the struggle for independence as inseparable from the struggle for socialism. Their December 1975 Congress raised the slogan "Independence Now! Socialism Immediately!"

Again, the colonial government and other right-wing forces and their U.S. bosses have responded to this revitalized movement with violence and repression. The 24-year-old son of PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Bras was murdered on March 25, only weeks after his sister had narrowly missed assassination. Two PSP leaders were wounded two years ago, and many trade union leaders have been imprisoned. Recently, the colonial government pardoned a large group of political prisoners to try and pacify an enraged labor movement, and the U.S. government dropped federal charges against several labor leaders facing frame-ups on explosives and firearms counts.

Grand Juries in San Juan and New York persecute independistas and their supporters, including people from the July 4 coalition. The San Juan Grand Jury is an inquisition aimed at the pro-independence labor union militants. The PSP openly discussed its readiness to go underground when necessary. Mari Bras told the *Guardian* in a recent interview that the Party is prepared for the most severe repression imaginable. The PSP believes that armed struggle will be necessary to win substantial independence. The Party believes that after a period of building a mass base, it will be necessary to use force to evict the U.S. and gain final control over the institutions that shape Puerto Rican life.

Speak softly and carry a big stick, advised Teddy Roosevelt, who rode to the White House on the strength of his conquest of Puerto Rico in 1898. Attempting to crush the growing independence movement and its supporters on the continent on one hand, the government and multinational corporations are trying to obscure the harsh realities of colonial exploitation with a document called the Compact of Permanent Union. The Compact is now in Congress, where liberal and conservatives alike are struggling to get it passed into law before the Fall, when the United Nations Committee on Decolonization takes up the case of Puerto Rico. The Compact is one tool the U.S. hopes to use in talking its way out of a jam. It creates the "Free Associated State" of Puerto Rico, without changing the realities of Puerto Rican dependence on U.S. policies. However, if the Compact is approved by Congress, it may help the U.S. avoid discussing the Puerto Rican question in the U.N. In order to bring the realities of Puerto Rican dependence before the world, defeat of the Compact in Congress is one of the major goals of progressive forces in Puerto Rico. Freedom for the five Nationalist prisoners—Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero, and Irving Flores—is another objective, a way of linking generations of freedom fighters together for this new and decisive stage in the struggle for Puerto Rican self-determination.

#### THE PUERTO RICAN STRUGGLE AND THE U.S. MOVEMENT

Our unity with Puerto Rico is based on more than just doing the same jobs for the same bosses. Whether we're rubber workers on Malaysian plantations, cement workers in Puerto Rico, or housewives in Seattle, we're all the natural, human resource, the most important part of the profit-making machine that plunders the world. In conclusion, we'd like to offer an analysis of why building support for the Puerto independence movement is an essential part of building the working class movement in the U.S.

Money is powerful, as we all know, and when a series of victorious national liberation struggles occur, they throw imperialism into a crisis. To make up for losses of investments, capitalists try to get more from us and from their holdings in other nations. That means wages lagging behind price increases at home, speedups, cuts in vital services, cuts in public education, and a declining quality of life for all of us. In the colonies, losses in one arena, like Vietnam and Angola, must be made up in another, and so the U.S. has redoubled its efforts to extract profit from Puerto Rico, and to put down the growing independence and socialist movements.

The victories of oppressed nations both inside and outside the U.S. has a strategic effect on the economic and political situation in the United States. It is important that we make this clear in our work, or else we will continue to battle each other for a better piece of a crumbling social order, or we will work together with people all over the world against the people who steal the fruits of our labor.

Puerto Rico in particular is a significant struggle. U.S. capitalists make half their Latin American profits, 1/10th of their global profits from Puerto Rico. It is the U.S. showpiece in Latin America; a third of the Puerto Rican nation lives in the U.S. It is essential that people in the United States understand the justice of the Puerto Rican struggle, so that when losses in Puerto Rico result in renewed pressure at home, we are clear on whose fault that is. Puerto Rico is at the stage now of having a united working class movement that is beginning the steps towards concrete independence from the U.S.

Jose Marti, the Cuban patriot, said that Cuba and Puerto Rico are two wings of the same bird, one wing free, one soon to be. We think that learning from the Puerto Rican struggle for independence and socialism can help us understand our struggles here, that support for Puerto Rico is support for ourselves.

#### SOURCES

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3. **NACLA Report, Vol. X, No. 5, May - June '76, U.S. UNIONS IN PUERTO RICO.**
4. **'Claridad,' (PSP newspaper), 114 E. 13th St., New York, N.Y. 10003—\$10 per year.**
5. **'Puerto Rico Libre' (bulletin of Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee), Box 319, Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.**



This article was written by a group of people who helped organize the Hard Times Conference and are interested in beginning a Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee in the Seattle area. PRSC is a national anti-imperialist organization, founded to build a solidarity movement in support of the full independence of Puerto Rico and the struggle for self-determination of the Puerto Rican people. PRSC grew out of the organizing for Puerto Rican Solidarity Day (October 27, 1974), when 25,000 people gathered at Madison Square Garden in New York to originally raise the demand for a "Bicentennial Without Colonies". Presently there are chapters in more than 20 North American cities. People interested in becoming involved in this work can call 627-4764 in Tacoma or 325-0860 in Seattle.



# GRAND JURY: 3 WHO

**NWP:** What's the scenario when you go into the grand jury room?

Katie: Well, you walk in, and it isn't dark. I mean I always thought it was going to be dark, but it's not, it's really light and there's all those people sitting there. Something about the atmosphere makes you feel really frightened, really scared.

There is no judge, and you don't have a lawyer. There are no friends of yours, and no press. There's nobody but the court reporter, the prosecutor and the jurors. If you want to talk to your lawyer, you have to ask their permission to go out of the room. There's a whole atmosphere, the prosecutor gives you the distinct impression you are holding up the proceedings if you want to talk with your lawyer. So everybody gets uptight with you, and you feel like you're not asserting your rights, but you're asking for a privilege. So anyhow you have to go down the hall every time you talk with your lawyer. And you try to write down the questions, which is hard, because the prosecutor is asking them so fast.

Brenda: One of the things that really bothers me about going in is that from the moment you walk in the door you're on. You don't get a chance to sit down and orient yourself, or look at who's there or what the set up is. All the time you're in there, they're asking you questions. I found that really frightening. I felt like I was on totally alien territory. There's just no chance to get a sense of your space.

Katie: Yeah, it's like you're on stage. The focus is on you from the first second you walk in that door.

Brenda: And it's strange when you walk in. Everybody else is sitting there really comfortable. The prosecutor knows everybody there, everybody knows everybody else. They know exactly what's going on, they have all this breathing space and you have absolutely none.

**NWP:** I'm getting the idea that it's very difficult to outfox them. I've heard people ask why you don't just go to the jury and answer what questions you want, and kind of play games with them, because you know what you know and they don't.

Katie: You could answer a question or two, which seemed pretty harmless, like if they ask about some bombing and you say you don't know anything. But somewhere down the line they will ask a question and you say "Hey, they have no business asking this" or you just don't want to tell them. So you say, wait a minute, I'm not going to answer that question, and try to assert your 5th amendment rights. But they say, sorry, you can't do that; by talking to begin with, by answering even one question, you have waived

your 5th amendment rights. So there you are. You've got no legal grounds to stand on at all.

**NWP:** Have you been told the questions they're interested in asking you?

Brenda: One of the things the prosecutor has said is that one of the things he wants to know from us is who Po's friends were, because if he knows who was close to him at the time he died, he would then know who would be grieved enough to do the second bombing, and thus find the George Jackson Brigade. Which is one of the reasons I don't want to testify. I don't want to talk about who Po's friends were. That's the same kind of reasoning that led them to me and put me in this situation and I have no interest in doing that to somebody else.

In September, 1975, Ralph "Po" Ford was killed while setting off a bomb at the Capitol Hill Safeway store in Seattle. A few days later a group calling itself the George Jackson Brigade set off another bomb in the same store, injuring a few people. Since then the Brigade has taken credit for two other bombings.

In January the Brigade unsuccessfully attempted to rob a bank in Tukwila, Washington, to "expropriate" money for political purposes. During the robbery, one Brigade member was killed and two others, Mead and Sherman, were captured. Sherman was freed by other Brigade members in a jail break. Mark Cook is currently on trial for charges stemming from the trial, although he claims not to be a member of the Brigade, and Sherman and Mead have both verified his statement. Mead has been found guilty on state charges from the robbery and faces federal charges. Escapee Sherman and the remainder of the Brigade remain at large.

A federal grand jury was called to investigate the bank robbery. Several people in the Left were called to testify in April, but most of their subpoenas were dropped.

In May, the U.S. Attorney's office conducted a search of a Capitol Hill home where Po once lived, saying they believed that a communique from the Brigade had been written there. Several items were seized during the search, including typewriters, personal diaries and letters. Four additional women were then subpoenaed before the jury, including two residents of the house (Katie Mitchell and Brenda Carter), a former resident (Kathy Hubenet) and another woman who once lived in a house with Po (Nancy "Michelle" Whitnack). The U.S. Attorney's Office contends that close friends of Po's know who were likely to be grieved enough by Po's death to retaliate -- those persons therefore being Brigade members.

Sherman later called a reporter from the P-I and told him that the women were NOT members of the Brigade.

The following interview was conducted on June 5th. Since that time the subpoena for Kathy Hubenet has been dropped, apparently because she should never have received one. The U.S. Attorney had not realized she had moved from the house.

Brenda Carter is scheduled to appear before the jury on July 13th.

Katie Mitchell appeared on June 22nd and refused to submit her fingerprints as requested. She argued that they had no more right to request her fingerprints than anyone else's in Seattle: "The government cannot just dragnet anyone who is a friend, relative, or acquaintance of a person and demand that they provide fingerprints."

Mitchell faces a contempt hearing on June 29th for her refusal. If she is found in contempt, she will be sent to jail. She could remain in jail for upwards of 18 months, the life of the grand jury.

Michelle Whitnack refused to take the oath. On June 29th the Federal Court will hold her 'show cause and contempt' hearing. If she is found in contempt, she will also be sent to jail.

On June 23rd three other persons were delivered subpoenas: Helene Ellenbogen, Paul Zinsel and Wayne Parker, all members of the Left Bank Bookstore Collective.

**NWP:** What do you think about the government's decision that the Brigade is all connected up with Po?

Katie: Even Walter Wright, the reporter from the Post Intelligencer has come out and said, look the brigade never claimed Po as a member, although they've claimed all kinds of other people and other things, but they've never claimed him or the bombing thing he did as one of their actions. After the brigade bombing at the Safeway store Po's friends issued a statement saying that Po would never have approved of that sort of bombing because it endangered people's lives and he was a gentle person. He never would have endangered people. And Michelle, the other woman subpoenaed, has come out in the press and said that she'd stake her life on the fact that Po wasn't a member of the brigade. I think that was in the Passage in fact.

**NWP:** When I interviewed Ed Mead he said that Po was not a member of the brigade; he was a comrade trying to achieve the same ends, but not a member.

It sounds like the grand jury subpoenas are a combination of sloppy investigative work and a fishing expedition. Do you have a sense from the government's point of view what they're trying to get from all this?

Brenda: What goes on in their minds is a really good question. I think they don't have a very good understanding of the left community. We went before Magistrate Weinberg on the hearing to get some of our things taken in the search. U.S. Attorney Mayer justified keeping the things because we showed an interest in dialectical materialism and feminism, because we had radical writings in our house, because we read poetry, because there were the words in someone's diary that said "cozy and comforting" which is similar to "cozy, cuddly, armed and dangerous" which is in one of the communiques of the brigade, because we were sorry, grieved that Po died, because we had a criticism of some group which showed the brigade form since it started out with a quote from a revolutionary -- all these things put together showed there was a good chance that we are the George Jackson Brigade. That leads me to be-

lieve there must be George Jackson houses all over Capitol Hill, and that many of us who had no idea that we were members, must be.

Katie: I'd like to put another twist on that. From the very beginning with us, from the very beginning when they did this garbage search, the affidavit, and all this business, they've been trying to create this web around us, this fog around us. Prosecutor Meyerson came out on the radio and said, we know that communique was written in that particular house we searched. It's like they're trying to cast this thing on us that we must have something to hide, that we know all these things. And what I think they're doing is trying to make it so that when we go in and try to assert our rights, they can say sure, they're taking the 5th because they have something to hide, and that it's not because we think it's important that people refuse to cooperate with the grand jury.

**NWP:** I'd like to talk about what's happened in your own lives as a result of the subpoenas.

Katie: Two kinds of things have happened. We've gotten a lot of support from some friends, from some people we don't even know at all, although other people, other friends have disappeared into the woodwork.

**NWP:** Do you think that's because they're afraid?

Katie: I really don't know. I have to assume that's why. I get uptight about it occasionally, but on the other hand I've really been overwhelmed by the number of other people who have just done incredible things for us, really supported us a lot. So that's one side of it. The other side of it is that we are virtually on trial in front of the press for something that we never did. Hell, I've never even been arrested for anything. Nobody's ever been smirched; my, um, integrity and suddenly here I am on trial for writing something I never wrote. And yet the government, I mean the FBI, the CIA, there was the Watergate thing, everybody knows that the government lies and cheats and steals and does everything, and yet



# REFUSED TO SPEAK



Sitting on the steps of their former Capitol Hill home in Seattle are three women subpoenaed by the grand jury this spring. They are, left to right, Kathy Hubenet, Brenda Carter and Katie Mitchell. Photo by Emmett Ward.

people are willing to listen to them and believe them. But in our personal lives ... our landlord got real freaked out about the search of the house and the stuff that's happened. So he's evicting us, we have to be out by the end of the month. So that's happening on top of everything else.

Before all this happened, the plans for the immediate future of my life, were to be a gardener, because I really like to do that; and I would go to carpentry school in the fall. What's happened is that my garden is overgrown with weeds, I won't get it harvested because I won't be living in this house any more. If I go to jail I won't go to carpentry school. I have a son -- I'd like to say before this happened he thought police were wonderful, and if fact when they walked through the door he wasn't upset at all, he was the coolest person here. He thought it was great to have all these cops in his house. But since then I came home one day and there was a sign that he made on the front door that said "no police in here". It's had a big impact on his life and if they send me to jail, it's going to have a real big impact because I'm not going to see him for probably a year or more, which means I won't see him til he's 7%.

**NWP: When you think of your future, do you expect you'll end up in jail?**

Katie: I include that as a real strong possibility. I'm superstitious enough to not want to say, of course I'm going to jail. But I want to leave the option open in my own mind. I'm making the necessary kinds of arrangements for that.

Brenda: I'm assuming I'm gonna go and the legal advice I get is to make that assumption. I'll be very surprised if I don't and I'm building what's left of my life around this fact. My whole lifestyle has changed and the way I look at everything has changed because of this. Before the police broke into the house, I mean I always knew about police repression and I always knew that being a revolutionary, or a radical, or whatever it turns out that we are, ... included that occupational hazard. But since this has happened I feel like my life has been totally invaded and there are all kinds of things that are no longer my private things.

The police have gone through my garbage and read things that I threw away, they broke into my house, they ripped off personal letters from my friends, they ripped off diaries, address books, all that kind of stuff is theirs. They could walk around the house and do whatever they wanted. They may be bugging my phone, they might be observing outside. I do not know what is going to happen to me for the next year and a half of my life. I may be spending it totally under other people's control. I am being dragged up in front of the grand jury and being told to say what I know about my friends.

One of the reasons I do not want to testify is that I want them to know that there is a part of me that is *myself*, that they cannot touch, that they cannot have. Since this happened I have had to find myself inside myself. I have had to find my center really strong inside. I can't use a journal, I can't keep letters to my friends to use as "maps" to my life. It all has to be inside of me, and that is really changing the way I look at the world. It was very hard when I realized they had taken letters from people that I care very much about, and I don't know what it will mean that they had those letters. I don't know what it will mean that they have addresses of my friends. Friends may be subpoenaed because of their association with me. People who have only had personal associations with me can be dragged into this. It has given me a lot to think about. I realize that we need to find ways to take care of ourselves, to protect our friends and to fight back. And if we are serious about changing this country, that that's going to have to be part of our lives.

**NWP: Do you have any specific ideas of what changes that means?**

Brenda: I don't want to spread a lot of paranoia around and suggest that everyone is going to get their houses broken into, but I think that people who are radicals ought to think real carefully about what kind of written information is lying around in their house. That people should pick their friends wisely, when people that they know are under attack that they should take that very seriously and support them in

every way that they can. That can mean a lot of things from showing up to demonstrate to making dinner, giving money, coming up to people and just talking to them: letting them know that you are there.

**MWP: Do you think that your experiences will scare people into retreating?**

Katie: Well, personally I have not been active in the Left for quite awhile. I did not like being in the Left especially, although I carried with me those feelings. I just did not want to do anything. It has not scared me a bit, it has turned me into a full-time activist.

It was really hard for me for a couple weeks, I went through a personal hell getting myself to give up what I wanted to be doing. And accept the situation that I am now in. And I pretty much have accepted it and I have a whole lot of energy for fighting. It has not scared me, it has made me. REAL ANGRY, and really committed to doing everything I can to change it.

Brenda: I am really scared. It is important to let people know that you are scared. If we are serious about what we are doing, then we have to realize that there are going to be times in our lives when we are going to be real, real afraid. What we have to learn to do is keep going in the face of that fear. That's what courage is. When we look at the Vietnamese and we respect them for the courage they had, it is not because they were able to fight in this wonderful situation when they had lots of support and help. We respect them because they fought when everything was against them. I think that that is the kind of consciousness that people have to develop. We fight to win.

Katie: We run into some people who try to do this super-woman trip on us, because we are not testifying. And we try to say that we are not super, that we are just like everybody else. And that we need people's support to do what we are doing. We need to not feel isolated. It is symbiotic: people care about what is happening to us, therefore we care about people and we keep on refusing to testify.

**NWP: Does it really make a difference to have people coming down to the demonstrations?**

Kathy: Oh, yeah, I mean THAT is putting yourself on the line. That is the strongest form of support. People coming to you privately and say that they really support what you are doing is a lot of good energy, but to say that publicly is an act of courage on someone's part. Particularly to someone who has not gone to demonstrations a lot, it's scary. And that is important to get through.

One of the surprising things to me is how much support I have gotten at Group Health, which is basically pretty straight hospital. I am a registered nurse and I work in the emergency room. People have been real supportive, people have given money and have given a lot of personal support and I really appreciate that. My initial response was "EeeK" I am going to love my job. And that has not been the case. Even the people I work with who are real right-wingers have been pretty supportive or have kept their mouths shut, they haven't given me their usual hassle.

**NWP: How have you gotten across to people, because the whole set up is that you are a dangerous person?**

Kathy: They know me, they know me real well. I am real open about who I am. The initial response I have gotten from people is "This is ridiculous" Just from knowing me on some fairly intimate level, because we

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# ti-grace atkinson:

## reflections of a survivor

"The State is on your back and you can't crawl out from under. You have to kick it off." those are the words of Ti-Grace Atkinson, a veteran of the women's movement, and one who has always placed herself on the front lines by challenging assumptions and breaking new theoretical ground with her sharp analysis.

In Bellingham ostensibly to give the commencement speech at Fairhaven College, she was generous enough to spend a couple of hours talking with me. Atkinson was active in founding the National Organization for Women. As president in '67 she fought against the liberal and hierarchical tendency that dominated N.O.W. until she resigned her post in protest, (N.O.W. at that time even refused to support the right of abortion for fear that it would alienate too many women).

For the last year and a half she has been working intensely on the Defense Committees for Shoshona Pat Swinton, Susan Saxe and Assata Shakur. She thought that it was important that someone in the feminist movement take a stand in support of the women underground, partly because a lot of the people underground are women and they are being captured in the name of feminism. "They can't survive without our support, but because the feminist community had never been confronted by the government before, (as in Lexington, Ky.), there was a lot of fear and many women did talk to the Grand Jury investigators, though a few did stand up."

"The war is over," she said, "so people don't relate to it as a problem anymore. You're out of a context."

I asked if she thought it was possible for feminism to bring different classes of women together. "Of course," she answered, optimistically, "depend on what we reflect as our interests. Our problem is not that we are a movement of middle-class women; we are not. We are a movement of women whose aspirations are middle-class. We want to be respectable." Ti-Grace defines women as a distinct class, not in the Marxist sense, but in the 'logical' sense, because of the way women as a group are treated by men as a group.

However, from a purely economic perspective, she felt it was absurd to suggest that all women are oppressed equally. Even though women are oppressed in some aspects as women, for example, all women can be subjected to rape, more poor women are raped than rich women. She told a story about some women who came up to her after a speech and asked why she talked so much about money and economics. "What does that have to do with us?" they say. Well, I don't know about your landlord or where you buy your groceries, but where I go they want money. I agree it's kinda tacky. Then they say, 'I still don't understand. The Goddess is gonna take care of me.' Well, all I can say is, the Goddess isn't on my side apparently."

Ti-Grace believes that women's unity as a class is impaired by the class privilege that certain women hold onto. Those of us from middle-class backgrounds have kept much more than we realize, according to her, and we avoid painful self-examination because our egos are so weak. "And of course our egos are weak," (referring I assume to the subjugation of woman's ego to man's often resulting in the lack of a strong self-identity or self-love in women); adding, "but there are ways to support each other."

When people ask her, often socialists, "You're really a socialist aren't you." Ti-Grace only says No, but reminds them, "There are some feminists with a conscience." Speaking of the schism between feminists and socialist-feminists, she was critical of both. On the one hand she criticizes the reactionary retreat into cultural feminism which substitutes literature and mythology for activism and among the socialists she finds many are afraid of getting too far away from their men and the original work of Marx. There is a desperate need for a new economic analysis that would synthesize the theory of women as an oppressed class and the strictly economic definition. "We have to take a lot of things that have been developed, take what's positive and cut away what is negative." This came up several times in our conversation and obviously represented a crucial point in Atkinson's work. "Some women are working on tenant rights, food, nationalizing the utilities. I see those as feminist issues. Times are hard and there are certain things that women need. No matter what they say about the economy bouncing back, don't believe it. It's only going to get worse."

She also predicted a rise in repression of individual freedom, citing, as one example, the recent Supreme court decision that upheld the anachronistic Sodomy Laws over an individual's right to privacy and sexual preference.

She advised all feminists to take a very strong stand, which I gathered meant to Ti-Grace, laying herself on the line. In other words, to deny being a lesbian would be to collaborate with the persecutors of homosexuality. I asked about her original stand in Amazon Odyssey of political lesbianism, which she espoused as the only viable way for women to love themselves and each other and the logical extension of sisterhood. Basically, it represents "radical feminist with an extreme commitment to women which may or may not include genital contact with another woman." She traces the emphasis on whether or not "you have made it" to heterosexual culture which automatically segregates the genitals.

In contrast to her former Amazon position, Atkinson now describes herself as a realist. Women were looking for an easy answer and "separatism

is very romantic. But realistically, you can't fight alone." Although she is interested in forming alliances, "not for love, but out of survival," she has not discarded the principles of separatism completely. She has adapted separatism to the more flexible concept of autonomy. "In the process of forming these alliances, the central issue will be autonomy. Every feminist must be autonomous in order to be able to relate to any other movements."

Atkinson uses the term "Revolutionary Nationalism" to encompass the whole concept of separate autonomous groups coming together out of mutual necessity in order to achieve a common goal. However, she cautions against the dangers in this concept. "Nationalism is really based on people first and the search for a common identity, and then for a space of land-base. Then, building up that space and defending it becomes important and you get into stratification, etcetera which inevitably leads to imperialism." Separatism and Nationalism are the same thing, in her analysis.

"Revolutionary Nationalism, as used by Amilcar Cabral and LeRoi Jones, is what I call strategic nationalism which is very tricky, to use an ideology as a tactic, there isn't anybody yet that's tried to do it who hasn't fallen into the pit. It is a hybrid combination of separatism and coalition." The reason, she said, for moving in autonomous groups is that in most revolutions the needs of women have gotten left behind. "The same thing has happened to black people. The only way to guard against it is to organize separately." It is a means to an end which I imagine is ultimately a non-hierarchical, androgynous anarcho/communist form of society.

She admits it is a contradiction but thinks that the women's movement has become extremely insular and that it is hurting us badly. "I cannot change that world out there by myself." She stressed the need for criticism and self-criticism and honesty among ourselves. "We are afraid of discovering differences. It shows a lack of faith. Our bond is survival. It's unassailable. Realistically, we can only change the world substantially together. So the more we talk about differences, problems, demystify them, and solve them where we can, accept them where we can't, the stronger we'll be."

What inspires someone to struggle? Generally speaking, people who have been deprived have at least a potential motive to fight. For myself, I just get mad at what I see. I really reject what the oppressor wants me to think of myself and the only way I can keep him off is by saying NO! and that's fighting."

This is an assortment of reflections and scattered insights and thus, by necessity, skims the surface of many issues without developing any of them fully. Ti-Grace speaks with the voice of a philosopher, whose medium is abstractions. It is often hard to pin her down to specific meanings. But she also speaks as a survivor, one who has gone to jail many times for what she believes. She commented once that she had been talking to all-women audiences for so long that she has developed a language of internal messages that only women can follow. I hope that you can take what's useful from her observations, and discard the rest, as she has advised us to do.

### City Song

Lesbians,  
separatists,  
socialist/feminists,  
walk beside me  
on the sidewalk,  
walk to meet me  
on the street. I  
must look in  
the face of what  
you are, must see  
you; reach out to  
me, I must have the  
touch sometimes  
call me sister. I  
can hear it. I can  
always hear that.

M. Parker

Eileen Kirkpatrick



# THE QUESTION OF BLACK NATIONALISM: *Republic of New Africa*

The Republic of New Africa (RNA), a black nationalist organization founded in 1968, conducted the first national black elections in North America last fall. They drew seven thousand votes in 12 states and D.C. while electing a Provisional Government which included a President, four regional Vice Presidents, a three-member People's Court, a series of district judges, and a parliament with close to 50 representatives. The RNA includes in its program the demand that Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina be declared New African national territory. For the time being though, they are focusing on agitation at the United Nations to have the 15,000 square mile Kush district, which runs along the Mississippi River south of Memphis (see map in center-fold) declared a non self-governing territory. This area is populated by a black majority, though black people have almost no representation in its government. The recent Hard Times Conference, a broad coalition of white and Third World groups, endorsed by acclamation a motion put forward by the Black Caucus in support of "the struggle for independence in the Kush district of Mississippi as led by the Provisional Government of the RNA."

## Broader Implications of the Endorsement

The action by the Hard Times conference in backing the RNA rekindles the complex issue of whether or not an actual "Black Nation" exists within the United States. To most non-blacks in the Northwest the idea of giving five states to black people seems, at first glance, totally unrealistic. Though the black movement of the 60s brought about a resurgence of many elements of a nationalist consciousness (e.g., black culture, the idea of black language as a separate language from mainstream English, the similar economic and political powerlessness of black people), the concept of where a black nation could legitimately and practically exist often remained a confusing one. Harlem? The South? Africa?

While ultimately the necessity and practicalities of a Black nation must be determined by the desires of the black population, it is important for non-blacks to examine and understand the basis of the black nationalism of the RNA. A look at the historical population figures of the region commonly called the "Black Belt" South will show there is considerable concrete merit to Black rule in this area. (see table, upper right)

It is valuable in evaluating general trends. Two things are most noteworthy. First, the percentage of blacks in this area has steadily decreased. Second, the absolute number of blacks has remained fairly constant.

The reasons for the relative decline of blacks are primarily economic. A few more figures:

Region	Median Family Income Black-1970	Median Family Income White 1970
South	\$5226	\$9240
Outside South	\$7800	\$10,000

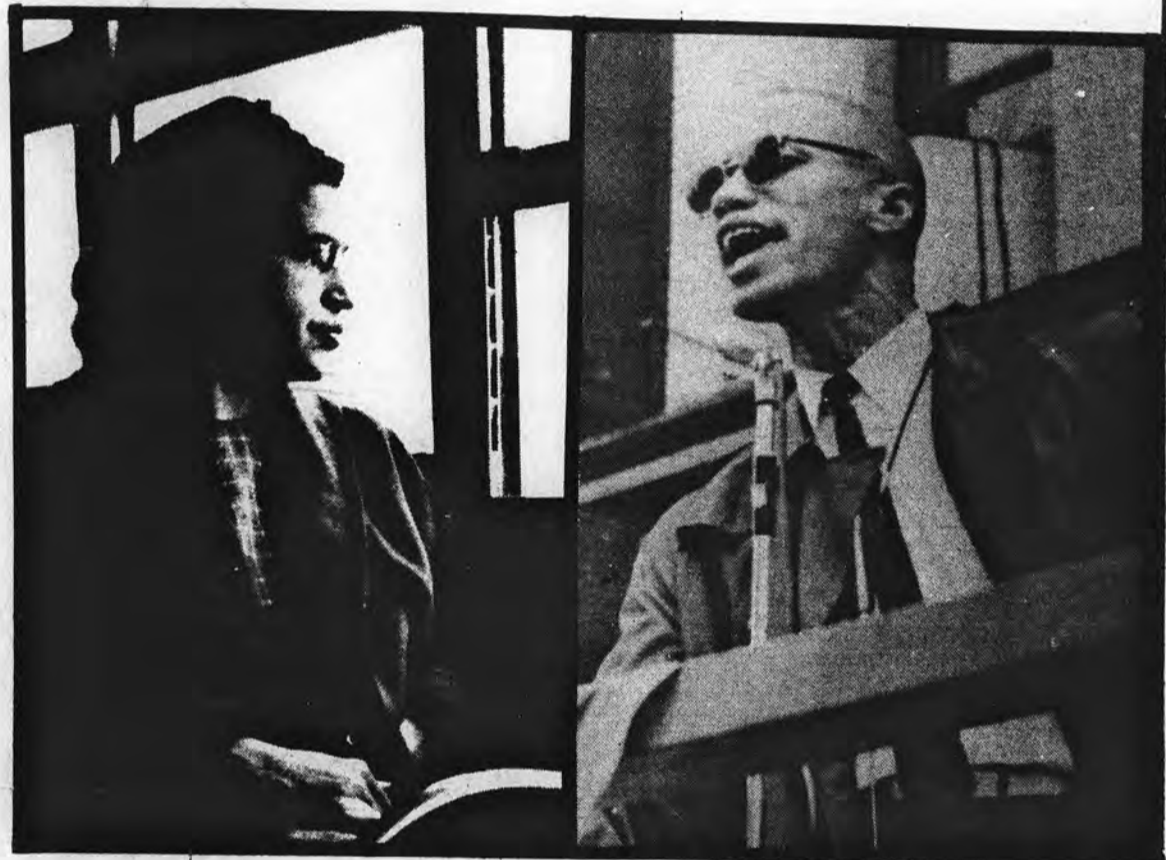
The percentage difference between black and white income then in the South was 43%, while outside the South it was about 25%. Thus, it is apparent why more blacks than whites have left the South, like Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico, like Native Americans on the reservation, they just can't make enough money to survive in their homeland. An obvious conclusion from this would be that if blacks had economic and political power in the South many more would remain or return. In fact, in light of the income level in the Black Belt, it is amazing that so many blacks have remained "down home."

These figures certainly do not answer all the problems that are involved in the issue of an independent black nation in the South (e.g. Is this what black people want? Could a black capitalist nation exist there with any real independence? What would happen to the whites who live there now?) But these statistics do pose the basis for a whole set of alternatives to the traditional inadequate American theories (melting pot, integration, etc.) of attempting to deal with its black population.

—rob griffin/nwp seattle bureau

The following table, taken from the *Guardian* of March 3, 1976 details much of the character of the Black Belt: area has steadily decreased.

Census Year	Total Population	Black Population	Per Cent Black of Total
1880	5,750,410	3,466,924	60.3
1890	6,465,307	3,866,792	59.8
1900	7,498,900	4,488,991	59.9
1910	8,387,958	4,842,766	57.7
1920	8,968,132	4,806,565	53.6
1930	9,525,865	4,790,049	50.3
1940	10,256,289	4,993,612	48.7
1970	11,994,753	4,883,786	41.0



Rosa Parks (*World Magazine*)  
First Black woman to sit in the front of the bus -1956

Malcolm X

## DOWN HOME

One day we shall go back  
we shall go back (down home  
to the brown hills and red gullies (down home  
where the blood of our fathers  
has fed the black earth (down home  
where the slow, flowing rivers, dark and silent  
sing to the bones of our brothers (down home  
wrapped forever in black wetness (down home . . .  
One day we shall all go back (down home  
We shall leave the cold northlands of icy stares, stiff snot, cold flats,  
racking coughs, hard cash, and to back (down home  
To be kissed by sweet rain and warm sun on black backs.  
We shall all go back (down home  
to avenge Medgar, and Martin, and Lil' Emmet Till,  
and all the others who died the good death (down home  
back-back to avenge our fathers and mothers, killed and raped  
in Natchez, Memphis, Montgomery, Mobile, Lake Charles, New Orleans,  
One day we shall all back  
We shall surely all go back (down home  
And the southland will tremble to our marching feet (down home  
where our freedom cries will shake the Southern skies (down home  
and the shame will leave our children's eyes (down home.

Etheridge Knight



# GREAT DAY WHEN THE PEOPLE ARE MARCHING ...

Every day 6 people are employed with our tax dollars to run flags up and down the mast over the U.S. Capitol. After waving for an average of 2-10 seconds the flags are taken down and sold as the American flag that flew over the Capitol. July is such a busy month that a new night crew is soon to be hired. Red, White and Blue, the colors of the year, are everywhere. Fire hydrants, beer cans and toilet paper have been colored with the spirit of America's new game: the Buy-centennial.

We have learned alot these past 200 years. We have learned that there are times when some of us will go hungry; that we will be denied a decent and fulfilling livelihood, especially if we are women or racial or ethnic minorities; that we aren't able to love and become friends with whom we please; that land, property and people's lives are controlled by corporations our government protects. The basic premise of having an apple pie in every house, made by mom and eaten by pop is just not true. In this bicentennial year we are faced with a community forced to choose

between unemployment or drinking asbestos in the water (Duluth); a man holding up a welfare official to get food stamps for his starving family (Portland); old people dying in the winter because the gas company turned off their heat; hypertension in children being traced to foods like Heinz and Gerber. What are we supposed to celebrate?

After 200 years we are still fighting for an old dream and searching for a new way of life that is human. And through that fighting there has been many accomplishments and new ideals expressed. However we are not at the end of the rainbow yet. This July 4th all people are being called by the July 4th Coalition to Seward Park (Seattle) to help create a strong circle of solidarity to celebrate our victories as well as make a commitment to each other for future hope of a better world for all. The day's program is planned by a local coalition composed of the Native American Solidarity Committee, Leftist Lezzies, Hard Times, Seattle Workers Brigade, Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), El Centro,

Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), and the Venceremos Brigade. The theme of the program is based on the ideals of the July 4th Coalition. These points are listed below. The program will have singers, dancers, speakers, plays and other cultural presentations of our work and struggles.

The impetus for the coalition is from a national coalition of over 150 national and local community groups working around a July 4th counter-celebration/demonstration. It began by a call from AIM and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party over 2 years ago and has been organizing out of NYC for about 8 months. Our celebration will be in conjunction with one in Philadelphia (60,000), San Francisco (10,000), and Los Angeles (10,000). The July 4th Coalition represents a united front of women, Asian, Blacks, Mexicano, Native American, Puerto Ricans, Gays, students and working people. It is a major step forward for all of us to begin to understand that we are not the enemy.

## FULL EQUALITY

STOP RACIAL OPPRESSION: AMNESTY FOR UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS  
SUPPORT WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO RESIST ATTACKS

Since the American Revolution, and despite the Declaration of Independence, non-whites and women have been denied full participation in the Land of the Free. Our past has been one of constant struggle against the privileges and prejudices that stand in the way of genuine democracy in this country: against the system of racism and sexism which is used to divide and weaken the political power of working people.

The wealth of this country was produced in large part by non-white people working in the hardest, lowest paying jobs. These people are denied equal opportunity in employment, education and housing by a system of discrimination based on race and nationality. The largest minority population in Washington state is the Mexican people and yet the majority of them are relegated to farm work as a "cheap source of labor." The "cheap labor" of non-white people helps provide super-profits to corporations who use racism to keep the workers divided and weak. At a time when record-breaking numbers of plants and factories are being exported to undeveloped countries, undocumented workers are being blamed for unemployment and forced out of the country. Undocumented workers generally hold the most exploitative jobs under the worst working conditions.



Attacks on women manifest themselves in physical, mental and economic assaults. Conditional protection is offered only to those women who regard themselves or are regarded by others as the valuable property of the men in power. Under these conditions, single, independent women, lesbians, Third World women - who also have to resist racist attacks - and poor women all fall outside this protection.

As mothers and nurturers we are expected to support our children whether or not we can find a decent and well-paying job or can afford or find adequate child care facilities. As women we are expected to stay away from rapists whether or not we can avoid being on the streets by ourselves. As prisoners, poor and Third World women we are expected to trust the medical system and allow ourselves to be forcibly sterilized, incarcerated, and humiliated.

Being a woman assumes violence has been and will be done to us, physically, mentally and economically. Women are fighting back by resisting their rapists, organizing for increased social services and against medical mismanagement of our bodies and by working to create a new society through discovering our strengths together.

\*\*\*\*\* IN SOLIDARITY WITH 70,000 COMPANEROS IN PHILLY, L.A., AND S.F.,



# JOBS AND A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING

FULL PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL AT A LIVING WAGE

STOP SOCIAL SERVICE CUTBACKS



We live in one of the richest societies, and yet wealth is so concentrated in the hands of a tiny elite that the workers who actually produce the wealth can barely make ends meet. The benefits we have today such as social security, unemployment insurance and minimum wage, have been won only through prolonged organizing and great sacrifices. Now the corporations and the government are trying to make us pay for the failures of this system.

On the average, wage increases are trailing 5.3% behind the inflation rate, while speedups have increased labor productivity by 8% over the last few years. Government statistics peg unemployment at 8.2%, highest in 30 years, while among Black and other minority sectors unemployment is running over 30%. In Seattle, more than 40% of the young Black women and men in the Central Area and Rainier Valley communities are presently unemployed. In the face of this, Ford has recently announced his intention to further cut back federal spending between \$40-50 billion in badly needed social services like education, health, food stamps, veteran benefits and employment programs. The number of single mothers who support households is steadily increasing, as the number of women entering the job market, yet day care is incredibly inadequate and inaccessible to many.

## FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

STOP SENATE BILL-1

END GRAND JURY ABUSE

Our her/history has been one of constant struggle to put into practice the rights declared as unalienable in the Declaration of Independence. It is a past of privileges and prejudices that stand in the way of genuine democracy in this country. We have had to fight against attempts to limit our right to vote, of free speech and political organization. We now face mounting attacks against many of these rights we have fought so hard to win, and an attempt to prevent the extension of more rights to all sectors of the population.

Presently the senate is faced with a bill called Senate Bill One (SBI). The bill's official purpose is to revise and reform the U.S. criminal code. However many of the writers are trying to impose repressive

measures on people's basic rights. The bill, well over 2000 pages, could put protesters in jail, restrict the "freedom of the press," make such activities as Watergate legal, expand the use and legality of wire-tapping and include under the definition of black-mail the threat of economic loss to employers.

Over the past decade Grand Juries have turned into a popular investigative arm of the FBI. The grand jury process is being used by the FBI in general information gathering about the Left, Feminist, Third World, and Gay communities. People are being forced to answer broad questions about their political associations and beliefs under penalty of being jailed in Seattle as well as elsewhere.



El juez dice: "¡El siguiente!"

## A BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES

SOVEREIGNTY FOR NATIVE AMERICANS

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO

Two hundred years ago the 13 colonies of North America declared that every nation had the right to be free and independent, the right to determine its own destiny free of control of any other nation. Today, the U.S. government has become an imperialist power that dominates other nations like Puerto Rico and those of the Native Americans, just as the British oppressed the original 13 colonies.

We join with the people of all oppressed nations in their just struggle for independence. Their freedom will bring us closer to our own.



LNS

COME DEMONSTRATE/CELEBRATE AT SEWARD PARK (SEATTLE) JULY 4, NOON ★★★★★★★★★★

-Kris Melroe and Karin Strand  
NWP Seattle Bureau



# LET'S DO IT AGAIN!

An  
American Revolution  
Bicentennial  
Special



*The outlaw is morally free to act, to aggress against authority because he (sic) realizes that is his power; he goes for broke whether it is for himself or for his friends or for his people.*

—Miguel Algarin, from *Nuyoricans*

It has been said that there are three options for the Puerto Rican in the U.S.: to work constantly and be continually in debt, living on time; to be an outlaw, stealing, cheating and doping to survive, or to be a revolutionary.

But there is a fourth option—the revolutionary outlaw, and it is there that one finds Lolita Lebron and the four other imprisoned Puerto Rican Nationalists, the longest held political prisoners in the U.S.

Imagine—it is 1954, and before the U.S. Congress is a bill to change the colonial status of Puerto Rico, on paper, to that of a commonwealth, supposedly a “free associated state” but which in actuality would maintain the colonial subjugation of the island.

On March 1, the day the House is considering a bill restricting Mexican laborers in the U.S. and the day of the opening of an Inter-American Conference in Venezuela, four armed Puerto Ricans enter the halls of Congress. Led by a 34-year-old woman with a stern and uncompromising face, they open fire, wounding five congresspeople: an unprecedented act they hope will draw attention to the plight of their homeland.

“Before God and the world my blood claims for the independence of Puerto Rico,” said a note found in Lolita Lebron’s purse. “My life I give for the freedom of my country.”

In an interview with the *Guardian* in March of 1976, Lebron wrote: “We did go to the last resort.” In order to understand that statement, it is necessary to look at the historical antecedents to their actions, as well as the conditions of Puerto Rican society overall.

The most blatant example of U.S. colonization, Puerto Rico has been called “the kept woman of U.S. imperialism.” Some telling figures—34% of the women of childbearing age have been sterilized; unemployment hovers around 30% in a country where 85% of the industry is directly controlled by the U.S., and pollution from the dominant pharmaceutical and petrochemical industries creates severe health problems. (For a more complete picture, see the article on Puerto Rico on pages 4–5.)

While the early Puerto Rican labor movement aspired for statehood, the Nationalist Party which began in the 1920s identified with its Latin American roots and rapidly gained strength under the leadership of Harvard-educated Don Pedro Albizu Campos. The most successful action of the Nationalists occurred on October 30, 1950, when they liberated the town of Jayuya and proclaimed the Second Republic of Puerto Rico. The uprising, however, was crushed by napalm and the U.S. National Guard, and Campos and others were imprisoned. It was his second time in prison, where he stayed until shortly before his death in 1965. The cause of his death has been questioned by Puerto Rican activists.

Three days after the uprising was put down, two Puerto Ricans on the mainland—Griselio Torresolo and Oscar Collazo—attacked the temporary residence of President Harry Truman. Truman, they learned, had previously ordered the elimination of the Nationalists. Torresolo was killed, and Collazo was imprisoned. A year later a defense committee was established for Collazo, and one of its most active members was Lolita Lebron.

Information about Lolita Lebron is next to impossible to find, gleaned mostly from leftist newspapers; *Claridad*, a publication of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), and publicity information from “The



Lolita Lebron—1954

## PR Nationalists

# gunfire in the halls of congress - 1954

Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners.”

In the *Guardian* interview, Lolita Lebron stated that she came to the U.S. at the age of 21: “I was advised to do as the other poor women of my country were doing—to sail to New York where there were opportunities.”

Her writing of the conditions in Puerto Rico speaks eloquently and simply of poverty, death and disease in her homeland:

*I saw a peasant wife taking a piece of meat out of the garbage cans of the landowners. This beautiful woman took that piece of meat from inside that garbage can and refried it at the wood stove of a little kitchen and divided it among her five little hungry children.*

*Later I saw the same mother making herself an operation inside one of her breasts, where she had developed a tumor from a fall coming from fetching water. This mother, one day in the early morning, awoke her children from bed and told them to kneel with her, which they did. She had a candle lit in front of us all*

*kneeling there and with a stick of orange, went inside her breast to operate. This mother died of cancer—and for the country. Tuberculosis and cancers were among the common diseases of the peasants of my childhood time.*

Of course things were scarcely better in New York:

*My life experience in New York City grew to greater knowledge of human oppression, exploitation, negation. There came a day in which, after having tried for three days looking for jobs, getting left in the trains, walking under snowfalls, without money or lunch or shelter, I had to deny that I was a Puerto Rican woman in order to have a job.*

Raised in a country where God and the American flag were portrayed as the highest principles to be subservient to, she explained that “Colonialism, like male chauvinism, were things not heard in my life’s younger years, although myself and thousands of women workers were victims of the two unjust and oppressive concepts of traditional society.”

While she has been in prison, Lolita Lebron has maintained contact with women’s groups and a communique from her was published on International Women’s Day in *off our backs* this year.

Today, the Nationalist movement in Puerto Rico has given way for the most part to a socialist movement, centering around four different parties and several labor coalitions. These groups, particularly the PSP which is organized in the states as well as on the island, have incorporated both national independence and the elimination of a class society as their goals.

After a two decade dormancy, support for the Nationalist prisoners has become an important rallying point for both the Puerto Ricans in the United States and those on the island. Along with Lebron, imprisoned in Alderson, W. Va., are her companions in the March 1 action: Rafael Miranda and Irving Flores at Leavenworth, Kansas, and Andres Cordero at Marion, Ill. Lebron was sentenced to 16-20 years, while the others are serving 25-75 year sentences. Collazo, whose death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, is also at Leavenworth.

*Claridad* reports that “free the five” activities are planned in cities throughout the U.S. in August when the U.N. Decolonization Committee meets. A lawsuit on behalf of the five will be filed in August too.

The lack of support the Nationalists received initially can be traced to the political climate of the day. While they were making page 1 headlines in the *New York Times*, so was the division of Vietnam, the illustrious senator Joe McCarthy, and an investigation of “Jim Crow” laws in NYC schools. It was the height of the U.S. Imperialist empire and a low in political freedom.

In less than an objective style, the *Times* reported “They fired murderously, although at random” and criticized Lebron for not successfully unfurling the Puerto Rican flag which she pulled from her handbag after the shooting. What ensued in the next six months was a grand jury investigation into the Nationalist Party, with approximately 30 persons indicted for sedition and conspiracy charges. Continuing the popularized view that the Nationalists were fanatics and madpeople, the government incarcerated Lebron in a mental hospital. She was later offered a Presidential pardon if she would promise to end her political career. She refused.

“I take responsibility for all.” was scrawled on the backside of the note she carried into the House with her that day, and from that responsibility Lolita Lebron has never backed down.

—michelle celarier  
nwp seattle bureau



# Venceremos Brigade

## behind the blockade

Last month, sixteen Puget Sound area residents returned from five weeks of living and working in Cuba. The sixteen were part of the 200 member Ninth Venceremos Brigade, which Mary Stone of the Seattle office describes as "an anti-imperialist education project which every year sends Americans to Cuba to live and work and build solidarity with the Cuban Revolution."

The Brigade came into existence in 1969, Stone says, when "a group of Americans wanted to go to Cuba to help in the 1970 sugar harvest." Seven hundred went that first year, cutting sugar cane as did the following three brigades.

After the 4th brigade, Stone says, "the emphasis of the Cuban Revolution shifted to construction and the building of housing for the people. The brigades now work in construction."

Shortly after their return, the NWP interviewed five of the Brigadistas: Stone, Jeanette Aquilar of Women in the Trades; Roy Wilson of the University of Washington organization, United Students for Student Rights; Mitchell Germaine of Red and Black Books; and Eileen Kirkpatrick of the Northwest Passage.



Mary Stone: "When you go to Cuba, and see the people, you see it's not true that people are innately selfish. It's not true that they are innately competitive."

**NWP:** Why did you want to go to Cuba?

**Eileen:** Initially, I felt that I wanted to experience what it was like to live in a Socialist society on a day-to-day level...I wanted to experience that personally in a work environment and living environment.

**Roy:** It's an inspirational place to be, like a shot of adrenalin. I think all of us sensed that - that it would be really good to be in the only free territory in the Western Hemisphere.

**Jeanette:** I really wanted to see a Latin socialist country, being a Chicana.

**Mitchell:** What I wanted to see in Cuba and what I did see was an entire society of people working on their own behalf. That's a major contrast to the feeling I get in the United States. I get glimpses of it in my work situation, but in the United States as a whole we don't get the kind of support and reinforcement and group strength which came forth in Cuba. It's hard to conceive of the everyday realities of an entire population of a country who are tuned into working and celebrating, and singing, and dancing, all in celebration of themselves. That's what I was hoping to experience and I'm satisfied that I did experience some of it.

**Mary:** I had gone before on the 4th brigade in 1971. I went this time because I was asked to work on a pamphlet that the Brigade is working on about the Brigadista's experiences in Cuba. Secondly, I went because I wanted to see the kind of changes that take place in a socialist country in five years.

**NWP:** Where was the Brigade working and what kind of work was it?

**Eileen:** We were working in construction about 30 miles northwest of Havana in the countryside. We worked on two different housing projects...On one of them we were building apartment houses and on the other the housing was completed and we were working on an open-air theatre, day-care center and market.

In one of the projects, the majority of the people who lived in the apartments worked in a textile mill right nearby and the people who were doing the work - many of the construction workers - had been working in the mill. And their families, or friends of their families - the workers in the mill - were to be the people who

moved into the project. So there was a real connection between building the houses and who would live in them.

**NWP:** How were your own attitudes toward work affected by working in a Socialist country? Did you find yourselves influenced by the Cubans or were your attitudes developed from working in America too strong to break?

**Mary:** I think that it changes while you're there because you, along with the others, are creating something for the people, rather than creating something, for, say, Rockefeller. And so the energy that you pick up from that knowledge alters your perspective on work. I found that just working in the form, that they work, a very collective form, is one that also changes your attitude toward work. So I think of course that they change. Though you don't completely rinse your head out...

**Eileen:** There was no pressure, nobody running around saying "Hurry up! Hurry up!" or anything like that. The only measurement you have is how the Cubanos are working. You feel like you want to be in step with them but there's never any chastising you for not going fast enough. Several times we really blew it. I remember one time a member of our sub-Brigade was cutting these bars, and there wasn't very much supervision. For about a half an hour they were cutting bars that were about a foot too short. That was a lot of steel that had to be scrapped because the Americans had goofed up. But the Cubanos when they found out about it took it in stride and there was never anything said in blame.

One Cubano later said to me "In Cuba, we do things slow because we're in a hurry." And I felt that a lot. That each task completed meant that the revolution was a little stronger. And I really felt that consciousness in every aspect of their work. For instance, when there was a day of celebration, like for Playa Giron, which is the celebration of the Bay of Pigs (we were there for the fifteenth year since the Bay of Pigs - so

it was a momentous occasion), it was the custom to work an hour longer that day. That kind of blew my mind - to regard working as a patriotic act. Certainly one would never run across that in the United States. You go out and get drunk or something! But in Cuba that's the way you show that you love your country. It was not a sacrifice.

**Jeanette:** And you also picked up an attitude about being helpful to your fellow workers from the Cubans. I felt sometimes impatient with myself because I didn't know construction work. I would say "I can't do it." And they would say, "Try this, be patient with yourself." And it wasn't like "the work has to be done so get over there!" It was more like "Give yourself time to learn." The competition, like "I'm the baddest worker on the job," is gone. The Cubans don't really have that.

**Mitchell:** Another factor in the Cuban attitude toward work is that you don't have to spend all of your time thinking about how you're going to meet all your basic necessities like food and health care. So much time is spent doing that here. In Cuba, you've got all this energy and time to realize your cultural potential and work potential.

The feeling of security is one of the most impressive things about Cuba. The way the families are set up there, if both a child's parents and grandparents died, he or she would still live on a block. And a block is not separate dwellings where people have their isolated households - people know each other and they're vitally concerned, with a stake in each others' lives. So, if a child was left without relatives there would still be these strong, coherent ties to other people in the community.

**Roy:** The other half of that is that one's normal, day-to-day life is so much broader. In our society, the nature of relationships is based so much on economic reasons - like husband-wife, or business partner. But very rarely do you have like a block, in the city, where you have all these relationships - which add so much meaning to your life - and it just makes the world so much broader and enjoyable. (cont. next page)



(cont. from previous page)

# americans live

**Eileen:** I think the sense of community is probably the result of a kind of a dialectic between the Latin culture which has always had a lot stronger sense of community, extended family, etc. than in this country where there's always been a lot stronger feeling of individuals on their own. I felt like part of that was something that's being reinforced by the socialist character of the country in trying to develop more of that.

Like in the way that in the countryside single family dwellings are going out in favor of apartment buildings. Apartment buildings have a negative connotation in our culture. There, though, there's a real positive affirmation of that community in having an apartment building of people who are all involved in the same kind of work.

**Jeanette:** I think it's more than just coming out of the culture. Chicanos have the same extended family and it's very much appreciated. But once you get capitalism in there, and especially in the U.S., it does not reinforce you for doing that. It tells you that your people should be in old folks homes. That having your next door neighbor take of your child means you are not a good mother. All these negative things about an extended community. But I think its different to have an extended community in a socialist country than in a capitalist one. A lot of the pressure is gone. Neighbors see childcare as their responsibility rather than a favor for this woman who has to go shopping.

**Eileen:** I felt that the attitude toward children was much different. A lot of people feel that all children are theirs - that there's a lot more sense of not "this is my child," but that these are children and all children are shared. Frequently it was hard to figure out who the real parents were. Because the kids felt perfectly at ease to walk up to any adult.

**Mary:** One night at a CDR meeting...

**NWP:** What is the CDR?



**Jeanette Aquilar:** "The competition, like "I'm the baddest worker on the job," is gone."



**Eileen Kirkpatrick:** "They are still struggling."

**Roy Wilson:** "It's an inspirational place to be, like a shot of adrenalin."

**Mitchell:** Committee for the Defense of the Revolution. It's a mass organization that's organized on the block level. It's one major way that people in a community have ties to each other, work together and plan together.

**Mary:** At this CDR meeting, I was talking with this twelve year old kid. I gave him a button that we made here that said 'Cuba si, Imperialism no.' And he looked at it and he was very puzzled by it and said, "Was this made here?" And I said, "No, in the United States, in Seattle." And he was still puzzled. And this man who was standing nearby came over to him and went through this political explanation (laughter) of the struggle in the United States, saying "The workers in the United States have the same enemy as the workers in Cuba." He talked about national minorities in the United States, and then Emilio, the twelve year old, his eyes lit up and he said, "Oh, I see." And that was an example of political education for the children and there was no hesitation. Any time that it's necessary. It was really nice to see.

**Jeanette:** Another fantastic thing. I was talking to some children - nine and ten year olds. We were talking about their parents and the "emulation" system - about how at Cuban factories, exemplary workers are chosen to receive scarce material goods. And at one point, one said, "Usually women pick the washing machines and sewing machines because they're women," and an older one said, "No. That is because the men do not take their responsibilities at home." And I was overwhelmed listening to those little kids struggle. And the older one could not get it through, because the younger one held to his opinion. This Cubano came up and corrected him and said "He's right. Men have not taken the responsibility. In fact, if men understood the responsibility at home, they would be picking sewing machines and washers, too". Just to see those children struggle!

**NWP:** Did any of you visit Cuban schools or study the Cuban educational system at all?

**Jeanette:** They have an educational system

involving both work and study. All students work four hours of the day and study four hours. The kids in primary schools will grow their own vegetables that they serve in the cafeteria. I asked the kids one time how they felt about work. They said, "It's good. The same way I feel about school." There was no division of "the work is oppressive."

**Mary:** There was an article in *Parade* (expressions of disgust)...It said "How would you like to go to school for 20 hours a week and work for 20 hours a week?" It's like a damned if you do or damned if you don't. The imperialists spread the propaganda that third world people are lazy. And then when third world people prove that they are not lazy, and that they are productive and work very hard, under their conditions, then they say, "Wow, these third world people are oppressed!" The arrogance of the U.S. media is just amazing.

The whole thing about work and study in Cuba is that it produces a new mentality of a producer rather than a consumer. Children learn from a very early age where their food and housing and their new bicycles or whatever - where it comes from. And how they got it, rather than it showing up one day under the Christmas Tree. Or not showing up. So children are integrated very early into that process of producing. The whole society, starting from the youngest children, is involved in productive work.

Also one of the themes of the Cuban Revolution is, "Every student a worker, every worker a student." Not only do you have students who are working, but you have workers who have gone back to school. There are thousands of workers in Cuba who are raising their educational level, their skills level. **Mitchell:** Everybody's studying. The universities are largely populated by people who work. By adults who are going back to school for further training. The adults are doing that and the students are doing that, and can you imagine children, when they're about fifteen, or even younger, imagine the skills they're accumulating. Having been involved in study and production. The way they've learned to use their hands and their minds, and the way they've learned to interact with other people, it's invaluable.



# and labor in cuba

**NWP:** Did you talk to Cubans about their involvement in Angola?

**Mitchell:** The Cuban attitude about Angola indicates an understanding of how their struggle to kick out imperialism, to establish total liberation in their own country, is not dissimilar from other parts of the world and in this case Angola, where a people who they have roots with, and who represents an oppressed class, have been victorious in liberating themselves through a long struggle. And the Cubans have an organic tie to that struggle, and their military aid to the Angolan people is an extension of a process that takes place every day in Cuba. Liberating themselves from an oppressor that has attempted to destroy their culture. To them the most important thing is to build and that's what they're doing in Angola. And that's what they're doing in Cuba, and that's what they'll do elsewhere.

**Roy:** It's important to know that the Cubans have had an uninterrupted open sense of history as far as Angola and Asia and the rest of Latin America is concerned. We didn't hear about Cuba's invasion in Angola until last November. The Cubans, because of the openness of the society and all the news and the level of awareness, understand world relationships and the majority of Cuban people understood what's been going on in Angola for the last five years, while they've been kicking out Portugal.

So it's not like a rash or new political decision that we would be faced with if we learned after the fact that our government helped murder Salvador Allende. Nobody here had enough knowledge of Chile during that period to understand how we could have done that.

**Mitchell:** It's not something that just appeared as a news item one day that all of a sudden Cuba had committed troops to Angola. It wasn't something that Cubans had at that point to think about and take a stand on. It was a long progression of things and it made sense. The Angolans requested Cuban aid and they sent it.

**NWP:** Mary, what struck you as the most significant changes which have taken place in Cuba since your last trip?

**Mary:** One was the level of economic development. All over the island, you could see housing going up. It's slowly but surely coming out of underdevelopment - it's still an underdeveloped country, but in spite of the United States' blockade of Cuba they've managed to slowly develop the economy.

There is also increased diversification of the economy. When I was there in 1971, many of the fields that I saw were sugar cane fields. Now there are many more orchards - citrus orchards, and dairy plants and all kinds of agricultural projects.

The second thing that really struck me was the advancement of the struggle for the liberation of women within the context of the revolution. When I was there before, that was part of the revolution, but there was still problems in terms of women in jobs and women having to work the second shift - coming home from work and going back to work when they got home. But now, particularly since 1974, and the development of the Family Code, changes have been made both in the attitudes of men and women and in the economic sphere to allow women to become more a part of the work force.

**Eileen:** It was only a year ago that the new Family Code was passed. It's written in the Family Code, specifically spelled out, that the household chores and responsibility for children are to be divided equally between husband and wife. Of course, it's a very different thing to have that in law and for a woman to actually take her husband to court. But, this is not something that was passed by the leadership without input from the people. It was talked about on every level, every women's organization, and

haggled over and struggled over in details and specifics. I think that most people there are struggling with it - to the extent that we heard people talking about it, men with men and women talking about it with other women, and I think that it's gradually going to be implemented.

We saw that on a real ground level, women are working to involve themselves more. They see the fulfillment of the individual in being productive - and until women are really involved in productive labor they cannot be full members of society. That's the push.

There's a long way to go, but the whole country is keenly aware of the situation of women.



**Mitchell Germaine:** "It's hard to conceive of an entire population who are tuned into working and celebrating, and singing, and dancing, all in celebration of themselves."

**Mary:** I talked to men about what they thought of the Family Code and how they saw the changes it would make. And the men all said that before the Family Code became law, they had all participated in making the law, and through the process of the mass discussions that went on many attitudes had been changed. And that they were all trying to push away old attitudes because it was for the advancement of all.

**NWP:** How have the Cubans managed to deal with the racism left over from the old society?

**Mary:** In Cuba there is not institutionalized racism because the economic reasons for that happening have been wiped out by the revolution. Everybody has an opportunity for an education and everybody has an opportunity for a job.

**Jeanette:** There are still racist attitudes in the older Cubanos. Which only proved to me how long it takes to remove such influences. But the Cubans feel that the older generation will die out and with it will go racism.

**Mary:** There is no racism in the children that go to school together, play together, live together. You can see that the changes are happening in the next generation.

**Jeanette:** The Cubans are trying to develop the national minority cultures. Because they realize that the capitalists took that away. They're trying to develop black music and dance... They see Cuba as a mixture of African and Latin culture which has come together to build the revolution.

**NWP:** One of the major criticisms that some segments of the American Left have had of the Cuban Revolution is their policy towards gay people - that homosexuality is unnatural, "capitalist decadence". Did you talk to Cubans about their attitude?

**Eileen:** That is a criticism I had as well. I talked to a lot of Cubans about their attitude. I didn't personally meet any Cuban gays, but I know that another person on the Brigade did. And it's a reality in every culture. It was reassuring to me that it was possible for an American - an outsider in the culture - to contact gay people there and talk to them. It was also impressive that all of the gay people that my friend spoke with wanted to stay - feeling that what the Revolution meant was more important than their own personal lack of freedom of expression. That's really all it means - there's no law saying that it's a criminal act or anything. It just means that one has to be very private. But I have confidence that they will realize over a period of time that it's another form of freedom.

**Mitchell:** Criticisms of the Cubans have to be viewed in the context of change. They're a people that are well-equipped to change - there is not reinforcement to block change and every reinforcement to accommodate it.

The hope for the future of the Cuban revolution is so strong. A whole generation of children is growing up who are really in touch with a whole range of aspects of their life and the people around them and the country they live in and their economic system. Nothing's kept from them. People are encouraged to be aware and people are encouraged to be conscious through the work that they do. From day to day, on every level the kinds of relationships they have.

**Mary:** The whole Cuban experience gives me much more of a sense of hope for the human species. (laughter) Here you can get so depressed about the state of affairs but when you go there, and see the people, you see it's not true that people are innately selfish. It's not true that they are innately competitive. All those things that we've been told about the inherent characteristics of people, the evil sides - it's not true. And once people can develop in a more constructive manner then a lot of those things fall away.

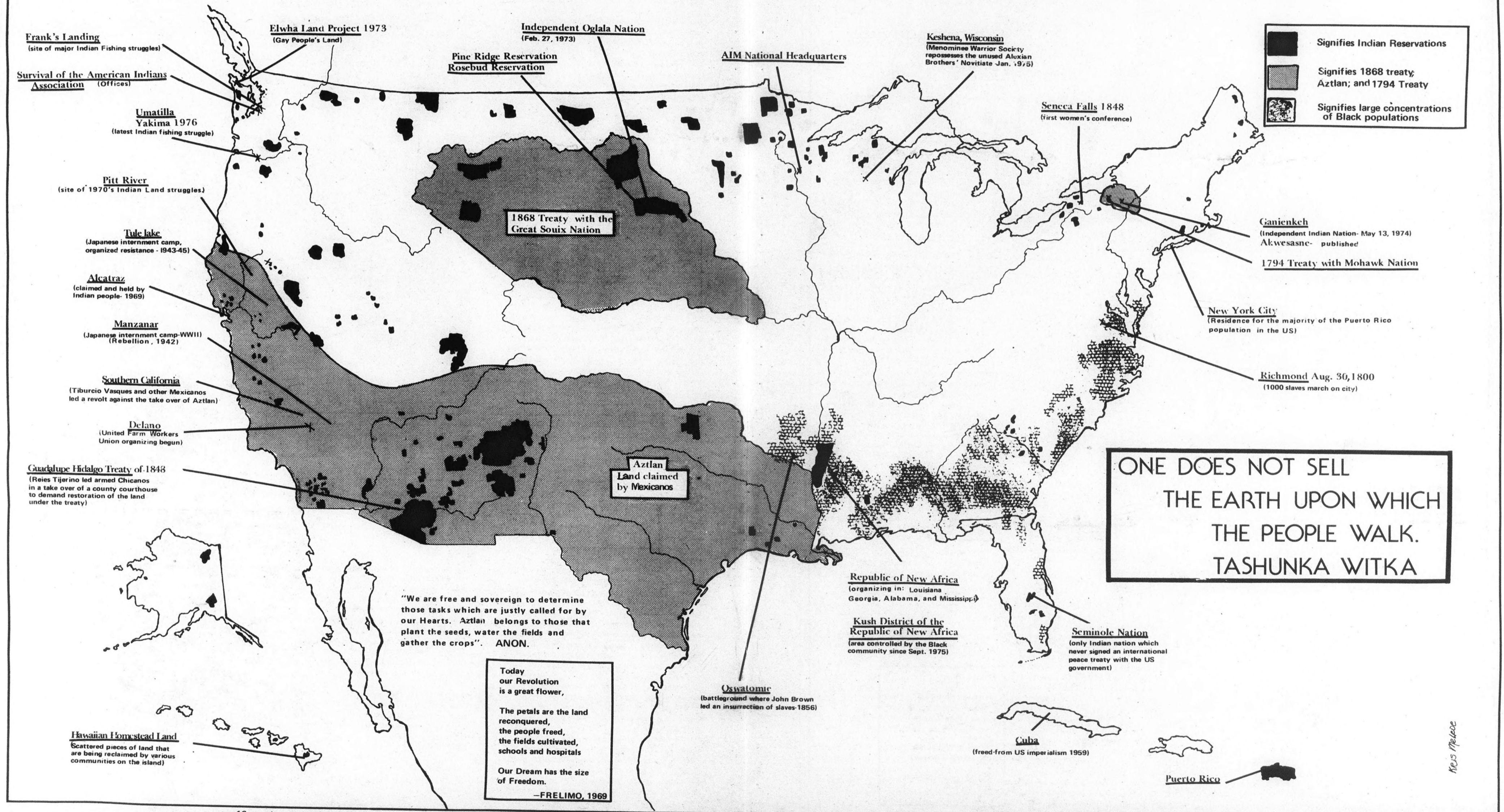
**Eileen:** It makes one a lot more compassionate if you see other people and yourself in this process, because you don't have this idea of making a final judgement on any thing or any person or any one attitude. I felt a lot of times when the Cubans were struggling with me or when they felt like I might not fully understand them...they didn't stop working with me or think that I was a lost cause. They could see that I was coming from the United States, and that given the situation in America I might be skeptical about things there, that I might have questions about things. And they really wanted to talk about them. And even with each other, they'd say "we haven't reached the communist state yet." They don't talk about it as a communist society because they realize there's a lot of things that have to change there and there's a lot of things that they have to resolve. They're still struggling. All of them. I felt that that offered a lot of hope.

interviewed by John Brockhaus and Kevin Schafer  
NWP Seattle Bureau  
photos by Kevin Schafer



# FREE THE LAND:

## AREAS OF LIBERATION STRUGGLES



ONE DOES NOT SELL  
THE EARTH UPON WHICH  
THE PEOPLE WALK.  
TASHUNKA WITKA

"We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our Hearts. Aztlan belongs to those that plant the seeds, water the fields and gather the crops". ANON.

Today  
our Revolution  
is a great flower,  
  
The petals are the land  
reconquered,  
the people freed,  
the fields cultivated,  
schools and hospitals  
  
Our Dream has the size  
of Freedom.  
—FRELIMO, 1969

ME'S PLACE



# FOOD STAMPS:

"Government no longer can afford to throw money indiscriminately at problems by patterning its social policies after middle and upper-class lifestyles. I know of no justification for burdening our taxpaying citizens to enable the non-taxpayers to enjoy a better diet than that enjoyed by most of those who are paying the bill."

Rep. W.R. Poage (D-Texas)  
Vice-Chairman of the House  
Agricultural Committee



graphic by connie williams

The House Agricultural Committee, currently formulating a set of new food stamp regulations, has approved a standard deduction formula that would detrimentally affect about 8 million food stamp recipients. 2 million would be terminated altogether and 6 million would have to pay at least \$5 more each month for their stamps.

A standard deduction system would eliminate the present system of itemizing deductions (rent, utilities, medical expenses) to arrive at a net income figure from which food stamp benefits are derived.

Approved, was an amendment to set standard deductions at \$45 for a one person household, \$55 for two, \$65 for three, \$75 for four, and \$5 for each additional member of the family unit.

An extra \$25 deduction would be added to households with a member 65 or older or with a blind or disabled member. Working families (i.e. those not receiving any other public assistance; welfare, Social Security, etc.) would receive an additional \$30 a month plus an itemized deduction for federal, state, and local taxes withheld from their paychecks.

This action would also effect the gross eligibility limits. For a non-working family of four the gross income limit would be \$6,400 a year, and \$7,900 a year for a family whose entire income comes from employment.

The Committee's action on deductions makes the upcoming vote on the purchase price formula even more crucial. The current suggestions would set the purchase price at 25%-30% of the net income. (the average purchase price is currently 24%)

Also approved was a change in the income reporting system. Instead of calculating income on the future 30 days eligibility and benefits would be derived from a 60 day period...30 days prior to application and the 30 days following.

## THE SENATE

On April 8 (Food Day) the Senate passed their Food Stamp Reform Act of 1976, which sounds liberal in comparison to the proposal of the House Agricultural Committee.

In the Senate's bill the standard deduction would be a flat \$100 a month. An additional \$25 a month would be deducted for houses with a member 65 or older. An additional \$25 a month

would be deducted for households which have an income of \$150 or more per month from earnings, and payroll taxes would be deducted. The Senate purchase price would be set at 25% of the net income.

The Senate also proposes ten pilot projects to experiment with eliminating the cash requirement for food stamps.

## CITIZEN'S FOOD STAMP REFORM

Three people from the Seattle/Tacoma area spent a week in Washington D.C. talking to our delegation and testifying at the House Food Stamp hearings. They were asked many times what kind of reforms people wanted. To that end, several groups put together a Citizen's Food Stamp Reform Bill.

The Number one item on the Citizen's Bill, and the only one to be mentioned in the Senate's proposal is the elimination of the cash purchase requirement. This means that instead of purchasing \$50 worth of stamps with cash, the amount calculated for that cash requirement would be deducted from the \$50 allotment and the remaining bonus of stamps would be given to the recipient. Many eligible households do not participate in the program because of the requirement to pay for a month's food all at once. Perhaps the best argument in favor of this change would be the elimination of excess paperwork and unnecessary handling of funds.

Also included in the bill: Allowing the selection of an itemized or standard deduction procedure. This provision would help the poorest households and the elderly, who have the fewest deductions and are benefited by the standard deduction system while maintaining the elasticity needed for special situations such as unusually high medical bills or high utility costs in the winter.

It is also suggested that nutritional

information be made available to food stamp recipients, that extra purchasing power be provided for those on special diets for health conditions, and that eligibility and allotment levels be set regionally to account for variations in the cost of living.

It is highly unlikely that a food stamp reform so responsive to the needs of the people will ever be passed, but if there is vast public support for a more 'liberal' reform perhaps our governmental representatives can be convinced to pass an act less stringent than the one being formulated by the House Agricultural Committee.

## THE MACHINERY

When Congress passed the Food Stamp Act in 1963, one of the provisions was that Congress must review the regulations every five years. The last review was in 1971.

President Ford, responding to conservative pressure to cut government spending and 'clean up the [food stamp] act', sent his version of reform to the Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz. In his move, directly preceding the New Hampshire primary, he tried to bypass Congress.

In early May the new regulations were published as final with an implementation date of June 1, but they permitted states to request an extension until Sept. 1.

Meanwhile, the Senate came up with its bill and the House is expected to finish deliberations by the end of June. By the end of the summer the Senate and the House are expected to reach an agreement and send the bill to Pres. Ford for signing. Any bill approved by Congress takes precedence over the Ford Administration's proposal, and upon signing it would become law. But any details left out will be completed by the USDA.

Other possibilities for the future include: a change in the asset standards, monthly income reporting, ID cards with photos, counter signed stamps (like travelers checks), limitations on foods ob-

tainable, elimination of strikers and students, and job searches in addition to work registration.

The New York based Food Research and Action Center (FRAC), with national legal services assistance, filed a law suit in the District of Columbia. On Friday, (6/18) Federal District Court Judge Smith declared an injunction on all regulations from the President.

Where the ball stops, no one knows. The affects of these cutbacks would be devastating to millions of low income people. With the Senate's approach 19,700 would be cut from the program in Washington alone. The USDA estimates that 50%-60% of the bonus dollars in the food stamp allotment are dollars that would not otherwise be spent on food. Thus, the impact on the economy would be felt.

Among the worst hit would be employed single parents. (that means women!) The present eligibility standards for federally funded daycare are already extremely low. If the parent exceeds these limits not only does she/he have to pay rent, utilities, and increased medical costs for a child, but she must pay for daycare, too. All of which is not accounted for in the standard deduction system. The results are obvious. A working parent will be forced off the food stamp program and onto the welfare roles.

Even the present regulations do not take into account mandatory expenses such as toilet paper, tooth paste or clothing. The forboding reforms seem to ignore the fact that there are more expenses than food and shelter.

There are, so far, no provisions for the variations in the cost of living. Urban people will suffer the most.

Depending on the type of regulations passed, it could cost a lot more to implement the new program than the present one, taking valuable food dollars from the needy and placing it in the hands of the bureaucrats.

It never ceases to amaze me that our well paid 'representatives' can legislate the food right out of our mouths, while they don't know what it's like to miss a bite.....and their bites are roast beef, while ours are rice and beans.

They should be told, in no uncertain terms, the needs of the people they are so blindly serving.

-connie williams

For the latest information call the Hunger Hotline in Washington, DC 800-424-7292 (toll free)

Thanks to Nadelane Joseph, from Bellingham Welfare Rights and Linda Dawson, from the Legal Services Center, Seattle

## ANOTHER BIT OF FOOD STAMP INFO.

According to the Welfare Rights Office it is possible to buy a month's food stamps in two parts, by asking for two certification cards at the first of the month.





photo/Seattle P.I.

## LORI LAKSHAS vs. DISCRIMINATION

On May 20th of this year, Lori Lakshas was dismissed from the Seattle Fire Department Trainee Program. Upon dismissal, she filed a complaint of sex discrimination with the Seattle Office of Women's Rights.

She charged that women trainees were more harshly evaluated than the men by fire department officials who "had no interest in seeing the women succeed." After suffering a sprained wrist in a training accident, she claimed she was not recovered fully when she was put back on duty the day of her dismissal and accused the department of "playing games with me".

Lakshas was given the choice of resigning or being dismissed under a civil service rule allowing dismissal for "incompetency or inefficiency in performance of duties." She said she was told that if she resigned she would have a chance to enter another recruit class.

Six women were enrolled along with 27 men in the 10 week training program that began March 17. All of the other women have resigned and have made a statement that reads in part: "Our Collective opinion is that the Seattle Fire Department did not sexually discriminate against us, and that we resigned on our own accord."

Lakshas had charged that the women had been pressured into resigning, and issued the following statement in response.

The Seattle Chapter of N.O.W. has talked with Lakshas and supports her case. On June 16, women fire fighters from across the nation and various feminist groups met in Seattle. Many of the women are battling discrimination. The late evening discussion ended with the hope of "a nation-wide campaign to open the doors of fire departments, that last bastion of male supremacy."

I am very sorry that the other five women firefighter recruits did not see fit to support me and join with me in fighting to remain in the Fire Department, but I understand why they responded as they did.

Discrimination takes various forms. Often it is subtle and hard to see, and in many instances it takes a long time for its victims to recognize it, understand it, and learn how to stand up and fight it, especially when intense psychological pressures are involved.

It is a rather new phenomenon for women to learn to stick together in fighting discrimination. I have the highest respect for the eight Electrical Trades Trainees from Seattle City Light who were able to do that over the course of fifteen months. And, I am confident that if the six of us had been together in the Fire Department for a year or so, we, too, would have been able to make a united stand. All of the other women are strong and intelligent, but they are inexperienced in dealing with discrimination. We have all been under tremendous pressure to believe that we are incapable of being firefighters and that the best thing to do was to resign quietly "on our own accord".

It is harder to fight as an individual, but I intend to follow through with both my termination appeal and discrimination complaint. I want my job back, but there is much more at stake than my own job. I know that none of us would have been hired by the Fire Department in the first place if other women hadn't demanded, argued and pushed toward this goal for many years before we came along.

It took over 25 years for minority men to gain entry into Seattle's Fire Dept. It could take women that long, too, unless someone takes a stand now. It all comes down to whether or not the City of Seattle and the Fire Department are going to actually carry out the affirmative action policy they say they have.

While the central disagreement between myself and the other five women today is over whether the Fire Department discriminated against us, I must point out that the others have not always held this "collective opinion" that they were not discriminated against. Shortly after she resigned in March

June Frabbiele stated in the *Seattle Times* that "she would have stayed in there trying had the department not given her a 'resign or be terminated' ultimatum." The *Times* article further states that: "Chief Hanson of the Fire Department said that Ms. Frabbiele originally chose to be terminated. However, Fire Department officials discussed with her the advantages of resignation over termination. . . Ms. Frabbiele changed her mind and decided to resign after talking with Susan Magee, Director of the Office of Women's Rights, Hanson said. She signed a statement that she resigned voluntarily and under no coercion. . . She further stated, 'To me resigning is giving up'. . . But I didn't—I had no choice. I might have been able to learn how to use my weight to do the job, but I will never know.'"

Debbie Hanson, who attended recruit school for only a day and a half, and therefore has little basis for charging that "my accusations are drastically changed from what actually happened", told the *Pandora* shortly after her resignation, "we were defeated mentally even from the start—the damage had already been done". She also stated in the same article that "when she first took the test she felt fully capable—it was the time lag and mental battles which defeated her. She had stopped working out in the interim of waiting."

In addition, three of the women who had been medically disqualified by the Fire Department prior to recruit school charged that their disqualifications were discriminatory and with the assistance of the Office of Women's Rights appealed to the Civil Service Commission. The Commission ruled in their favor the night before the recruit class was to start.

So, why have these women suddenly changed their minds? I believe that they have been intimidated both by what the Fire Department has told them and by economic pressure. We are in a period when it is very difficult to get jobs, and this is especially true for women. Unemployment is high and affirmative action gains are being wiped out.

We were all put under fear of economic reprisal. At my termination meeting, which clearly spelled out the advantages of resignation over termination, I was told that if

I did not resign, I could not hold a city civil service position ever again. I could never work for the Seattle Fire Department again, including any future recruit class or training program the Fire Department might offer to women. I was forced to sign a paper stating that I understood this. The other women were also told that they might be offered a position in a recruit class, which was to be in July, but has subsequently been cancelled since the women resigned. In addition we were all aware that we could not receive unemployment compensation from the city if we were terminated. We were terrorized into understanding we were being put on a blacklist if we chose to fight our terminations.

I am familiar with this sort of policy of reprisal. I was captain of the UW Swim Team. A year ago another woman and I organized for athletic scholarships for wo-

men. We were temporarily kicked off the team and some of the women organized against us. However, the following year the very women who opposed us received athletic scholarships.

The five women imply in their statement that I am attacking the other recruits and the trainers at the school. This is simply not true. I fully agree with them that our fellow recruits were supportive and our trainers were trying very hard to be objective. The pressure on us came from much higher up in the department. Men who fainted and vomited during drills, recurrently sprained their ankles, cut themselves with chain saws, and developed disabilities such as bursitis in the knees and back problems were not threatened with termination. However, any initial difficulties any of the women had were magnified out of proportion by the higher echelons in the department and cited as proof that we weren't going to be able to make it.

The women further stated in their public statement that the Fire Department had given its cooperation to the "idea" of forming a pretraining class for women recruits. I confronted Chief Hanson with this "idea" upon my termination less than a week ago. He denied that there was any such plan.

Furthermore, the women indicated that the Mayor, the Seattle Fire Department

and Civil Service had been more than supportive and that the Mayor had an "open door policy". The Mayor had no such policy. He specifically told me that we would be working through the Office of Women's Rights and that Susan Magee would relay any messages to the Mayor. Mayor Uhlman told us that it would be "unrealistic" for him to keep a constant watch on the Fire Department.

Finally, I deny the implication made by other women in their statement on Monday that I am a "marginal recruit", incapable of saving lives. I stayed in recruit school the longest of all, over six weeks, and I fully believe that I am capable of becoming a first-rate firefighter. As soon as I have recovered from my wrist injury, I will prove to the Civil Service Commission, the Fire Department, and the Mayor that I am fully capable of performing all firefighter duties.

In conclusion, while I am the only woman recruit actively fighting my termination, I do not feel isolated and alone. The firefighters' union, many black firefighters, and feminist organizations and many individuals throughout the community and the state have given me considerable support and encouragement. To all of them I express my deepest appreciation, and to the other five women, I wish to say that what I am doing is really helping them too, as well as myself and other women who hope to crash through the sexist barriers in City of Seattle employment. I hope that when the five others have had more experience and are better able to understand discrimination, they will join me in the struggle for full equality for all women.

I also wish to state that I understand perfectly well that once I have criticized top city officials, including the Mayor and Fire Department management of sex discrimination, I am going to be the object of a vicious campaign by seasoned political insiders, and I am quite prepared to stand up to anything the politicians can throw at me.

Finally, I want to thank the press for their intelligent interest and completely accurate and fair reporting of what I have said.



# MORE SUBPOENA IN SEATTLE



'Jailed' on the lawn of the Federal Courthouse are various 'resisters' of the Grand Jury inquisitions. Pictured are participants in a skit performed by the Committee to End Grand Jury Abuse last week when the Grand Jury re-convened. Photo by Kate Dwyer/NWP Seattle Bureau.

Two days before the opening of Mark Cook's trial regarding his alleged involvement in the George Jackson Brigade Tukwila bank robbery and two days before the re-convening of the Federal Grand Jury, Seattle police barged into an apartment rented by three Seattle leftists: Helene Ellenbogen, Wayne Parker and Paul Zinsel. Ellenbogen and Zinsel were previously scheduled as defense witnesses in Cook's trial.

"In hot pursuit" of a car thief and therefore needing no search warrant, the police came into an apartment where the three members of Left Bank Political Collective were cleaning their guns after target practice.

In a statement written by the three—all subpoenaed by the grand jury the next day—they said

... After they threatened to kick in the doors, we opened up to find out what they wanted. They burst in, saw the guns and cleaning equipment on the table, and proceeded to ransack the apartment. We insisted that the guns were all legally purchased and registered in our names, but to no avail.

We were then taken into the police station, along with the entire contents

of the apartment including address books, personal letters, and total contents of our wallets and purses. We were held for four hours, during which we were never informed of our rights by the Police, nor allowed access to attorneys. Agents of the A.T.F. (Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) finally read us our rights and questioned us, at which time we identified our guns, and again asked to see our attorneys. We were finally released by Lieutenant Anderson, head of the Red Squad, who apologized profusely, told us that no crime had been committed, and assured us that all our property would be returned the following day. Instead, they stalled until the feds had time to subpoena it.

The search and seizure were blatantly illegal, and its purpose was to set us up for subpoenas, and steal information and materials which they had no legal means of obtaining. If we were Black or Native American, we would probably be dead now, like Fred Hampton or Anna Mae Aquash. . .

"Police accidentally stumbled into (the) apartment on E. Spring Street," reported the P-I. The "accidental" search also led to the subpoena of "guns, ammu-

munition, gunpowder and radical literature," the P-I reported.

The three had rented the apartment instead of storing the weapons in their homes because "Members of our collective have had their houses searched in recent months and have been generally harassed by police and the federal grand jury," they said.

The Left Bank Collective has apparently been under surveillance since a former worker at the bookstore, Ralph (Po) Ford, died last September when a bomb he was attempting to place behind a Capitol Hill Safeway exploded prematurely.

In closing their statement, the collective members stated:

We are not intimidated by a government which has long lost its credibility with the people, nor will we abandon either our right to own and bear arms, or our right to express our views. They are trying to portray us as 'terrorists,' but the real terrorists are in the government.

—nwp seattle bureau

## CHARLIE REBORN...

The strike against Good Time Charlie's and its other cohorts in Bellingham's big-time restaurant biz (NWP June 7) by the Culinary Workers and Bartenders Local 451 ended only five days after it began with a total capitulation by the bosses; the union got everything it asked for in a three year contract worked out with the help of a federal mediator. The business rep for the union, Gloria Day, was busy trucking all over Skagit and Whatcom counties getting the new contract signed, but when she was finally contacted, expressed an understandable satisfaction at the ease with which the union won its demands. It could be assumed that the owners are also happy that their establishments are open again, although it will be interesting to see what the new price of a pitcher will be.



The only apparent loser in the whole business seemed to be the Passage itself. The picketers who appeared in the photograph accompanying last issue's story were all workers at the Horseshoe Cafe. This, coupled with our comments on the quality of the Horseshoe's clientele and food, so incensed the owner that he will no longer carry the Passage on his stands. It's nice to know who reads the Passage!

—richard greene

### Left Bank Book Collective

Living in the Open by Marge Piercy  
Education for Critical Consciousness  
by Freire

No One of Us is Smarter than All by Po

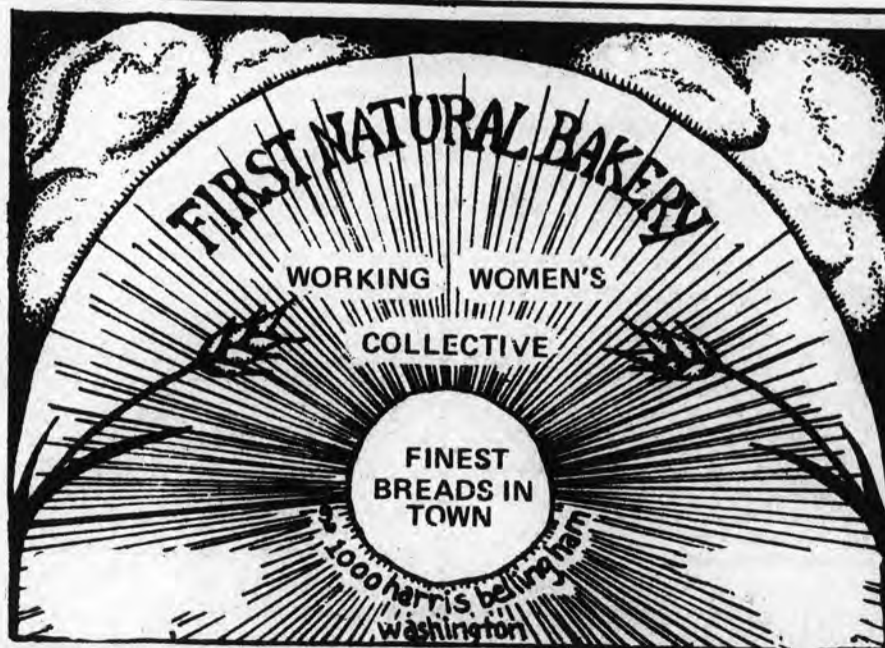
Latin American Revolutionary Poetry  
by Marquez

The Women's Gun Pamphlet  
Chinese Papercuts

Sixteenth Round  
by Hurricane Carter

all the information  
the man doesn't  
want you to have

92 Pike St.  
622-0195



AARDVARK BOOKS & ARTS  
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734-4043

Pyramid Power — \$1.95

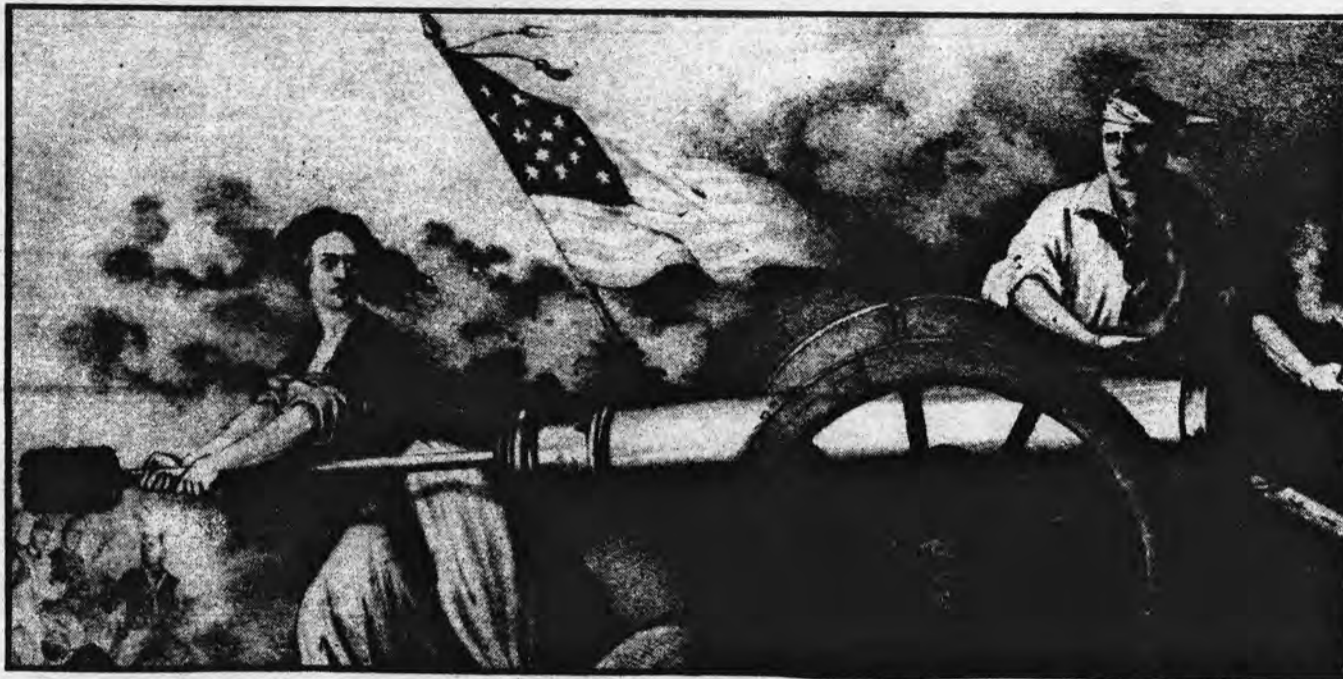
Is This Your Day — 'bio-rhythm  
bible' — \$1.75

Exploring Puget Sound and B.C. —  
includes nautical charts — \$19.95

Shogun — over 1200 pages of  
Japanese novel

A Deryni Science Fiction —  
Camber of Culdi





common sense

## PEOPLE'S BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Despite criticism from both the 'left' and 'right' the Peoples Bicentennial Commission (PBC) has become the most widely active organizing force for our 200th year 'celebration'. With various conservative journalists calling it everything from irresponsible to communistic, and the left generally denying that it is revolutionary in any sense of the word, still, it has assumed center stage over other active groups, including the federally funded American Revolution Bicentennial Association.

Begun in 1971 by a handful of people in Washington, lead largely by Jeremy Rifkin, a 30 year old Wharton School of Finance graduate in economics, the PBC seeks to "help stimulate a renewed understanding of, and commitment to the democratic ideals that shaped the birth of America." The organization boasts 20,000 dues paying members, and a \$200,000 yearly budget. Using tracts of Tom Paine, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, PBC hopes to forge a link between itself and many segments of American society that were inaccessible to New Left groups like the SDS.

"We basically have one simple principle," said Mr. Rifkin in an interview with *The Nation*, in June 1974. "Anyone who doesn't believe in the God-given rights

enumerated in the Declaration of Independence should not live in this country. They should go to Spain or Russia. Any person or corporation who doesn't live up to those ideals is a traitor and a subversive—it's as simple as that."

The PBC's main political issue is the unfair distribution of wealth in the United States and the anti-democratic practices of corporate power. Its appeal and in some measure its success depend on the PBC's repeated charge that the major corporations intend to exploit the bicentennial and trivialize the nation's history, along with its criticisms of bicentennial efforts which promote this trivialization. It is explained that these businesses and groups have lost the true sense of the American ideal. With large amounts of red, white and blue, a return to constitutional fundamentals is advocated. The desire for this return, it is claimed, forms the predominant attitude of the heretofore silent majority in America.

The PBC operates on both national and local levels. The national group produces radio and TV programs, provides speakers, and prints a variety of materials including pamphlets and their national newspaper *Common Sense*. In addition, they have published nine books including

a book of quotations from the Founding Fathers and Mothers, scholarly studies of the Revolution, and a manifesto on the concentration of economic power in contemporary America. These materials are widely circulated in thousands of schools across the country as well as through local Kiwanis Clubs, auxiliaries of the VFW, PTA's, and libraries.

The PBC has indeed rallied a considerable number of formerly silent opinions into criticism of monopoly power. However, the historical parallels made between 1776 and 1976 are forced, at least. And as an economic answer, the promotion of worker control within a framework of profit oriented individualism can only be a small step toward needed changes. Criticism of corporate irresponsibility is only symptomatic treatment of the results of the deeper dynamics of capitalism, many the bad side of which are closely tied to the competitive individualism PBC has so passionately promotes.

For those interested there is a local committee in Bellingham. Contact Chris Condon for more information.

— tom jacobson

## PT. ROBERTS ARTS & CRAFTS FAIR

Artists and craftspersons interested in the 1976 Point Roberts Arts and Crafts Fair August 14 and 15 sponsored by Whatcom County Parks are invited to submit pieces for jurying. Either photographs or samples of work must be submitted to the Roeder Home, 2600 Sunset Drive, Bellingham, on June 27 between 8 and 10 a. m. Notification of acceptance will be made by July 5. An independent jury will screen all applicants and will only accept those which are original, creative works and embody good principles of design, craftsmanship, function, and durability. Only those persons whose work is accepted through the jurying process may set up a booth at the fair. Call 733-6897 for more information.



**WILLIAMS & WILLIAMS**

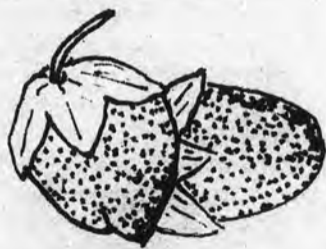
IN SEATTLE

July 9, Friday...Average White Band  
Arena  
July 22, Thursday...Jefferson Starship  
Coliseum  
July 23, Friday...Yes  
Coliseum  
July 26, Monday...Chicago  
Coliseum  
August 21, Friday...Jethro Tull  
Coliseum  
September 3, Friday...Aerosmith  
Dome

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Bellingham

(206) 676-1121



STRAWBERRY WINE

This recipe is for 1 U.S. gallon and may be multiplied.

### INGREDIENTS

3 1/2 lbs. strawberries  
2 lbs. white granulated sugar  
1 gallon water  
1 level teaspoon Yeast Nutrient  
1/2 teaspoon Acid Blend  
1 Campden tablet  
1/2 teaspoon Pectic Enzyme Powder  
Wine Yeast

### EQUIPMENT

primary fermentor  
secondary fermentor, gallon jugs,  
or carboy  
fermentation lock to fit secondary  
fermentor  
siphon hose  
hydrometer set  
acid testing kit

## WINE ART AND BEVERAGE

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What is a .....



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The distinguishing feature of the Birkenstock sandal is the molded footprint contour. It was inspired by observing the natural function of the foot on soft earth. A yielding surface supports the arch of the foot and invites the gripping action of the toes. The patented footprint contour is composed of highly elastic cork. It becomes flexible with body warmth and molds itself to your feet—becoming more "your own" with every step you take.

M J Feet — Birkenstock Footwear  
1415 Commercial (Douglas Bldg.)  
10-6 daily; Sun 12-5 676-1788

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205 West Holly Bellingham, WA



# Radioactivity Knows

## The Continuing Battle

The fight between the people, represented by SCANP (Skagitians Concerned About Nuclear Plants), and the Skagit Nuclear Project, represented by Puget Power, Bechtel Corporation, the oil companies invested in uranium, and the electrical consortium (GE, Westinghouse) is continuing. This legal battle will peak this summer during the final hearings to be held in July and August in Seattle. At this crucial time, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) will reconvene, accept final testimony from both sides, review the arguments, and then either grant authorization to begin construction, or scratch the project. SCANP is determined it will be the latter.

The situation is described briefly in the following:

Puget Power proposes to build at least two huge nuclear power reactors (1280 Megawatts each) near Sedro Woolley, Wn., at the cost of approximately \$2 billion. There is evidence which clearly indicates this site is totally unsuitable for such a risky endeavor. The overall geology and geophysics of the entire Northwest area militates against any local site, as it is known to be a "major earthquake zone". Dr. Eric Cheney of the University of Washington Geology Department has found a major earthquake fault line within 9 miles of the plant site (see map), which makes the siting a clear violation of the NRC regulations requiring no plant construction within 20 miles of any known fault line. However, since this fault discovery is recent (Feb. 1976), Puget's consultant geologist is disputing it. Other fault lines have been found to lie in even closer proximity to the site, and since the plants are designed with a .35g stress factor (less than that needed to withstand a massive earthquake) seismic factors are an important element in SCANP's favor. To add to the perilous conditions, the site is within 15 miles of Komo Kulshan (Lummi and Nooksack name meaning "Great White Watcher"), known on maps as Mt. Baker. In the last year, the mountain has dramatically increased in volcanic activity. World attention has focussed on the explosive forces contained within its white shroud, but so far, Mt. Baker remains a geophysical mystery.

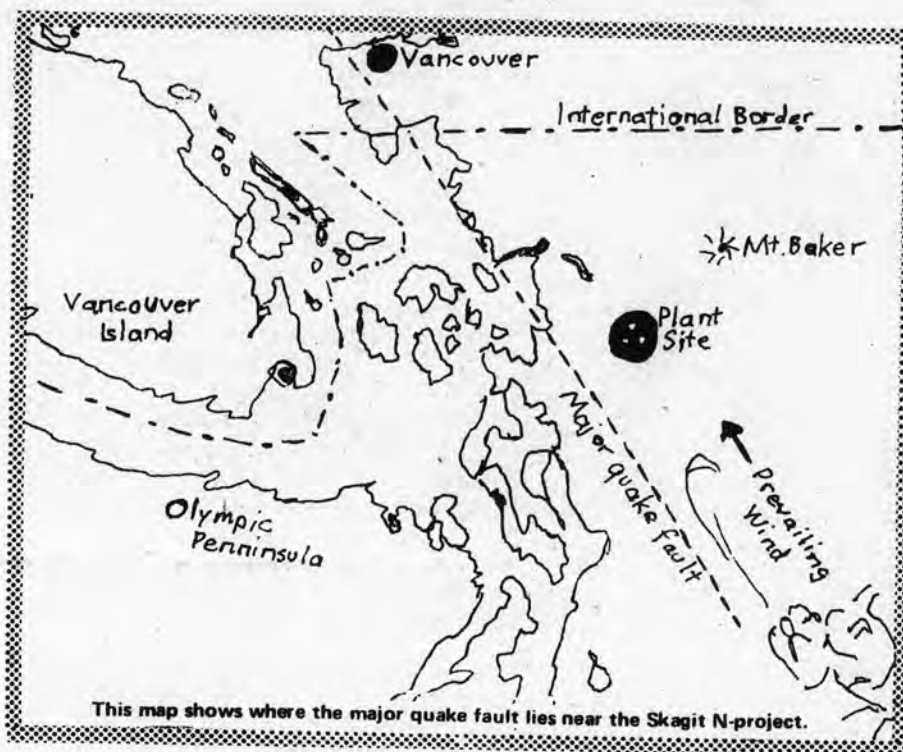
The plant site is about 32 air miles from the Canadian border, and the prevailing wind conditions from the site are to the north and to the west 70% to 80% of the time. The size of the plants indicates that the radioactive inventory at full production will be equivalent to that from several thousand Hiroshima size bombs. Potential exists for "Acts of God" such as massive earthquake, volcanic eruption, dam breakage, technical malfunction, or even deliberate sabotage, and human error; any of which could cause a loss of coolant water from the Skagit River, and trigger that most feared and severe accident possible in a nuclear power plant, the core meltdown. If this were to occur, vast amounts of radioactivity would be spewed into the atmosphere, resulting in contamination of the environment and human life endangered in a large area of the northwest. Since U.S. Government reports (Wash. 740 and 1250) say a major atomic plant accident could devastate an area the size of Pennsylvania, leaving 45,000 fatalities, 100,000 casualties, and contaminated property, the potential risks of exposure to radio-activity from these plants should be of grave concern for all residents of Washington and the lower mainland of B.C., particularly the larger populations centers such as Bellingham and Vancouver, which have no evacuation plan.

Even if luck were with us, and no such severe accident occurs, the emission rate during standard production in nuclear plants of highly radioactive particles results in an accumulation of radioactivity in the surrounding environment. "Abnormal incidents" have become quite common in the nuclear industry (the AEC reported 861 in 1973 alone), and often high concentrations of radioactive particles escape into the earth, air, and river systems, contributing to a slow poisoning of the life systems. This is just as long-lived and irreversible in terms of destruction as a more sudden and severe accident. The problem has been taken up on a more official level by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agen-

cy (EPA). In a report on the radiation impact of the nuclear power industry, it expressed great concern over the release into the environment of long-lived radioactive materials with a consequent build-up in air, water, and food which can persist for a long time and thus contribute to the incidence of lethal and other cancers and birth abnormalities in the exposed population. This is truly criminal planning, especially when one considers the agricultural base of life in the Skagit Valley. The lush value of the Skagit is undisputed in terms of its value as a major dairy, berry, flower, vegetable crop, and seed-producing capabilities for the world. The farmers of the Skagit Valley sustain thousands with the rich products of the earth, and the river itself is unique in the large number of species of salmon and steelhead. The business, industry, and government community, of course have a larger plan in mind for the region, in which the Skagit Nuclear Project plays a significant part. Once the plants are established as a centralized, cheap, and plentiful source of power, industry can be invited in, and the process of development of the area from Vancouver to Tacoma into an urbanized, industrial megalopolis is assured. The destruction of another precious and bountiful food producing valley will have taken place.

We all know the gist of this story, but this time there's a twist. This time the people are going to win. SCANP is the only legal intervenor and opposition to the Skagit Nuclear Project. They have effectively waged a campaign for the last two and a half years in opposing the plants, and are gearing up for the final days. The fact that this has been a long expensive process, with delay, is a very healthy sign, indeed. Many of the plants which exist today, do so because they have been rushed through the permit-granting procedures without a hitch, due to the inability of the community to organize, create, and pay for a legal defense. With the aid of an excellent environmental lawyer, Roger Leed, SCANP has succeeded in obtaining two postponements of the Federal Hearings, a strong indication of the controversy in regard to the geological safety of the site. Because of the postponement, Puget Power redesigned the plant up from .25g to .35g at the cost of \$50 million and it is still not adequate.

The Skagit River itself is one of the major focuses of the case. The Skagit is being considered at a Federal level to be included in the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of America. Inclusion would preserve and protect the river and its environs for its aesthetic and wilderness value forever. However, this proposal, naturally going against the grain of Puget Power's wishes, has unaccountably been shunted through a series of sleights of hand. If the river were included in the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, the Skagit Nuclear Project would automatically be disqualified as a "water resource project." The de-



cision making agency is set up in the Act to be the Forest Service. It seems, in this touchy situation, the nerve of Chief Forester McGuire was a bit frazzled, so the decision was asked of the Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz. Funny thing, he found the decision difficult as well, so recently Assistant Secretary Long handed over the authority to make this decision on the preservation of the Skagit River to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission! This is a direct violation of the law and amounts to a conflict of interest.

SCANP has an arsenal of information concerning infractions and violations of law by Puget Power and the Government during the hearing process, but public knowledge and demonstrations of support must increase in order for the law to be representative of the peoples' will in concern for the environment.

## Anti-Nuke Debate at Habitat

A great increase in awareness on both sides of the border was the result of the SCANP exhibit at Habitat Forum during the UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat) in Vancouver May 27-June 11. The primary purpose of the exhibit was to inform BC citizens of their own susceptibility in case of accident at the plants, and also to enable them to put pressure on their provincial government to become involved in the upcoming hearings. BC has had neither a voice nor have they been consulted in the last 2½ years, and one suspects that political and economic affiliations between the provincial government and the powers that be in Washington State are involved. Thousands at Habitat were affected by the booth and literature, and over a thousand BC citizens shared the cost of participating in a telegram campaign to Premier Bennett. Telegrams were also sent to Dave Barrett, leader of the New Democratic Party, Gordon Givson, leader of the Liberal Party, Scott Wallace, leader of the Conservative Party, and Prime Minister Trudeau explaining the grass roots effort. Copies of all telegrams were kept and will be presented at the hearings. The response from the people was phenomenally supportive of SCANP. A high percentage of the public were not even cognizant of the Project, and many reached the realization of the impending concentration of the nuclear fuel cycle in this area, re Hanford, Trident, and the Skagit Nuclear Project, as a result of SCANP's presence at the forum. The question was raised here whether atomic plants belong near international borders, thereby lifting the lid on the assumption that state or nation governments may make decisions that involve and endanger their neighbors without consulting them. The following is a quote from Barbara Rogers, Consultant to the United Nations Development Program: "Since the risk of a



# No Borders

nuclear accident, involving the release of radiation over a wide area, is an international concern, it is worth noting that the international agreements on liability contain an array of loopholes, contradictions, and diplomatic conflicts. Many of the reactors in Europe and elsewhere are located near international frontiers. Reactor operators are specifically excluded by two conventions from responsibility in the event of acts of terrorism or sabotage. A senior official in the West German government, formerly with the International Atomic Energy Agency, described the provisions for liability as "unbelievably low and utterly insignificant in the case of real catastrophe for which nuclear liability conventions are intended." Thus, it is the international public which assumes the risk of accidents at the nuclear reactors currently being proposed on a massive scale, without any effective voice in the decisions involved.

The worldwide concern of the people in regard to nuclear power was apparent at the UN Conference. Meetings of individuals and coalition groups in an effort to internationalize the anti-nuclear movement met with great success. A week long schedule of debates and speeches, discussions, and activities on the issue of nuclear power took place at Habitat Forum at Jericho Beach. Among the persons and groups calling for an immediate moratorium on nuclear power were: Margaret Mead; Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson); Maurice Strong (PetroCanada); Mike McCloskey, President of Sierra Club; David Brower, Friends of the Earth; Ruth Gage-Colby; Buckminster Fuller; Stu Leggatt; Barry Spinner of Energy Probe, Vancouver Symposium; Australia's Jack Mundy and Dr. Pat Morre of the Greenpeace Foundation which organized the program.

The culmination took place on Monday, June 7, with a mass rally and march through the center of Vancouver, hundreds strong, from the Habitat Pavilion to the Bayshore Inn where Margaret Mead was addressing a large delegation. She came out to speak to the mass of chanting people, and address the world through the media, stressing that "no one has the right to poison the earth as a heritage for future generations."

During all activities, the NGO's (Non-Governmental Organizations) became aware the energy issue was being conspicuously avoided in the official conference. The question, often repeated, arose: "How can you have a conference on human settlements without a serious discussion of energy?" We all became conscious of several factors involved in the world development of nuclear technology.

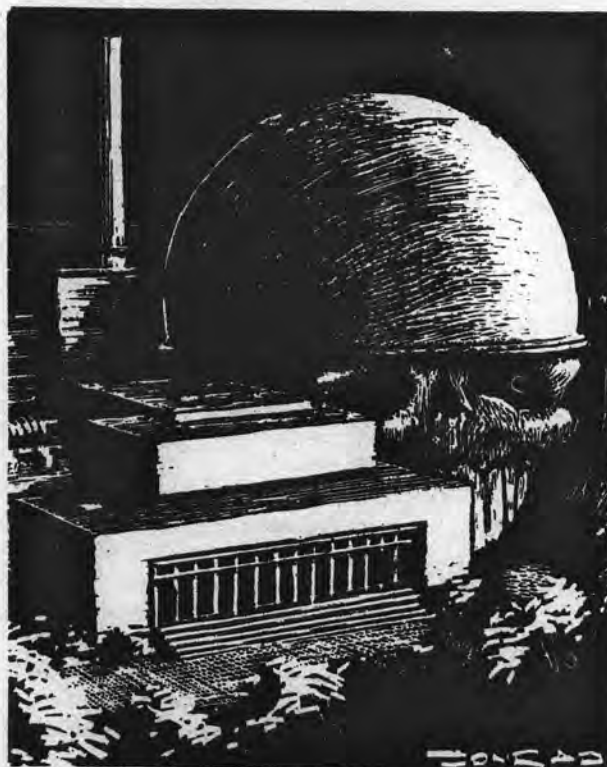
## An International Issue

A link-up with official delegates at the conference was sought diligently by NGO's to get the issue of nuclear power brought before the conference. Personal reports indicated time after time that governmental and economic pressure made it impossible for open discussion. A delegate from India had film confiscated at the airport on his way to Vancouver. The film showed relocation procedures for 32,000 people from the squatter Janatha colony to make way for 300 staff houses, swimming pools, tennis courts, etc, for personnel for the adjacent nuclear research centre in connection with the CANDU reactor sold to India by Canada. The continuing and growing opposition of the people in the Western Industrialized nations to nuclear technology, plus the rapid cost escalation has resulted in considerable stoppage and delay in plant construction (112 out of 236 in 1974 were affected) (During 1975 utilities cancelled 23 reactor orders and postponed another 125—many of these probably indefinitely). The opposition of the public in Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Norway, Sweden, and Spain as well as the U.S. is having a heavy effect on this multi-billion dollar industry. The crisis in the nuclear industry in the U.S., however, which was the first country to launch a major nuclear

power offensive, is far from the end of the story.

Nowhere was the process more evident than at the UN conference in Vancouver, the largest ever held. The economic pressures on countries and the consequential attempt to muzzle the anti-nuclear movement was obvious. The export of high technology to the third world is growing: Six developing countries have nuclear power plants either in operation or under construction: Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, India (3), Pakistan, and South Korea. 14 are planning to install them in the 1980's: Bangladesh, Jamaica, Phillipines, Thailand, Chile, Mexico, Singapore, South Korea, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, and Egypt. Most of these will use U.S. or Canadian plants, either directly or through such countries as France or West Germany. The narrow range of suppliers makes a decision by any developing country to buy a nuclear power plant a commitment to some loss of independence in its power generating program. In addition, Canada and the U.S. are in fact the only sources of reactor licenses and technology which are proliferating world-wide, since the French and West Germans use American licenses, and the Soviet Union is not engaged in exporting its nuclear energy technology in the same way. Thus, international safeguards, far from being a genuinely international issue, depend entirely on what Canada and the U.S. decide to do about exporting nuclear materials, equipment and technology. Unfortunately, the U.S. and Canadian governments are not taking responsibility for the proliferation of materials it publicly states it deplors. In fact, the transnational companies are in control of this hazardous enterprise. Under the guise of the "peaceful use of the atom," the west is establishing a nuclear technocracy, global in scope, which is an inexcusable act of planetary immorality.

Great concern was evident among some of the delegates at the conference. The tiny country of Papua, New Guinea had the courage to present a resolution asking for a "nuclear free zone in the South Pacific," and an amendment asking for a moratorium. Unfortunately this was shunted aside. I personally spoke to a delegate from Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). His interest in the SCANP exhibit was great and he took pictures and lingered to talk. He said, "A short while ago, I might not have stopped to discuss this with you, but since the recent sale of a nuclear power reactor to South Africa by France, we are in much the same situation as you, with this in our own back yard." He was a black delegate dealing with the white government's ultimate coerciveness.



## Attention: Action Needed

SCANP needs help. The battle to stop construction of the Skagit Nuclear Project is in the final stages. On **July 7** hearings will reconvene at the **Federal Building** downtown **Seattle**. A **mass demonstration** is being called by SCANP at **1pm** on the same day (July 7) and the same location. The subject of this hearing is "seismic testimony" and the final hearings on August 17 will cover the "need for nuclear power." SCANP also needs financial help. \$ are needed to keep the legal defense alive. SCANP is a non-profit organization and will accept promissory notes with the condition that the plant will NOT be built. Help defeat the N-plants. For further information and donations contact Ann McMillan at (206) 733-2999 or 1450 Lincoln St. B'ham.

I also spoke to a delegate from Nigeria who took pictures, our literature, expressed his appreciation that the American people were trying to stop the nuclear proliferation, but his attitude was somewhat illuminating of the future when he said, "Now all Africa is alert to the nuclear issue (re the South Africa plant). Nuclear power is essential to all of Africa now, because it is implied power which could be used in the resistance in the colonialism struggle."

## The Fight at Home

Certainly wherever an ostensibly peaceful nuclear plant is to be situated, the silent threat of the destructive use of the same is co-existent. The point to be made here, is that the nuclear cradle of the world exists in the western industrialized nations, particularly the U.S., and that the Third World is being swamped with radioactive hardware as our garbage. It is being sold gleaming with promises of self-sufficiency, growth and progress. Some of the countries are swallowing it, some want power and the ability to divert fuel and waste to make nuclear armaments (quite easy when one considers the rapid accumulation of the waste plutonium, the most toxic substance known to man and the establishment of a global transportation system potentially vulnerable to sabotage or accident), and some simply cannot withstand the economic and political pressure. It must be stopped in the West where it originates. There is no other choice. And the first step toward that is to acquire awareness of what is going on globally and how it relates to what is going on right here and now in the Skagit Valley. The Skagit Nuclear Project does have international significance. The result of the people's fight here is a tally number of a single battle in a large war, but it must be fought, and since we all have the grand luck to have Komo Kulshan, the earth herself, and each other as allies, perhaps we can come together to defeat the project.

We must realize our case is very strong. Realistically speaking, I must say for approximately 3 years now I have watched the "system" operating and have participated in trying to change it from the county commission zoning level thru the state TPPSEC Hearings, the federal NRC hearings, inter-country Govt. operations, and now the UN conference itself. Everywhere the same pattern exists—the mass of people must unite, become visible in their opposition. We will win here in the Northwest, but only if the people come out: demonstrate at the hearings, support SCANP with funds, attend the hearings, and of particular importance, force media coverage. The press and media continue to have difficulty avoiding the pressure on them to ignore the opposition unless the conditions are such that they cannot, I.E., a mass demonstration. The question of media coverage is important since only through it can large numbers become aware of the strength of our position, and the violations that are so blatant.

And truly it is the people who must answer and take the responsibility for answering the ultimate questions of the nuclear power issue, because the technical experts can only answer the technical questions, but the more important moral, social, and political questions inevitably involved with nuclear power can only be answered by the people themselves.

—by Anne McMillan



# the state of

Later this year the Native American Case for national sovereignty will have a hearing before two of the highest authorities in the world: the U.S. Supreme Court and the United Nations. The following are two reports on these proceedings and their implications:

## The Treaty of 1868

This winter the U.S. Supreme Court is expected to review the case of the 1868 Treaty between the U.S. government and the Sioux nation. If the treaty is upheld it would mean that by the end of this Bicentennial year portions of Montana, North and South Dakota, Wyoming, and Nebraska may no longer be part of the United States - by law. (See map in centerfold for the area bounded by this treaty.) According to the tenets of this agreement the United States recognizes the territory in these five states as an independent Sioux nation. Already the treaty, which was the legal basis of the Wounded Knee uprising of 1973, has been upheld by a lower district court and the 7th circuit court of appeals. But these courts, in assenting to the legality of the treaty, have been unable to suggest a way to implement its contents.

This is the first treaty concerning an Indian nation's total right to a designated territory to go through the legal process. Other cases have merely dealt with questions of resources (e.g. the Boldt decision in Washington). If the Treaty of 1868 is upheld the implications are enormous. In all there have been 371 treaties between the U.S. government and Indian nations since the first in 1778. These have been undermined by various legal and military maneuvers by the United States. But throughout these centuries Indians have never assimilated into the mainstream of American society. Rather they have retained their ties to the land at all costs. In Indian culture land is an integral part of the people's personal and political identity. Even today it is a totally foreign custom to sell the land, often equated with selling one's mother. Heinmot Tooyalaket (Chief Joseph) of the Nez Perce, expressed this attitude eloquently nearly a century ago:

*"The earth was created by the assistance of the sun, and it should be left as it was...The country was made without lines of demarcation, and it is no man's business to divide it...I see the whites all over the country gaining wealth, and see their desire to give us lands which are worthless...The earth and myself are of one mind. The measure of the land and the measure of our bodies are one and the same...Do not misunderstand me, but understand me fully with reference to my affection for the land...I never said the land was mine to do with as I chose. The one who has the right to dispose of it is the one who has created it. I claim a right to live on my land, and accord you the privilege to live on yours."*

This Native American feeling for the land has not eroded over the years of U.S. domination of the continent. Indian traditions of oral history, coupled with the effects of an extended family structure insure that nearly every Native person has a certain degree of intimacy with the members of his family and nation who were alive in 1868. While many white Americans can barely stand the strain of a five minute wait for a hamburger, to an Indian a century is but a spec of time in the history of the world.

Yet, despite the strong legal and moral foundations for upholding the 1868 Treaty, the Supreme Court may fall into the general pattern of past U.S. government dealings and issue a denial. Even if this happens, the Indians will not stop battling for their land. Vine Deloria, one of the attorneys active in the Indians' case, expressed this succinctly when asked by an appellate court judge what would happen if the treaty were not recognized. He replied, "Well, we'll just go back to the treaty before that one, and that gives us everything west of the Mississippi."



The signers of the second treaty of Wounded Knee, 1973.

## Hearing Before the United Nations

The successful propaganda effects of the armed actions of Indians during the last decade, coupled with the precedent of the successful wars of national liberation in Southeast Asia, have propelled the Native American struggle for independence into the arena of international politics. This fall, the International Treaty Council (ITC), and Indian organization formed in 1974, will present the case for international recognition of the treaties to the United Nations.

The operation of the International Treaty Council outside the context of the U.S. borders is a significant step in a spirit of internationalism in the Indian movement. Recently the ITC sent a delegation to the Second Congress of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Currently, the ITC maintains an office in the U.N., headed by American Indian Movement (AIM) member Jimmie Durham. Durham, who will be one of the main speakers before the United Nations, was interviewed recently by the Guardian. He addressed himself to the problem of how genuinely independent Indian nations can exist within what is now considered the U.S. This has been a main point of confusion for many people who are sympathetic to the Indian cause, but see it as a struggle for civil rights, not as one for national independence. Durham pointed out that the primary thing is that Native Americans want control over their land and resources, political power, and culture. But he viewed it as untenable for each nationality (e.g., Cherokee, Navajo, Sioux) to exist as a totally independent nation. Similarly, he thought it was impossible to achieve self-determination if Indians of all nationalities were moved into one large area. This is due to the Native American relationship to the land. As Durham put it, "our politics, wisdom and living come from the land we are on." At this time, the most practical possibility he could envision was a loose confederation of the various nationalities, with each having substantial political control over its homeland. But he emphasized that nothing of this nature could become a reality as long as the U.S. government continues its hostility toward Native Americans. Thus, it is vital if Native American nations are to achieve their sovereignty that pressure come on the U.S. government from both other Third World countries and from people in the United States who support Native Americans' struggle for national liberation.

**"BY THE END OF THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR PORTIONS OF MONTANA, WYOMING, NEBRASKA, NORTH AND SOUTH DAKOTA MAY NO LONGER BE PART OF THE UNITED STATES--BY LAW"**



Akwesasne  
Notes



# native nations

## Ganienkeh--Indian people celebrate 2 years of Independence

On May 13, 1974, the Indian nation of Ganienkeh was reborn. Located in what is usually called upstate New York, the territory was granted to the people of the Mohawk nation in the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1794. In little over two years on the land, the Indians have made great strides toward creating a self-sufficient nation. Though for security reasons, they refuse to reveal how many people live in Ganienkeh (white people are not allowed in), they do say that over 100 children are participating in traditional education. The economy of the nation revolves around farming. So far their main success has been in harvesting potatoes, though they've also raised corn, tomatoes, and onions. Over fifty different nations of Native Americans are represented at Ganienkeh, and hundreds of Indians from other parts of the U.S. have come to this Adirondack nation to give assistance with labor and bring much needed food. Because the land in this region is not extremely fertile, the people of Ganienkeh estimate it will take 3 to 4 years for them to be totally self-reliant in the realm of food production.

In the first few months local non-Indians were fairly supportive of the Native Americans' desires. Besides, the volume of trade with local merchants from Ganienkeh was substantial. But a few incidents of drunken whites taking potshots at Indians, (fortunately no one was killed or wounded) plus the ignoring of these shootings by local police, led to a confrontation. On October 28, 1974 Indians received gunfire from two cars passing Ganienkeh. They returned the fire, wounding a nine year old girl and a 22 year old man.

This created a wave of hysteria among local whites. The State Police (the same ones who were at Attica) were called to patrol the area. Rumors spread of an armed invasion by these State forces. Businessmen allied themselves with corporations and John Birchers in the area to form COPCA, Concerned Persons of the Central Adirondacks. But the backlash died down.

Though State troopers still patrol the area and COPCA continues an anti-Indians propaganda campaign, support for Ganienkeh has increased in the past year and a half. Ample evidence of this was the fact the area's incumbent district attorney, Henry Blumberg, who had been accused of being "soft on Indians," was re-elected last fall by a 2 to 1 margin over Martin Weinstein. Weinstein had referred to the native people's activities as "plain and simple criminality" and has stated, "Whatever forces necessary should be used to bring them to justice."

The future of Ganienkeh is being debated in many quarters. Various state and federal courts are trying to decide who has jurisdiction over this territory. No one in the government at any level seems to want another Wounded Knee or Attica on their hands. The Ganienkeh people maintain that any dispute over ownership of the land they occupy is an international matter and should be settled by the United Nations or the World Court. They want to remain and rebuild their nation. Kakwirakeron, spokesperson for the nation, when asked what the Indians would do if the government tried to forcibly evict them, answered: "We are not a threat to other citizens. We respect other people's ways and we ask that our ways be respected....We intend to stay."

From an interview with Ganienkeh resident, Judy Swamp.

Q. What is life like for a woman at Ganienkeh?

*It's quite different from a reservation because at Ganienkeh we are living what we were taught, where before on reservations we were living just like any other white person. On the outside you only think of yourself, but you think of the people here as a whole. You think of everybody as a family.*

*In Ganienkeh, and it's in the Great Law, that even the smallest one has a voice. Nothing is ever decided by just one person. We have what we call the women's meeting where the women decide what different chores we have for different people. It's not just one individual who would decide what would be done, it would have to be when we all agree. At the different meetings we've had, the women have as much voice as the men.*

*One of the most important roles for a woman here is bringing the children into the world. In the white society, the white man has managed to get the women on reservations to be taking different types of birth control. While here in Ganienkeh it's understood that they won't be taken. As a child I've always been told that the woman holds hands with the Grandmother Moon. And the woman more or less has the same cycle to fill.*



Anna Mae Aquash, Indian woman murdered by police earlier this year.



## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This is an outline of the major steps the U.S. government has taken to eradicate the content of all treaties with the Indian nations.

**1828 The Indian Removal Act:** This meant just what it said - removing Indians forcibly from their homelands. The most notorious result of this was the 1838 eviction of the entire Cherokee nation from their land in Florida because gold was discovered there. 50,000 people were herded to Oklahoma to "Indian territory." Enroute nearly a third of them died. This uprooting is known as the "Trail of Tears."

**1832 A Supreme Court decision establishes the legal validity of Treaties with Native Americans as international in character.** Portions of the opinion of John Marshall read: The words 'treaty' and 'nation' are words of our own language...having each a definite and well-understood meaning. We have applied them to Indians as we have applied them to other nations of the earth. They are applied in the same sense." President Andrew Jackson's reply, upon hearing this verdict, was "Marshall's made his decision, now let's see his troops."

**1871 The Indian Appropriation Act:** This ended the validity of any future treaties between the U.S. government and Indian nations.

**1887 The Allotment Act:** This said that Native Americans could own land in individual plots only. This totally violated Indian traditions of collective ownership by all people of the nation and created an opening for individual and corporate white land speculators to wheel and deal with Indians who were inexperienced in the craft of "business." By 1934, largely because of this "law," Native landholdings were reduced from 138 million acres to 48 million acres.

**1984 Indian Reorganization Act:** This was a liberal, New Deal law which supposedly was designed to create more government services and benefits for Indians through increasing the powers of the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs). In effect, it set up puppet BIA governments on the reservations (such as that of Dick Wilson which functioned for so long at Pine Ridge). One of the most important responsibilities given to the BIA under this Act was that of leasing Indian land to outsiders. This meant a virtual "Open Door Policy" for white farmers and businessmen to use Indian reservations for their operations. This neo-colonialism continues to this very day. At the time of the Wounded Knee uprising in 1973, 90% of Pine Ridge Reservation was leased to outsiders. In the wake of the energy crisis, oil companies have focussed on Indian lands for future strip mining of coal. Shell Oil even went so far as to produce a publicity film to be shown on reservations which portrayed coal as the "new buffalo."

For more information:

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## PANAMA UPDATE

Panama has become the top international issue in the current Republican Presidential campaign, much to the surprise of most citizens. Panama's intense struggle during the last decade to gain control of the Panama Canal went virtually unnoticed in the United States until the campaign. But now, Ronald Reagan has made Panama almost a household word.

Reagan began campaigning on the Panama Canal in March in Florida. His threats against Pres. Ford, Kissinger, the Panamanian people and all of Latin America have been carried to Indiana, West Virginia and everywhere else he has been during April and May. Reagan fears that the Canal will be "surrendered" to the Panamanian people. He openly admits his willingness to go to war against Panama and its many Latin American supporters so that the US can maintain its current colonial control of the Panama Canal Zone.

Beneath Reagan's campaign threats is a conspiracy to overthrow the progressive, nationalist government of Gen. Omar Torrijos, which came to power in 1968. On Nov. 3, 1975, Reagan met with Panamanian traitor Arnulfo Arias outside Miami. Inspired by Reagan's support, Arias then attempted to return to Panama and take power in January. This coup attempt was thwarted, as was another in early May by Panamanian exiles from Miami aided by a Brazilian.

Such attempts to overthrow or "destabilize" the Torrijos government have a long history, including a CIA assassination attempt against Torrijos in 1971, revealed by recent Congressional investigations. Such U.S. inspired ventures as the destabilization of progressive regimes in the Caribbean—such as Michael Manley in Jamaica and Forbes Burnham in Guyana—bear the close attention of U.S. citizens, lest another Chile or Vietnam erupt in

this region.

Though some newspaper columnists and television commentators try to dismiss Panama as "unimportant, merely an election issue", the controversy is in fact quite significant. This conflict is one of many attempts during this post-Vietnam era by a colonized people to remove another vital leg of U.S. imperialism. The loss of Panama would be a serious blow to U.S. power throughout the world, a further dismantling of the U.S. empire.

The conflicts between Panama and the U.S. and between Ford and Reagan reveal a deeper conflict within the powerful elite in the U.S. over how to handle mounting liberation struggles in the third world. The more colonial sector, for which Reagan speaks, prefers the use of brute force to retain the traditional power of the U.S. empire and smash these people's struggles.

Another sector, led by Rockefeller interests, is willing to accept modifications in colonialism in order not to lose their real power. This neo-colonial position is present in Panama by the increasing number of foreign banks and the Canal Free Zone with its tax-free exchange of goods. Panama has become the sixth largest banking capital in the world, the "Switzerland of Latin America". It hosts 72 foreign banks with total assets exceeding \$6.5 billion. For these imperialists, Panama has become much more than merely a canal.

The neo-colonial sector would like to stabilize the investment climate in Panama and throughout Latin America by removing an important thorn in its side which unites all of Panama and much of Latin America—the Canal Issue. But unfortunately for these imperialists, Panama is doing precisely what they fear—driving a bigger wedge between the peoples of Latin America and the government and multi-national corporations of the U.S.

From Mass Party Organizing Committee Bulletin

## PELTIER FACES EXTRADITION



Leonard Peltier, A.I.M. leader, was ordered held for extradition to the U.S. on Friday, June 18th, by Canadian supreme court justice W.A. Schultz.

Peltier, 32, was told there was sufficient evidence to send him to trial in the U.S. on charges of attempted murder in Wisconsin; murder of two FBI agents in Pine Ridge, S.D.; and burglary in Oregon.

The judge found insufficient evidence on one count of attempted murder in Oregon.

Canadian extradition laws, the judge explained, require a foreign state to present a *prima facie* case of guilt and that judge must then listen to the fugitive's argument against it. The extradition hearing judge then makes his decision as if it were a preliminary hearing charge.

Peltier denied all charges and asked for political asylum on grounds that he would not receive a fair trial, he would be subject to cruel and unusual punishment, and the U.S. seeks to try him for political, not criminal, acts.

The judge found no evidence to support Peltier's claims.

Before the judge delivered his decision he asked Peltier to rise and as he rose his supporters in the courtroom rose and cheered Peltier and gave the clenched fist salute. When Peltier's supporters did not heed the judge's command to sit, the judge ordered them ejected and delivered the verdict to a closed court.

The courtroom cleared in a bloody way, the police forcibly ejecting people who objected to being ordered out. But afterwards the janitors cleaned the blood off the floor of that august chamber.

Peltier's attorneys Stuart Rush and Donald Rosenbloom will appeal to the Federal Court of Canada.

Justice Minister Ron Basford must sign the extradition order and he will wait until after the appeal effort to decide whether he shall sign.

The appeal is expected to take three or four months and during this time Peltier's defense will continue to raise public consciousness of the case and show that Peltier is a political refugee.



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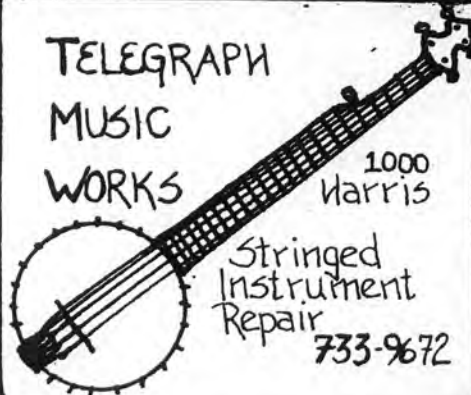
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## PROLETARIAN PUZZLES

### ACROSS

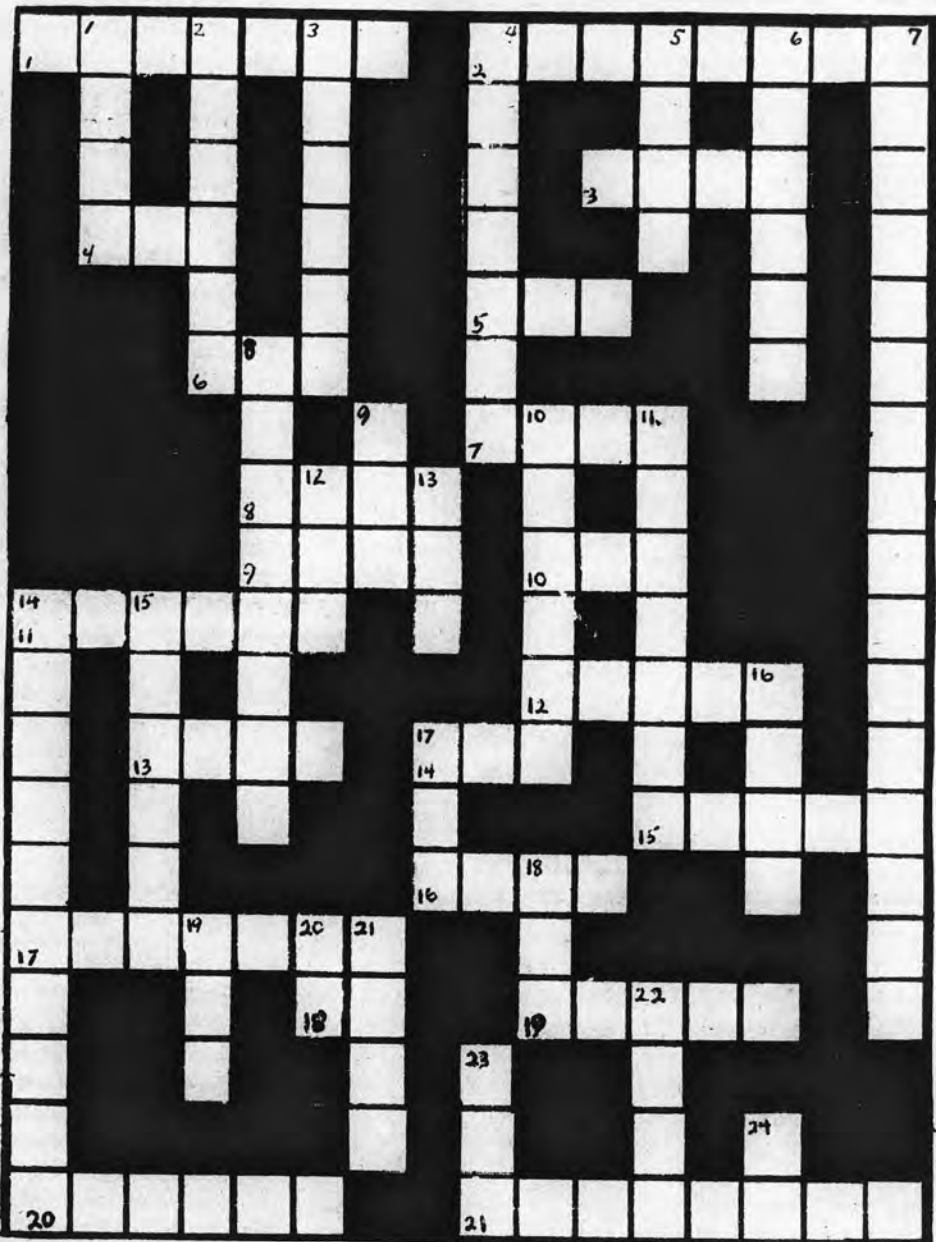
- Modern day black nationalist leader
- Famous black poet Hughes
- The kind of increases Ma/Pa Bell loves
- A necessary ingredient of every people's culture
- H ----- Brown, imprisoned former SNCC leader
- Group advocating five southern states as new African territory (abbrev.)
- A base for any nation
- The number of treaties the U.S. gov't has honored with Native American nations
- A type of organization often used in offices, a secretarial -----
- A high explosive used in warfare
- Someone you don't like (two words) Hint: Second word is Abbrev. for criminal organization which supported Nixon's re-election
- A part of timing device for a homemade bomb
- Alleged biological source of male power--rhymes with I2 across
- Black Liberation Army (abbrev.)
- A super shit-food dish--pop -----
- African Liberation Support Committee (abbrev.)
- United States, Sioux, Navajo, France, and Puerto Rico are examples of these
- First word of many of Mao Tse Tung's writings
- An ancient Native nation invaded by Cortez
- Native American leader Banks (not Dennis)
- Chicano activist who led armed takeover of New Mexico courthouse in 1967, Reies -----

### DOWN

- U.S. feminist poet--also means tall in Spanish (feminine gender)
- The loser at Little Big Horn
- Puerto Rican woman who led armed attack on U.S. Congress in 1954

- Chairman Mao, William Buckley, and Phil Ochs warn against this political viewpoint
- The most famous North Vietnamese general, Vo Nguyen -----
- 371 of these were signed between U.S. gov't and Indian nations (singular)
- The name of the paper in which this silly crossword puzzle is appearing
- The nation to which Chief Joseph belonged
- Brother (abbrev.)
- Prison rebellion in 1971 which killed 43 and catapulted Rockefeller to the Vice-Presidency
- Scene of large-scale urban rebellion by Blacks in the 60's
- Source of funds for Third World and poor students now being cut back--Economic Opportunity Program (abbrev.)
- Nobody ever died of -----age
- Mountain range where Ganieneh is located
- The type of organization in which many whites in Boston are now involved, ROAR is an example
- Famous German Marxist
- Puppet Native American gov't--(abbrev. for Bureau of Indian Affairs)
- Patty Hearst's former comrades (abbrev.)
- Famous Irish political and military organization
- The usual answer when you try to fight City Hall
- Civil rights organization in 60's in the South (see 5 Across)
- If you're a woman and you want a job they always tell you to learn how to -----
- A Native American spiritual stimulant, now used by many people in the U.S.
- Grace Atkinson, also a note on the scale (answers on p. 31)

by rob griffin



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## VIETNAM REUNIFIED

Radio Hanoi called it "The most illustrious day in our history" and praised the "fulfillment of the dreams of (late) president Ho Chi Minh for a unified, democratic and independent Vietnam."

"We declare this assembly in official session," Ching told the cheering assembly delegates in ceremonies broadcast by Radio Hanoi. "We are united in freedom and independence."

On June 24th, Vietnamese Chairman Truong Ching gavelled open the first national parliament in Vietnam in 30 years and proclaimed, "Finally our country is united."

The 492-member assembly met in Hanoi to set up a formal government, officially name the country, and designate a national flag, national color, and name Hanoi as the capital.



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**Grand Jury Subpoenae**  
Interview cont. from page 7

work the night shift and spend lots of time talking to each other. It's like a pajama party, you get to know people pretty well.

The other thing that helps is the response of other friends and the support that takes the form of ordinary day to day activities. Support is if you are crying all night and you can't get to sleep and you call someone at 3:30 in the morning and they come over. Support is cooking dinner, doing daycare. You really need your Mommy at a time like this, you need people to be your Mommys.

The other big effect has been with my son Joshua. It seemed to me that the reasonable way to handle it was to be honest with him to say I might go to jail, and to try and minimize the change it will make in his life but it is a big deal for him.

The fact of being a single parent and of facing having to possibly leave your child is real heavy. He went through this period of being a clinging two year old, and he is four. He was wetting his bed two or three times a week, which he had totally stopped doing. Those are signs that he is really upset about this. He also has done some neat things. He made this sign to go to the demonstration which said "KILL THE DRAGONS. POLICES DON'T PUT KATHY IN JAIL. BREAK THE JAIL DOOR OPEN." He knows what is going on. He plays around with letters on paper and pretends he is making a leaflet. It has its good sides for him. He is real ambivalent about police now, he talks about police all the time. "That's a good police, that's a bad police." He dreamt that the polices went into Debray's house and lost his gun there.

And that has been the most painful, the heaviest

part for me. Because a year at the age of four is a real big hunk of time.

**NWP: Are you two similiarly planning to spend time in jail?**

Kathy: I feel like I must be ready, whether I go to jail or not is at the whim of the prosecutor ... it is not anything that is under my control. To the extent that I have said, "I draw the line, there is a line that I will not cross in terms of my integrity." I will not testify about my friends, I will not hurt my friends, or subject them to what I am going through. I will not do that.

Support really helps you to make the stand. I really feel that other people's strength really flows through me in some sense. When it comes down to it, I am going to be in jail. Any day when you are in jail for civil contempt you just have to call up the D.A. and bingo you're out to testify, you're free. So it's very difficult kind of jail sentence, it's not like you're in jail for a year and you have to wait it out. You have to be strong every minute of every day. I feel like it's real important to go through the emotional work to be ready to do that. And so I don't go? Well, I'll be ready if it ever happens again. The whole muddle is like herpes, you get it once and you're more likely to get it again.

Even if this whole thing is dropped it has changed my life. I feel like I'm more vulnerable, I'm politicized by what has happened. If the federal government thinks that this is a method of repressing political activity, they are mistaken. They are radicalizing me and they are radicalizing all these non-political people who are my friends. It is like this eagle soaring down from the sky and puts its claws on your head. It is really a random feeling.

I had known about Leslie Bacon and I had heard Leslie Bacon speak. So I knew what to do. It made a big difference to me by the way. I was previously educated about grand juries before I was subpoenaed,

and had essentially decided three years ago that if I was ever subpoenaed by a grand jury, I was not going to testify. That is very helpful now, because it would be much harder to make that decision now, under pressure, under stress, being pulled different ways. People who I work with, people who are pragmatists, say "Talk and stay out of trouble." To have made that decision in the past gives me strength.

I would encourage people to inform themselves about whether or not they are going to testify. Think about it now, talk about it with their friends now, so they are in a position to get support when it happens. You can be subpoenaed this morning and have to appear this afternoon. So you better be ready to figure out what to do. You certainly better know that you better get a lawyer. The easiest way to do that is to contact the National Lawyers Guild because they have had the most experience with grand juries.

**NWP: Do you expect there will be other people subpoenaed?**

Brenda: I don't think that they will stop with us. I think they are really trying to get the Brigade. In the meantime, I think they want to know as much as they can about the Left.

They have not been doing a whole lot of footwork in their investigation, they seem to be relying alot on the grand jury. Since they won't be getting much from us, I guess they will have to keep going.

I would like to say a commercial. I have been keeping the books for the Committee to End Grand Jury Abuse and we have gotten so many financial contributions, not to mention all the other work people have done. There is no way, as far as I can see, that the Committee can send personal letters to all the people who have contributed. But the appreciation is there real deep in our hearts.

Interview by Roxanne Park and Emmett Ward

**On Armed Struggle cont. from page 2**

We support the members of the George Jackson Brigade as people who consider themselves serious revolutionaries because we are all fighting a common enemy and must not reject our potential allies in that struggle. The Brigade's goal "to serve and educate the every day person" (communique from the George Jackson Brigade 9/18/75) is exemplary. To educate and raise each other's consciousness is one of the main functions of any active revolutionary. We recognize their individual and collective oppression, support their past organizing efforts within the prison movement and elsewhere, and accept the robbing of a bank as a means to finance revolutionary activities. Furthermore, we recognize the Brigade's efforts to grow using the process of self-criticism. In that spirit we support those efforts as revolutionaries and offer our own criticisms.

Our primary criticism of the Brigade is the apparent unavailability of

information regarding their theory and practice. We recognize the necessity for secrecy, especially at this time of heightened police action; however, communication with the above-ground population is vitally important. Without that communication it is impossible to discern individualistic acts from planned revolutionary activities. Communications thus far have been incomplete as to purpose and goals of the actions.

It is irresponsible of the George Jackson Brigade to assume a vanguard position and chastise the community for not being as serious. Ed Mead's statement in the May 24th Northwest Passage, suggesting the Brigade will totally by-pass the left, appears to be an example of the attitude expressed in recent communications. Without knowing who we are supporting, it would be irresponsible to assume that the group willing to promote violent tactics, necessarily would be capable of leading the overthrow of the government or be able to rebuild the

**Support and Criticism for the G.J.B.**

nation. If the Brigade wants support from the aboveground left, we must both struggle to establish communication which will work towards a common theoretical basis for action. The struggle should be made together, each action of any revolutionary individual or group complementing and building on other actions. The aboveground cannot be expected to merely follow the lead of, or attempt to second guess, an underground cell.

The aforementioned interview with Ed Mead is an example of the kind of communication we need to facilitate our common struggles. It is the only instance thus far where the Brigade's motives and goals have begun to be discussed; However, we feel it was way past due. In that particular interview it was unclear whether Ed Mead was expressing the collective political line of the George Jackson Brigade, whether he was expressing his own opinions, or whether the Brigade even

makes that distinction.

It seems some of the Brigade's actions against Safeway were impulsive, rather than carefully planned in accord with conscious political theory. We say this because of the communique of Sept 18, 1975: "We must transform our grief into righteous anger and our anger into direct action", and "the bombing was in retaliation for the capture of the four members of the SLA." Anger is important as an impetus for action, but the process has an intermediate step of theory which precedes action. A final analysis may then lead to refining the theory; Any revolutionary action should be deeply seated in carefully thought-out political theory, and not simply in anger.

We make this criticism out of love and support, and hope it leads to further growth in communication among us.

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A delightful nostalgic comedy set in 1953, when our hero (Lenny Baker) leaves for Greenwich Village to become an actor. Directed by Paul Mazursky (Harry & Tonto, I Love You, Alice B. Toklas).

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# Puerto Rican Obituary

Puerto Rican Obituary  
by Pedro Pietri  
Monthly Review Press, 1973 \$2.95

There are poets who speak so directly, so purely, who use language like wedges in the conscience. It is a level of politics which touches immediately, which gives the lives, the emotions, cuts through. It is the broken language of the reclamation of being which strikes at the core of liberation. It is simple, repetitious, uses the dialect of the spoken. It moves.

Pedro Pietri is such a poet. Straight from the streets of the Puerto Rican barrios in NYC, his tongue comes, whether he's talking about the survival of cockroaches or an overdose of heroin.

His images are those of the city, referring to housing projects as "human file cabinets" showing the bankruptcy of the welfare state, explaining through his poetry how the community is decimated by such attempts. He talks of running numbers, shooting up in phone booths, the emptiness of the protestant heaven and life on credit.

Indeed, for many of the 40% of the Puerto Ricans who have emigrated to the U.S., life is as Pietri sums up in one line in *3170 Broadway*:

*the promised land  
has become the garbage can*

—mc

They worked  
They were always on time  
They were never late  
They never spoke back  
when they were insulted  
They worked  
They never took days off  
that were not on the calendar  
They never went on strike  
without permission  
They worked  
ten days a week  
and were only paid for five  
They worked  
They worked  
They worked  
and they died  
They died broke  
They died owing  
They died never knowing  
what the front entrance  
of the first national city bank looks like

....

They all died  
like a hero sandwich dies  
in the garment district  
at twelve o'clock in the afternoon  
social security number to ashes  
union dues to dust



"The Lovers" photo from Islands

They knew  
they were born to weep  
and keep the morticians employed  
as long as they pledge allegiance  
to the flag that wants them destroyed  
They saw their names listed  
in the telephone directory of destruction  
They were train to turn  
the other cheek by newspapers  
that misspelled mispronounced  
and misunderstood their names  
and celebrated when death came  
and stole their final laundry ticket

.....

And now they are together  
in the main lobby of the void  
Addicted to silence  
off limits to the wind  
Confine to worm supremacy  
in long island cemetery  
This is the groovy hereafter  
the protestant collection box  
was talking so loud and proud about

Here lies Juan  
Here lies Miguel  
Here lies Milagros  
Here lies Olga  
Here lies Manuel  
who died yesterday today  
and will die again tomorrow  
Always broke  
Always owing  
Never knowing  
that they are beautiful people  
Never knowing  
the geography of their complexion

PUERTO RICO IS A BEAUTIFUL PLACE  
PUERTORRIQUENOS ARE A BEAUTIFUL RACE

If only they  
had turned off the television  
And tune into their own imagination  
If only they  
had used the white supremacy bibles  
for toilet paper purpose  
and make their latino souls  
the only religion of their race  
If only they  
had return to the definition of the sun  
after the first mental snowstorm  
on the summer of their senses  
If only they  
had kept their eyes open  
at the funeral of their fellow employees  
who came to this country to make a fortune  
and were buried without underwears

Juan  
Miguel  
Milagros  
Olga  
Manuel  
will right now be doing their own thing  
where beautiful people sing  
and dance and work together  
where the wind is a stranger  
to miserable weather conditions  
where you do not need a dictionary  
to communicate with your people  
Aqui Se Habla Espanol all the time  
Aqui you salute your flag first  
Aqui there are no dial soap commercials  
Aqui everybody smells good  
Aqui tv dinners do not have a future  
Aqui the men and women admire desire  
And never get tired of each other  
Aqui Que Pasa Power is what's happening  
Aqui to be called negrito  
means to be called LOVE

—pedro pietri  
excerpts from 'puerto rican obituary'



## Regular Meetings

### MONDAYS

- (B) Well Adult Clinic for Senior Citizens FREE at Senior Activity Center. Sign up in advance
- (B) NWP mailing party at 1 pm when the new issue arrives from the printer. Help get the paper out to our subscribers. It's fun! 1000 Harris Ave. second floor.
- (B) City Council meets on first and third Mondays (except 5 Monday months, then it's second and fourth), City Hall, 8 pm.
- (B) Whatcom County Commissioners each Monday and Thursday, 8:30 am til 4:30 pm., County Courthouse
- (B) NOW meets 4th Monday of each month at the YWCA
- (S) Seattle City Council—weekly 2 pm. 1101 Municipal Building (live on KRAB—FM 107.7)

### TUESDAYS

- (S) Lesbian Health Collective 7pm, Fremont Women's Clinic
- (B) 3rd Tuesdays—Whatcom County Planning Commission, courthouse

### WEDNESDAYS

- (B) 2nd Wed. each month: Mt. Baker Bookkeepers Assoc. meets 7:30pm in the Public Library
- (S) Children's Circle—new co-op day care for the Phinney Ridge area, located over Phinney St. Co-op. Call 632-8085 for info.
- (B) Food Co-op weekly meeting at noon at the store, 1000 Harris, everyone welcome
- (B) City Land Use Commission—3rd Wednesday, 8pm, City Hall.

### THURSDAYS

- (S) Women Out Now Prison Project holds meetings on third Thursdays, 325-6498
- (S) Radical Women meeting each week, 7:30 pm, at 3815 6th Ave NE
- (B) Free Dental Clinic, 6-9 pm, at B'hem Technical School, 3828 Lindbergh Ave.
- (B) Group organizing a new free school meets every Thursday in the lower lobby of Fairhaven College, 7pm.
- (B) County Commissioners—see Monday
- (B) Bellingham Community School meeting, every Thursday, 7 pm, Fairhaven College, lower lobby.
- (B) BECC — regular mtg. 8:30 pm Rm. 11 1000 Harris

## Seattle stage

- "The Fool" by Michael Brill, Bathhouse Theater, a musical comedy, 7312 W. Greenlake Dr., 8:30 pm, through 7/26.
- "Krepp's Last Tape" by Samuel Beckett with the "Zoo Story" — one act plays, Stage One Theater, 87 Pike, Fri.-Sat., 8pm, through 7/18.
- "Sizwe Bansi is Dead" by Athol Fugard, ACT Theater, 709 First Avenue W., 8 pm, through 7/10.
- "White Memoir" July 1-2, 8:30 pm, and "Life Begins At Forty," July 7, 7 & 10 pm, free at and/or gallery, 1525 10th Ave.
- "Born Yesterday" by Garson Kanin, Skid Road Show, 192 Cherry, 8pm, \$3, through 7/10



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# GIMEL BETH

## Seattle music

- Bombay Bicycle Shop  
Every Sunday evening, "Inner City Jazz Quartet"
- Victor's 610  
Jazz fest every Sunday night  
Friday's & Saturday's --- Gary Peacock and Jos. Field
- Poncho Theater Concerts  
July 4 "Guild Quintet"  
July 15 "James Knapp Quartet & Jazz Dance"  
July 18 "Sparrow" --- acoustic music trio
- Coffee Coven  
July 9 "Morris and Carol Bruner" 9pm

## TUESDAY 29

- (S) Seattle Art Museum, Volunteer Park, "Luca Samorai, Photo-transformations" and "Drawings and Lithographs by David Hockney," free.
- (S) Asian-American Writers' Conference and Workshops, June 29-July 2, poetry & fiction readings, panel discussions. Kane Hall, University of Washington



## Bellingham music

- Pete's Tavern  
Jazz every Wednesday and Sunday \$ .75
- Bailiwick Ballroom, 203 W. Chestnut  
June 30 "Goose Creek Symphony," 8:30 pm  
July 3 "Swift Current," 8:30 pm.

- Seattle Center Arena  
July 9 "Average White Band"  
July 14 "Mad Ravin"  
July 23 "Yes"  
July 26-27 "Chicago"
- Seattle Folklore Society (The Clubhouse)  
July 9 "Mary Litchfield," C & W, 8 pm.  
July 10 "Rainbow Band," Bluegrass, 8 pm.  
July 16 "Gypsy Gyppo String Band, 8 pm.  
July 17 "Tracy Moore," Renaissance music, 8 pm.  
July 18 "Charlie Kopp and Brad Reynolds," 8 pm.

# CALENDAR

## WEDNESDAY 30

- KCTS — "Children In Crisis: Children's Rights" 6 pm.
- Jonathan Kozol (author of Death At An Early Age), speaks at Lewis and Clark College (Portland, Oregon), Templeton Commons, 8 pm, \$1.50.
- KRAB 10 pm Judy Chicago/ Lloyd Hamrol, discussion.

## THURSDAY 1

- (S) Henry Winston, Chairperson, U.S. Communist Party, speaker, E. Cherry YWCA 2820 E. Cherry, 7 pm, free.
- KCTS "International Animation Festival" salute to the Canadian National Film Board.
- (S) First Public Dance, Seattle Center.

## FRIDAY 2

- (S) "Harold and Maude" Midnight Movie at the Guild 45th Theater, \$1.
- (S) "Nisei Bar and Grill" by Garrett Hongo, directed by Frank Chin, at the Ethnic Cultural Theater, University of Wash., free.

## SATURDAY 3

- (S) Third Annual Liberty Ball, Carpenter Hall, 25 12-2d Avenue, \$6.
- (S) "Harold and Maude", Midnight Movie, at the Guild 45th Theater, \$1.
- KCTS "What Price Glory," directed by Raoul Walsh 9 pm.
- Second Annual Interdependence Day Celebration at Blaine Peace Arch, sponsored by Pacific Life Community, for info call 322-2447 in Seattle.

## SUNDAY 4

- (S) July 4th Celebration—Seward Park celebration/demonstration. Multi-cultural presentations, mimes, speakers, skits, and singing. (See pp. 10-11 for article).
- (S) Bicentennial Picnic, 12-4 pm at Ravenna Picnic Area, sponsored by Wash. Coalition for the E.R.A. Speakers on Women's Herstory that include Stephanie Coontz, Rosetta Sims, Isabella Tweedy. Food, music, and dancing.
- Tarwater's 3rd Annual July 4th Picnic, 12 to 2 am, 28 miles NE of Boise, Idaho on Hwy. 21.





MONDAY 5

(S) The Burp Of A Nation - A Bicentennial Pancake Breakfast 12:01 am to 4 am. Benefit for the Downtown YWCA at 1118-5th Avenue, music by Goose Creek Symphony and Patchwork for reservations call 447-4865, \$3.50.

TUESDAY 6

(S) Aikido for women beginners. A 10-week course begins, meets Tues.'s and Thurs.'s, 5-6 pm, Seattle School of Aikido. For info call 632-4747.

(B) Whatcom Museum begins accepting entries for the 3rd annual Fiber Unlimited Show. Accepting entries in weaving, stitchery, knitting, printed fabric, and crocheting. Cash awards to be given.

WEDNESDAY 7

Ah, a day to lie in the sun, read movie magazines, eat hamburgers, and remember Eugene Debs was arrested in 1894 during the Pullman Strike on this very day.

THURSDAY 8

(S) Laurie Morton, socialist-feminist, speaks on D. Val's book 'The Gay Militants' sponsored by Radical Women, Freeway Hall, 3815 5th N.

FRIDAY 9

KCTS "What Price Glory" by Raoul Walsh 9 pm; World War I silent classic.

SATURDAY 10

(S) Coffee Coven - Eve Morris and Carol Bruner. 9 p.m., 704 - 19th E., \$1.50/l. Women only.

SUNDAY 11

KCTS Masterpiece Theater "Notorious Woman" George Sand's life No. 106, 9 pm.

MONDAY 12

KCTS "Children In Crisis - Income Maintenance" Effects of poverty on children. 6 pm.

WEDNESDAY 14

Inspiration for a Wednesday - Women lead the storming of the Bastille in Paris France.

THURSDAY 15

KCTS Masterpiece Theater - More George Sand at 9 pm.

FRIDAY 16

(S) and/or's library birthday party. Readings from the shelves, 8:30 PM.

ANSWERS TO THE CROSSWORD PUZZLE

ACROSS

- 1. Malcolm
- 2. Langston
- 3. Rate
- Art
- Rap
- RNA
- Land
- Zero
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- TNT
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- BLA
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DOWN

- 1. Alta
- 2. Custer
- 3. Lolita
- 4. Liberal
- 5. Giap
- 6. Treaty
- 7. Northwest Passage
- 8. Nez Perce
- 9. Bro
- 10. Attica
- 11. Detroit
- 12. EOP
- 13. Old
- 14. Adirondack
- 15. Racist
- 16. Karl
- 17. BIA
- 18. SLA
- 19. IRA
- 20. No
- 21. SNCC
- 22. Type
- 23. Pot
- 24. Ti

# GOOSE CREEK SYMPHONY

with COUNTRY BOOGIE ELECTRIC HODOWN

WEDNESDAY-JUNE 30 8:30 P.M.

BALLIWICK BALLROOM (in Chestnut Square)

203 W. Chestnut, B'ham

ADVANCE TICKETS AT BUDGET TAPES AND RECORDS

## After 200 years, it's time to teach big business a few lessons about democracy.

200 years ago, a band of troublemakers we now call the Patriots started a revolution in America.

Over many of the same problems we face today: High prices. Shortages of vital goods. Unfair taxes. Growing unemployment. Discrepancies in wealth. Corruption in government.

These were the burning issues of the 1770's! Back then, our founders pointed an accusing finger at the British government and its rich merchant friends.

Today, we at the Peoples Bicentennial Commission are pointing the finger at big business and its friends in the American government.

We believe there is nothing democratic about the way a handful of giant corporations dominate American life. From the aisles of the supermarket to the halls of Congress.

These Corporate Monarchs are so powerful they defy the laws of our society. They fix prices. Destroy our environment. Manufacture unemployment. Dodge our tax laws. Manipulate our government. And undermine foreign governments.

At PBC we think 1976 is the time for a new movement to challenge the awesome influence of big business over our lives. We know millions of Americans already agree with us.

A recent nationwide poll conducted for us by Peter D. Hart Research Associates shows 49 percent of Americans approve of such a movement.

We have been preparing for 1976 for five years.

Today we have 71 PBC chapters and 20,000 supporters from every state in the union.

Hundreds of thousands of people read our literature distributed by schools, libraries, churches, civic and community groups, and bookstores. Many more are reached by our TV and radio public service messages on hundreds of stations.

All we need to become an army of new American patriots is one thing: You. Your support will help us re-acquaint Americans with the issues of 200 years ago. And it will help us conduct a campaign against corporate tyranny today.

Our country needs modern-day versions of Abigail Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Declare your independence in 1976! Join us today.

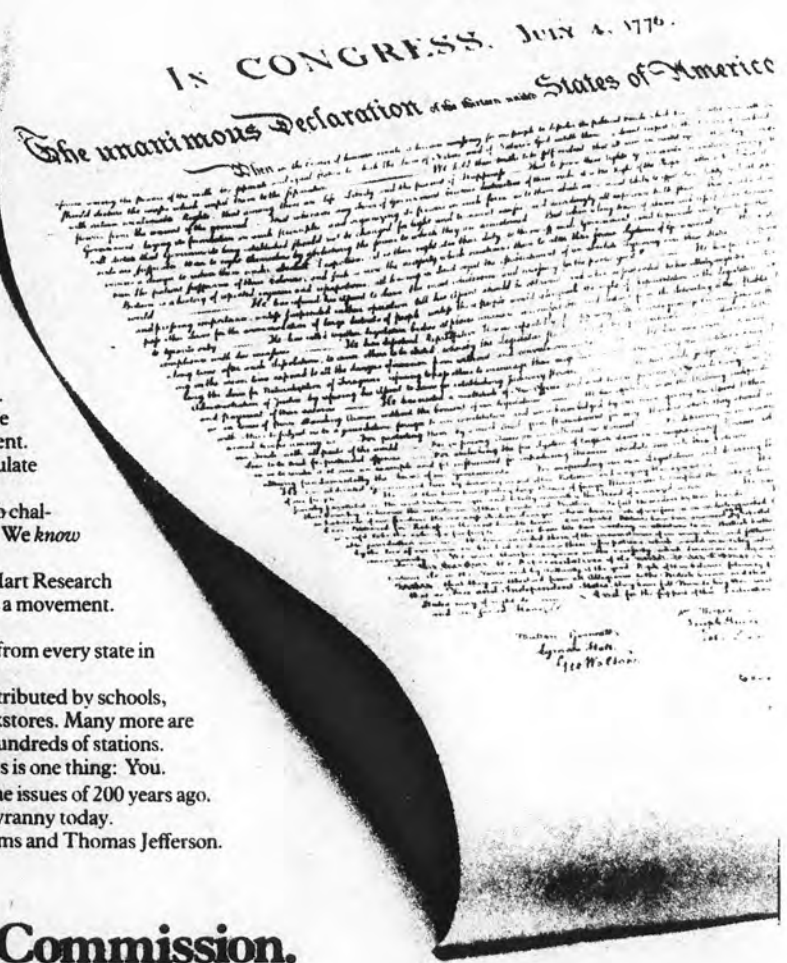
### Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

Mail to: Peoples Bicentennial Commission, Dept. TA, 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

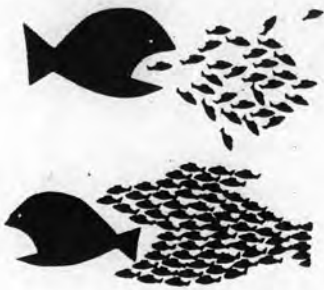
- \$15.00 membership. Please send me your introductory kit, including a year's subscription to PBC's "Common Sense" magazine and specially selected materials.
- \$25.00 sponsorship. Please send me your introductory kit, above, plus PBC's *Voices of the American Revolution* (Bantam), a concise history of the words and deeds of our founders. Also, a copy of *PBC's Common Sense II* (Bantam), the case against today's giant corporations.
- \$50.00  \$100.00  \$500.00  More

Make checks payable to PBC. PBC is a non-profit, tax-exempt, public foundation. Your contribution is tax deductible.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_







### Announcements/Notes

Help - lent out records (A Few Loving Women, Songs of Spanish Civil War, Paul Robeson, Talking Union) and need them back. Reply Fayette (ne John Singer) Rt. 3, Box 1708, Port Angeles, 98362

To friends I had no time to say good bye to: Please come visit me at my job at Glacier Park this summer. Find me at Two Medicine Lake. Much love, Chris Laing.

Sunday, July 11: Herbal Workshop for Women sponsored by Blackwell Women's Health Resource Center and Wonderland Tees. Meet at Wonderland, 1307 Railroad, 12 noon. Bring food to share and transportation if possible. There'll be an herb-identification walk and discussion/sharing session of our own experiences with herbs. \$2 donation requested.

Tuesday, June 29: Mucus Method of Fertility Awareness class at Blackwell Women's Health Resource Center, 203 W. Holly M-12 7:00 \$5.00

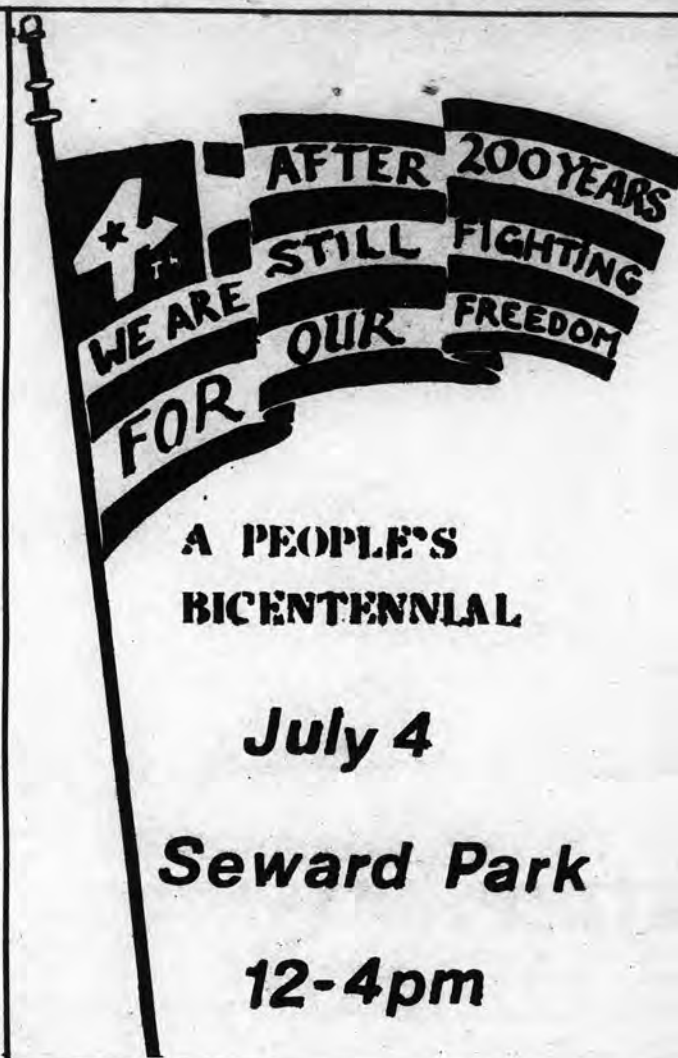
For those who have just seen Lina Wertmuller's "Swept Away", here in town (which by most accounts is both a powerful and confusing movie), we recall that our Jan 19-Feb 2 issue contains a review of it.

Joby, Sal, Shannon, Evie, Chris, Karrmann, and friends: Peace and love from San Jose Poa-qui- gearing up to build 500 houses with Canadian materials- 14 Kilometers off the paved road in the mountains- surrounded by Indian tradition and God's beauty. Purpose and fulfillment. My thoughts are with you- Thank you for your friendship. Love, Bozo

Guatemala needs your help. You can be a carpenter or a co-ordinator. Free room and board, weekend trips. Contact: Rick Bronson, Canadian Embassy Guatemala City

We are looking for people who would like to be part of a work group; picking fruit and sharing cooking and care of children. We have one truck which will be ready by the end of July or the beginning of August. We could probably use another truck depending on how many people are interested. Hopefully some of the people who do this will stay together after the fruit season; perhaps buying land together and forming a collective farm. People who are interested in this should have a real desire to have an equal sharing of the care of children and the cooking. Hopefully some people who don't have children, but would like to be more involved with children, will want to do this also. Write to Anna, Rt. 3, Box 70, Davenport, WA.

For ride down to the People's Bicentennial Celebration (Seward Park, Seattle) in Co-op truck, meet at 9:30, July 4th in front of Food Co-op.



# Connexions

### Housing

We are looking for a woman to move into our 4 bedroom household. We prefer a non-smoker who wants to share food, energies, etc. Call us! Laurie or Sid, 733-5039

Looking for a house for 2 people in the county, B'ham area, with some land for farming. Can fix up an old place or caretaker farm. Will rent or lease. Needed by August. Contact Doug and Denise, 525-1028; 9542 46th NE, Seattle.98115. Any leads appreciated.

Responsible housekeeper wanted for 3 weeks in August. It's a two bedroom house. We need someone to water garden and house plants. Also, someone to care for two cats. We normally pay \$160, but we will cut rent to \$100. If interested, please call 676-9680. Or you can get in touch with Sheila at Fast Eddies- Tues-Fri.

Non-smoking woman wanted to share house, meals, garden, soon. 2119 I Street. Call 734-2824.

The Whatcom County Health Department has received information that a shipment of Parakeets sold between April 17, 1976 and May 1, 1976 are possibly contaminated with the disease Psittacosis (commonly called Parrot Fever). If anyone has purchased a parakeet from Clark's Feed and Seed between April 17 and May 21, please contact the Health Department for information on the disease. Phone 676-6724 or 384-1565.

### Wants/Needs

The Capitol Hill Co-op needs back issues of Co Evolution Quarterly for its reference library.

Wanted: 20 to 80 acres of country land to rent for two weekends for a performing arts fair to be held in Sept. Need some clear space and preferably water on the land, located somewhere between Seattle and Bellingham. Cooperative can pay \$1000 rent for right location. Write Reverend Chumbleigh, Box 40, La Conner, Wa. 98257 immediately.

If anybody (med student?) knows anything about urinalysis for the presence of cannabis please call Richard at 734-2755.

Attention loan sharks and Passage supporters: The NWP needs five more coinboxes for Seattle. Cost is approximately \$80 each. If you can afford to loan us money for one or more boxes, to be paid back over an 18 month period at the exorbitant interest rate of zero percent, call the Seattle Bureau at 323-3673 (John). Outright donations, of course, will also be accepted.

Community Food Co-op needs some carpentry done. Trade for our extended membership. Talk with a collective person any day.

The Bellingham Community Food Co-op needs regular cashiers. A variety of days available from which to choose.

### Prisoner Correspondence

Charles Searle  
045293 E-208  
P.O. Box 667  
Bushnell, Fla. 33513

Jim Ruzicka 36944  
2605 State St.  
Salem, Oregon 97310

Frederick Robert Paine  
Box 36, Route 1  
Jackson, North Carolina 27845  
No. 11254-05

Eddie Chaparro no. 36050-136  
Box 1000  
Steilacoom, WA 98388

Ken S. Otwell no. 12873-116  
H-cell Block B-6  
Box 1000  
Marion IL. 62959

Charles Felters no. 31877-138  
PO Box 1000  
Marion IL 62959

Wayne Sanders no. 137-838  
PO Box 69  
London, Ohio 43140



### Sales/Services

Beautiful, ripe organic raspberries - on the bush, 25c/box or in the box 38c. Delivery Thurs, B'ham area. 966-4157

Wood carving tools for sale. Inquire at 1317 Grant. B'ham.

For your welding needs - arc and gas - see the lady on the hill. Trades accepted. Joan- 913 Mason St. Bellingham. 733-1596.

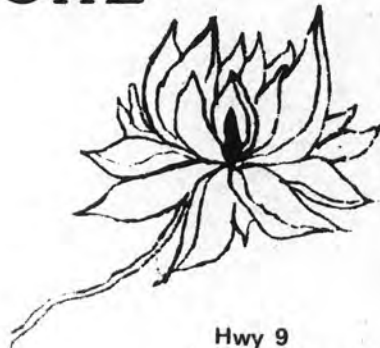
Good refrigerator. \$20. 734-8363.

Michigan people oppose PROJECT SANGUINE/SEAFARER, the U.S. Navy's plan to destroy the ecology by burying a giant antenna under the forest. Read about it in the July issue of RECON. Send \$3/year (12 issues) or 35c/copy to RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Phila PA. 19134.

HOW WE WON THE WAR by General Giap, Vietnam's top military strategist, 64 pages, includes maps. Send \$1.50 to RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Phila., PA. 19134

Good bands wanted for steady gigs. Country, rock, blues, jazz - original music appreciated. "Wild Willie Productions" 336-5032 Mt. Vernon.

## EVERYBODY'S STORE



Hwy 9  
Van Zandt

Home of the Organic Bagel  
and other Exotic Groceries

733-4433



Windsor  
Gitane  
Professional  
Mechanics  
We Buy and Sell  
Used Bikes  
also skateboards

Fairhaven Bicycle Shop

Bellingham



Pretty Things  
'n Old Stuff

304 W. Champion  
Bellingham



## POEMS WANTED

The WASHINGTON SOCIETY OF POETS is compiling a book of poems. If you have written a poem and would like our selection committee to consider it for publication, send you poem and a self-addressed stamped envelope to:

WASHINGTON SOCIETY OF POETS  
911 Pacific Ave.  
Tacoma, Washinton 98402