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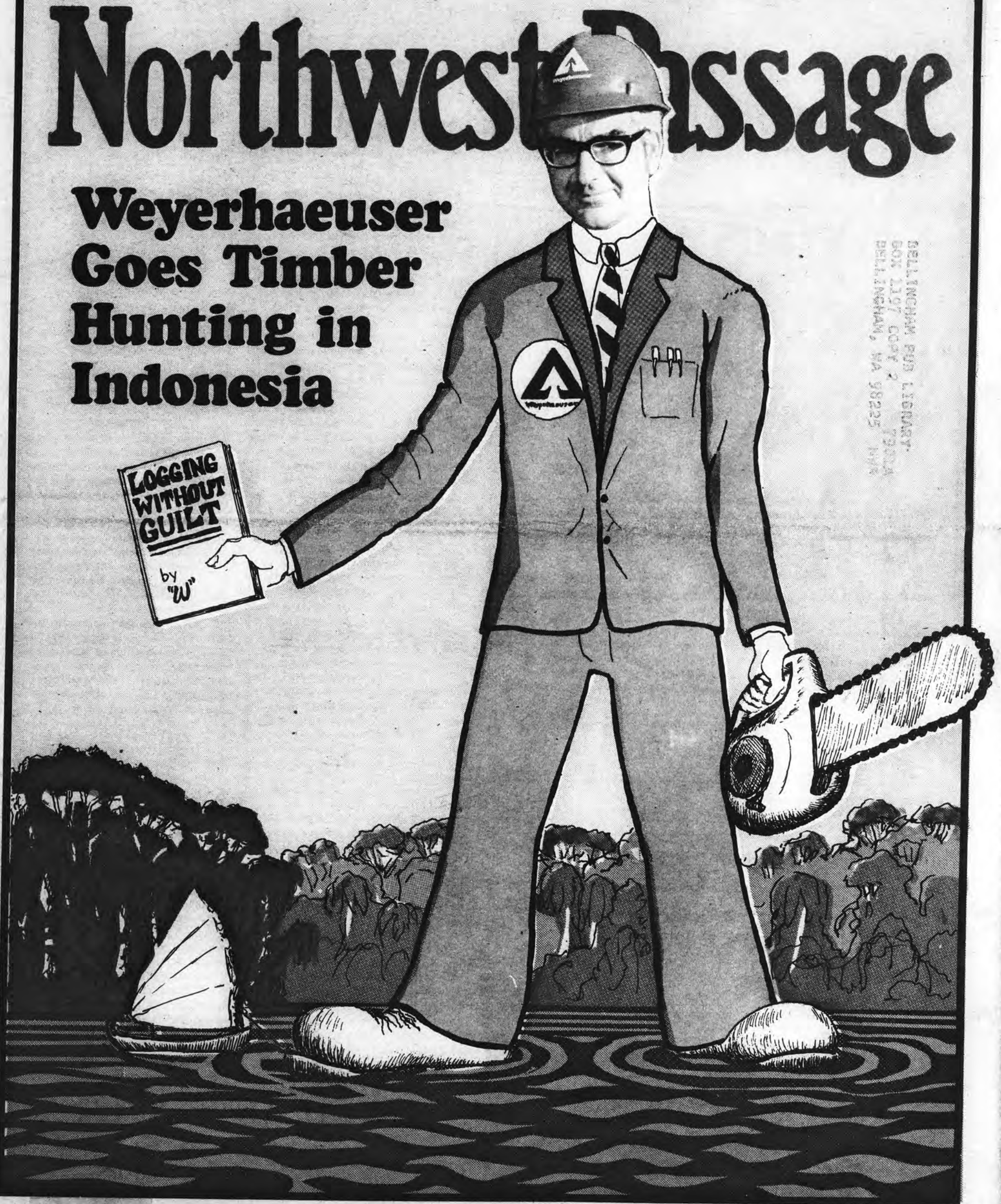
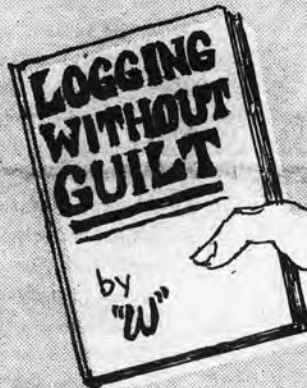
Dixy's Welfare
Grandstanding



Collectives of
the Northwest

Northwest Message

Weyerhaeuser Goes Timber Hunting in Indonesia



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Letters



Brian Siebel/NWP

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Cover graphic by Ed Newbold

Bellingham Meeting

Hey Bellingham,

The Passage is still in town! We're here to work: expanding distribution, selling ads, and WRITING. We need people to help, especially with writing. So, if you're interested in joining the best newsjournal in Puget Sound, drop by our office, 1000 Harris, 2nd floor, or call 733-7901.

PS: We've been here 9½ years.

PPS: We're having a general meeting for introduction to the paper August 16 at 7 PM at our office (see above).

Correction: The article on Agent Orange in our last issue incorrectly introduced Wendy Vogt as Michael Vogt's sister. Actually she is his wife, as was mentioned on our cover.

Northwest Passage

The Northwest Passage is an independent radical newsjournal laid-out and printed in Seattle by a regional staff collective every third Monday. Second class postage paid in Seattle, Wa. 98122.

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Dear Editor:

Doug Honig clearly worked hard at reporting the details of the Crabshell Alliance's first Satsop occupation; however, his analysis was weak, if not tedious.

Some people active in anti-nuclear politics are tiring of being admonished for not yet having cemented a broad base of support, that one essential component of any effective political movement. Maybe the time has come for a fresh analysis of what 'base of support' we're talking about.

Minorities, in particular Blacks, are almost nonexistent in local anti-nuclear groups because the politics of opposing banks, landlords, and credit and rental joints is much more immediate than worrying about how electricity is produced (as Dick Gregory said at Seabrook this year); while in a recent article in *Seven Days* (July 1978) a worker at the Seabrook nuclear plant said that he would get actively involved in fighting nuclear energy if he were not having to 'pay the mortgage and feed the kids'.

Community outreach and education ought to be and of course are ongoing processes in building political effectiveness. But perhaps Crabshell ought not to feel guilty about leaving Blacks and organized labor on the backburner where they already are (at least simmering, hopefully), and concentrate on reaching out to a wider, and more imaginative, spectrum of potential political support. Most important of all, Crabshell should be cementing that bond with the one universal minority group, the real revolutionary class-Women.

George Du Vall

Dear Sisters,

We went to the NW Women's Action Conference at the University of Washington on the 17th of June to address the issue of women's rights to self-defense. That issue was graphically brought before that conference by the brutal sniper attack on a participating sister by a man who as of this writing has still not been apprehended.

The incident has been reported by the media, and it is not our purpose in this letter to recount the horror and shock we all felt as our sister was shot down. We do feel a responsibility to initiate a dialogue on the response of the conference coordinators to this assault on us all.

The shooting occurred outside the HUB during a break in the conference. Police immediately urged all persons in the area to return to the safety of the building, including a number of men. Three to four hundred women found themselves sharing space with fifteen to twenty men, any of whom could have been the sniper. The request of many women that the men be asked to leave, or to allow themselves to be searched met with no protest from the men involved. The conference coordinators refused to allow either of these actions, stating that they had worked hard for male support and did not want to offend any of the male participants. The women who had advocated these ordinary self-defense measures were accused of hysteria. It was further suggested that we either leave, (that is go back out with the sniper), or that if we persisted in these requests the police would be called to remove us.

We, as women who work with the issue of self defense, expected an affirmation of this most basic concept of feminism from a women's conference.

Subsequent events confirmed to us that the coordinators were not simply acting irrationally, but indeed were following a conscious program of denial of responsibility.

No direction was given to the conference participants and information on the crisis was not shared. Even more important, no recognition was given of the feelings of shock, horror, and confusion being experienced by everyone. The whole situation was played down and basically ignored. Some conference participants had to threaten to take over the podium before coordinators would even agree to give basic safety instructions to women returning to their cars and leaving the area.

Why did this happen? Some women even expressed reluctance to discuss the shooting because they didn't know whether the attack was "personal" or not. What has happened to the "personal is the political"?

We came to the conference to share our strength as women working together. A crisis occurred and control of the situation was taken from us. Once again, we relied on the man to protect us, we feared to offend the man at the expense of our own safety. We refused to see the attack on one of us as an attack on us all.

The Sharon Crigler Defense Committee
The Janice Painter Defense Committee
PO Box 9203, Tacoma, WA, 98409

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

I just finished reading a letter to you from a reader that appeared in the May 23rd issue. The writer was criticizing you for your 'narrow focus' and used terms such as 'those into alternative life styles...' -- '...working towards a new age...' -- '...common non-violent cohesive consciousness,' etc. He had everything in there except the 'go with the flow bro' and 'Don't worry be happy' mentality of the Madison Avenue hippie.

I would like to see you keep on keeping on like you are -- and my sympathies lie with Rita Brown whose letter appeared immediately below the aforementioned 'New Ager'. Here's my bucks for a subscription and another 8 bucks for a prisoner's subscription.

Joseph Moore

Dear People:

I am writing this letter in response to Vernell Pratt's response (*Passage*, July 11) to my article on Anti-Semitism (*Passage*, June 13) to clarify my views and for further education.

In response to Pratt's three points, firstly, while it is true that 'Arabs are also semitic', the term 'anti-semitism' was used in its commonly understood meaning of anti-Jewism, to coin a term. But anti-semitism is a racial term which lacks a correct basis, since there are Jews of almost every race, as well as 'semitic' people who are not Jewish.

Secondly, the term 'Zionism' is not synonymous with 'racism', and the two must not be equated. There are racists among Zionists just as there are among Arab and Palestinian nationalists; and there are those in both camps who respect and who have struggled for the rights of the other side. The Zionist movement and the eventual creation of a Jewish nation in Palestine were inspired by the progressive nationalism of the 19th century (France 1789), Italy, Greece, Poland, etc.); more important, they were both responses to the wave of anti-semitism which began with the

programs in Russia in the 1880's and swept across Europe and America, culminating in fascist movements and the Nazi genocide. Like all national liberation movements, Zionism has encompassed conflicting interests and tendencies—revolutionary to reactionary. It cannot be understood apart from the Jewish People's historical responses to oppression; nor can it be understood as a single unified force.

Thirdly, as mentioned in the article, we could not agree more that we support both the national rights of Israelis and of Palestinians. In fact, we think that mutual recognition is the only means to achieve a just peace.

I must take issue with Pratt's accusation that I attempt to 'represent or misrepresent the views of all leftists.' My statement was qualified as applying to 'many people and groups on the left'. Indeed, there are many leftists who are Zionists even, some of whom have historically-created socialist alternatives in Israel.

It is important to realize that the superficial, analytic separation between anti-semitism and anti-Zionism palls to Jews who have suffered the Nazi Holocaust or to the 550,000 Jews who fled to Israel from Arab countries (between 1948 and 1964) and their descendants, as well as to many others. I suggest that people delve more deeply into these interconnections as well as into the reasons for anti-Zionist views and the nature and forms that our own anti-semitism takes.

Finally, there is a real distinction between concepts of eradication of a State and of a changed State. One can be critical of a State or advocate change from capitalism to socialism without altogether destroying the State and its people. While the democratic secular State idea may sound progressive, it denies both Israeli and Palestinian self-determination and both peoples have shown they are willing to fight to the end to defend their national rights. The only solution can be two States side by side, working toward a more cooperative future. The goal of those who fight for socialism cannot be to sacrifice the legitimate national interests of any peoples, Israeli, Palestinian Arabs, or others, in the name of an abstract, internationalist future. Internationalist solidarity should be based on respect for all people's rights to self-determination.

Thanks to the Northwest Passage for allowing me to respond and to dialogue with you about these issues.

Charna

Letters Continued on Pg. 20



Mark Aalfs/NWP

Farmworkers Fight Jolly Green Giant

The Green Giant Corporation and the United Farmworkers (UFW) have come to a stalemate in the most recent episode of the UFW's organizing drive in eastern Washington (NWP March 23-June 12).

Green Giant officials have refused to conduct union elections at their Dayton, Washington pea-growing operations near Walla Walla. Despite the fact that UFW organizers collected authorization cards from over 75% of the 108 workers at the ranch, the Green Giant company asserted that there was a "lack of worker interest" in such elections.

However, UFW organizers Roberto Trevino and Antonio Salazar have so far been successful in thwarting the firing of an outspokenly pro-union worker at the ranch. "The worker, Bill Ford, was told by a Green Giant rep on July 18 to be out of the labor camp by the next morning," according to a UFW spokesperson. But when confronted by UFW organizers, Green Giant backed down and Ford is apparently "still there."

UFW supporters remain critical of state and federal labor laws, which exclude farmworkers (farmworkers presently are denied coverage under the National Labor Relations Board, and are denied accident compensation and unemployment benefits by Washington state). Said a Seattle UFW supporter: "The Green

Giant incident really points out the need for a law, like California's, that will force employers to hold elections when most of the workers have indicated they want them."

Union options at this point seem limited. "The season's pretty close to over now—whether it would be worth holding any kind of job action or strike with only a week left would seem doubtful," said the UFW spokesperson.

Little Amy Moves Up

A big to-do was made last fall when Amy Carter, the President's youngest child, began attending a predominantly black public school, the one nearest to the White House. However, it was recently announced by the first lady's press secretary, Mary Hoyt, that the Carters have decided to transfer 11-year old Amy to the Hardy Middle School in the Foxhall Road area, a more fashionable part of Washington where some of the city's most expensive homes are located.

Nuke Foes Puzzled

On July 18th and 19th, area energy activists received notices in the mail inviting them to testify at a public hearing on nuclear waste to be held in San Francisco by the Department of Energy (DoE).

This all seemed normal enough—except that the hearings were scheduled for July 21, only 2-3 days away.

"They were real quickies," admitted Kathy Coronetz, of Seattle's DoE office, referring to the nuclear waste hearings, which were held in Denver and Boston as well as San Francisco.

"The whole thing was not handled well," Coronetz told the Passage, noting that the contractor hired to notify Washington activists of the public hearing "didn't get started until the week before the event."

But the late notice was not the only



upsetting aspect of the hearing for Washington nuclear activists. "The stupid thing about it," said Joan Hohl of Washington PIRG, "is that here we are sitting in a state that is likely to get the waste [at the Hanford facility] and they are having a hearing about it down in California." (Waste storage has not been proposed for California.)

Coronetz defended the hearing process, pointing out that the ones so far have only been preliminary, while the DoE is engaged in writing a draft Environmental Impact Statement. The draft statement is due in October or November, and there will be hearings in this region at that time, Coronetz assured us.

But the bad taste may linger in the mouths of local nuclear opponents, who often get the message that the DoE wants a low profile for the waste problem—especially in Washington—to keep political opposition to waste storage from growing.

—Alan Rench and NWP staff

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High Cost Of Energy

Nuclear energy may not be as safe, clean, or cheap as its advocates insist, but in at least one case, it apparently offered the best kickbacks.

The US Justice Department and the Export Import Bank (Eximbank) are currently conducting separate investigations into possible irregularities in the sale of a nuclear power-plant to the Philippines. Particularly, they are wondering if Westinghouse didn't bribe Heminio Disini—a personal friend of Philippine president Marcos—between \$5 and \$50 million dollars to arrange the sale. Eximbank, which is financing the reactor already under construction west of Manila, will withdraw its participation if charges of wrongdoing are proven.

The Philippines are 'virtually committed to see the venture through to completion,' despite the controversy, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (June 23 '78).

Also the subject of a Justice Depart-

ment investigation is the rapid rise in the Westinghouse asking-price for the reactor, which zoomed from \$250 million to \$1.1 billion in just 18 months.

The allegations come at a time when the Philippine government is already having second thoughts about nuclear power, due to its high capital costs and the expected future rise in fuel costs. Plans for more reactors have been postponed.

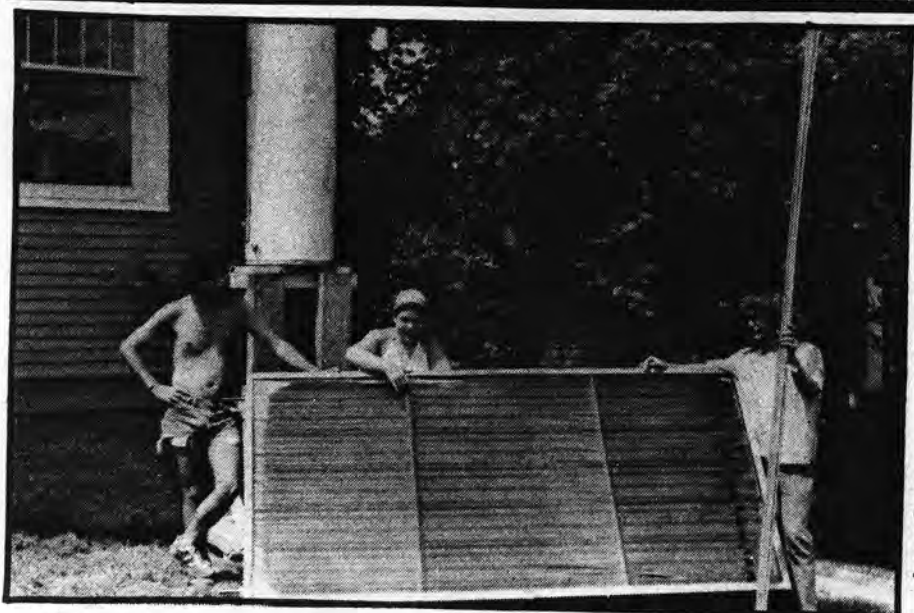
It's a Bird It's a Plane

Warner Brothers announces a "mega-million dollar media and total exploitation campaign" encompassing **Superman**, the movie; **Superman**, the novelization of the screenplay; "The Making of **Superman**"; The Official **Superman** Quiz Book; The Great **Superman** Book, an encyclopedia; **Superman**, a calendar; "The **Superman** cutouts"; "The **Superman** Blueprints"; and the **Superman** Portfolio, reproductions of oil paintings of scenes in the movie.

--the Progressive



"To close on an upbeat note, I'm happy to report we received twenty-two per cent more in kickbacks than we paid out in bribes."



Jerry Swann

Andy and Peggy Kruzich recently installed the third solar hot water heating system in Bellingham on the front lawn of their home. "None of us have had any previous experience doing this sort of thing. We read up a little beforehand and then just did it!" said one participant.

Andy and Peggy won the 4' by 8' solar flat-plate collector in a "solar raffle" conducted during Bellingham's Sun Day events. The collector was built in a "workshop" held during the Alternative

Energy Fair at a cost of \$60 for materials. Total installation costs to the Kruzichs came to an additional \$65.

The installation of the Kruzichs' solar collector system was conducted as a practical workshop by the newly formed Alternative Energy Group. The group hopes to sponsor many other such events in the near future. For more information on the Alternative Energy Group call Jerry at 734-3437 or Debby at 734-8508 in Bellingham.

--Jerry Swann



Liberation News Service

Indians Reach D.C.

"This was the beginning of a new national unity among native Americans," said Christine Bailey, one of the first Washington state residents to return from the "Longest Walk." The walk, a 2,700 mile trek from California to Washington D.C., was undertaken by over 600 Native Americans and about 50 non-Indian supporters. It was called to build Native American spirituality and to protest legislation pending in Congress that would renounce Indian Treaty rights.

Reception along the way was positive, noted Bailey: "There were a few cracks on the CB's, but little harassment. A lot of working people were really supportive, and truckers were always tooting their horns and giving the power salute."

Bailey, who joined the walk in Ohio to lead workshops among the walk's white participants, is a national representative of the Native American Solidarity Committee. "Most of the hard walking was behind them when I got there," she conceded.

The Northwest was well represented, Bailey assured the *Passage*, with people from the Puyallup, Nooksak, Clallam, Nisqually, Tullalip and other NW Nations. A group of Lummi elders led a prayer at the close of a Washington D.C. rally at the FBI building.

Besides paying their "respects" to the FBI—which Indians claim has been waging war against them in So. Dakota and elsewhere—the walk supporters congregated in a rally in which Stevie Wonder, Mohammed Ali, Ralph Abernathy, Edward Kennedy, and Marlon Brando participated.

The Walk, Bailey emphasized—being careful to speak for herself and not the native Americans—was "much deeper" than just a protest of the bills in Congress. "It did protest the bills, but more importantly it was a spiritual walk, and a sovereign walk."

Sovereignty is certainly the issue, both for the walkers and for no less than eleven bills presently before Congress. All would invalidate every previous treaty made between the United States, and would abrogate Indian rights to fishing, hunting and water use on reservations. In fact, all Indian reservations would be legally terminated.

Multinational corporations have long been surveying Indian land for rich uranium, natural gas, coal and water deposits,

in addition to fish and timber resources. Extensive coal deposits on the Cheyenne Reservation in Montana, oil on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and coal and uranium on the Navajo Reservation have caught the imagination of the corporate eye.

With the help of the U.S. government corporate concerns are piping water from Indian land in Central Arizona and the Colorado River to lucrative Phoenix real estate and agricultural projects. "If we can't get [Indian water] in buckets," said Wash. Representative Jack Cunningham recently, "we'll do it cup by cup."

The freshman republican from Washington's 7th District also got a chance to see Native American reaction to his proposals—first hand. One of the delegation of angry walkers, in fact, ripped up a copy of his bill and threw it in Cunningham's face, according to a report in the July 23 *Seattle Times*.

Whether Cunningham got flustered under all this pressure is unreported, but the event may have served to loosen his tongue. "Most of them didn't walk here... They're just up here looking for a free ride and the best of both worlds," Cunningham is quoted as saying in the *Seattle Times* article. "Most of them," he went on, "aren't even treaty Indians who would be affected, but the same ones back home who are always getting into trouble."

Sure, Jack, tell us about who the troublemakers are...

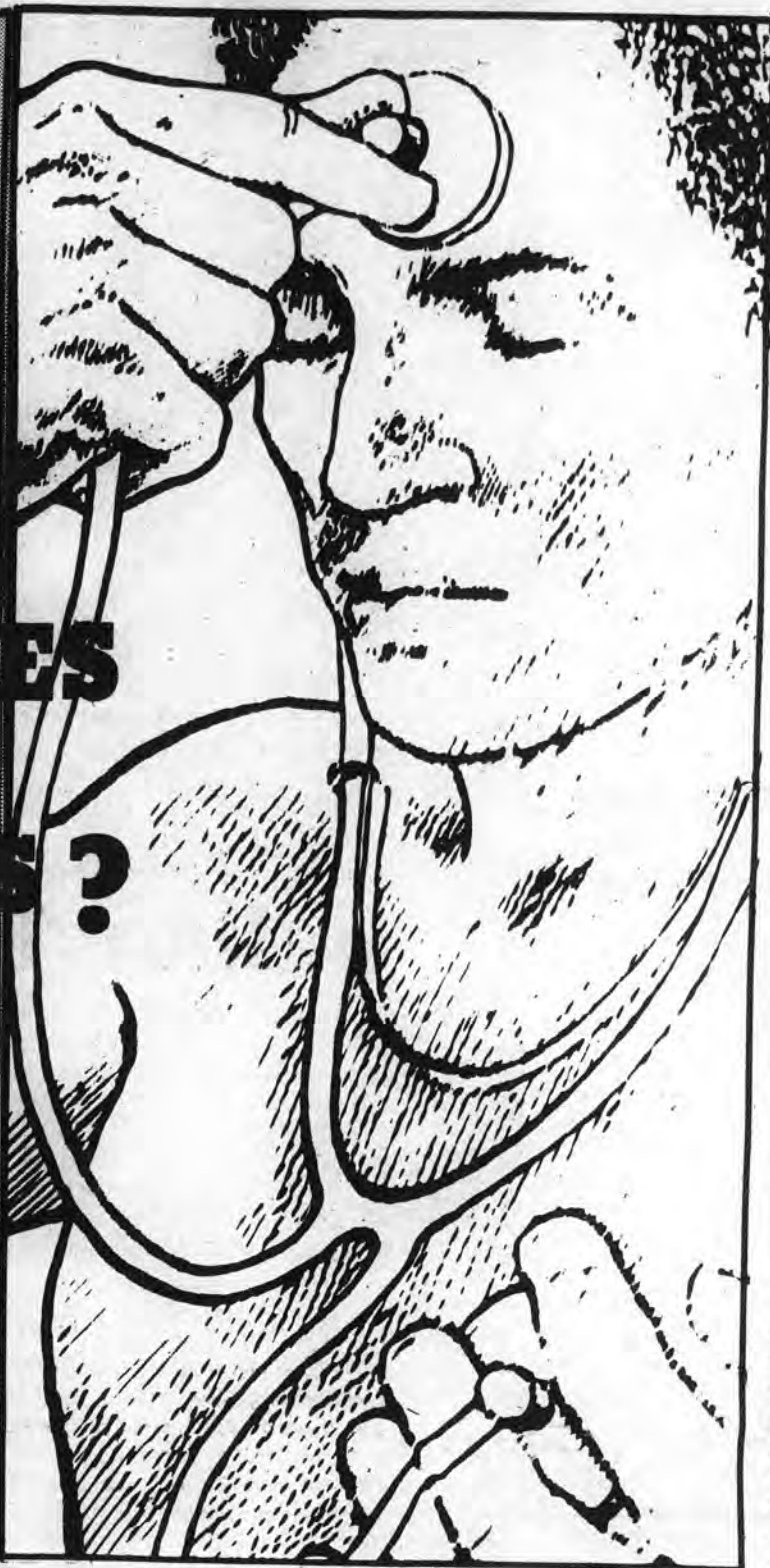
Trident Misfit

The U.S. Navy may be constructing a ship too big to get out the door. The vessel, familiar to Northwesters, is the mammoth new missile-firing Trident submarine; longer than the Washington Monument is high, and—evidently—six inches deeper than the Thames River [Connecticut] channel here, where it is scheduled to be launched next year.

Spokesmen for both the Navy and the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics, which is building the Trident, say this is really not a problem.

--Washington Post, June 18, 1978

WHO EXAMINES THE DOCTORS?



"Metabolic derangements and therefore metabolic demands vary from one chronic disease to another, as well as from patient to patient harboring the same disease: It is therefore imperative that each patient be evaluated nutritionally as an individual and a specific program outlined. A prescription for dietary and nutritional supplements is as essential as that for drug therapy."

--Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy
12th ed., 1972, the "physician's bible"

by Sally Kinney

Doesn't sound very revolutionary, does it? And it certainly wasn't intended to be. The Merck Manual is the desk companion of numberless tradition-oriented physicians in good standing with the AMA. However, few of these physicians appear to follow the advice reprinted above. In fact, the place of "nutrition-oriented", you're using a medical buzzword. To those who see the human body as a network of cells which must consistently be replenished by what that body takes in from the environment, nutrition-oriented means that the doctor, in addition to employing standard medical techniques, is searching for viable alternatives to drug therapy and/or surgery. To others who do not share such a holistic view of the body, it labels that doctor as a quack. The latter opinion, at the present time, is the one held by most of the power strongholds of the medical establishment: the AMA, the faculties of medical schools (most of whom offer few courses in nutrition), and the various research organizations.

Nutritional medicine, of course, is hardly new. Centuries before any of the complicated computerized diagnostic and therapeutic procedures now used were developed, humans were experimenting with various foods and herbs, noting the reactions obtained, and passing this information on, verbally

and in writing, to the next generation of healers. By the 19th century this compendium of herbal and nutritional lore was quite extensive, and it was used by physicians in conjunction with the growing body of information about anatomy, and surgical and mechanical procedures. It was generally recognized by doctors throughout medical history that no treatment was guaranteed to be effective (though some wished their patients to believe that). The reality of death from all sorts of diseases prevented absolute faith in any one type of treatment, and fostered the heterogeneity of treatment methods.

NUTRITION ECLIPSED

But gradually, by the early 1900's, the increase of medical "hardware", along with the increasing number of proprietary drugs being developed by the pharmaceutical industry, led to the eclipse of nutrition as a medical tool worthy of use. It was left to the "nutritionists", who might never have anything to do with the actual practice of medicine--they were more often employed as home economists. For a large number of modern physicians, then, the sum total of nutritional advice they were trained to give their patients consisted of the standard "eat-three-balanced-meals" line. The general public, when they thought about their diet at all, simply worried about getting fat.

Thus there developed a gap separating the old-time physician who considered the human body to be a coherent whole but who had little technical knowledge, from the modern physician who knew a certain part very well, but called for a consultation if a patient had trouble with another part. Recently, some MD's are trying to fill this gap, to unite modern technology with centuries-old nutritionally-oriented therapies. They very often fail the orthodoxy test, and get labeled as quacks. This article concerns the experience of one such doctor.

"NO MAGIC PILL..."

Dr. James C. Johnston, now 32, received his M.D. at the University of Pittsburgh. He moved to the Seattle area in 1973 and practiced as a licensed physician initially in the offices of a Bellevue physician. Though he received the standard medical education Johnston had become interested in the use of nutritional therapy. Johnston presents his view of preventative medicine as "not just giving a magic pill, but helping patients understand why they have suboptimal health, and teaching them to avoid the mistakes that cause ill health. Often these changes will be in nutrition and exercise, although physical therapy, counseling, immunology and other disciplines may also be used." In 1974, he opened his own office, the Preventive Medicine Clinic in Bellevue.

"THE PROTECTION OF THE PUBLIC REQUIRES"

Johnston's clinic was in business only a few short years. In December of 1976, his license to practice medicine in the State of Washington was suspended. On July 6, 1977, it was revoked.

The authority for the suspension and revocation of licenses in the state is the Washington State Medical Disciplinary Board. This board was created as a part of the Medical Disciplinary Act of 1955 (RCW 18.72). It consists of seven physician members, one from each of the seven congressional districts, and one lay person appointed by the Governor. The seven physician members are nominated and elected under the auspices of the State Department of Licenses, every two years by all of the licensed physicians practicing with each congressional district. Thus the board is chosen by its peers, i.e., other M.D.'s.

The board has very broad powers including, besides license suspension and revocation, the definition and enforcement of standards of professional conduct. It has the right to demand cooperation from medical societies, insurance companies, and hospitals concerning specific cases of what it deems M.D. "misconduct". In the words of a Washington State Medical Association spokesperson, the creation of the board was sought by doctors in the state to "keep the incompetents out and standardize medical procedures." The WSMA, according to a printed statement, "believes that the interests of the public are best served by an effective medical disciplinary and examining process which advocates continued competency and accountability." The decisions of the board are final, and can only be appealed by a court petition. The "accountability" the board maintains is solely to itself, i.e., the particular 8 persons of which it is composed at any given time.

This board was the body that declared on July 6, 1977 that "the protection of the public requires that the license of James C. Johnston, M.D., to practice medicine be revoked at this time, and such license is hereby revoked."¹

Dr. Johnston was collared by the board as a result of an accusation by another doctor concerning Johnston's alleged misconduct on a case. (Anyone, physician or layperson, can contact the board regarding what they feel is a serious problem with an M.D., and the board will, if it feels the complaint is valid, conduct an investigation encompassed that case, a second medical case, and the accusation that Dr. Johnston aided an unlicensed person to practice medicine. The board also found that "there is probably cause to believe that Dr. Johnston is unable to practice medicine with reasonable skill and safety by reason of mental illness."²

The last-named charge, perhaps the most ominous in its political implications, proceeded from what the board considered "inappropriate and bizarre conduct" at Johnston's first disciplinary hearing before the board. According to a spokesperson for Johnston, the board ordered the doctor to contact a board-named psychiatrist for treatment, which Johnston did, only to be told there was a long waiting-list. His short telephone conversation with the psychiatrist, however, apparently

1 Findings and Conclusions, Order No. PL 2182 and PL 2196, State of Washington Medical Disciplinary Board

2 Supplemental Findings of Fact and Order Compelling Mental Examination, No. PL 2182 and PL 2196, State of Washington Medical Disciplinary Board.

Continued on Page 18

DIXY TO SHORT-TERM WELFARE RECIPIENTS: TWO DOLLARS A DAY



by John Burroughs

According to Governor Dixy Lee Ray, a person can live on \$60 a month, or about \$2 a day. At least that was the implication when she announced that beginning July 17 welfare payments to persons looking for jobs or applying for permanent assistance would be reduced from \$212 to \$60 a month.

The justification given for the action was that the Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS) is running out of the \$6 million-plus allocated for the temporary welfare program, Non-continuing General Assistance (GAN). But the Governor also managed to let it be known that GAN recipients are "healthy" and "employable" and should be working in any case.

Critics of the move, among them Joseph McGovern, budget director for DSHS until he quit three months ago, said that there are several ways the program could be funded, including transfers within the department. Kay Thode of the Seattle Urban League pointed out that money could be taken from the surplus in the state budget, now estimated to be \$170 million for the biennium (two year fiscal period) beginning last July.

Other critics emphasized that people in the program want to work, and that those considered "employable" are required to register every two weeks at the Employment Security Department, to do work searches, and to accept any job given them. Skepticism was expressed as to whether all the GAN recipients would have as easy a time finding and keeping jobs in this period of high unemployment as the Governor suggested. Of the people on GAN, 47% have no high school diploma, 67% are unskilled, 25% are medically incapacitated, 25% are nonwhite (while nonwhites are 6% of the state population), 25% are women over 50 looking for their first job, and many have "psychological problems."

The cutback was thwarted for the time being when a judge ruled that to avoid harm to GAN recipients a restraining order would be granted. A hearing on a request for a temporary injunction barring the cut is scheduled for August 1. It appears that the GAN recipients have a strong case, since state law provides that benefits must be the "minimum necessary for a decent and healthful subsistence." Further legal proceedings may go on for several months.

AN OLD-FASHIONED MORALITY PLAY

The GAN-reduction seemed a mini-drama, with new developments in the newspapers every day:

First Ray and her new head of DSHS, Gerald

Thompson, former Bell executive and head of a business group which evaluated the "efficiency" of DSHS, ordered the cutback soon after his appointment in late June.

Later, Eugene Wiegman, Commissioner of the Employment Security Department, stepped in to say that he'd discovered 2,300 low-wage job openings requiring little or no skills for which GAN recipients would qualify. Wiegman didn't bother to mention where these jobs have been when GAN recipients showed up every two weeks at Employment Security offices. Nor did he comment on the satisfaction a person could derive from working in an unskilled, minimum wage position nobody else would take.

Meanwhile, in response to the government move, welfare recipients demonstrated and explained to anyone who couldn't figure it out that \$60 a month is not enough to live on; human services activists protested and held press conferences; Legal Services lawyers went to court on behalf of GAN recipients; and the judge judged.

The appearance of a staged event was not illusory in one respect—the state did set out to make a big deal of the cutback. DSHS and Ray, revealed former budget director McGovern, have known since last January that the program was running out of money. So there was plenty of time to either find more money or to prepare the welfare clients and the public for the reduction in benefits. Instead, the slash in the GAN grant level was sprung on the public; and GAN recipients were portrayed not as victims of a (supposed) economic necessity, but as "employable" persons who didn't deserve the money in the first place.

Under these circumstances, it didn't require much political savvy to see that Ray was using the reduction as an occasion to grandstand to sentiment against "welfare chiselers" and "big government." This is an appropriate time for such behavior, since last fall's successful (and justifiable) initiative abolishing the food tax and the recent California vote limiting that state's property tax are bolstering the local anti-tax mood. With a well-publicized DSHS cutback, Ray can add to her image as a "tough" politician, and attempt to outflank any upcoming moves similar to the California initiative to further reduce taxes or government programs.

"FISCAL EFFICIENCY"

The DSHS maneuver also exemplifies a nationwide trend, most deeply felt in New York City and Massa-

chusetts, for state and local governments to underfund social programs across the board, from welfare to mass transit to the acutely overcrowded prisons. The prolonged recession of the early 1970's, the high rates of unemployment and inflation, the steep cost of borrowing, and other factors have combined to make it difficult for all levels of government to match revenues to costs. What's more, this "fiscal crisis" has struck just at a time when even more services are needed, due to the huge numbers of unemployed people and the increase in the number of the poor.

Here in Washington state, the fiscal squeeze has been less dramatic. But it's here, nonetheless. State senator A.C. Shinpoch, formerly chairperson of the House Appropriations Committee, says that in the 1970's the only area of government to be funded in accordance with the increased costs brought by inflation is education, from kindergarten through the 12th grade. All others have lost ground. Welfare programs, for instance, have in effect been cut back over 20% in the last few years.

In 1972, a family of four on General Assistance was receiving \$400. If this payment had kept pace with the rising cost of living, in 1977 it would have been \$593. The amount actually paid in 1977, however, was \$416. The Urban League's Kay Thode emphasizes that such welfare grants are not really even bare minimums.. The \$212 grant for a single adult is \$120 below the Bureau of Labor Statistics' "low budget," and \$50 below the "poverty level" recommended by the Community Services Administration.

As Sarah McCoy reported in the March 15 *Seattle Sun*, DSHS has also been trying to reduce its costs in providing health-care. Among the problems caused are pile-ups in hospitals, as patients await placement in nursing homes reluctant to take them at DSHS rates, and inadequate home-care for the crippled and elderly.

Another area for DSHS cost-cutting is mental health care. Under the name of "community care," inmates of mental institutions are discharged into the general population. There they get little community attention, but they are much less costly to the department.

Yet another area is food stamps. According to Legal Service's Coert Bonthius, "the name of the game is to delay or deny the stamps." Currently, he says, the department is refusing to fully comply with a 1977 federal court decision ordering that people be issued emergency food stamps the day they apply for them.



The deterioration in service can be more subtle. Due to a gradual decrease in the number of staff in the 1970's, less time is spent with each client, especially since caseworkers, not administrators, are the first to go. DSHS head Thompson is now reported to be contemplating up to 10% further cuts in staff. And the pressure to hold down costs is felt at every level of the department. The DSHS staff, observes Bonthius, tend to think of departmental money as "theirs."

Kate Bronfenbrenner, of North End Community Services, says that "welfare is getting harder and harder to get." Social workers don't bother to explain regulations or to inform applicants of all their options. Consequently, people can't deal with the jargon and they don't get the benefits. Bronfenbrenner told of one financial manager who justified this situation with the remark, "if we don't tell them, then we don't have to give out the money."

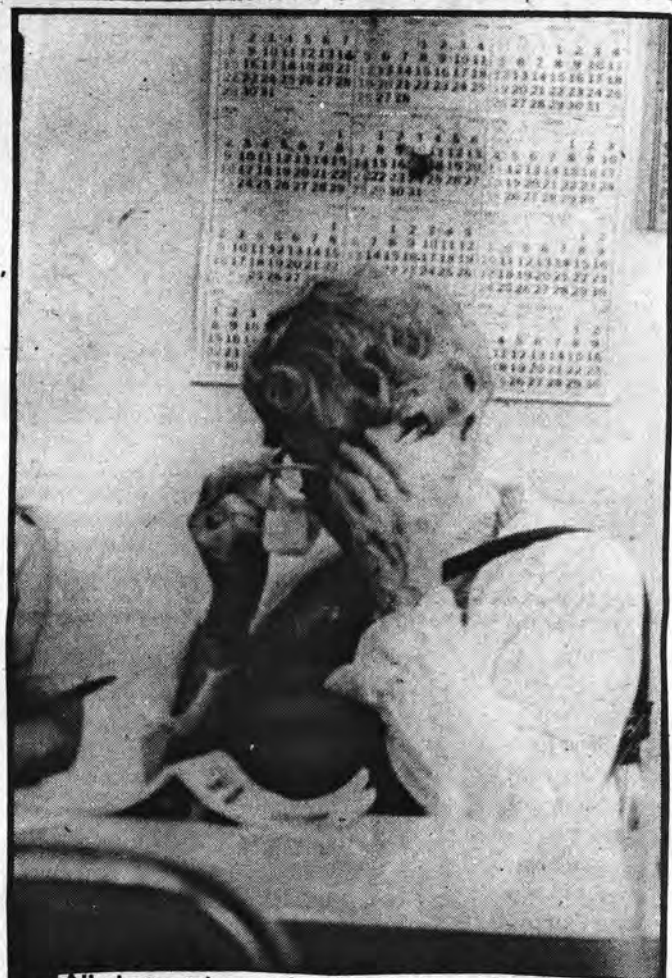
THE "ERA OF LIMITS"

Since 1975 the state economy has been expanding, and tax revenues have grown correspondingly. At this point, although there has been a gradual squeeze of government programs, there is no drastic shortage of money in the state budget. In fact, the budget sur-

Especially in a period like the seventies, when those most in need of social services, the poor and minorities, are keeping a lower political profile, business is unenthusiastic about anything more than a minimum level of social spending. If people can get decent subsistence incomes and medical and other services from the state, they will not be as likely to take dehumanizing low-wage jobs. Also, those who are working will be more ready to quit or to risk being fired through strikes, insubordinate behavior, and so on. These attitudes towards jobs are not prized by employers.

Ray's professed opposition to "wasteful government" is also in tune with the prevailing wisdom of the seventies, namely that we have entered, in the words of California Governor Jerry Brown, an "era of limits." What this "wisdom" comes down to in practice is that people must expect less in the way of wages, employment, and government services and more in the way of business investment.

As the radical economics bulletin *Dollars and Sense* explains it, business wants overall government spending reduced for two reasons. It helps to contain inflation, smoothing out the economy and making US-produced goods more competitive abroad. And it holds down government borrowing, lowering interest rates and making investments more profitable. Other



All photos taken at the Pioneer Square Department of Social and Health Services office by Terri Suess.

Ray used the reduction to grandstand to sentiment against "big government" and "welfare chiselers"

plus, now estimated at \$170 million, could go as high as \$250 million.

However, unemployment remains high, at an official rate of around 6%, with the real rate, including part-time and "discouraged" workers, several points higher. This puts a constant strain on DSHS and other areas of government, notably prisons. And it indicates that the economy is still in a state of relative stagnation, with downturns probably ahead.

Also, there are new strains on the state budget. Washington must now come up with about \$450 million a year to make up for the food tax, abolished this July. Within three years, up to \$600 million will go to the "basic education grants" replacing special levies. According to Senator Shipoch, if the state is to continue funding programs at current levels, in the near future the tax system will have to be changed to generate more revenue.

Progressives have stressed for decades now that taxes could be used to soak the rich instead of the wage-earners. Dixy Lee Ray, however, is clearly not the politician to lead a campaign for an egalitarian tax system. Her announced intention is to hold down government spending, with more DSHS programs the immediate targets. The choice of "efficiency"-minded Thompson as new chief of DSHS as well as the recent GAN-reduction drama indicate that these are not entirely idle words on Ray's part. Since it is the legislature which makes final decisions on funding, though, Ray will probably be prevented from making wholesale cutbacks.

On the other hand, it is doubtful that there will be any big push to expand or even to maintain social services. In fact, there are very strong pressures operating against any such effort, pressures to which Ray is highly sensitive.

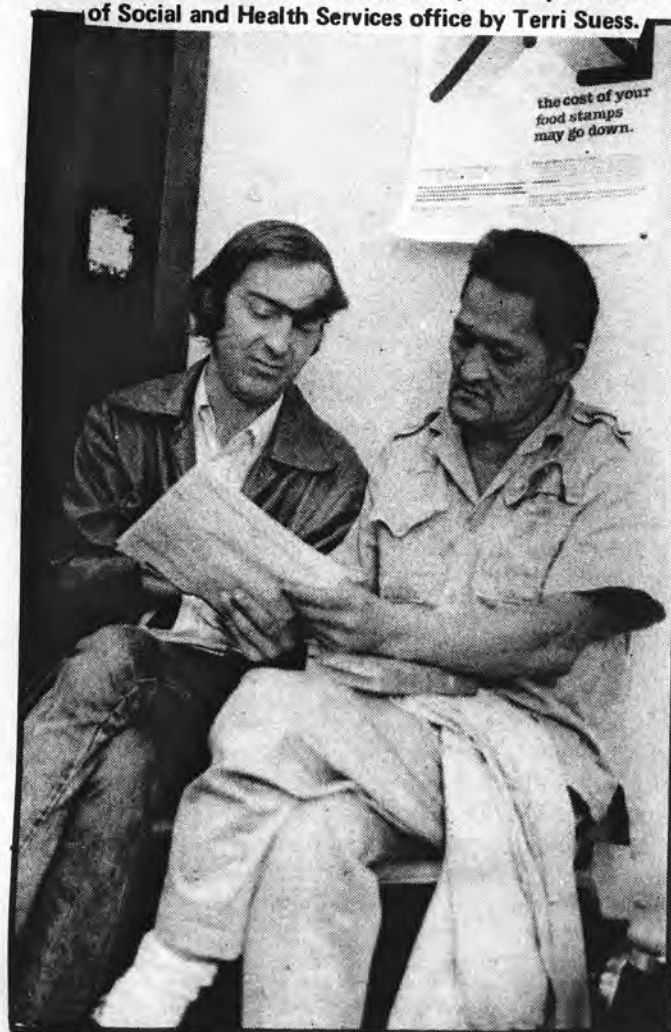
effects of reduced government spending—depressed wages, unemployment, and fewer social services—are passed off as inevitable.

POPULAR RESENTMENT

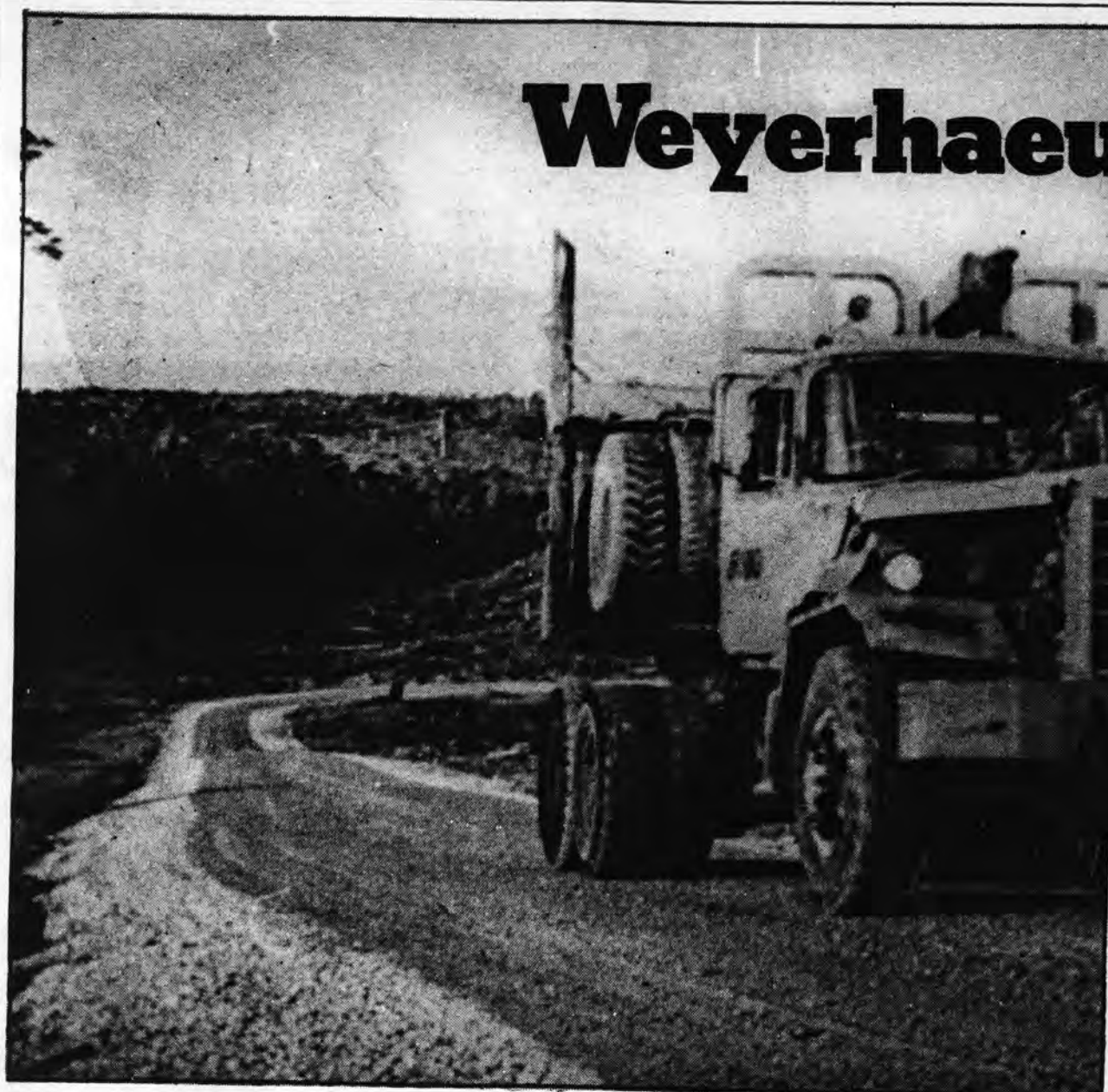
Politicians operating within the confines of these business-imposed rules often attempt to generate support for the "era of limits" by drawing on popular resentment of welfare programs. This approach is not without success. Larry Kinney, chief researcher for the Washington State Labor Council, observes that "the work ethic is very strong among union members. They just don't understand people who don't have jobs." And there is a well-founded skepticism, especially among people doing manual types of work, of the need for the legions of well-paid "paper-pushing" officials who administer social programs. These attitudes are aggravated by a latent anger over the inflation-induced freeze or decline in the standard of living, an anger which is partly expressed as a hostility to programs funded by taxes. As Kinney remarks, "we don't vote on the price of oil or the price of milk, but we do vote on taxes."

Politicians such as Dixy Lee Ray who milk this reservoir of resentment against welfare programs are indulging in a vicious and implicitly racist tactic. But it should be recognized that there is a lot of validity to the general dissatisfaction with the welfare system. It's a bad business, demeaning to those who need the help, and frustrating to those who work day in, day out to support themselves. Unfortunately, welfare programs will be kicked around as a political football as long as we live under a system in which unemployment and poverty are written into the rules.

Thanks to Terri Suess for help with this article.



Weyerhaeuser Rumbles Into...



Weyerhaeuser truck in Kalimantan

by Ed Newbold

Once, during a heated conversation with then governor Dan Evans, timber executive George Weyerhaeuser was reported to have blurted, "Here we are committed to this state and you're trying to drive us out!"

Whatever it was that concerned Mr. Weyerhaeuser at the time—a new environmental guideline, perhaps, or tax measure—one thing is certain: It didn't press on the Weyerhaeuser Corporation hard enough to drive the big "tree growing company" out of the state.

As one of the timber giant's many brochures proclaims, Weyerhaeuser is an "industrial citizen" of the state of Washington. And holding, as it does, the biggest chunk of privately owned land (1.7 million acres) in Washington—itsself in the heart of the primo softwood producing area in the world—Weyerhaeuser's fate could be worse.

But while Weyerhaeuser doesn't want its headquarters and major operations to be "driven out" of the evergreen state, there are still many places outside the state that the "big W" will go to without having to be driven. One of these places is Indonesia, where Weyerhaeuser is now cutting a 1.5 million acre timber concession in East Kalimantan on the island of Borneo.

In Kalimantan, Weyerhaeuser activities may be working hardships on the struggling economy of Indonesia, disrupting the environment, and at least indirectly, may be threatening the culture and livelihood of the native residents of Kalimantan, the Dyak people.

A HOMEGROWN MULTINATIONAL

With a bargain timber sale at the turn of the century—900,000 acres in western Washington for \$6.00 an acre—Weyerhaeuser got its start, and it has been off and running ever since. Under the helm of an aging Frederick Weyerhaeuser, the company pioneered sustained-yield cutting and established the nation's first tree farms in the 1930's. By the late '50's it had expanded beyond its Northwest base with the acquisition of over 3 million acres of land in the U.S. South, to better serve eastern and mid-western markets.

The '60's were a decade of ever widening horizons for the Tacoma based firm. A demand slump in the middle of the decade opened its eyes to the voracious Japanese market, which now gobbles up 1/6 to 1/5 of its annual sales. At the same time timber acreage nearly tripled with the purchase of cutting rights on 11 million acres in Canada, mainly in British Columbia.

The period also saw Weyerhaeuser open 15 foreign branches. While most were established merely to pro-

cess and sell its North American timber, a few were more ambitious...

SOUTHEAST ASIA: TWO INTRODUCTORY CLEARCUTS

It was during this period that Weyerhaeuser began casting around for a toe-hold in Southeast Asia, where vast tropical hardwood forests were being cut and sold to Japan at an ever-increasing tempo.

In 1966 Weyerhaeuser bought existing lumber operations in the Philippines (.25 million acres) and in the Sabah province of Malaysia on Kalimantan (.6 million acres.)

After a decade of successful cutting, both of these ventures have run out of steam—apparently for a lack of remaining timber. The Philippine concession was turned over to the government in 1976. The Malaysian operation continues, but speculation has it that Weyerhaeuser will be content to pack up its bags when the present lease runs out in 1980.

Over recent times the name Weyerhaeuser has come to mean the opposite of "cut and run." And the "tree growing company" might have lived up to its rep in these areas as well—had it not been for greener pastures nearby: a 1.5 million acre concession in Indonesia, acquired for a song (5 cents an acre) in 1971.

A LUMBERING GIANT IN THE JUNGLES OF INDONESIA

"Any American corporation, in order to be successful, cannot do business in a way that is socially unacceptable." This is the view of William Ruckelshaus, once Environmental Protection Agency head under Nixon and now a senior vice president with Weyerhaeuser. He expresses typical Weyerhaeuser sentiments—ones that have earned the company a certain "grudging respect" even from its foes—and ones that come on strong in a company brochure on its Indonesian venture.

Entitled "ITCI - International Timber Corporation Indonesia," the brochure is beautifully laid out in full color, and is printed in both English and Indonesian.

The brochure tells us that ITCI was formed in 1971 and is owned 65% by Weyerhaeuser and 35% by "P.T. Tri Usaha Bhakti of Indonesia." With an initial investment of \$32 million, ITCI has become the largest timber exporter in Indonesia, registering sales of more than \$65 million in 1977.

We learn that ITCI, with a 20 year cutting lease, has developed a capital investment program "unique" to the Indonesian forestry industry. Starting from scratch in an entirely undeveloped area, ITCI has built 1,000 kilo-

meters of crushed stone roadway, a port, and an entirely new town, to house its work force of 1300. The new town, called Kenangan, is no makeshift "labor camp." Besides well constructed housing it includes schools, a mosque, a hospital staffed by two doctors, a soccer field, volleyball and tennis courts, and a swimming pool.

The brochure, like other Weyerhaeuser publications, soon gets around to the subject of tree farming. The company, it says, is hoping to "supplement the relatively slow growing natural forests with fast growing industrial plantations." To give the reader a feel for the phrase "fast growing", the brochure includes a few pictures of some non-native planted pines. At the tender age of three years, they tower over a human.

Lastly the brochure touches on economic impact. "ITCI has made significant contributions to the foreign exchange earnings of Indonesia," it claims. Charts show sales, wage and salary payments, and taxes paid to the Indonesian government by the subsidiary.

ON THE OTHER HAND...

In 1974 Indonesian students conducted large scale and influential demonstrations against foreign investments in their country. They maintained that such investments were exploitative, and they didn't make any exceptions in the case of the "tree growing company."

Clearly, it seems, their analysis was not based solely on facts supplied in Weyerhaeuser's color brochures.

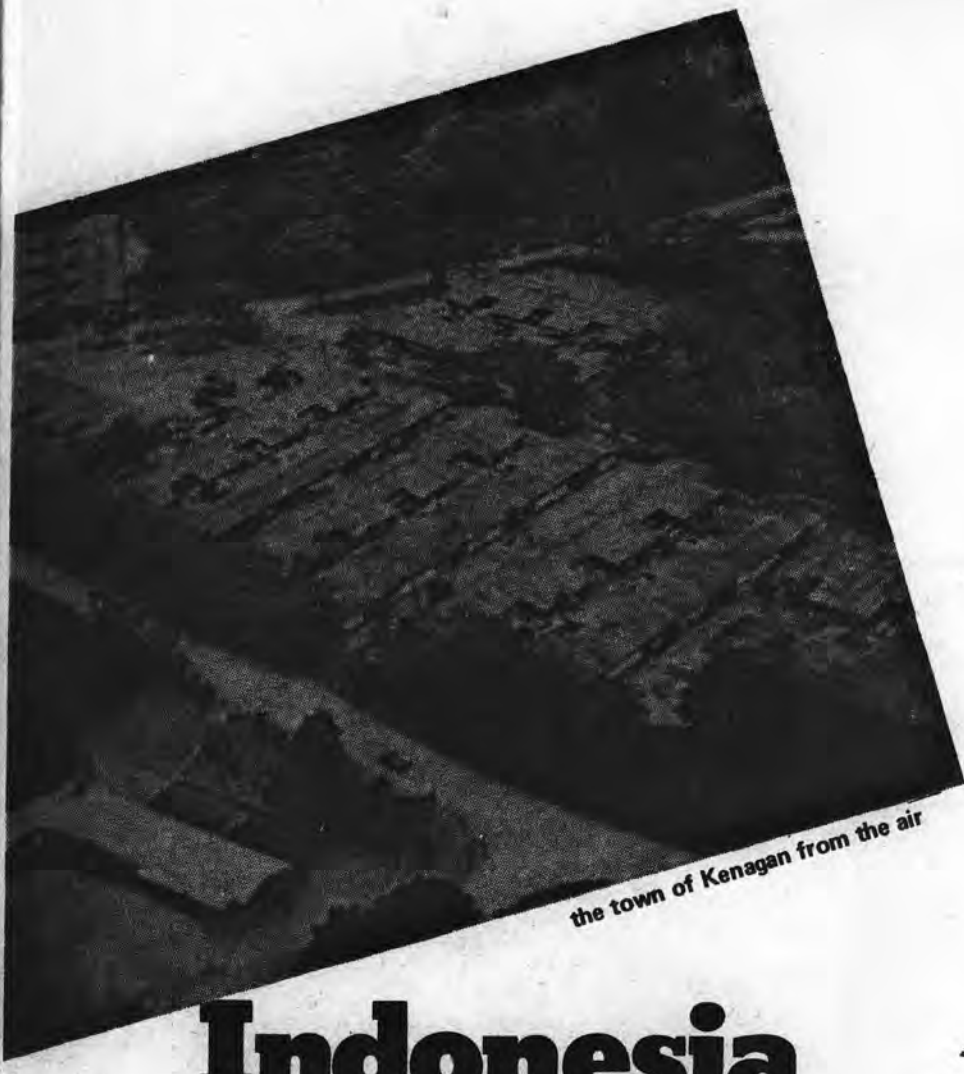
And with good reason. In its discussion of ITCI's "economic impact," the brochure intentionally left out one critical variable: Weyerhaeuser's profits. That is, the return on Weyerhaeuser's investment that is "repatriated," i.e. brought back to the U.S.

The other contributions Weyerhaeuser mentions—foreign exchange earnings, labor payments, and taxes—are all real enough, but they could theoretically be contributed by ITCI whether it was owned by Indonesia or a U.S. multinational like Weyerhaeuser.

Only a "foreign" owned firm, however, is organized to take its profits and "go home" with them. And to the extent that it is successful in doing this, the foreign firm (such as Weyerhaeuser's ITCI) will enter into an exploitative relationship to the "host" country (in this case Indonesia).

A comparison of the money flow between Indonesia and the U.S. created by ITCI illustrates this relationship. This money flow, which ends up on each country's "balance of payments" account, can amount to a capital drain on one country and an equal capital "injection" for the other—if the flow is lopsided in either direction.

In the case of ITCI, the money flowing out of the



the town of Kenagan from the air



George Weyerhaeuser



President Suharto of Indonesia

Indonesia

U.S. and into Indonesia is the initial Weyerhaeuser investment: \$32 million (of which Weyerhaeuser borrowed \$20 million).

The money flowing out of Indonesia and into the U.S. is Weyerhaeuser's repatriated profit, which in this case is a well kept secret. For political, competitive, and tax oriented reasons, multinationals try to keep mum about their foreign earnings. As Lee Robinette, of the Weyerhaeuser public relations department, told the Passage: "We don't generally talk about that sort of thing except with our partners in the operation."

However, Weyerhaeuser has dropped a few hints...

THE LURE OF THE EAST

Jim Stevenson, director of Weyerhaeuser's International Finance Department has told Evergreen students engaged in a study of Weyerhaeuser that the company would need an after-tax return on investment of 25% to justify investing anywhere in the far east, since it is considered a "risk area" for business.

Stevenson also remarked that the company could not sustain its target long term growth trend of 12 to 15% without international investment.

Along with these hints are a few logical reasons for assuming Weyerhaeuser makes a higher profit from its Indonesian operation than it does from its domestic ones:

- * ITCI's wage pay outs, though very respectable by Indonesian standards, are miniscule compared to labor costs in the U.S. or Canada. Fringe benefits for its workers, such as the hospital and pool, multiply its labor costs by a factor of three—but that still only leaves them in the \$6.00 per worker per day range.

- * Shipping costs are reduced for ITCI since East Kalimantan is only 2500 miles from Japan. The Pacific Northwest is 4500 miles away.

- * Interest rates range around 25% in Indonesia. Profit rates tend to run higher than interest rates.

Rachael Grossman and Lenny Siegel, staff writers with Pacific Research, have estimated a 33% return for Weyerhaeuser, based on published figures for labor, taxes, and royalties but on their own cost estimates for depreciation and supplies.

If we assume a profit rate (rate of return on investment) of 25% for Weyerhaeuser, it would only take 4 years—until 1975—for Weyerhaeuser to "earn" back its investment in Indonesia. At this point inflow would equal outflow for both countries. Throughout the remaining life of the investment, however, the outflow of profits to the U.S. would continue at a brisk pace, uncounteracted, and would constitute a severe drain on Indonesia's balance of payments.

Assuming a rate of return of only 10% on its investment, which may be on a par with Weyerhaeuser's domestic operations, the initial investment could still be paid off in about 10 years, and after that, cumulative totals would again begin to favor the U.S. at the expense of Indonesia.

In either case the upshot of the Weyerhaeuser investment is to use Indonesian labor to mine an Indonesian resource (not entirely renewable) to produce profits for the U.S.

(It should be noted that Weyerhaeuser is no different from other multinational corporations, which all struggle to "take" more than they "give" from the third world countries they invest in. In 1977, according to the Survey of Current Business, (March '78) U.S. corporations as a whole transferred \$2.344 billion to third world nations in the form of investments into those countries. In the same year they hauled back \$5.763 billion in the form of income on existing direct investments into those countries. Taken collectively, this phenomenon represents a "neocolonialism" which, like colonialism in the past, keeps third world countries underdeveloped by essentially pillaging their wealth.)

But why, if Weyerhaeuser and others are draining the Indonesian economy of foreign exchange, doesn't the Indonesian government give them the "hook?"

SUHARTO AND WEYERHAEUSER: I'M OK, YOU'RE OK

However exploitative its Indonesian operation may be, Weyerhaeuser can remain relatively sure of one fan club—in the form of the Indonesian government itself. Said Indonesian president Suharto in 1967: "We are encouraged indeed by the serious interest private international capital has shown in Indonesia."

Suharto came to power in 1965 on the crest of a violent coup which deposed then president Sukarno, and literally wiped out the Indonesian Communist Party. Between 300,000 and 500,000 party members and sympathizers, mostly of Chinese descent, were murdered. 55,000 prisoners remain locked up today, 13 years later, in remote prison camps.

U.S. support for the 1965 coup was enthusiastic, but in low profile. Recognition of the new government came quickly, along with stepped-up aid handouts.

For the U.S. multinational, Suharto promised what Sukarno had never delivered: a favorable climate for investment. Gone was the threat of nationalization of investments. Gone were the stiff taxes and regulations designed to soak foreign investors. And gone, along with the Indonesian Communist Party, was the threat of a

"WE ARE ENCOURAGED INDEED BY THE SERIOUS INTEREST PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL HAS SHOWN IN INDONESIA... FROM OUR PART, WE ARE WORKING HARD TO CREATE THE NECESSARY CLIMATE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STABILITY!"

—PRESIDENT SUHARTO, Oct. 1967

"WITH ITS 100 MILLION PEOPLE AND ITS 3,000 MILE ARC OF ISLANDS CONTAINING THE REGION'S RICHEST HOARD OF NATURAL RESOURCES, INDONESIA CONSTITUTES THE GREATEST PRIZE IN THE SOUTH EAST ASIAN AREA."

—PRESIDENT NIXON, Oct. 1967

leftist guerrilla insurgency in the near future. In any case, Weyerhaeuser is not worried about insurgency: "They already had their purge back in '65," said Bill Johnson, ex-Weyerhaeuser chief of the Far East region.

A FEW CONCESSIONS

But the Indonesian government does have its limits. It will not, for example, "look the other way" for nothing. In fact, the 35% "ownership" of ITCI by P.T. Tri Usari Bhakti is something of a fiction. P.T.T.U.B. is a holding company for the Indonesian Army, reportedly a group of 73 retired generals, who did not invest in ITCI but receive 35% of the profits as a sort of legitimate "payoff" for Weyerhaeuser's presence.

Suharto, whose power base is the Indonesian Army, treats his generals well.

The Indonesian government is also badgering Weyerhaeuser about a problem with a familiar ring to it: the wholesale export of unprocessed logs to Japan. More successful in this regard than Washington state, they finally persuaded Weyerhaeuser to build a sawmill in Kenangan in 1977. When completed, however, it will only handle 1/12 of ITCI's logs.

And despite Indonesia's long term commitment to foreign capital for its development, there remains a likelihood that the government will at least pay lip service to the growing trend toward nationalism and economic independence in the third world. Weyerhaeuser expects, in fact, to soon lose another 16% of ITCI to allow for nominal Indonesian "control."

THE DYAKS: SQUEEZED OUT?

If the Indonesian government is pleased to welcome the Weyerhaeuser presence on Kalimantan, it is, however, becoming increasingly impatient with the people who got there first: the native Dyaks of Kalimantan.

The Dyaks have often, apparently, inspired visions of the "noble savage" in western observers. They have developed a sophisticated culture based on the long-house, a rambling series of apartments built on stilts and linked together by a common indoor walkway. Dyaks use blowpipes to hunt game, are skilled weavers and blacksmiths, practice slash and burn agriculture, and are considered "wonderful boatmen."

They are also considered to be "at the end of the road" according to a recent article (6/30/78) in the Far Eastern Economic Review.

On one hand, the Indonesian government has declared war on their culture, with the central target of this declaration being the longhouse.

cont'd on page 14

US On Scene in E. Timor

The US military has once again sent military advisors and pilots to Southeast Asia, this time to the small island country of East Timor. The people of East Timor have been fighting an invasion from neighboring Indonesia and its US backers ever since 1975 when Portuguese colonialism was forced out.

The flow of arms from the United States to Indonesia to be used against the Timorese has been known previously. The State Department has admitted in congressional hearings that 90% of weapons used in East Timor by Indonesian forces are American-supplied.

The additional role of US personnel was recently made public in a radio broadcast by FRETILIN, the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor.

In the broadcast, Alarico Fernandez, the Minister of Information and National Security of the Democratic Republic of East Timor stated: "American military advisors and mercenaries fought alongside Indonesian soldiers against FRETILIN in two battles in Lekidoe area, 10 miles south of DILI [the capital and one of the few areas still held by the Indonesians] on June 13, and in the Remexio village, eight miles southeast of the capital, on June 21 and 22. In the meantime, American pilots are flying OV-10 Bronco aircraft for the Indonesia Air Force in bombing raids against

the liberated areas under FRETILIN administration."

FRETILIN's representative to the United Nations, Jose Ramos-Horta pointed out in a statement that "this information has been carefully gathered during the past six months and has been released only after overwhelming evidence of the American combat role on the Indonesian side."

He continued, "American military intervention in East Timor comes at a time when the war in East Timor has become Indonesia's number one problem and Indonesia's military adventure has proved to be a fiasco. After almost three years of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, some 85% of the territory remains under FRETILIN administration and some 90% of the population of 1,000,000 live in the liberated areas.

"Indonesia maintains an average of 25,000 to 45,000 troops in the territory. It has spent an estimated \$11 billion over the past three years at an average of half a million daily. Indonesian forces have suffered heavy casual-

ties with thousands of dead and wounded. Hospitals in Jakarta and Jogjakarta are overflowing with war victims.

"American intervention in East Timor runs against the Administration pronouncements on human rights and must be seen as a gross contradiction to say the least," Ramos-Horta added.

Ramos-Horta concluded by calling on the US government to cease its intervention in East Timor and end all military aid to the Indonesian government. These demands were echoed by demonstrators in New York City on July 12, shortly after they heard the news of the US intervention.

LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

Feminist Writers' Guild

The Feminist Writers' Guild is a national organization that was formed last year in San Francisco to encourage the growth of community among feminist writers. The Guild is designed to be a comprehensive information and service organization, as well as a strong political body. An important goal of the Guild, however, is establishment of local chapters to help break down the isolation of women writers.

Seattle's emerging chapter is small (about 12) compared to Boston or San Francisco's chapter, which has 200



graphics/Through the Looking Glass

members. But interest in a Seattle chapter is definitely growing, as was evident at a meeting to introduce the idea of the Guild to Seattle writers.

The goals of the Seattle chapter, though still being formed, seem to center on support, information, acting as a poli-



Photo: LNS

FRETILIN militia in training

tical lobbying group to help equalize the writing markets and opportunities for women; and, of primary importance to most writers, helping each other to publish.

Activities the chapter could sponsor were also discussed. Support and writing groups, readings, workshops, and other events were suggested, as was a local newsletter.

Guild supporters include such writers as Susan Griffin, Marge Piercy, Tillie Olsen, and Adrienne Rich. All women who are serious about their writing, and that includes any type of writing, are invited to join the Feminist Writers' Guild. For information, or to join, contact: The Feminist Writers' Guild, PO Box 9396, Berkeley, CA 94709. For more information on the Guild and its Seattle chapter, interested women should call Barbara, 322-2322, or Hylah, 329-1487.

Moody Park '3'

A group of people attended a rally sponsored by the National United Workers Organization, on July 29 in South Seattle. Slogan of the day was "Free the Moody Park 3."

The Moody Park 3 are political activists who face 20 years in jail on charges of "felony riot" in connection with an incident that took place on May 6 this year in a Houston City Park. The incident, a spontaneous rebellion against Houston Police, grew out of a fight between a few people and policemen, and culminated in the burning of two police cars.

The Moody Park 3 were not, apparently present during the incident, but had been at the Park earlier handing out leaflets condemning the police killing a year earlier of Joe Torres. Outrage over the Torres killing--(6 policemen beat Torres unconscious and then drowned him) and subsequent handling of the case--(the 6 policemen were fined \$1 each and returned to their beats) is considered to have been the "spark" behind the May 6th affair.

The National United Workers Organization chose the South Seattle site (Rainier and Genessee) because it was there last October that 30 Seattle police gunned down Manuel Medina, a young Chicano veteran.

The National United Workers Organization plans to continue the campaign to Free the Moody Park 3 with a gate leafletting, a petition in support of the Moody Park 3, and contributions to a defense fund that has been set up in Houston.

-NWP staff

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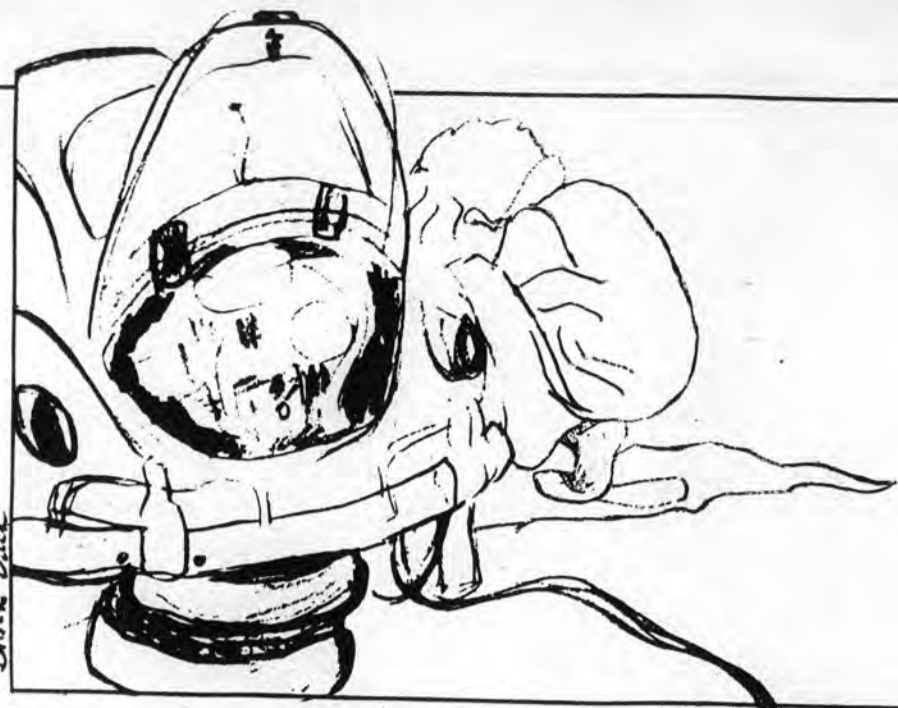
COMMUNITY PRODUCE

Wholesale distributor of fresh organic produce, organic juices, dried fruits, nuts, honey, yogurt, and tofu to Washington, Idaho, Alaska, and Montana.

A worker controlled organization

Cooperating for

A Look at



By Terri Sues

Although this article makes no pretenses to be a complete overview of collectives in the region, it is an introduction based on several months of visiting and working within the cooperating community in Seattle. It started out as a drawing project but soon was begging for words. And it became apparent as I visited collectives that more than images of the workspaces must be dealt with. Behind the people working in collectives is a long tradition and a modern movement. The drawings and this article are just a beginning of images and stories that could be developed as the work goes on.

Over 300 women and men in the Northwest are not just talking political change, they are living it. These people are working in at least a dozen independent collectives in Seattle and throughout the Northwest to provide area residents with wholesome food, special books, entertainment, ice cream, health care, auto repair, news, legal services, and important nutritional, mechanical, medical and political information.

By making conscious choices, a person living in Seattle can meet many basic needs by shopping for and using the services of worker-owned and managed, client concerned collectives. Corner Green Grocery provides fresh produce and grains, juices and cookies; Little Bread Co provides baked goods; Morningtown Pizza and Soup and Salad offer meals; Left Bank Books and Red and Black sell politically oriented fiction, non-fiction books, records and journals; Black Duck Motors will take care of your car trouble; Cause Celebre offers ice cream and poetry and music; the Northwest Passage provides community information, news and ideas.

At Prag Tree Farm, people are trying to build an agricultural institution to produce food year round in an environmentally balanced, non-exploitive way. People working at the farm supply food to the larger community through Corner Green Grocery. There are also important health care collectives such as Aradia Clinic,



The Open Door, and Country Doctor working to demystify medicine. They emphasize preventive medicine, and worker and patient education.

While collectives are worker-owned and managed, co-operatives are client or consumer-owned and managed by a board of directors and to a lesser extent, the workers. The world of consumer co-operatives has a long and important history in Seattle as we remember back to the early days of Recreational Equipment Inc. and Group Health. Although there are large membership groups behind these two organizations today, in which individuals have relatively little power, the organized consumers have forced better service delivery and more organizational responsibility.

Puget Sound Consumer Co-op is a unique organization in that it seeks to combine worker-management with client ownership and a board of directors. As Bill Corr, one of the founding members of PCC, observes: "Under ideal conditions, member-owned co-ops should be worker-managed with a board that directs. Of course there are conflicts; the workers' interests don't always coincide with the interests of the clients."

"Among co-ops, PCC is one of the best examples in the country," he adds. "But we must remember, 'In the land of the blind, the one-eyed person is king.'"

Just how big is this co-operating community in the Northwest? By the time one includes collective enterprises in Bellingham, Olympia, Port Townsend, Widbey Island, Skagit Valley, and Oregon, along with the many group living arrangements and food buying co-ops, the number of activists runs into the thousands.

And these people are not only trying to live in accordance with new values in their personal lives. Many also support political studies and actions within the wider community.

After returning from New York City where worker collectives seem hard-pressed to survive in the densely populated, highly competitive environment (although shining examples do exist at Liberation News Service, Come! Unity Press, and Brooklyn's Co-op Garage) I was pleased to find the co-operating community continuing to grow in Seattle. Since I am currently trying to draw and write about positive aspects of change, my belief in collectives as political alternatives made them a logical focus. What follows are some perceptions—in words and pictures—of the co-operating community as it has evolved in Seattle.

A SHORT HISTORY

From 1972 to 1974 about 15 Seattle area worker-controlled collectives and consumer co-ops met together in a loose affiliation known as the "Cooperating Community" to discuss actions related to the "politics of food, the search for alternative sources of food and to develop an interdependent city-country organization that would be self-sufficient."

By 1974, members of the Cooperating Community wrote an analysis of what they felt kept them from being a "real force for revolutionary social change." In that statement, they said: "The bulk of our problems... stem from our lack of unity on goals and purposes... The community has made no definite commitment to socialism, to radical social change, and to mass political action."

To many people this was just rhetoric, and no agreement could be reached on what the words meant. To others, the exploration of those words was most important. Members of some of the collectives wanted to try to give substance to the political phrases and the Seattle Workers' Brigade, comprised of Alternative Finance, Black Duck Motors, Little Bread Co., and CC Grains was formed in the fall of 1974.

The intent of the Workers' Brigade was to equalize wages, share resources and become a more concentrated political force. At first Brigade wages were set at \$350 per month, but people were asked to leave as much as possible in the businesses. After a debt of \$20,000 was run up, wages were lowered to \$232 a month. The Workers' Brigade was wracked by financial problems which were further complicated by problems with decision-making. While some members wanted to see a central planning-coordinating team have greatly expanded powers, others wanted to see more decentralization. Decision-making by consensus at monthly meetings became too cumbersome and toward the end, agreements were based on simple majorities.

In spite of brigade losses of more than \$27,000 in one year, its members helped another collective, the Corner Green Grocery and Natural Food Store open for business in January 1976. This venture was also supported by a loan from PCC. As the year progressed, however, the workers' brigade's emphasis shifted from dreams of political unity to improving everyday working relationships and to becoming positive examples of worker self-management.

Members' attempts to make the whole workers' brigade a more cohesive economic force became lost in the daily problems of running individual businesses, and the brigade began to split apart. In March of 1977, it was agreed that CC Grains would assume responsibility for all loans, all of its own accounts payable and most of 1976 taxes. And it also agreed to sell at a discount to the Corner Green Grocery and Little Bread Co.



Many members felt that splitting up would completely destroy the movement and lead to the evolution of just "a few more hip-capitalist businesses." A year and a half later, however, most of the brigade businesses are still in existence, still committed to radical change within and outside their workplaces, and still facing the conflicts of survival within a capitalist system.

COLLECTIVE STRUGGLES TODAY

Wages in the co-operating community are not high. And in relation to each other, some collectives are rich and some are poor.

g for a Change

ook at Collectives in the Northwest

The Northwest Passage, like many other collectives, has been run essentially by an unpaid, ever-changing collective. For ten years the paper's existence has depended on a wide community of people for writing, production and distribution.

At the other end of the spectrum is the highly organized 350-member Hoedads tree-planting collective in Oregon. Based in Eugene, fourteen worker teams are doing re-forestation projects from Arizona to Alaska. Individual workers have earned as little as \$2 and as much as \$30 in an hour.

Still, wages for most collective workers in the Northwest range from \$2.60 to \$3.50 per hour with some of the collectives, such as CC Grains, Community Produce, and Soup and Salad paying additional money to members supporting children.

Bill Corr and several workers from Little Bread and Corner Green Grocery pointed out that there are distinct reasons why wages are low in collectives. Many of the enterprises are low-margin industries that deal with food production and distribution. Collectives also subsidize training for people who are unskilled. They try to deal with human relations and feelings in the work environment and they share decision-making even if it means sacrificing efficiency. They support members with children financially and emotionally. They also encourage workers to share and rotate jobs and move on if desired. In general, most of the collectives don't deal with high-profit commodities, and they trade high incomes for creating an emotionally-supportive, stimulating work environment.

The collectives also try to make up in other tangible benefits what they lack in wages. Many have health care plans where they either pay monthly group health memberships or put an equal sum into a workers' account so that it can be used for alternative health care



Soup And Salad

In regular jobs, workers usually have little say over how fast they work, when they work or what tasks they perform. And the paycheck is the main pay-off.

In collectives people are trading high wages for an opportunity to create a democratic work environment that meets their emotional and financial needs.

Collectives attract a diverse group of people. Some use the collectives as a training ground while others are experienced professionals, disillusioned with highly efficient ways of doing business or providing services.

But eventually all collective workers face the same conflict between staying with the community once they're trained or taking their technical, managerial and co-operating skills out to other workplaces where more money can be earned.

In light of this, the collectives continue to grapple with high worker turn-over rates. People often need more money or are lured back to jobs, professions or trades that don't demand total involvement. As sharing and rotating jobs and decision-making are balanced with developing expertise and efficiency, collectives will be stronger financially, yet remain apart from 'hip capitalist' business.

COOPERATING COMMUNITY

Although the workers' brigade broke up, it was an important experience in the evolution of the co-operating community in the Northwest and established some very important symbiotic relationships that continue today. In the past PCC loaned money so that Corner Green Grocery could open at the Pike Place Market; in Oregon, Star Flower, a feminist wholesale-food warehouse has borrowed money from other collectives to expand and pays high returns on the worker-controlled investments; the old Capitol Hill Co-op used to send \$100 per month to help support Country Doctor; and collectives within the co-operating community have for years accounted for almost half of the advertising revenues that cover costs of printing the Northwest Passage. Community Produce and CC Grains have been as supportive as their finances would permit of small and struggling co-ops and collectives; and they continue to sell at a discount to Corner Green Grocery and Little Bread Co.

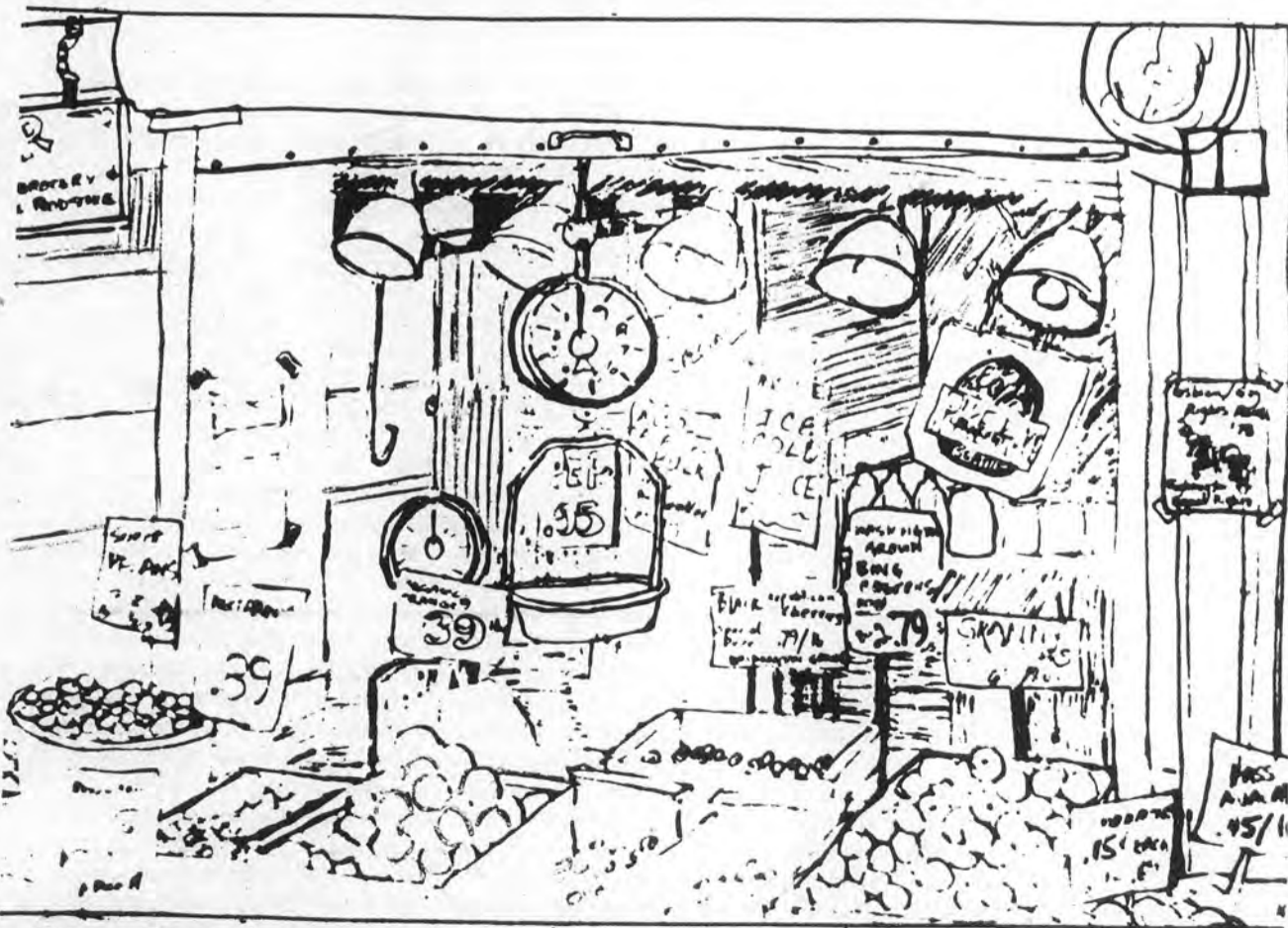
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C. C. Grains

at co-op or collective clinics. They also offer inter-community discounts to workers in the various collectives as well as discounts to themselves when they buy their own products.

Still, one of the most important benefits that keeps collective members committed to their business is their sense of control over their own work conditions and work relationships. People who join and stay with collectives make a commitment to a work-style and to a community of people that's missing in many traditional work situations.



Corner Green Grocery

COLLECTIVES

The newly emerging Central Food Co-op and Cause Celebre Cafe are drawing on people experienced in decision-making and consensus techniques to help get them started.

Many collective members feel convinced that working in a collective is the beginning of taking control over their own lives and of forming a "living community." They see their network as a way to minimize dependence on large corporations.

And as the collectives become strong financially they also have more time and money to take political action. The Hoedads in Oregon, for example, are co-defendants in a suit to ban the use of toxic sprays in the Siuslaw National Forest. They have helped to elect a county commissioner, and they lobbied at the State Capitol for labor intensive forest practices to replace chemical based methods of growing trees.

The co-operating community throughout the Northwest has also publicized events, donated money, food, and essential services to bolster the anti-nuclear movement; to support the Longest Walk; to defend gay rights; and to work for women's rights.

Different collective members emphasized the importance of keeping the businesses' books in order. "It's the most important thing," one said, so that a sound financial base can support collective members and their ideas.



It is too simple to say that building a small, marginal, non-oppressive business is going to change society. But by forming a co-operating group of collectives that respect human labor, people are beginning to meet workers and consumers' needs for self-empowerment and involvement. Perhaps the seeds of a new society are being sown.

For those collectives and individuals within the different Washington communities I have not yet contacted, I'm sorry and I miss you. And I'm also asking for your help in continuing to discover what the collective movement within the Northwest really is. The story of this regional cooperating community is one to be shared and I'll be working to put that together. It's expression could take many forms. I welcome artwork, interviews, statements of purpose/goals, herstories/histories, songs, dances and any expressions you may have of how your collective has evolved, how it is working and moving towards the future. I hope to hear from you through the Northwest Passage at 1017 E. Pike, Seattle, 98122, tel-323-0354; or at 525-8474.

Special thanks to Bill Corr, members of Little Bread Co; Black Duck Motors, Corner Green Grocery, Community Produce, Soup and Salad, CC Grains, for sharing ideas; to Peg Pearson and Jake Baker for their previous work describing the Seattle Workers' Brigade; and to Pat and Minnow from Hoedads.

Weyerhaeuser cont'd

The longhouses, which are being pulled down throughout Kalimantan, are variously accused of being communistic, of fostering casual sex, and of being fire hazards. (As if to prove the last charge, Indonesian police set one longhouse to the torch several years ago in West Kalimantan. In other cases threats have been made that police will shoot into the longhouse if it is not torn down by a certain time.)

Besides losing their longhouses, the Dyaks are also running out of land on which to practice their slash and burn style agriculture. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that "Eventually there was no more primary

"AS A RESULT OF THE WEYERHAEUSER OPERATIONS MANY INDIGENOUS SOCIETIES WILL BE GOING OUT OF EXISTENCE... THIS IS TRULY A LOSS TO ALL CIVILIZED MAN... AND THE WEYERHAEUSER PEOPLE COULDN'T GIVE A DAMN."

jungle to clear and villages had to recultivate areas not yet recovered from earlier plantings."

Fingers have been pointed in various directions concerning who's to blame for the plight of the Dyaks. Weyerhaeuser VP Charles Bingham blames, in part, Dyak farming methods, which he claims "rapidly deplete the rich tropical soils of their nutrients."

Others point the finger back at the logging companies, of which Weyerhaeuser is only one. According to *Pacific Research*, "Outside lumber companies, armed with forestry permits, have ejected inhabitants from their concessions and/or destroyed the resources of native areas..." In this view, slash and burn, which is normally an ecologically sound operation, becomes harmful only because it is crowded into the leftover parcels of land.

Considering the increasing exploitation of the Indonesian timber resource, the latter view recommends itself. But in any case, the Weyerhaeuser people look at the bright side. Writes Bingham: "We are ... changing the local society to some extent, by providing technological skills, medical and educational services, permanent housing, and a cash economy. I believe this involves cultural enrichment, however, not deculturation..."

Maybe so. One who doesn't agree, from the perspective of an anthropologist, is George Appell: "As a result of the Weyerhaeuser operations many indigenous societies will be going out of existence. And their indigenous knowledge...will disappear without further note. This is



Photo from the Weyerhaeuser operation in Indonesia.

truly a loss to all civilized man [sic]...And the Weyerhaeuser people couldn't give a damn."

THE ECOLOGICAL IMPACT

Very little information comes our way from Weyerhaeuser's ITCI operation, or for that matter any U.S. venture in Southeast Asia (The notorious Georgia Pacific Corporation is also busy in Indonesia, among others.)

The problem is two sided. Countries like Indonesia usually do not have a "free press," while the U.S. does not take political responsibility for what its biggest overseas reps, the multinationals, are up to "over there."

The result is that anyone worried about the ecological effects of U.S. logging in Indonesia is automatically involved in a guessing game. There is little solid information.

There are, however, frequent ecological horror stories reported: "...ecologists are already warning that lowland rain forests of East Kalimantan, which contain the bulk of Indonesia's exploitable forests, are being destroyed by over logging, illegal or unsupervised cutting, and the haphazard methods of local farmers." (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Dec.2, 1977). *Business Asia* has reported: "Current logging activities have often exceeded levels suggested by prudent forest management and some analysts claim the present rate of cutting will deplete the country's forests in 20 years."

Ironically, Weyerhaeuser's predilection for tree-farming non-native species could be viewed negatively in this regard, since it will do nothing to preserve the indigenous eco-system. Company spokespeople, however, say that highly productive tree farms will free up more land for

non-timber uses...

A number of endangered species reside on Kalimantan, including the Orangutan ape, whose population on the island has dwindled to an estimated 4,000.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of its permanence and "sound," above-board logging practices, the Indonesia operation is consistent with Weyerhaeuser's image. Considered one of the best managed of U.S. corporations, Weyerhaeuser has drawn praise for its relatively progressive and concerned leadership.

But the problem is with the system, not the people.

As long as Weyerhaeuser's fate depends on its ability to gather profits globally and return them to a few U.S. stockholders, it won't be the best organization to carry out somebody else's development in another country.

The Indonesian venture bears this out: In a capital poor country of 120,000,000, with 40% unemployment, Weyerhaeuser has installed a capital intensive logging operation, employing only 1300 people. It has ignored the existence of an indigenous Indonesian skill, the labor intensive "kuda kuda" system of logging, which involves more workers and fewer machines.

Since it depends on the existing Indonesian rulers for protection of its "rights" as a foreign multinational, Weyerhaeuser must inevitably support those rulers (as does the U.S.). Weyerhaeuser's payment of 35% of its profits to a small group of military elite no doubt tends to further increase, not decrease, the gap between the rich and poor in Indonesia.

And the profits it repatriates to the U.S. deprive the country of the earnings created by the combination of Indonesian labor and an Indonesian resource.

Thomas Griffeth, writing in *Fortune*, has compared Weyerhaeuser to Mount Rainier, because, "each in its own way lords it over the surrounding scenery..."

But of the two, only Weyerhaeuser has shown any inclination to "lord it over" Indonesia.

Much of this article was based on "Weyerhaeuser in Indonesia" by Rachael Grossman and Lenny Siegal in *PACIFIC RESEARCH*, Nov.-Dec., '77. Other sources included Weyerhaeuser's brochures, *FORTUNE*, *FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW*, and the Evergreen College's Multinational Corporation group study, "Weyerhaeuser as a Multinational Corporation." Thanks to Sarah Driggs of the AFSC.

Farmers Markets-- for people, not for profit

By Larry Greenberg

If you trek down to the Pike Place Public Market in Seattle this week, the local farmers will have the best looking mounds of raspberries, blueberries, broccoli, lettuce, zucchini and basil you've seen yet this year. Take the basil for instance. The fragrant bunches of curled green leaves and branches are loosely tied on the table. The root system is left attached, showing clearly the underground life of a basil. If you follow its life backwards to the farm, south of Seattle, you would find the basil had been planted with the same thoughts of pesto sauce as you have in mind when you buy it.

Farmers markets are special places. You can learn the history of your evening's vegetables when you buy directly from the farmer. Shopping at a supermarket cannot offer this kind of communication between the farmer and shopper.

Many new Farmers Markets have been started in the Northwest in recent years, including the Inner City Farmers Market in Seattle's Central District. The Inner City Farmers Market, entering its fourth season, is open Saturdays from 9 to 2 PM at 23rd and Yesler Streets. Local farmers from King County, along with Eastern Washington fruit growers, are there every week through the harvest season selling their goods at below retail cost. The coalition of organizers for this Market believes it is especially important to make available low-priced food right in people's neighborhoods.

Farmers benefit from Farmers Markets through increased sales and above-wholesale prices. Marketing produce is one of the greatest problems for small, local farmers. Many of the farmers who sell at Farmers Markets have only a few acres, and thereby face stiff competition in selling to wholesale houses. The wholesalers generally prefer the more regular, larger quantity shipments from California. Vegetable price-wars between California and local growers are quite common in Washington in the summer months, while California produce prices soar skyward here in the winter. Shopping at a Farmers Market therefore means more support for local, small-scale agriculture.

Here is a directory of Farmers Markets and their locations in Washington.

KING COUNTY

VASHON SATURDAY MARKET

Location: behind car lot off main highway, in downtown Vashon

Open: June 3

Hours: Saturdays, 10-12

Contact: Joan Fulton, 463-9559



Inner City Farmers Market Larry Greenberg/NWP

INNER CITY FARMERS MARKET

Location: 23rd and Yesler Sts, Seattle

Open: July 29 through mid-Oct.

Contact: Marty Eckrem, 682-3326

REDMOND SATURDAY MARKET

Location: vacant lot on north side of post office, near Metro Park & Ride

Open: May 7 to Oct. 10

Hours: Saturdays, 10-4 PM

Contact: Georgia Erskine, 885-6596

KENT SATURDAY MARKET

Location: 1st Ave., between Meeker & Gowe Sts

Open: May 6 to Oct.

Hours: Saturdays, 10-4 PM

Contact: Suzette Allen, 872-3342

CARNATION FARMERS MARKET

Location: near corner of Stoffel & Commercial St.

Open: June 3

Hours: Saturdays

Contact: Jackie & Chase Morris, 333-4211

SEATTLE PIKE PLACE MARKET

Location: 1st and Pike Sts, downtown

Open: Year round

Hours: Mon. through Sat., 9-5:30 PM

Contact: Frankie Whitman, 625-4763

SNOHOMISH COUNTY

MONROE FARMERS MARKET

Contact: Rick Petrick, 794-8018

GRAYS HARBOR COUNTY

GRAYS HARBOR FARMERS MARKET

Location: Community Center lot on Sumner Ave. between Haight & Duffy Sts

Open: Mid-July through mid-Oct.

Hours: Saturdays, 9-2 PM

Contact: Lloyd Flem, 532-0467 or 533-6092

SKAGIT COUNTY

ANACORTES FARMERS MARKET

Location: 7th & Commercial St., behind Fishermen's World Market

Open: May 6 through harvest

Hours: Saturdays, 10-5 PM

Contact: Dudley Carson, 293-7733

JEFFERSON COUNTY

PORT TOWNSEND FARMERS GARDEN MARKET

Location: downtown Port Townsend

Open: July 7 through Oct. 10

Hours: Saturdays

Contact: Jeneen Hayden, 385-2994

City Hall on Plum St.

Hours: Friday, Saturday, 10-2 PM

Contact: Becky Liebman, 866-4916

COWLITZ COUNTY

PEOPLE'S MARKET

Location: Cowlitz County Fair Grounds, 7th Ave. Longview

Hours: Saturday, 9-3 PM

Contact: Loretta Holland, 425-3430



Kari Berger/NWP

PIERCE COUNTY

TACOMA FARMERS MARKET

Location: S. 12th & So. L Streets

Open: July 8 through Sept. 30

Hours: Saturdays, 8-2 PM

Contact: Tony Balk, 383-1585

KITSAP COUNTY

KITSAP COUNTY FARMERS MARKET

Location: Downtown Port Orchard, just off Bay St., on Frederick St.

Open: June 17 through mid-Oct.

Hours: Saturdays, 9:30 AM-1 PM

Contact: Chris Smith, 867-7157

LEWIS COUNTY

CHEHALIS FARMERS MARKET

Location: Adjacent to old railroad depot on Alaska St

Open: Mid-July through mid-Oct.

Hours: Saturdays, 9-2 PM

Contact: Jana Henderson, 989 Gore Rd, On Alaska, Wa..98590

GRANT COUNTY

MOSES LAKE FARMERS MARKET

Location: 3rd and Dogwood Sts, Moses Lake

Open: July 15 through Oct.

Hours: Saturdays, 9 AM-2 PM

Contact: Birny Birnbaum, 765-9206

OKANOGAN COUNTY

OKANOGAN FARMERS MARKET

Location: American Legion Park, N 2nd St.

Open: July through harvest

Hours: 7 AM-1 PM

Contact: Shelley Berryman, 442-4041

SPOKANE COUNTY

PEACEFUL VALLEY CO-OP

Location: W. 1308 Maine Ave., 'Peaceful Valley Community Center', downtown Spokane

Open: July 29

Hours: Every other Saturday, 8-5 PM

Contact: Dusty Gabel 509/456-6013

ISLAND COUNTY

WHIDBEY ISLAND FARMERS MARKET

Location: North of ferry on hwy. 525, south Whidbey

Open: July 7 through Oct. 31

Hours: 10-2 PM

Contact: Myrna Twomey, 321-4343

THURSTON COUNTY

OLYMPIA FARMERS MARKET

Location: Western Farmers parking lot, across from

Another rate increase?

BELL WRINGS

by Rick Swann

Ma Bell is doing it to us again.

The average phone bill in this area will increase \$20 this year, and pay phone calls soon will cost 25 cents if Pacific Northwest Bell manages to slide through its seventh rate increase in 8 years. Since 1971, PNB has received close to \$90 million in increases, all approved by the governor-appointed Washington Transportation and Utilities Company. This time they are asking for \$52.3 million.

To understand why PNB is asking for yet another increase, and how we are subsidizing not only PNB's other business dealings, but those of its parent company, American Telephone and Telegraph (Bell), a closer look at AT&T, one of the world's largest and most profitable corporations, is needed.

BEATING THE "COMPETITION"

In 1934, Bell Telephone was granted a monopoly in all areas of the telephone business. At that time, it was believed, and probably true, that one set of telephone lines could provide cheaper and better service than competing lines. Competition most likely would have forced the customers to cover the costs of the duplicate sets of lines, inflating, rather than lowering, rates.

But microwave and transistor technology, because it eliminates the need for lines, has made competition feasible. So much so, that in 1968, the FCC, which governs the communications industry, made its first pro-competition ruling. Subsequent rulings have cut more and more into Bell's monopoly, so that now, residential customer service and local switching are the only areas where there is virtually no competition.

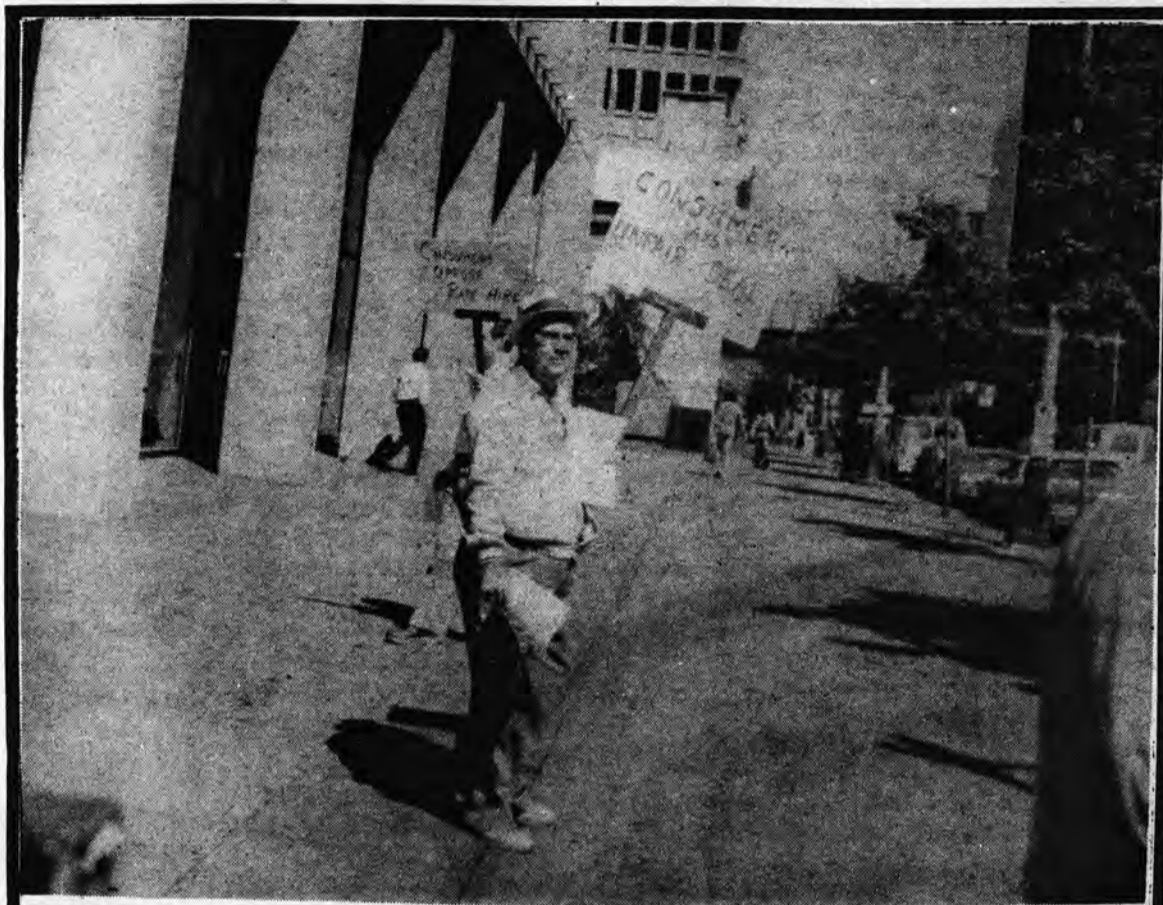
The process has been slow, however, and Bell is only feeling the crunch of competition in a very small way. AT&T realized a \$2.7 billion profit over a 6 month period in 1977. Their communications system generates \$35 billion a year in revenues while supplying 80% of the US phones and handling 77% of all telephone calls. The \$350 million a year it loses to competitors such as MCI, RCA, General Dynamics and Hughes Aircraft amounts to only 1% of business.

You would think that Bell was losing much more the way it plays the game. In areas where Bell is at all threatened, it has been deliberately underpricing its services in order to corner the market, attempting to drive its competitors into the red. In one case, the Public Service Commission of New York discovered that income from leasing designed to underprice competition fell short of covering Bell's costs by 61%.

How does Bell make up for its losses? Bell itself, in claiming that a loss in switchboard and private line business will "jack-up" residential rates, alludes to the answer. Residential phone users are subsidizing Bell's illegal dealings. According to a 1976 FCC study, customers were overcharged \$1.6 billion for long distance interstate calls alone between 1971 and 1975. The study points to a nationwide trend by regional Bell subsidiaries to use illegal, excess profits from residential service to cover losses in other areas of business.

Bell is also not above showing its muscle in other ways. In the late 1960's, one of Bell's first competitors, Datran, Inc., had a healthy microwave circuit market in several Western states, but needed to rent Bell lines for "access to the profitable northeastern market." (Bell rents, not sells, its equipment, all manufactured by its subsidiary Western Electric). Bell forced Datran to rent an 'interface' device at the point of hook-up, a device that in 1971 was found unnecessary and illegal by the courts. That was not before the extra 10-15% increase in rental prices drove Datran bankrupt.

In 1974, hearings before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee cited more than 200 instances of threats made by Bell in order to further its business interests nationwide. These included a cancellation of all Bell business with Continental Airlines after the Airlines bought its own telephone hardware, and here in Seattle, a cancellation of all PNB truck business with



Bill Brown of the Elderly Citizen's Coalition pickets the downtown Pacific Northwest Bell offices.

Photo by Rick Swann

Truckweld after Truckweld went to interconnects. The cancellation of its contract with Truckweld, a business relationship that was over 15 years old, Bell blamed on a "coincidental mothballing" of its truck fleet due to a slow economy.

The Federal Communications Commission, with a budget of only \$50 million a year, and just 400 employees working with outmoded equipment, cannot keep up with Bell, especially after ruling in favor of increased competition. And the federal government is tied to Bell to the tune of \$3 billion a year, something Bell takes advantage of. The Justice Department is currently bringing an anti-trust suit against Bell, seeking to strip AT&T of its controlling interest in Western Electric, and to strip Western Electric of enough of its assets to "ensure competition in telecommunications service and equipment." In retaliation, Bell is threatening to haul all of its government-connected business into court to prove that its monopolistic practices are "vital to national security." Among other things, Bell runs the Defense Department's National Defense Communications System.

Bell is trying to settle the case in a more direct way, with a bill, now tied up in subcommittee, that would reinstate its monopoly in telecommunications.

BELL'S WATERGATE

Bell's troubles haven't been confined to anti-trust suits. It's been three years now since a Southwestern Bell executive penned in his suicide note that "Watergate is a gnat compared to the Bell System," and the ensuing scandal is still alive.

His note continued with a detailed picture of the illegal influence-buying political slush fund then operating in Texas, and the routine practice of 'balancing' the company books in order to increase the size of phone rate increases.

Apparently, things have changed very little in three years. Last August, L.E. Rast, president of Southern Bell, was indicted on charges of embezzling money from the utility, along with several other top executives. The money, in the thousands of dollars, was used in political contributions on behalf of the company. Influence-buying of this sort is being investigated in at least 15 states, along with "gifts" accepted from Bell by the then Lt. Governor Bill Doherty of South Dakota and Governor Marvin Mandel of Maryland.

"Gifts" to public utilities commissions like the all

expense-paid "seminars" Bell put on for the South Carolina commission at the resort island of Hilton Head are even more important. With the FCC, which only regulates interstate rates, taking a closer look at Bell's long-distance rates, Bell is taking a closer look at in-state politics. The part of Bell's capital investment base used to compute these rates is arbitrary because of the way Bell works its books. That means that if the FCC cracks down on the long-distance rates, Bell can claim a greater part of its capital base for use within individual states. Then profits can be siphoned off to the parent company from the in-state subsidiaries by overpaying Western Electric for hardware. This makes local public hearings, such as the one just held in Seattle concerning PNB's rate hikes, important in controlling the entire Bell system.

IF PNB GETS ITS WAY...

Customers will pay an additional:

- 22% on monthly phone bills,
- 25 cents on pay phone calls,
- up to 300% more for installation and other service charges,
- and cover the additional increase in the rate of return to PNB stockholders from 9.5% to 11% (the Utilities Commission's economist has asked it be reduced to 9.05% though).

PNB customers already are paying for:

- advertising and lobbying that PNB has used to 'soften' the idea of an increase,
- and PNB's tax-deductible charity donations.

Furthermore...

PNB has been using profits generated from residential customer service to help its parent company, Ma Bell, cover court costs in its current anti-trust suit with the federal government, and to underwrite illegal underpricing practices (aimed at driving its competition out of business).

OUT THE BUCKS

THE WASHINGTON HEARINGS

Pacific Northwest Bell is the most profitable of the 23 regional Bell subsidiaries, all approximately 90% AT&T owned. Their rates are regulated in this state by the Transportation and Utilities Commission, a governor-appointed board of three persons, currently made up of Robert Bailey, Frank Foley, and Elmer Huntley, all former legislators or state administrators. Huntley, for instance, had a high position with the highway department.

Their job is to "evaluate all the evidence presented" in determining if the increase requested is "fair, just, reasonable and sufficient." Regulations further state that if "the regulatory body picks a rate of return that is too high, the public ratepayers suffer excessive rates and the carrier is unjustly enriched"; and that the ratepayer should be favored over the stockholder.

The Commission makes all final decisions. It is supposedly a neutral body, considering both the requests of the utility and those who oppose it. The public is represented by an attorney. He, however, works only part-time on the case. The Commission also has a staff that makes its suggestions prior to the public hearings.

Susan Howlett, of Seattle Consumer Action Network (SCAN), is one of many people who claim that the Commission is not neutral, but in fact leans toward PNB. For one thing, a rate increase generates greater revenues and taxes on that revenue, enriching the state coffers. This was brought to the attention of the public in testimony given by Robert J. Royer, representing Seattle Mayor Charles Royer. Seattle would "gain \$1 million a year in various taxes" if the increase was allowed to go through. (Royer, however, opposes it on the grounds that it is excessive and a burden on lower-income people). The state would benefit even more.

There are other reasons why the hearings favor PNB. For one thing, PNB's finances appear to be 'variable.' SCAN's John Rowland says that PNB can come up with three sets of books, one for the stockholders, one for themselves, and one for the Commission and the public. Thus PNB can argue from the latter set of books that they need a \$52.3 million increase to "offset the adverse effects inflation and new competition have had on profits; help finance \$1.2 billion in construction needed to meet anticipated record increases in new telephone users over the next five years; and raise their rate of return so stock issued to finance construction will be more attractive to prospective investors."

On the other hand, Eugene Pfeifer, PNB Vice-president, can say at the same time for the benefit of the stockholders that: "We've never experienced the kind of growth we've had . . . and, in fact, in 1977 our year-end gain over the previous year was almost twice the gain realized in 1974. Our forecasts for Washing-

ton indicate continued heavy growth in 1978." PNB for the 12 month period ending in February 1978 realized a net income of \$127.6 million, which was 13.1% profit on revenues of \$973.2 million, and earnings of \$2.56 per share, a 20% increase over the previous year.

The construction budget might be the most important issue. Since the rate base is money invested in property (minus depreciation), and the company is allowed its "fair rate of return" on the rate base, the larger the base, the greater the profits. SCAN believes that a move already under way by the company towards "usage-sensitive pricing", in which customers would be charged for local service on a per call basis, might be included in these construction costs.

There are other criticisms of PNB's financial structure. George F. Hess, a Minneapolis public utility consultant, testified in Olympia before the Commission that PNB's relationship with the parent company AT&T allows PNB to pass on to customers taxes it has never paid. AT&T, because of the complex way it "pays" its federal income tax, gains huge tax deductions for its interest payments. Commission staff member, William H. Weiman, testified that PNB's accumulated federal taxes have been deferred over 11 years and total \$124.9 million, partly because of the tax laws that allow for depreciation. But the Commis-

PNB's tax-deductible charity contributions.

THE NICKEL AND DIME THEORY

If some doubts were raised as to the neutrality of the Commission, its staff findings were encouraging—they favored no increase. In fact, the staff's economist, David Kosh, not only disputed the 11% rate of return requested by PNB, but the current 9.5%. He recommended to the Commission that "rates in this case be set to produce a fair rate of return of 9.05%." He also concluded that more construction is unnecessary, or at least, that new capital needn't be generated to fund it.

But one wonders if the Commission will follow its staff's findings. According to Nick Licata, of WashPIRG, PNB exceeded its authorized rate of return last year by .5% or \$15 million, and yet the Commission has taken no action. In 1975, a \$12 million profit beyond the legal rate of return was realized, to be followed soon after by yet another rate increase granted to PNB by the Commission.

Some of Bell's services have undergone an upgrade due to competitive pressures. The residential and small business customers, however, are soaked for the profits and still get little improvement in service. One new option for these customers is a new line of decorator phone, one of which is a likeness of Mickey

IT TAKES A PNB V-P TO EXPLAIN THE PAY PHONE INCREASE TO US: THE 25 CENTS CHARGE IS 'MORE CONVENIENT' BECAUSE THE AVERAGE PHONE USER IS MORE LIKELY TO HAVE A QUARTER IN HIS POCKET THAN A NICKEL AND A DIME.

sion does not take these deductions and deferments, and PNB is given credit for already having paid these taxes.

Hess also testified that PNB overpays Western Electric Co., allowing it a rate of return much too high (Western, as mentioned earlier, is also a subsidiary of AT&T). The inflated equipment costs are passed on to customers. He recommended the amount allowed for net income to Western be reduced by \$1.8 million.

That isn't all. The customers are also paying for PNB advertising and lobbying. SCAN's complaint that "so much has been done by the phone company to soften the idea of a rate increase, and with customer money," was echoed at the Olympia hearings by Robert Damron, Commission staff accounting analyst. Damron called attention to the \$200,000 for lobbying and advertising in the list of expenses PNB customers have to pay for. Likewise, Hess felt that PNB money going to national lobbying for AT&T and for costs associated with the Washington DC anti-trust suits should not be born by the customer. Overall, Washington customers in the last 12 months have paid close to \$700,000 towards PNB's advertising and lobbying expenses, and another \$479,000 towards

Mouse. Even when PNB does offer something special, such as its life-line, low-cost service to people on fixed income, little effort is made to publicize it, as Darrell Kirpes and John Tyler, both physically disabled and on fixed incomes, testified at the hearings. Limited by Carter's 5% anti-inflationary hike for fixed income people, they wonder how they'll pay for a current rent hike and the possible increase of 22% in their phone bills.

Kirpes went on to say that at the present time, Florida is the only state where it costs 25 cents to make a pay phone call. Washington already has the highest pay phone costs on the West Coast. It takes a former PNB Vice-President to explain it to us: the 25 cent charge is "more convenient" because the average phone user is more likely to have a quarter in his pocket than nickels and dimes.

George Duvall perhaps summed it up. He presented as a court exhibit the bumper sticker with the Bell insignia: "we don't care, we don't have to."

(The background material comes from an article in the *Progressive*, February 1978, by Rusty Todd and Frye Gaillard; also pieces in *Science*, 10-21-77, *Nation* 12-24-77, *Forbes* 11-1-77, and a SCAN newsletter).

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Continued from Page 5

enabled the psychiatrist to judge Johnston mentally ill, which diagnosis he relayed to the board. Dr. Johnston was subsequently examined by three Seattle psychiatrists, all of who attested to his mental stability. The board's procedure, itself certainly "bizarre", was clearly illegal. State law RCW 18.72.275 states that if there appears reasonable cause to consider a physician mentally unfit to practice, a complaint shall be served summoning that physician to a hearing dealing with that particular complaint. Dr. Johnston was never served with such a complaint or shown clear cause for such an accusation. The mental stability charge was subsequently dropped.

The three main charges involve two medical cases and the alleged unlicensed practitioner. I believe it's important that the details of these charges be summarized here, because the only information generally published in the press is of the "another-quack-doctor-caught" variety. The following reportage is largely based on information made available by Dr. Johnston's representatives. The only "public document" obtainable is the Petitioner's Memorandum in which Dr. Johnston requests license reinstatement. It was filed in Superior Court and is available to anyone. Because the Medical Disciplinary Board is not a public body, it need not, and did not in this case, open its meetings to the press, and no hearing transcripts were publicly available. I think the following outline of the case will indicate that although there might be disagreement with certain treatment methods used by Johnston, there appears to be evidence that the board behaved arbitrarily in depriving Johnston of his license on the basis of the evidence presented during the hearing.

'HE HELPED BOB...'

The first of the medical cases, a Mr. Hendrickson, was seen infrequently over a period of 4 months by Johnston. Hendrickson was reluctant to cooperate with medical advice and was treated only to the extent of allowing urinalyses and following some nutritional advice. Mrs. Evelyn Hendrickson, widow of the patient, testified at the hearing that her husband was difficult to treat. She said in part, 'Jim's [Johnston] only mistake was not washing his hands of us when my husband refused to cooperate, but he helped us anyway...he helped Bob and did everything he could for him.' (HT 6-17-77)* Hendrickson's condition deteriorated to the point of acute malnutrition, and after Johnston diagnosed an ulcerous condition the patient finally consented to hospitalization. He there came under the care of a Dr. Mack (the physician who made the initial complaint to the board against Johnston). Dr. Johnston was no longer Hendrickson's physician while he was in the hospital. Hendrickson was operated on for the ulcer, about one week after hospitalization, and two days subsequent to the operation a pathology report indicated cancer of the colon. In the hospital, Hendrickson had undergone all the usual hospital tests and procedures without discovery of the cancerous condition, with Dr. Mack in charge of his case. On the 14th day after admission, Hendrickson died. The board ruled Johnston negligent in not discovering and treating the cancer earlier.

Dr. Mack, the only witness for the board in this case, testified that Hendrickson himself was satisfied with the treatment he had gotten from Johnston, and that at the time of an exploratory laparotomy [abdominal exploration] performed at the hospital, there was no visible evidence of cancer. Mack said he didn't know whether Hendrickson had followed treatment recommended by Johnston, nor did he know what Johnston's treatment was or would have been. Finally, he conceded that it was neither negligence nor malpractice if a doctor cannot convince an individual to follow his recommendations. (HT 4-15-77)

The second case, a Ms. Moore, had suffered chest pain for 20 years prior to seeing Johnston in 1974. She'd had various diagnoses of gout, degenerative arthritis, and colitis. In 1976, Dr. Johnston, at her request, supervised her during the 'Gerson therapy', a regimen of fruit and vegetable juices, a low-salt diet, and potassium and thyroid supplements. This regimen has been used extensively in Europe for many years but is viewed with suspicion by most physicians in the United States. The treatment included coffee enemas, claimed by advocates to contribute to proper functioning and cleansing of the digestive system. Dr. Johnston also insisted that she take various medications to alleviate her long-standing medical problems.

* Indicates material taken from transcript of board hearing of date indicated.



Moore did not follow the treatment course, but reverted to 'self-prescription', as she had done in the past. She was seen by Johnston in November and given two medications; the next day she called him, acutely ill with gallstone symptoms. She refused to be hospitalized, even after he dialed for an ambulance. He stayed with her all night; after medications and enemas, he testified she passed the gallstones. He left her 'alert' at 9 AM. At noon he called her and she stated she felt well. He instructed her not to do any more self-treatment.

That evening, a housemate of Moore's called Johnston, saying she had had a seizure. Johnston was told she had resumed self-medication, and had given herself approximately 24 enemas during that day. Johnston had her given a saline solution to restore her electrolyte balance, and eventually succeeded in getting her to a hospital because she was by then unconscious and unable to resist being taken there. On entering the hospital she came under the care of a Dr. Sandstrom. Dr. Johnston, again, did not treat this patient in the hospital. She remained in the hospital for about two weeks, at which time she died, with heart and lung damage that was not noted at the time she entered the hospital.

In this case, as in the Hendrickson case, both household members and doctors who gave subsequent hospital care said that Johnston had shown diligence in attempting to procure treatment for his patient. Dr. Sandstrom stated that even his own patients had come to him for help and then refused either the diagnostic procedures he wished and/or treatment he recommended. He stated he usually tried to explain to such patients the importance of what he was trying to do, and if they refused, 'there's not much I can do at that point.' (HT 4-15-77)

The third charge of the board was that Dr. Johnston 'did aid and abet an unlicensed person, Remigio Peralta, to practice medicine.' Johnston contends this charge is 'of no legal force or effect.' Peralta had obtained a midwifery certificate outside Washington State and had received training in homeopathy and naturopathy; he had also attended UW Medical School for 3-1/2 years. He did not have a midwifery certificate nor a physician's license in this state. However, the alleged instance of violation involved the delivery of a baby, and midwifery is not included in the definition of Washington State Law RCW 18.71.011 as the practice of medicine. Therefore, contends Johnston, Peralta was not 'practicing medicine', with or without a license. This charge would appear to have just been tossed into the pot by the board for good measure.

NO EXPERT TESTIMONY

Johnston's attorney filed a petition with Thurston County Superior Court for the reinstatement of his license, the only recourse available when the board revokes a license. The petition cites several other cases involving the revocation of professional licenses. One, *Shireson vs. Walsh*, 354 Illinois 40, 187 N.E. 921, says in part,

'...A license having been obtained according to the provisions of the state, the holder of the license can only be deprived of it in accordance with the law of the land...not at the mere discretion of some department or board...'

And further,

'...The guilt of any defendant of the charges made in the complaint against him must be established clearly and conclusively by competent evidence [my emphasis] before the license of any defendant may be legally revoked...The body hearing the case should be a qualified body without prejudice, and strictly impartial as to the issues to be tried...'

The Medical Disciplinary Board did not receive any expert testimony as to the alleged malpractice of Johnston in either of the two medical cases. In an ordinary civil malpractice action, such testimony is mandatory. Another case cited in the petition, *McKay vs. State Board of Medical Examiners*, 103 Colorado 305, 86 P. 2d 232, states in part,

'...It is not enough that the board be composed of experts who applied their knowledge of diagnosis and treatments to the case in which malpractice is alleged...Obviously the reviewing court [the court hearing the petition for reinstatement] cannot be left to speculate on what was in the minds of the individual board members as constituting improper diagnosis or treatments.'

BOTH PROSECUTOR AND JURY?

It appears that in the Johnston case, the Washington board felt it proper (and safe) to render judgment based solely on '...what was in the minds of the individual board members.' It also appears that the then-Chairman of the Washington State Medical Disciplinary Board, a Dr. Diefendorf of Bremerton, might be open to charges of acting as both prosecutor and judge in the case. On being questioned about his open-mindedness, he admitted that 'this matter has of course been talked about in Disciplinary Board circles and to a certain extent that's true [judge-jury question].' Dr. Diefendorf did not explain what constituted 'Disciplinary Board circles' nor did he explain why prior discussions and/or decisions had occurred on matters yet to come before the board, before the medical practitioner had a chance to present evidence or witnesses on his own behalf.

The position of the board as being 'without prejudice and strictly impartial as to the issues to be tried..' as specified in *Shireson vs. Walsh*, cited previously, is hard to justify, since the board is composed of seven members of the medical profession elected, in effect, by themselves. The 8th place on the board, designated for a layperson, was recently given by Governor Ray to her sister, Marion Reid. The justification for this was that, according to the Washington State Medical Association spokesperson, 'the family was interested in medicine and Mrs. Reid was once a medical assistant.' So were a number of people, but they weren't the Governor's sister.

The Johnston case apparently surprised even those who are used to such board procedures. At the time of the board's license revocation action, then-Assistant State Attorney General John H. Keel, who represented the state at the disciplinary hearing in an observer status, said that the board action was the first instance he could recall in which a physician's license was revoked in a contested hearing on the grounds of 'gross incompetence.' (Seattle P-1, 7-13-77)

PUBLIC DESERVES A SAY

Johnston is now practicing in his home state of Pennsylvania. If he loses his license reinstatement appeal here, the Pennsylvania license may be in jeopardy. A decision regarding the Washington license will be made by the Thurston County Superior Court in September. An appeal to the Supreme Court will be filed in the event of an unfavorable decision by the Superior Court.

A local firm is representing Johnston in his appeal case, but on occasion a nationally-known attorney in the field of license revocation, Kirkpatrick W. Dilling,

cont'd on page 19

TIPS FOR TENANTS

Getting Your Deposit Back



by Sharon Feigon and Bob McChesney

Caroline Cook had just returned home from a tough shift at Joe's Diner on Seattle's Capitol Hill. In her mailbox was some unsettling news. Her new landlord, an unnamed Canadian conglomerate, was planning to jack up her rent from \$150 to \$235. There was no way Caroline could pay. She would be forced to move, yet another victim of displacement.

After 10 days of intensive searching, Caroline finally located a new place in the Rainier Valley. Her new landlord insisted upon a deposit of \$150 before he would grant her a lease. In order to make this payment Caroline would need the return of her old deposit. Her building manager informed her that her \$100 deposit would be returned within 14 days of her moving out, as required by the state's Landlord-Tenant Act.

Trusting that her deposit would soon be returned, Caroline went ahead and got a two-week advance on her pay from Joe. She paid her new deposit, signed a lease, and moved into Rainier Valley.

Three weeks passed without any word from her old landlord. Caroline visited him to find out what the story was. The news was not good; the building manager informed her that her deposit would not be returned because she had not cleaned the apartment 'satisfactorily'. Caroline protested that she had in fact cleaned it and, furthermore, had left it in better condition than when she had moved in. The manager would not budge. What was to be done?

The state's Landlord-Tenant Act requires the landlord to refund a deposit within fourteen days after a tenant moves or to provide the tenant with a written statement itemizing why all or part of the deposit will not be refunded. If tenants are forced to go to court to recover their deposit they can argue that failure of the landlord to provide the written statement is legal grounds for the return of the entire deposit.

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has flown to Seattle on Johnston's behalf. Dilling is on a yearly retainer from the National Health Federation, a non-profit health rights organization based in Monrovia, California. The NHF, judging from their literature and my talk with Robin Maiers, Puget Sound Chapter president, who is familiar with the Johnston case, appears to be a civil libertarian group interested in the protection of freedom of choice in medical care. They are also involved in attempts to monitor what they see as dangers in the total environment which will eventually be reflected in the human body—air and water pollution, radiation levels, and pesticides and other poisons which enter our food through the growing and manufacturing processes.

The NHF shares these concerns with other groups such as the National Association of Cancer Victims and Friends, and the Committee for Freedom of Choice in Medical Care, some of whom are openly right-wing. The collective impression these other groups present, unfortunately, can detract from an important function I believe they are performing—that of questioning the established authorities in the health care field. These include, as mentioned at the start of this article, the AMA, the physicians and health-care administrators who govern American medical schools and hospitals, the people who determine the direction taken by medical research organizations, and those who rule the FDA and the drug companies

Caroline would later use this argument in Small Claims Court in her efforts to regain her deposit. Before discussing the specifics of Caroline's case, let's discuss the increasing problem of deposit rip-offs.

According to Seattle Tenants Union activist David Bley, a tenant can usually avoid deposit hassles with their landlord if they take the correct steps before moving in. Bley pointed out the following steps: 'First, a tenant should take one or two people along to inspect the unit. This way there will be witnesses should any problems develop when the tenant eventually moves out. Second, an even more effective means of documenting a unit's condition is to take photographs of it. Few tenants actually think of doing this before moving in, but it can provide decisive evidence in a court case. Third, a tenant should also present a written list of defects in the unit that exist upon their moving in. The tenant should then have the landlord agree in writing that the tenant cannot be held responsible for these faults.'

Finally, Bley notes, 'The tenant should then have the landlord put in writing the exact requirements for the return of the deposit. Generally if the tenant makes this move the landlord will realize that they're dealing with a pretty sharp cookie and will give up any dreams of unfairly ripping off the deposit.'

While this is valuable information to people planning to move into a rental unit, most people already rent somewhere and it's too late to take the above steps. Before discussing some specific strategies for recovering deposits, here are a few facts about them from the state's Landlord-Tenant Act.

1. All deposits are by law refundable unless the landlord tells the tenant in advance that the deposit is non-refundable, in which case it is not a deposit but a fee. An example of this would be a non-refundable cleaning fee.

2. The state Landlord-Tenant Act prohibits the landlord from applying any of the tenant's deposit towards cleaning

in their search for more useful (and more profitable) drugs. Often shrill and illogical in their propaganda, easily dismissed as being fanatics, groups like the NHF appear to be the only ones willing to tackle what may be the main health issue today: more consumer control.

That issue, I believe, is central to the Johnston case. The Medical Disciplinary Board of the State of Washington, it is probably safe to say, was at the time of Johnston's hearings composed of physicians who are suspicious of unorthodox medical treatment. This almost certainly predisposed them against Johnston. And there are no legislative or judicial safeguards to prevent them from revoking a license of a practitioner whose only 'crime' might have been in disagreeing with them about what was best in a particular case. At a time in the history of disease-treatment when, according to HEW figures, less than \$2 billion of this year's \$48 billion budgeted by the federal government for health care will go to programs to prevent disease and promote fitness, this disagreement with the prevailing medical opinion should be thoroughly investigated, not arbitrarily punished.

Until the Medical Disciplinary Board, and other authorities who maintain control over what can and cannot be done to our bodies, are monitored by some system of citizen review, perhaps physicians' licenses should be issued with the note: 'WARNING! The practice of preventive medicine can be dangerous to your career.'

or damage which is the result of normal wear and tear. The act, however, does not define normal wear and tear. If the tenant and landlord can't agree on what constitutes normal wear and tear, a tenant may have to go to court to get their deposit.

3. Landlords will generally ask for a deposit before the tenant moves in. If the tenant has a lease, the nature of the deposit (and the amount of money) will be written into the lease and cannot be changed until the lease has expired. If the tenant rents on a month-to-month basis, however, none of this applies. The landlord can then ask for a deposit, increase an existing deposit, or change the requirements for the return of an existing deposit at any time as long as 'proper notice' is given. The landlord tenant act defines proper notice as a written notice of the proposed change at least thirty days before the end of the rental period. And, in our much beloved state of Washington there is no limit as to how much a landlord can demand for a deposit.

4. The landlord is required by the Landlord-Tenant Act to give the tenant a written receipt for a deposit. The landlord is also required to put any refundable deposit in a bank or escrow account within the state of Washington. However, the landlord is entitled to the interest (unless otherwise specified in a written agreement).

Let's return to the question of what a tenant can do if their landlord has not returned their deposit within the required 14 days after they move out. According to Alan Mador, an organizer with the Seattle Tenants Union, the first measure a tenant should use in the above situation is to send the landlord a letter demanding immediate payment. However, if this tack fails, Mador concludes that the only way a tenant can recover their deposit is by taking their landlord to small claims court. Caroline Cook found herself in this position.

Since Caroline's suit was for less than \$300 she was eligible for Small Claims Court. In Small Claims Court neither side may have a lawyer and it costs less than two dollars to file.

Caroline had no alternative but to take a day off work in order to appear before the court. By law, she was able to include the cost of a day's labor to her lawsuit. Fortunately for Caroline, her landlord didn't show up so she won her case by default. According to Kraig Peck, Snohomish County tenant activist, 'This is not an uncommon occurrence in Small Claims Court. This is especially true when landlords have a bogus case. They are banking on the fact that the tenants don't know their rights and will sacrifice their deposits without a fight.'

However, in those cases where the landlord does show up, the success that a tenant has in court will rest on the quality of the evidence they can provide. The best evidence is photographs of the place in question when they moved out. This will clearly dispute all landlord fairy tales about what a mess the place was in. Other good evidence may be witnesses. The key point is that a tenant can win—most landlords are simply gambling that the tenant won't take the initiative. Since it certainly isn't in the landlord's interest to return the deposit, tenants need to protect their own rights.

If you find yourself in the situation we've just described, in Seattle you are advised to call the STU Hotline, 329-1010, between 9 AM and 12 noon to get more information. Elsewhere try your local Legal Services office.



Radical economist Gar Alperovitz is working with church groups to purchase a Youngstown, Ohio steel mill that is being closed and to reopen it under community ownership.



Ken Cockrel ran for Detroit's city council as an avowed socialist and won in a city-wide vote. Detroit had already elected Justin Ravitz, a Marxist, as judge.



Running a 'populist' campaign, Dennis Kucinich bucked the Democratic Party Establishment to become mayor of Cleveland. Once in office he ran into serious troubles and now faces a recall vote.

Radicals as Politicians

by Nicholas Licata

'Don't vote - it only encourages them!' was a popular slogan among radicals of the Sixties. But some of the radicals who founded Students for a Democratic Society a decade ago are now finding encouragement in running for office and working through government channels. Their successes and problems were discussed at the 4th Annual Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, held July 13-16 in Minneapolis-St. Paul.

Over 600 general activists, community organizers, and progressive politicians attended the gathering. Although other similar conferences have occurred since the end of the anti-war days, this one was unique in its representation of people committed to both electoral politics and to some notion of socialism or progressivism. The theme was how local government can begin to institute policies which the progressive movement has been unsuccessful with pushing on a national level.

The conference was independently financed by several foundations. About a third of the participants were women; about 5% black; and there were few Hispanics and other minorities present.

Lee Webb, chief organizer of the conference and past president of SDS (In 1963), felt that progressives had made enormous strides in local and state governments. He reasoned that because the national attitude has been negative towards the federal government due to the Vietnam War, Watergate, and its inaccessibility, people are expecting more from their local governments. These expectations, he said, can lead to two different paths. One can be seen in the victory of the Jarvis-Gann anti-tax initiative in California, where people were saying that if the government cannot do anything for them, why should they pay taxes? 40% of Blacks and other minorities and a clear

majority of public employees voted for the initiative.

The second path Webb identified is rejecting the influence of corporations over government and demanding more decentralized decision-making. One example of this attitude was the election of Ken Cockrel to the Detroit City Council. Cockrel's campaign slogan could have been 'Put a Marxist on your city council,' if the Detroit newspaper were to be believed. In fact, he was quite open about being an independent socialist, if not a Marxist. Cockrel ran a grassroots campaign that was opposed by the Democratic Party machine and the United Auto Workers and still won a city-wide election. One of the issues Cockrel emphasized was the influence of corporations on the city's taxing policies, specifically, he opposed tax breaks aimed at encouraging companies to stay in Detroit.

WHO TO ORGANIZE?

Not surprisingly, a good part of the conference's discussion was devoted to the question of which groups or classes should be organized into a progressive political base. Barney Frank, a state representative in Massachusetts, accused the left of ignoring the poor. Noting that buying power has gone down 18% so far this year, he argued that the poor must be more organized to even hold onto their current share of national income. Frank downplayed the importance of local government reforms and emphasized the need for massive federal assistance. He suggested that businesses were too powerful to be affected by local laws.

Gar Alperovitz, Co-Director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives, took a slightly different line. He argued that the United States is now in a permanent condition of hyperinflation, the 'middle third of Americans' are being squeezed by corporate

pricing policies and the taxes used to fund government programs meeting the basic needs of the bottom third. With the exception of some unions and consumer interest working together to fight inflation, the bulk of the progressive movement has let this issue be developed by the Right Wing. He urged that a new campaign be based on the idea that it is the government's responsibility to provide the major necessities of life which are the costliest for the majority of Americans: food, housing, fuel, and health care.

Despite differences in speakers' emphases there was a general agreement on a point made by Michael Harrington - profits should be socialized. Whether this goes by the name of 'economic democracy' (as California's Tom Hayden calls it) or 'socialism', or some other variant, the intent is clear: the wealth of the country must be used to ensure that everyone's basic economic and social needs, from food to education, are met.

The catch is, how can this be done without creating a huge, expensive and unresponsive government bureaucracy, and how could we have publicly-created jobs that produce real goods and services? What the conference showed is that there are a number of attempts across the country to begin resolving this dilemma. For those interested in the details, the National Conference has published a book, *Public Policies for the 80's*, available at 1901 Q Street NW, Washington, DC 20009, for \$10.

(Nicholas Licata is the co-director of the Washington Public Interest Research Group)

LETTERS (cont.)

To the editor:

The news media reported that there was a prison escape attempt on July 1 at Walla Walla and a *Passage* article ('A Saturday Afternoon at the Pen', 7-10-78) indicated there may have been 'some' truth to the allegation. Assuming that is so, I believe it was literally an attempt to save their own lives--an escape from being killed--that motivated the people in Walla Walla Penitentiary to try to escape. I further believe, when it is no longer possible for the institution to provide security for the people inside, that they have a right to try to survive by escaping. This is not a bizarre or even unusual view. A California case in 1974, *People vs. Lovercamp*, stated that escape may be justified on grounds of necessity. (This particular escape was one which was induced by threat of homosexual attack by other inmates.) There are other cases on record with the same ruling.

It seems to me to be crucial in understanding this view to deal with some general myths about prisons. This is at a time when (1) prisons are excessively overcrowded. (See recent work stoppage at Monroe as a protest to overcrowding.) (2) Tensions inside the walls continue to mount. (See strike at Walla Walla last year which resulted in the firing of the warden, but resulted in little other changes.) and (3) The governor and legislature are being pressured to build new prisons at a tremendous cost to taxpayers.

One myth people hold is that anyone in prison is a person to be feared, and that their escaping would thus put the population in jeopardy. You know, people's instinct to survive causes them to jump from a burning building, even to their death, and we can all understand that.

Well, why can't safety of prisoners be ensured at Walla Walla? The administration cannot control the guards. It is a small community, inbred, and fur-

ther, the recently appointed head is from out of state. And thus is much evidence that his orders are not followed. A recent example is the destruction of the Brotherhood of American Indians' sweat lodge by the guards, against Vinzant's specific permission to construct. There is more, but investigation could show it if there is interest. One guard, Mr. Mason, has several times been charged in the federal courts with 'excessive use of force', but he continues to work inside, supported by the guard's union.

But the guards are victims too, of the prison system. They cannot 'control' the prisoners because the system recreates itself. Our culture purports to concern itself with 'quality of life', yet builds prisons that reconstruct life in its worst aspects. It is like the Ik, a destroyed African tribe, that Colin Turnbull wrote about--survival is cut to the bone, and each person must prey upon the other, victims or victimizer. Many don't have money, for example, so they

must barter what they have--their ass, their muscle, their information.

What is amazing is the number of people inside prison who refuse either role of victim or victimizer. It is they who are the most vulnerable. They have not adjusted to the brutal system.

An American psychiatrist who worked a great deal with survivors of the Nazi death camps, Bruno Bettelheim, wrote: "...A prisoner had reached the final stages of adjustment to the camp situation when he had changed his personality so as to accept as his own the values of the Gestapo...can one imagine a greater triumph for any system than this adoption of its values and behavior by its powerless victims?"

Those who have the will to inform themselves can conclude that prison is more dangerous than prisoners.

Sandra Hastings

PS: I recommend a book called *Instead of Prisons*, 1976, funded by the NY State Council of Churches

PRISON BREAKS

MEDICAL HEADACHES, TRANSFER WOES

Prisoners at the state penitentiary at Walla Walla recently sent the Passage an article discussing two pressing issues: ending involuntary transfers of prisoners to out of state penal and psychiatric facilities, and firing the head nurse, Eva Nelson, who has been the object of numerous complaints for "hostility towards prisoners and negligence in administering medical care." The article explains that the involuntary transfers and medical treatment under Nelson's direction have been problems that they have tried to deal with for several years.

According to the authors the issue of involuntary transfers were an important enough demand of the elected resident government in December 1974 negotiations with the prison administration that a threat accompanied it to "burn the prison down" if the demand was not met. Subsequent to the administration's refusal to end the practice some prisoners actually did take violent actions to push their demands, attempting a hostage taking that in the end was foiled by prison officials. The militant resident government was abolished and a new council formed with more of an advisory than a self-governing role.

Since that time involuntary transfers have continued. Two incidents occurred recently that again point out the need to solve the problems of Nelson's role and the involuntary transfers. Following are excerpts from the article with details on these incidents:

* * * * *

On May 23rd, 1978, Robert Redwine was stabbed by a fellow prisoner. He was taken to the prison hospital where one of our fine doctors diagnosed his wounds as "superficial" and, without x-rays or a probe of the wounds, ordered him sewn up and placed on a ward. Redwine protested his treatment and demanded medication for the extreme pain he was experiencing. Nurse Eva Nelson had him locked in a security cell and refused him treatment. Prisoners hearing Redwine's cries for help dutifully brought his plight to the attention of Mrs. Nelson. She told them (and subsequently a new doctor named Mrs. Rabi) that Redwine was merely playing for drugs and prevented anyone from having access to him. Redwine was dead within hours from internal bleeding.

On July 5th, 1978, Curtis Johnson was subjected to an involuntary transfer to an out of state penal facility. He was given less than twelve hours notice of the move, most of which was used in an unsuccessful effort by he and his family to stop the transfer. His family and friends reside in Washington, not in Leavenworth, Kansas, which is where they shipped him. Johnson was the victim of an assault by two prisoners some eighteen months ago. His attackers were tried and convicted of stabbing him (without any help to the prosecution), yet he has remained in segregation since the assault while his assailants were released to the population. Both Johnson and his alleged attackers swear there would be no problems as a result of the three of them living in population. Although the quarrel no longer exists, and although Johnson has maintained a good record while in segregation, and although he has repeatedly stated that he would rather remain in the



hole rather than be shipped out, the administration has ordered him transferred.

Like Redwine, Johnson is black.

Johnson has notified friends that he wants the transfer rescinded and an order that he be immediately returned to his home state. His fiancée, who has talked with Department of Corrections Director Douglas Vinzant, says she was told that Johnson was merely the first of many Washington State Penitentiary prisoners to be transferred into the federal system. It is not unlikely that it will be rights conscious prisoners (especially those of us who are conscious of the need to fight for these rights) who will be singled out for such punishment. The possibility of transfer from our loved ones is a threat that can be held over the head of any prisoner who might be tempted to resist the inhuman status quo of this criminally overcrowded prison. It was for these reasons that the old Residential Governing Council put so much emphasis on their demand to halt the involuntary transfer of this state's prisoners.

We can't bring Redwine back to life, but people can keep pushing the demand to fire Eva Nelson: We can also demand the return of our brother from Kansas and an end to the practice of involuntary transfers.

—Walla Walla Brothers

WALLA WALLA STRIKE

Several days after 45 men in the Intensive Security Unit of the Washington State Pen, Walla Walla, began a hunger strike, July 19th, the strike was ended. Prisoners who presented and won most of 13 demands were pleased, but also "a little surprised at how willing the administration was to compromise and settle the strike," reported one prisoner.

Among the key issues resolved was the elimination of a wire mesh screen used to prevent contact between prisoners and their visitors. The administration initiated this restriction following the recent incident in which weapons were allegedly found in an individual cell, in an attempt to "prevent more contraband from entering." However, the restricted visits were imposed on all prisoners in the unit, and this indiscriminate action touched off longstanding grievances over conditions lingering from a long general strike in May of last year.

Among several demands on which agreements were reached were greater access to medical treatment, the

law library, phone calls, and exercise outside the cells. Also the prison agreed to remove from the unit two particularly antagonistic guards and to adhere to due process safeguards spelled out in the state penal code that were being ignored.

Commenting on why most of the demands were won without a prolonged struggle, one prisoner stated on a tape sent the Passage that: "The Warden Genakos had just been advanced. He was advanced from Assistant Warden when Vinzant was officially elevated to head of the Department of Corrections. Wanting to avoid in his first week on the job the publicity a longer strike would have brought, and perhaps fearing the rebellious atmosphere might spread to the rest of the prison, we won in short time demands that for months we have been hassling over with the administration. A key thing was the continual support we've been getting from outside. . ."

FOLSOM PRISON STRIKE

Meanwhile 130 men in the Adjustment Center (segregation) of the California state prison at Folsom went on a hunger strike July 26 as a further action in a protest that has been going on since July 11th. Key demands of the strike include better food, medical care, exercise time and facilities, and some protection from the hot summer sun. With outdoor temperatures of 115 degrees and more they have asked to be given straw hats or to have some structures built to provide shade. Prison officials have refused to negotiate until the prisoners decide to "behave." However, Attorney Michael Snedeker, retained by friends and families to the prisoners, said "one of the key reasons the strike was called in the first place was that the Warden refused to talk with the men about grievances they had presented."

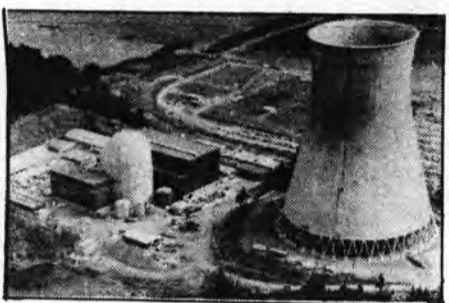
On July 11th prisoners struck by collectively flooding their cells and refusing to stand for the daily "body counts." In response officials have put them on Restrictive Diet, Snedeker said. "This is where they take the leftover food in the kitchen, grind it up and make biscuits, and serve them with water." When the administration did this a hunger strike was called."

Support for the strike has been building. Forty people demonstrated Saturday July 22nd outside Folsom prison, and more protests are planned.

CALENDAR

Events

Celebrate South African Women's Day on Sat, Aug 12 in Seattle. Cultural presentation from 1-3:30 pm at Edwin Pratt Park (19th & Yesler) featuring Joyce Messenheimer from South Africa, the July 26 choreopoets, and Gwinyai, a music group doing traditional rhythms of Zimbabwe. Also a teach-in 3:30-6 pm. at Langston Hughes Center (17th & Yesler).



The Trojan Decommissioning Alliance is sponsoring an occupation of the Trojan Nuclear Power Plant at Rainier, Oregon (on the Wash-Ore border). Beginning on Sunday, August 6 (Hiroshima Day) and continuing daily through Wednesday, August 9 (Nagasaki Day). For information about doing civil disobedience or support work call the Toolbox Collective in Seattle at 322-4962 or 632-4326. In B'ham call 734-6119, Olympia-866-6191, Centralia-Chehalis-748-3009 or 736-3605, and Portland-231-0014.

A benefit for Yvonne Wanrow including women's music and a showing of the film "The Disposessed" (about the Pit River Indians' struggle to reclaim lands from Portland General Electric) will be held on Sunday, August 6 from 7-10 pm at Seattle Concert Theater (Fairview & John). For childcare call 525-0999.

Frank talks by Ed #2

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A potluck dinner to hear people speak about the Longest Walk will be held on Friday, August 11 at 6:30 pm at the Friends Center (814 NE 40th) in Seattle. For speakers about the walk contact Shirley at 323-8526 or Kris at 324-7738.

Music

Betsy Rose and Cathy Winter perform, plus special guest Gwinyai playing traditional Mbira music of Zimbabwe, on Friday, Aug 18 at 7:30 pm at Seattle Concert Theat (Fairview & John), \$3. For child care call DAY-7442.

Tall Timber Bluegrass Band performs in a free concert on Sun, Aug 6 from 2-4 pm at Lincoln Park in Seattle.

Channel 9 presents "The World Series of Jazz," featuring Billy Eckstine, Earl "Fatha" Hines, and Dizzy Gillespie on Monday, Aug 14 at 9 pm.

Films

SISTER presents a "Summer Erotica Film Festival," a collection of films focusing on sexuality/sensuality, on Sun, Aug 20 at 8:30 pm at 100 NE 56th in Seattle. \$5 benefit for SISTER.

Channel 9 presents: "Faces of Communism" faces up to Czechoslovakia on Sunday, Aug 13 at 6:30 pm. "Southie" portrays South Boston during the first days of school in 1976. On Friday, Aug 18 at 10 pm.

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Remember Nagasaki Day on August 9 by meeting at the Federal Bldg. in B'ham at 12:10-1 pm. Call 734-6119 for more information.

Come to the Men's Picnic/Gathering on Sat., August 19 in B'ham. Swimming in Whatcom Creek at 2 pm. (Meet at 1820 Valencia St.). Potluck & Volleyball in the evening at 2104 McKenzie. Call 734-6119 for more information.

Art

Tee Corinne from San Francisco presents her slide series on "Lesbian Images" on Sun, Aug 6 at 8:30 pm. \$2.50. Women only.

"Local Relics," from the Space Needle Collection of and/or gallery, shows on the balcony of the Food Circus at Seattle Center through Nov 15.

Abstract landscapes by Lilli Mathews and recent works by Barry Drost show at the Whatcom Museum of History & Art (121 Prospect St) in B'ham.

Woodcuts by William Corr are showing at El Centro de la Raza (2524-16th Ave South) in Seattle through Aug 6. Any money from the exhibit will go to send delegates to the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students in Cuba.



"Summer Salad" arts festival on Vashon Island, Aug 8-13. All events free. Featured events include juried fine arts show, the Great Excelsior Jazz Band, and the Empty Space Theater, all in Ober Park on Sat afternoon, Aug 12.

Arts Resource Services sponsors "Summer Arts," a series of free cultural events in Seattle neighborhoods. Week-day programs at 6 pm, weekend programs at 2 pm.

Wed, Aug 9 at Loyal Heights Community Center: The Fortunes, Cape Fox Dancers, Floating World Circus.

Thursday, Aug 10 at High Point Community Center: Sundance Rhythm Band, Sahmara (Middle Eastern dance).

Fri, Aug 11 at El Centro de la Raza: Sundance Rhythm Band, Seattle Mime Theater

Sat, Aug 12 at Harborview Hospital Park: Dumi Marimba Ensemble, Rayan Aucan, David Jones, Family Circus Theater (Portland).

Sun, Aug 13 at Seward Park (12:30 pm): Seattle Brass Ensemble, Urvasi (East Indian dance).

Wed, Aug 16 at Immaculate Center: Thai-Siam Sangkit, Cabataan Folk Arts, Black Arts/West.

Thurs, Aug 17 at Yesler Terrace: Ablade, Jalaal, BW Productions.

Fri, Aug 18 at Medgar Evans Pool Plaza: Tropical Rainstorm, Whistlestop, Williams Toy Theater.

Sat, Aug 19 at Lake City Community Center: Okanogan String Band, Renaissance Dancers, Family Bathrub Puppets.

Sun, Aug 20 at Pratt Park: Orpheus, Ewajo, Floating World Circus Clowns, New Mime Circus (Eugene).

Wed, Aug 23 at Gas Works Park (7pm): Pickle Family Circus (San Fran).

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CONNEXIONS



ANNOUNCEMENTS

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Hot slice! The Little Bread Company introduces **Whole Protein White Bread** at 50 cents a loaf. Healthy and reasonably priced!

People interested in helping set up a tour this fall or winter for **Bev Grant**, country-rock political musician: contact Terri at the NWP, 323-0354 in Seattle.

Open art competition to capture the Northwest on canvas. At the Louise Matzke Gallery (1136 Poplar Place) in Seattle in September. For info write West Coast Paper, 2203 First Ave. S., Seattle 98124, or call 623-1850.

Fremont Women's Clinic of Seattle has a Children's Clinic. Our services include Physical exams, home visits for newborns, well and sick child care, immunizations and nutritional info including vegetarian diets and homemade baby foods. We emphasize self-health care, and consider teaching an important part of our work. We offer the services of Medical and Naturopathic physicians. For more information please call the Fremont Pediatrics Clinic at 782-5788 any afternoon except Thursday. Fremont operates for the service of the community, and requests donations on a sliding scale.

The **PEOPLES LAND TRUST** is ready to buy its seventh house in the Bellingham area. Folks with excess capital who would like to invest this most worthy undertaking should contact owl swan at 671-1539, 513 Ivy St, Bellingham, as soon as possible.

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I am a 23 year old presently incarcerated at the Washington State Reformatory and I am seeking a person or persons who would seriously like to **sponsor me for parole** and help me adjust to life again. Seeing the parole board in Nov, 1978, and will be receiving a release date, and I am serious on making a better future for myself. Will answer all letters, plus any and all questions asked. Please help! Leo R. Demers, No. 244711, PO Box 777, Monroe WA 98272.

TROJAN OCCUPATION



AUGUST 6-9, 1978

See calendar for details

NOTES TO FOLKS

Steve Fosler: I'm looking for you. — Brian in Bellingham.

Are you still at Walla Walla? Liberty Scott, R.B. Sebastian, Robert F. Mitchell, James de Loash. The Administration has been sending back your Passages, saying they don't know you. —the NWP.

To the Who Cares/Speaker Lab softball team which hasn't won a game... Hang in there! —Michael



JOBS

The Passage needs an **Ad Manager** to sell and coordinate ads. Start on commission basis, with possibility of salary later. Graphic skills would be useful. Contact 1017 East Pike, Seattle, 98122 or call 323-0354.

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