

Psyche Out Your Cronies:

★ ★ ★ **A Political Zodiac** ★ ★ ★

35¢

Northwest Passage

Volume 18 No. 8 October 10-October 31 Washington's Interesting Newspaper

THE AMAZING SPIDERWORT

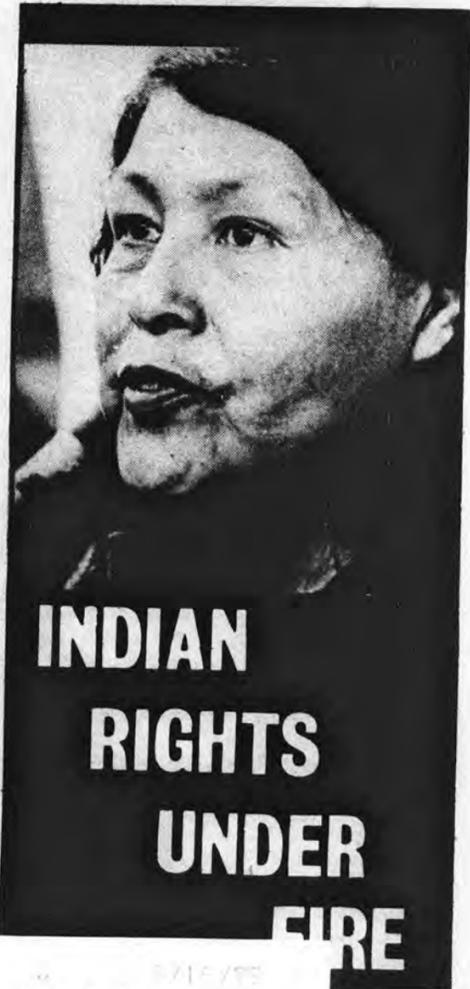


With the help of SPIDERWORT, even ordinary humans can detect low-level radiation!

CAN THIS FLOWER STOP THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY?



Woman on the Company Crew



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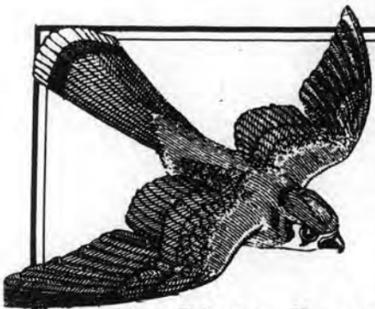
Letters



Photo by Terry Tafoya

FOCUS ON NATIVE AMERICANS

In a series of articles in this and future editions, the Passage will examine a range of issues vitally affecting the lives of Native Americans. Because Indians have forced a recognition of their treaty-guaranteed rights and resources, the issues of fishing, legal jurisdiction, energy development, water rights, tribal taxation and land usage have been hotly contested. We plan to examine the significance of these struggles both on a regional and national level.



In This Issue

It doesn't really have anything to do with Spiderman, but a common flora called Spiderwort may provide the world's best system for detecting low level radiation... Page 3.

★
When Sally Kinney came to the NWP editorial board with an article on astrology no one thought it would be accepted (knowing how the left feels about astrology, but... See pages 10

★
"People must not be made criminals for not attending schools." A Bellevue teacher views education after fighting five years to win his job back. Page 16.

★
The state department is now anxious to sit on a five-nation mediating board to help determine Nicaragua's future. But the U.S. track record in determining Nicaragua's past is a bloody one. See page 24.

Apartments move in on an old house in Bellingham. ● Find out why strike-breakers got \$105/day in this fall's teacher strikes. ● Procter & Gamble again cops top ranking in Advertising Age's yearly poll. For full results see our shorts section—pages 3, 4, & 9.

Northwest Passage

Robin Cohn, Brian Siebel, Chris Wagner, Ed Newbold, Bill Patz, Sally Kinney, Doug Honig, Meristem Murray, Ben Arp, Penelope Goforth, Elliot Stoller, Kate Dwyer, Terri Suess, Rick Swann, Martha Boland, Jim Stock, Alison Knowles, Mike Reed, Marlene Nienhuis, David Campbell, Chris Nogaki, Margaret Moroz, Jack Latteman, Tom Clingman.

More Demolition, Displacement & Condos

Dear Passage:
On Sept. 6, 1978 Seattle's Landmarks Preservation Board voted unanimously against nomination of three turn of the century First Hill homes. The following day the owners (CHG Internation from Tacoma) filed with the building Dept. for a demotion permit stating their intentions to build a multi-family complex on the properties (1310, 1314, & 1318 Minor Ave.) The permit is being withheld pending further information on the firm's construction plans.

First Hill has been chosen as a target area for high density, multi-family and commercial development. This translates into high rise condos, apts. office and hospital building—lots of them. Construction will begin soon on one 18-story project, plans are being finalized on an other multi-use complex that will cover an entire block, and sites are cleared for further developments.

The three homes presently being sidered for demolition could provide the community with an esthetically pleasing contrast to the concrete high rises that will soon fill the sky on First Hill.

It is the opinion of the First Hill Community Council, the residents of the houses, and other concerned citizens and groups that an environmental impact statement should be made mandatory before a demolition permit is considered any further.

If you are worried about the plight of Seattle's neighborhoods, facing profiteering development and a lack of concern for our city environment, we urge you to write the people below:

Fight from all angles!
The Residents of Minor Mansions

Woman's Issue

Was Our 8th?

Dear Passage:
The annual women's issue goes back (at least in my memory) to 1971, when the first one was edited by Ann Nugent of Bellingham.

Mary Kay Becker

Note: In re-checking we find that in 1971 a mixed Passage staff did put out two issue which dealt partly or wholly with women's issues. In 1974 the women of the Passage collectively wrote, photographed, edited, and produced an issue for the first time. Thanks to Mary Kay Becker for the information.

Roads Unsafe For Cyclists

Dear Northwest Passage:
Thank you for a lively paper to read on the long Greyhound trip to New York--on the way back to England after a memorable holiday in Western Canada and N.W. America.

You may be interested to know that a friend and I (I am 59 years old) bicycled/camped across the Rockies...sadly your roads (in my opinion) are too dangerous for cyclists--other road users pass far too close and reluctantly I decided to give up whilst still in one piece.

Dare I suggest that in your campaigns for a more enlightened society, you remember the humble cyclist. We make little demand on the environment and do nothing to pollute it.

Health and happiness to all,
John Aldaous

"Homophobia" in Woman's Issue

Dear NWP Women's Issue,
I am very disappointed in this women's issue. What bothers me the most are the two articles, "Birth of an Anarchist Amphibian" and "Why Talk About Heterosexual Relationships?" First I think that it is very irresponsible to the women's community to print an article like "Birth" without having another woman write at least something from the other viewpoint for the same issue. I think that Guila's article is trashy, full of misinformation, and homophobic.

Although it is difficult for me to know what problems Guila had with the committee we were both on, (because she never discussed them with us, and did not even inform us that she had permanently left) I can assure you that her hair length was irrelevant. I call her article homophobic because she generalizes from our small group (five women) to the whole lesbian community, in much the same way that many people generalize a whole race from contacts with a few members of that race.

I suggest that her feelings of pressure came not from anyone wanting her to change her sexuality or appearance, but from my anger at her when she expressed her belief that bisexuality is "freedom of choice" and that the true way to a non-sexist society was to be bisexual now.

As a lesbian who is proud of my identity, and who doesn't think that there is *one* true way to a non-sexist society, I strongly disagreed with her beliefs. I notice in her article that she now thinks that there will always be lesbians and gay men even in a free society (it's nice that a few of us will still be allowed).

I think that her implying that there is as much authoritarianism from gay as from straight society is absurd. There are pressures to conform in gay society, as in any group, and we are working to eradicate them, but it is irresponsible to suggest that we are as bad as the majority society. Heterosexual society is now fighting to take away our jobs, and our homes, through Initiative 13, it bombards us hourly with heterosexual-media messages, it tells us that we are immoral, sick, sinful, perverts, and often heterosexual society beats us, arrests us, and kills us. Even if all the things Guila says about the lesbian community are true (and they are not) it is hardly comparable to heterosexual authoritarianism. If Guila did not mean that we are comparable then why doesn't she state that instead of lumping us all together?

The lesbian community that I know gives support to "Men Against Sexism" at Walla Walla State Prison, the men and women in Seattle Committee Against Thirteen, and the Men's Resource Center. Political lesbians are active in a huge number of groups dealing with many issues other than lesbian rights, from Native American solidarity work, to

continued on page 22.



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Open brainstorming meeting on the Passage in Bellingham, Tues. Oct. 24—7pm at the office.



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Spiderwort:

A Tiny Flower Blushes At Nuclear Power

by Alan Brisley

Spiderwort is a slender plant bearing a blue flower of delicate beauty. Like all living things, spiderwort experiences genetic mutations when exposed to radiation with one significant difference. Cells in the fragile stamen hairs of this unassuming flower change from blue to pink. Directly observing the effects of genetic mutations in the flower's cells, lay-people can detect and accurately measure radiation exposure in communities surrounding nuclear installations. In Japan, a large anti-nuclear movement has grown from the first spiderwort test at a power station in 1974.

Hamaoka Nuclear Power Plant—1974

It was a snowy February day in 1974. Mr. Motoyuki Nagata, a high school biology teacher who lived and worked near the Hamaoka site, went to visit Dr. Sadao Ichikawa in his laboratory at Saitama University. He had read Dr. Ichikawa's article "Detection of Low-level Radiations With Spiderwort" in a scientific magazine and wanted to apply the spiderwort detection system to the 540 Megawatt Boiling Water Reactor nearly completed at Hamaoka.

But Dr. Ichikawa was skeptical about the use of spiderwort at nuclear facilities because of an officially guaranteed maximum increase of 5 millirems of gamma ray exposure per year. This seemed too low a figure to detect a significant increase in mutation frequency in the stamen hair cells of spiderwort. It would require scoring of at least several million stamen hairs. And that task was beyond the scope of a single individual.

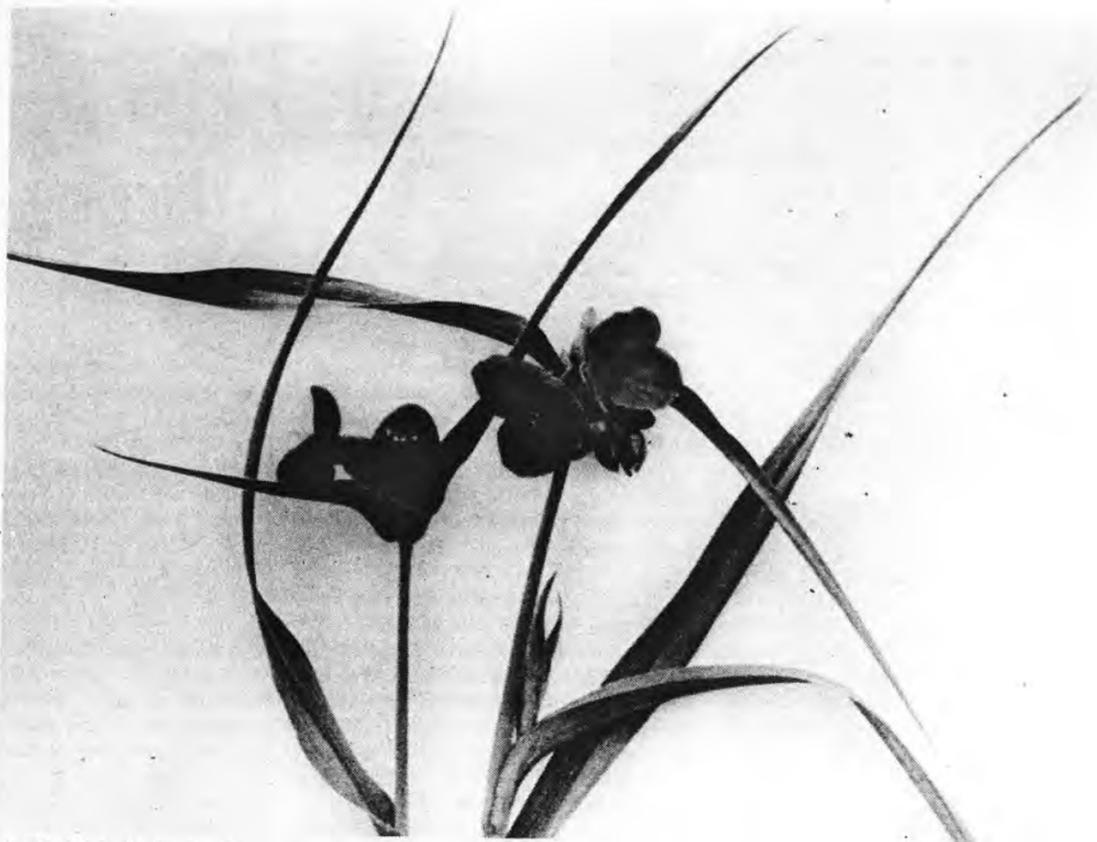
Mr. Nagata, however, was determined. There was always the possibility of an accidental discharge of radioactivity. After months of training and practice under Dr. Ichikawa, the tedious work began. This work consisted of collecting flowers at six every morning from the sites scattered from .5 to 8.3 kilometers from the site, then observing 40 flowers under a stereoscope for at least 5 hours. Between July and October, Mr. Nagata scored 640,000 stamen hairs and had detected 2,778 pink mutant events. The data was sent to Dr. Ichikawa.

"The most excellent test system ever known for low-level radiation"

S. Ichikawa

Dr. Ichikawa found statistically high increases in the pink mutation frequency exactly corresponding to test operation of the nuclear power plant from August 12 to October 2 and to wind direction from the power plant. Those flowers predominantly downwind had much higher mutation frequency. In fact, the increases of pink mutations detected in the spiderwort stamen hairs correspond to that induced with at least 300 millirem of gamma rays.

Dr. Sadao Ichikawa began his work with the spiderwort plant in the mid-1960's at the Brookhaven National Laboratory. In the past decade he has strongly participated in the development of the spiderwort detection system, which he claims is the best system for low-level radiation in existence. The observation technique is



simple, biologically significant, but tedious. The findings of spiderwort research have exposed several important facts which have either been ignored or hidden from the public by the nuclear industry.

The key to the use of this frail flower to detect radiation lies in the single-celled chains of hairs that branch featherlike from its six stamens. The spiderwort clones used to detect radiation are blue/pink heterozygotes (for flower color), possessing one dominant gene for blue color and one recessive gene for pink. Thus, the stamen hair cells which are normally blue in color exhibit a change to pink when genetic mutation occurs.

By observing the stamens of the exposed spiderwort flower under a stereoscope, counting the number of stamen hairs observed and the number of pink mutant events, and then comparing the observed mutation frequency, radiation exposure can be very accurately measured. The scoring method is simple and easily executed by lay-people with little scientific background, although careful observation of hundreds of thousands of stamen hairs is required to ensure statistically certain results.

Spiderwort research has broken a number of myths established by the nuclear industry, especially concerning the biological significance of low-level radiation. What has become readily apparent to researchers is that the occurrence of genetic mutations in spiderwort is directly proportional to the dose of radiation received, meaning any increase in radiation causes a corresponding increase in genetic mutations. Contrary to the myth advocated for decades by nuclear proponents, there is no threshold dose of radiation below which no damage is caused to human beings. In spiderwort, increased mutation frequency is detectable eight to fifteen days after exposure, whereas the genetic effects to humans such as cancer and leukemia take one to three decades before they can be detected.

The astounding probability of a 300 millirem dose received by the spiderwort plants surrounding the Hamaoka site pointed to an equally important "mistake" the nuclear industry is making. Biological processes collect certain radioactive nucleides in plant and animal tissue. This prolongs exposure and causes a manifold increase in the damage done to living cells by beta radiation. But the physical dosimeters used by the nuclear industry and governments to monitor radiation only measure one time external gamma ray exposure.

Dr. Ichikawa states: "The presently adopted monitoring method of environmental radiation [which measures external exposure to gamma rays] can hardly be regarded as an efficient one from the biological point of view. The method can be said to be what ignores important biological aspects such as attachment, incorporation and concentration...The same problem also stands for the exposure of workers...The internal exposures can well be more significant than one time external exposures because of the biological aspects mentioned above. Spiderwort taught us such really important facts which had been ignored."

The dosimeter readings at Hamaoka for the same test period in 1974 showed an increase of 7.5 to 8.5 millirem, although local authorities were telling the public there was no increase at all.

Self Reliance on Nuclear Information

The spiderwort story is full of ironies. A delicate, beautiful flower has quietly told truths that are challenging the loud and certain claims of a major multi-million dollar industry and powerful governments. And perhaps equally as significant as the actual findings of spiderwort research is the opportunity for lay people to use it and gain access to their own information about how much radiation nuclear installations are releasing into their lives. In the past, governments and industry officials were the ones who controlled information on radiation levels and increases. Now ordinary citizens can have direct access to that information. And in Japan, where spiderwort is now used extensively by people near nuclear power plants, a large anti-nuclear movement is growing, armed with information. Dr. Ichikawa recently toured the U.S. giving lectures and hands-on workshops on the use of spiderwort.

Perhaps the final irony is that what has now become an international Spiderwort Strategy began with research at the Brookhaven National Laboratory during the same time that the famed "Brookhaven Report" on the effects of nuclear disasters was purposefully buried from the public eye for eight years.

Alan Brisley works with Greenpeace and attended a spiderwort workshop held by Dr. Ichikawa in Vancouver, B.C.

Eviction on State St.

The people of 467 S. State St. in Bellingham face forced eviction by their landlord this month.

Eviction, in one sense, seems simple. Under the law, a landlord can evict without reason if he gives a 20-day written notice, and obtains a court order. The S. State St. landlord put it succinctly to one of the tenants, "You have no rights."

Nevertheless, the people of State St. want to stay. September 30, the day before they had been asked to be gone, more than 50 supporters came out for a "Festival of the Dispossessed". There was music, juggling, a yard sale, and petition signing to build community awareness of their resistance. To date, more than 70 people have signed the petition calling for and end to the "cancerous over-development" of Bellingham.

South State is an old house in good shape on 4 lots close to Bellingham Bay. It rents now for \$200, supplying low-income housing for up to 6 people. It also provides open space, with fruit trees and bushes, and a garden. One tenant supporter asked, "why tear down such livable low-income housing?"

On the real estate market, in a residential medium zone, S. State St. is far more lucrative as an apartment complex. Part of this is reflected in the property's legal assessment of May, 1977--land, \$43,720; improvements (house), \$10,685. The rest is the position of the landlord; when pressed with the question of low-income housing, he responded abruptly, "I am not a charity organization."

Indeed not. The landlord, Mr Gerhard Kessler, is in the business of buying and developing properties. In late 1971 he bought a lot on 24th St. for \$8000 down and an \$11,000 mortgage. By mid-1972 he'd satisfied the initial mortgage and immediately remortgaged it for \$165,000. He used this money to build 15 units of apartments renting at \$225 for 2 bedrooms. Renters then assumed the ma-

nor burden of his \$165,000 mortgage. When the mortgage was paid (in 4 years), he remortgaged the units for \$215,000. He can use that money to develop other properties while the tenants assume the responsibility of repaying the loan. (Under this system, which used the bank's money to build, and renters or buyers to repay the loans, Mr. Kessler needed only \$20,000 and the savvy to contract out the construction of apartments and houses.)

This is not his only property. In 7 years he has handled 11 properties, plus his own homes. Three times he bought open land, mortgaged it for the cost of building a triplex or 6-plex, then sold or rented it at considerable gain. Twice he bought open land and mortgaged it for the cost of building a house; one he sold, one he owns. Twice he bought and sold open land (one piece tripled in 1 year), which were then developed by the new owners; 3 times he has bought old houses, all of which he still owns. In addition, he owns a vacant lot and his own house.

In this context, the fate of State St. is clear. Bought for \$74,000 in 1976, Mr. Kessler has asked \$140,000 for the land in a big sign out front. (The sign advertised the potential for 20 units of apartments or condominiums. In a similar spot down the street, 2 bedroom condos sell for \$46,500). Although not sold yet, Kessler could have a buyer in the wings, or have decided to build himself. In either case, it is the market (which makes speculators' gains realizable) which is grinding up State St. Mr Kessler is the agent and beneficiary. (Although he seems to make a handsome living off his investing, he is not very big as landlords go).

If you question this practice, and would like to raise your voice against development, State Streeters need your support. Call them soon at 734-3437 or just drop by-- 467 S. State St.

by Brian Siebel



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Ad from the Seattle Times.

Reading, Writing and Strikebreaking

Readers who turned to page A-3 of the Seattle Times recently found a surprise awaiting them. In a space often reserved for photos of multi-car smash ups was a quarter-page ad recruiting teachers to strikebreak in Everett.

As Everett school board member Doreen Fox explained, "We are here to provide schools for our community -- we take obligation very seriously." So seriously that Everett offered substitute teachers \$105/day, smashing the state record for strikebreakers (\$86/day) set last year by Aberdeen. One hundred dollars a day or more was also offered in Tacoma and Central Kitsap.

been the hardest fought yet. Teacher unions and school boards have been jockeying for position in the face of the coming take-over of school funding by the state legislature. Teachers seeking salary hikes to simply keep pace with inflation have been met with such low offers as 3.6% in Tacoma, 4% in Everett, and 5.2% in Seattle. With school budgets typically too confusing for most lay people to understand, few citizens are able to challenge school board claims that they lack money. If teachers seem stubborn in holding to their money demands, it's because they don't want to accept a cut in their real wages and aren't convinced that the money is not there.

But there's more than salary disputes behind such long, intense strikes. As public employees, teachers recognize they are among first targets for cutbacks when the economy sags. They're angry about lay-offs (275 more in Tacoma, 135 this year in Seattle) and resent being made scapegoats for delinquent test scores and discipline problems.

So the basic issue at stake is power, the power of unions to affect school working

conditions. Like other workers, teachers are looking to their unions to restrict layoffs, hold down workloads (i.e., class size), and protect the rights of individuals against management. Gone are the days of teachers as aloof professionals. While teachers two years ago were wondering whether even to strike, this time they were debating whether to defy court orders.

Exercising newly-found power has inevitably brought school workers to loggerheads with the people who run schools. As management, school boards see teacher unions as taking away their rightful prerogatives. In the words of Bob Marshall, executive director of the State School Directors Assn., "School boards have given away the right to manage schools and are now trying to get it back."

Nowhere has the conflict been so heated as in Everett. School was opened with the help of 358 substitutes brought to schools daily by bus from a special parking lot. One teacher's foot was run over by a substitute driving through picket lines, and four strikers were arrested for allegedly obstructing a busload of subs. Board president Earl Dutton blithely explained that "Each year we have some new teachers. This year we just happen to have more new teachers for the start of school." Everett Education Association head Grace Lundstedt was more blunt in her assessment: "They're just out to break the union."

It should be noted that school districts do not bestow such largesse upon substitute teachers who work under regular school conditions. Central Kitsap paid only \$36/day last year, and Everett just a couple dollars more. Seattle -- which did not hire subs this strike, but put up \$50 per head two years ago -- leads the state in pay for subs: \$45/day.

by Doug Honig

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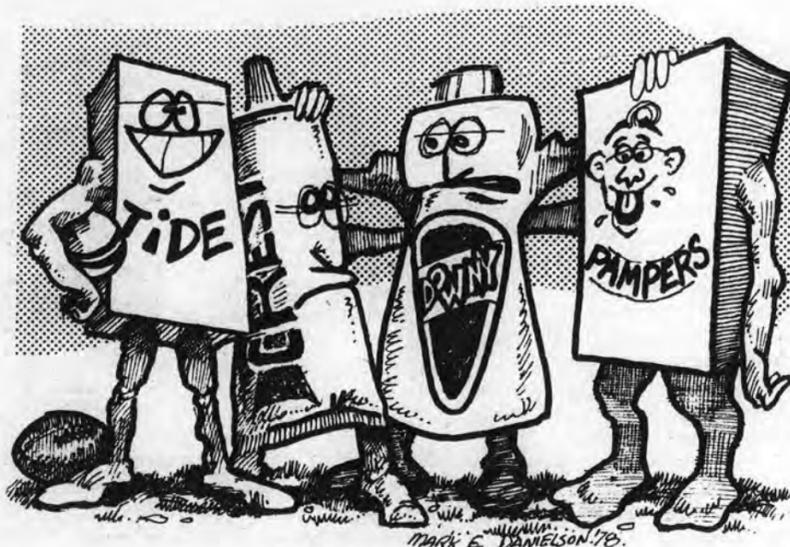
Sports fans can grow weary of seeing the likes of Alabama and Southern Cal dominate Top 10 polls week after week. So for a change of pace the *Passage* recommends the rankings recently released by *Advertising Age*: the Top 100 advertisers of 1977 (based on money spent on ads and promotion).

Heading the list are such traditional powerhouses as General Motors and General Foods, both of which broke the \$300 million barrier and despite early-season headaches, the Bufferin and Excedrin lines came through to power Bristol-Myers to another high rating.

But topping them all was the long-time champion, Procter & Gamble. Led by its front four of Crest (\$19 million), Pampers (\$18 million), Tide (\$15 million), and Downy Fabric Softener (\$14 million), P&G racked up a formidable record of \$460 million.

Some of the sharpest competition seen was between outfits near the top of the rankings. Previously unranked K-Mart muscled all the way to No. 5, with the avowed aim of overtaking No. 4, Sears as the leader among retail stores. Sensing an upset in the making, *Advertising Age* commented, "It is obvious that Sears is experiencing some difficulties in reacting to the onrushing K-Mart." As usual, some outfits had to learn the hard way G.E.'s dictum that "progress is our most important product." Mobil made the mistake of standing pat at the same \$142 million it spent in '76 and paid by falling out of the Top 10 (to 15th) in this year's ratings.

Of course, there are critics aplenty of the poll itself. Some are quick to point out that *Advertising Age* ranks only according to national advertising. If local ads were included, these critics insist, Sears would be the runaway champ at \$650 million. Others accuse the poll of nationalist bias since it fails to take into account money spent outside the U.S. Thus, McDonald's is deprived of recognition for the \$13 million it spent pushing Big Macs abroad.



The Procter & Gamble Team

Though the spotlight naturally is focused on the poll's elite members, some of the lesser ranked undoubtedly deserve more recognition. ITT, for example, is only 27th, but has been known to keep its practices closed to the press. Nestle's is but 47th yet would certainly be ranked higher if it could count its infant formula ads in the 3rd World. And what about hidden advertising, such as all the name familiarity that last-place Gallo (No. 100) gained from opposing farm workers?

Some pundits observe that the rankings seem to refute the textbook defense of advertising—that ads provide customers with needed information about new products. They cite the fact that virtually all the leading lines—like Kool Aid (\$18 million) and Shake 'n Bake (\$13 million)—are old veterans. Yet, all and all, 1977 was a good season as the Top 100 rang up a record \$8.8 billion in ads. And for the losers there's always the cry of "Wait until next year." All the signs point to another booming season in 1978.

The experts are looking even further

ahead. At a "Creative Workshop" sponsored by *Advertising Age*, exec John O'Toole exhorted his peers to produce more great ads in the 1980's. But he warned of a need to respond to a new "tougher breed" of consumer. As he phrased it, the consumer of the Eighties will be "the most suspicious—if not cynical—about advertising."

It should make for some good games in years to come. (For the full rankings, plus profiles of all the Top 100, see the Aug. 28, 1978 issue of *Advertising Age*.)

by Doug Honig

THE TOP TEN (in millions)	
1. Procter & Gamble.....	\$460.0
2. General Motors Corp.....	\$312.0
3. General Foods Corp.....	\$300.0
4. Sears, Roebuck & Co.....	\$290.0
5 K-Mart.....	\$210.0
6. Bristol-Myers Co.....	\$203.0
7. Warner-Lambert Do.....	\$201.0
8. Phillip Morris Inc.....	\$184.0
8. Ford Motor Co.....	\$184.0
10. American Home Products Co.....	\$171.0

Chile: Beyond "Acceptable" Limits

Isabel Letelier was in Seattle on October 5 to report that a full investigation into the assassination of her husband has implicated the highest ranks of the Chilean secret police and armed forces.

Orlando Letelier, former ambassador to the United States under Salvadore Allende, was killed in Washington, D.C. in September, 1967 when a plastic bomb attached to his car exploded. His assistant, Ronnie Moffit, was also killed. They were working with the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington to support a human rights policy abroad.

Ms. Letelier said there are people in the U.S. Justice Department and within the FBI who are determined to bring the criminals to justice. After a year's investigation and a grand jury examination of over 500 pages of documents, the U.S. has asked for extradition of three members of the Chilean Army believed to have been directly involved in the assassinations. A trial has been set for January 8, 1979 in Washington, D.C. At that time the documents will be released to the public. It is doubtful, how-

ever, whether the Chilean government will turn the officers over for trial unless strong support is mobilized.

'Pinochet is going to fall,' Letelier said, 'because he has surpassed the 'acceptable limits of facism'; he's embarrassing to the governments that put him in power and to corporations.' Letelier added, 'And its about time you complain.'

'Don't let them (the government, corporate and banking superstructure) use your name to destroy our democracies. Don't let them replace Pinochet with another Pinochet.'

She urged people to contact shareholders of private banks to stop loans to Chile. Although the World Bank has vetoed loans to Chile because it does not meet human rights standards, private banks, ignoring human rights, continue to invest in right-wing governments.

In early October, Manufacturers Hanover loaned over \$300 million to banks in Chile to keep Pinochet afloat, Letelier pointed out.

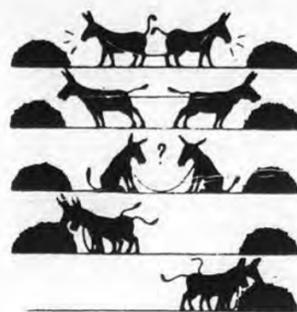
'If you know of anyone who's committed murder in this country, tell them

to go to the private banks here to get the greatest loans imaginable,' she said. 'Since 1976, private banks have invested over \$1 billion in Pinochet.'

Still, inside Chile people are continuing to organize and Pinochet is weak. 'But like a wounded beast, he is now most dangerous,' she continued. 'At this point we need you more than ever. Tell your government that the problem of who's to replace Pinochet is not one they should burden themselves with. The people inside Chile have never chosen wrong before. For five years now they have endured hunger and deprivation. They should be the ones to decide how to govern themselves.'

The AFL-CIO will participate in an international meeting of workers organizations in Lima, Peru on November 26. If Pinochet hasn't restored human rights in Chile by that time, Letelier reported, the AFL-CIO has told President Carter it is ready to cooperate with an international action to oppose his rule.

by Terri Seuss



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AND HOME-MADE BREAD

Reservation Offensives:

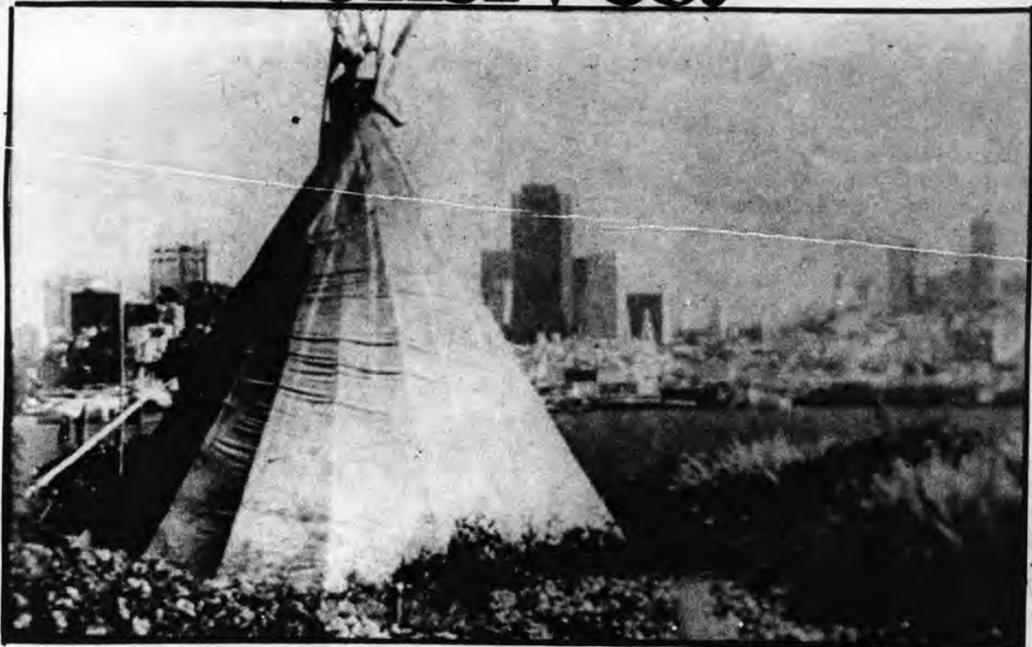
by Bruce Johansen

In Maine, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes claim 5 million acres, basing their action on an alleged violation of the Nonintercourse Act of 1790. In South Dakota, the Oglala Lakota (Pine Ridge Sioux) plan a chain of tribal supermarkets. In Montana, the northern Cheyenne have canceled coal leases with multinational energy companies and enacted air-pollution regulations, and the Navajos are considering a sophisticated corporate tax. In the lush Yakima Valley of Washington, white farmers are told that hereafter they must obtain permits for irrigation water from the Yakima Nation.

These assertions of American Indian economic muscle, along with many more of similar nature have, during the last half dozen years, combined into a coherent doctrine: that self-determination (and in some cases sovereignty) is, for Indians, the only way out of the debilitating dependency and poverty which have become synonymous with life on many reservations. Such ideas are called "militant," but they are so in an ironically traditional way, for they are older than most of the treaties on which the assertion of economic rights are based. The form, and the language, of most of the 371 treaties signed by the United States with the native people within its borders carry the air of dealings between sovereign powers.

As long as the treaties lay dormant in forgotten archives, they drew little non-Indian comment. During the 1970's, however, a few regional treaty-rights conflicts -- a notable one was over the salmon fishing in Washington -- sparked among the Indians a nationwide impulse to use the treaties to gain the land and resource base necessary for economic assertion. This, in turn, produced a resistance to the treaties from individuals and corporations whose holdings were thought to be threatened.

In almost every state where there are Indian reservations, but especially in the West, the treaty-rights issue has become politically important. In Congress, at least a dozen proposals to "reform" or abolish treaties are moving, somewhere, through the committee system. Indians, by necessity students of history, understand that the policies which herded them out of their ancestral homes were originally advanced as "reforms" by well-meaning non-Indians who thought they knew what was best for their "wards." Similarly,



Nat'l Geographic

Indians Take Treaty

power similar to that of a state within the United States; such was the thrust of recommendations by the American Indian Policy Review Commission which reported to Congress last summer. To still other Indian people, sovereignty is defined ad hoc, usually on the basis of treaty law -- the right, for example, to harvest salmon, regulate reservation industry or charge a tribal sales tax on a reservation.

The modern revival of economic sovereignty emerged from a few isolated areas in the West during the late 1960's. Its dramatic aspects were readily seized upon by the mass media (influenced, no doubt, by the internationalized mythology of war bonnet and tomahawk): an occupation at Alcatraz; a cross-country march in 1972, which ended by occupying the Washington D.C. offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; the seventy-one day siege at Wounded Knee during 1973. What the media largely missed was that, behind these events, a histori-

tribe in Washington to enact a sales tax; the Quileutes on the Pacific Coast had done so in January 1977. The Muckleshoots also included in their proposal a .4 percent business and occupation tax on gross sales. The tribe had a revenue source near at hand, a suburban shopping center on reservation land but in the midst of non-Indian land that was being rapidly subdivided.

Meanwhile, larger Indian Nations were implementing more extensive tax codes. The Oglala Lakota, the second largest single one (with about 12,000 members) were levying taxes on land sales, land use, grazing permits, occupation permits, cigarettes and other retail sales and services. In 1975, the Oglala raised 92 percent of their tribal budget -- \$660,000 of \$720,000 -- with tribal taxes. Reacting to the customary high prices set by non-Indian owned reservation businesses, the Oglala in 1977 began planning four small, tribally owned shopping centers.

Last September, a delegation from the Iroquois Confederacy brought its own passports to a United Nations conference in Geneva, and the Swiss accepted them.

cal idea was being revived. Each was underlain by the Indian's insistence on their right to control their land, and their lives.

The first nationally publicized assertion of economic treaty rights in recent times occurred here in Washington, where Indians had been risking arrest, confiscation of their gear, and harassment by vigilantes for more than fifty years, until a series of federal decisions by District Court Judge George Boldt in the early 1970's reserved as much as half the state salmon fishery for members of treaty tribes. The decisions, upheld by the United States Supreme Court, were drawn from the 19th-century dictionary meaning of "in common with" wording used in the 1854 and 1855 treaties on the taking of salmon. At the same time, treaty Indians in Washington set up "smoke shops" which sold cigarettes (and sometimes liquor and fireworks) beyond the reach -- and the taxes of the state. Indian land is legally held in trust by the federal government and, like military bases, lies outside state jurisdiction.

Implementing Reservation Taxes

By the late 1970's, other jurisdictional clauses of the treaties were being consulted by Washington Indians who, working on the precedent of the "fish war," began asserting various heretofore dormant rights. The Seattle office of the American Friends Service Committee reported in 1977 that most of the state's twenty-two tribes with land bases were considering tax codes, or had already developed them. That August, the Muckleshoots, a small tribe southeast of Seattle, announced a plan for a 2.5 percent sales tax, excluding prescription drugs and food purchased with food stamps. The plan went through and the Muckleshoots became the second

The Navajos, by far the largest Indian Nation inside the borders of the United States, its population estimated at 150,000, have operated tribal businesses for years in competition with the older trading posts. The tribe recently designed a sophisticated tax code aimed at corporations which exploit the reservation's rich stores of coal, uranium and other natural resources. The value-added tax, intended to extract money from the wealthy corporations, rather than from poor Navajos, was drawn up with the assistance of Frank Ryan, a Blackfoot who specializes in tax codes for developing nations from his post at Harvard. Ryan's objective is to break down an economic system that in the past has drawn wealth away from Indian Nations, a "colonial" disability similar to what plagues many Third World countries. In another move to keep wealth within the Navajo Nation, the Navajos support their own water and electric utilities.

Another tribe with rich coal reserves, the Crow of Montana, has enacted a coal-severance tax. Like the Navajo, both the Crow and the northern Cheyenne (a coal-rich tribe that has voided coal leases rather than see its reservation strip mined) are considering air-and-water pollution laws that would regulate the operation of coal-fired electricity and gasification plants that energy companies have proposed on or near their land.

Across Puget Sound from Seattle, the Suquamish proposed in 1977 an eighteen-month building moratorium. This has caused intense conflict with local developers who had been building tract homes on and around the reservation to accommodate several thousand workers from the Navy's Trident Nuclear Submarine Base at Bangor, less than 10 miles from the Suquamish reservation. The building boom began after non-Indians had acquired about 5,000 of the reservation's 8,000

Voices from Wounded Knee



the General Allotment Act of 1887 -- which cost Indians two-thirds of their treaty-guaranteed land and laid the base for many of today's problems -- was passed as reform legislation. This time, the tribes are insisting that they know best how to solve what non-Indians call the "Indian problem."

The Issue of Sovereignty

The issue of self-determination and sovereignty is complex, and means different things to different Indian and non-Indian groups. To the most traditional of Indian people, the concept means a jurisdictional control over one's destiny equivalent to that of a nation; last September, a delegation from the Iroquois Confederacy brought its own passports to a United Nations conference in Geneva, and the Swiss accepted them. To others, the idea carries connotations of jurisdictional

Photos: (left hand page) First recent day land occupation at Alcatraz Island, Ca. in 1971. Shortly after that Indians occupied Fort Lawton in Seattle, which is now Discovery Park. (left bottom) Indians in meeting at Wounded Knee during occupation in 1973. (Below) Members of Native American Theatre Ensemble, and teacher and student at Indian alternative school, Montana.



Terry Tafoya

Enforcement Into Their Own Hands



Terry Tafoya

acres. The Suquamish, like many other reservations partly or totally carved into individual tracts by the 1887 Allotment Act, have had much of their land bought from under them during the last sixty years. Indians who sought public assistance would be told they could not get it if they owned land, and so the land was sold. On many reservations what remains is land that escaped allotment and is still held in common by the tribe. The Suquamish building moratorium is a device meant to help stop the erosion of land base, and the intrusions of an alien culture onto it. Developers won no friends on the reservation when a sewer outlet for a number of tract homes was built a few yards from a sacred tribal long house.

Across the continent, in the East, the land base is also an issue, but there many Indians have had to go to court even to be recognized as organized tribes so that they may sue for the return of land. Despite that obstacle, there have been several well-publicized land-claims cases in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, South Carolina and elsewhere.

Assertion of treaty rights provides more than the opportunity to rise out of a poverty that places Indians at the bottom of nearly every economic index maintained by the U.S. Census. It also inverts stereotypes. The metaphor of the "return to the buffalo" is often used in the West to symbolize escape from what Indians believe to be a colonial relationship. The buffalo were exterminated during the 19th century not only for their skins; they were killed as part of a government policy to starve the Indians into submission, to drive them into a reservation system where enforced dependence allowed non-Indians to characterize them as indolent, lazy, ignorant, drunken devils. The revival of economic assertion is a reminder that it was not always thus. It is a thought that must pass through the mind of the sober Indian who sells booze to non-Indians at a smoke shop in Franks Landing (near Olympia), Wash. The salesman is not only severing a colonial relationship he is standing a caricature on its head.

Non-Indian Opposition

Such changes have not sat well with non-Indian interest groups; each new economic assertion creates another group of offended whites. In Washington, anti-treaty opposition spread from the commercial fisher-

men to reservation landowners and merchants, farmers in the Yakima Valley, developers of real estate, and the state itself, which loses tax money on every carton of cigarettes or bottle of liquor the Indians sell tax-free. The pattern is similar in other states: state governments with economic interests line up with groups of private citizens to agitate against Indians' treaty-based economic assertions.

In 1975, Howard Gray, a Seattle resident, spoke before a group calling itself Montanans Opposed to Discrimination. Since both Gray and his Montana hosts deplored the Indians' new demands, an anti-treaty organization, the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICERR), grew out of this meeting. The next year it held its first convention in Salt Lake City, with ten state chapters represented. By the end of 1977, the congress had chapters in at least twenty states and affiliations with groups of different names but similar purpose in at least six others.

Politicians in these states have shown themselves responsive to this growing, well-organized pressure group, which works much in the manner of the larger National Rifle Association. Last year Robert Bogensburger of Mt. Vernon, Wash., quickly raised \$100,000 in pledges for a petition campaign to remove from the bench Judge Boldt of the salmon disputes, who has become the major target of the ICERR. In August, 1977 Washington Atty. Gen. Salde Gorton hosted a meeting of Western state attorneys general, the major purpose of which was to organize against Indian rights. State tax assessors of the region met at about the same time for the same purpose.

A month later, the Western Conference of the Council of State Governments called for "an end to Indian sovereignty." It advocated giving the states authority over reservation land use and prohibiting Indian governments from taxing non-Indian-owned businesses established on the reservations. Indian police and court jurisdiction over non-Indians inside reservations would be ended, and states would be allowed to tax Indian land and businesses. The proposals were based on the historically fictitious belief that "the United States has always been a country of equals...with no individual or group subjected to subordinate or special rights."

Attorney General Gorton had used the same argument, coining the word, "supercitizenship," at a 1977 hearing by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in Seattle. Mel Tonasket, who has been president of the National Congress of American Indians, replied somewhat tartly by asking Gorton if he would "be willing to trade places with any of the 'supercitizens' on my reservation and make less than \$2,000 a year and have your children taken away by members of another race."

At the federal level, the cry of "supercitizenship" has been used to justify a number of treaty modification or abrogation bills introduced by Senators and Representatives from states where the anti-treaty movement is most active. The most far-reaching bill was introduced by Rep. Jack Cunningham (R., Wash.). Called the "Native American Equal Opportunity Act," it would abro-

gate all treaties and disperse Indians throughout the dominant culture. The bill revives a 150-year attempt to deprive the Indians of their hold on the land, as well as to obscure their identity and make "Americans" of them. However, Cunningham maintained, for the record, that he was acting for the Indians' good.

The abrogation act contains a clause that seeks to evade the cost—estimated at \$250 billion to \$500 billion by Sen. Henry Jackson, chairperson of the Senate Interior Committee—of compensating Indians for abrogated rights and land. It is worded with the finesse learned in a century and a half of Indian affairs. Referring to the existing treaties, it says that Congress shall "provide that there be no taking without just compensation of any property right specifically created for a particular individual by such treaty." The wording excludes compensation for commonly held land. Despite the pressures of allotment, more than half of most Indian reservations are still held communally; in Washington, the figure is 75 percent.

Another Congressperson from Washington, Lloyd Meeds, has introduced legislation to restrict Indian water rights and legal jurisdiction. Many of his proposals resemble the recommendations of the Western Council of the Conference of State Governments. Meeds, who will retire from Congress this year, has long styled himself a friend of Indians, but his advocacy of treaty rights nearly cost him the 1976 election from his 2nd district. Even as he appeased the opposition with anti-treaty legislation, he accommodated his liberal con-

victions to the action. As vice chairperson of the American Indian Policy Review Commission, Meeds submitted a 102-page dissent to its recommendations for increased self-determination. He wrote: "The quickest and most certain way to destroy that uniqueness [of Indian Nations] is to immediately implement all the recommendations of this report... the backlash of the dominant culture would be swift and sure." Picking up echo from Southeast Asia, Meeds discovered Indian Nations must be destroyed to be saved.

Meeds also echoed another liberal "friend of the Indian" who, almost exactly 150 years earlier, had perhaps unwittingly laid the legislative groundwork for the Trail of Tears, during which about 4,000 of 14,000 Cherokees died on a forced winter march from their Georgia homeland to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. In the early 1820's Thomas McKenney, federal superintendent of Indian trade, had watched the Cherokees establish a prosperous economy which included 2,000 spinning mills, twenty sawmills and 22,000 cattle. The Cherokees in 1827 created a constitutional republic modeled after, but independent of, the United States and Georgia. Such intimations of sovereignty infuriated Georgians, who sought Cherokee land and (after 1829) the gold within it. In 1829, President Andrew Jackson enlisted McKenney to "sell" Congress on the removal of the Cherokees and other Indians living east of the Mississippi. McKenney established the New York Board for the Emigration, Preservation and Improvement of the the Aborigines of America. He touted removal of the Indians as a humane policy whereby they could preserve their identity on new land. The Cherokees, said McKenney, must leave Georgia for their own good. They must, he said, "remove—or perish." They were removed and at least a quarter of them perished.

Fifty-nine years later, the allotment act was produced by another wave of liberal concern for Indian welfare. After publication of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Century of Dishonor* (1880), a Congressional committee decided that the solution to the "Indian problem" was to make landowning farmers—Americans in the Jeffersonian image—of them. By the time the allotment act passed, it contained a provision throwing open to settlement treaty-guaranteed land "left over" after allotment. In the following ninety years, 100 million of the 150 million acres of reservation land changed hands. A century and a half after the passage of the Removal Act, a Trojan horse, full of the friends of the Indian, is being drawn up to the reservation gates. But the Indians can no longer be fooled by proposals for their benefit that somehow always leave them more naked than before.

Bruce Johansen lives in Seattle and writes frequently on Native American issues. He recently was co-author with Roberto Maestas, of Wasi'chu: The Continuing Indian War, soon to be published by the Monthly Review Press. This article was previously published in The Nation, and will be used in an anthology published by the Scott Forsman Inc., Glenview, Illinois.



Anny

I used to wanna be a poet
I used to wanna be a writer
Instead I became a mommy
And a militant feminist fighter

I used to wanna be a poet
I used to wanna be a writer
Instead I became a nurse nurse
Instead I got up tighter

I once wanted to be a holy nun
I once planned to be a doctor
Instead I'm writing poetry
Look ma, I'm a midnight writer

by Anny Dragon

Fall Walks Me On A Leash

Sharpened by the weather
we ignite.
The building blazes.
Fall leaves
little tufts of fire
curling brittle tongues
release angry words.
Break red from the wall.
In separate circles they
turn toward the cement.
Orange hands funnel
down on us.

Firemen stay away!
This one will not be put out.
Things die and
all the color
heats our mouths with words
about beauty and our feet search out
the driest leaves to crush.

Exhaling we walk forward through
clouds of our own breath.
What will come next?
The short white days.
Brick walls of buildings empty
gaping like moughts of old people.
Winter clings to bare branches.
The cement passes silent beneath our feet.

by Susan Gevirtz

my poem is a headache
of words held too long
sweaty, cranky
needing washing off
pumping up
proof in several acts
of how clever I am.
why.
the steps of mutual enlightenment
I will take half.

I.

I missed you.

II.

I like the way you are
making peach cobbler.

III.

If I had been you
I might hot have liked
"do you like me for me"
but if you had been me
you would be a women.

IV.

you were and I wan't
I became and wanted to
you didn't
and a curling Japanese print tidal wave
swept through your apartment.
in the wave
weeds of truth.
to catch

V.

who gets to suggest
sex
how do we vote
is it a knot
that doesn't need directions.

VI.

Trusting you is like bringing
my mind scraped
to be kissed.
sometimes it's like of course.

my headache is better.

by Pat Diangson

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Safeway's Fish Unpalatable



photo by Marleen Nienhuis

Central Area activists in Seattle have been picketing and boycotting the local Safeway supermarket for almost two weeks now after it was discovered that Safeway sold whitefish which was imported from the Republic of South Africa. So far, the boycott has resulted in the removal of the South African whitefish from the Safeway supermarkets in the Central Area, but, said Omar Tahir, one of the picketers, Safeway stores outside the Central Area will become targets of picketers as well unless the supermarket chain removes all South African products from its shelves.

Omar Tahir, a long-time Central Area resident and a member of the Coalition for Positive Action in the area, is a house painter by profession and has used his own funds to print and distribute leaflets explaining the reasons for the boycott. He sees the issue of selling South African whitefish as a perfect means to educate the local residents about South African apartheid policies. "Many of the people have no idea about the racist regime and the suffering taking place in South Africa,"

he said. "they hear or read South Africa but just remember 'Africa' and think it's all right to buy products even if it comes from South Africa, made with slave labor."

Tahir said he had distributed about 6000 leaflets, so far, with the help of a small but growing group of local residents and members of the Coalition for Positive Action.

The two black-owned community newspapers, *The Facts* and *The Medium*, have continued to carry full-page ads for Safeway products. A full-page ad in *The Facts* costs \$350 and, according to its publisher, Fitzgerald Beaver, this makes up about ten percent of its ad revenues. "Besides," commented the publisher (whose paper carries the slogan "The Truth is Great, The Facts are Reality"), "I am not really a crusader. I'm neutral on the whole issue."

Chris Bennett, publisher of *The Medium* (A Message from the People...To the People) said he had not been aware of the boycott.

Safeway spokeswomen, Linda Baker denied that there was still a drop in busi-

ness at Safeway's store on 23rd and Union. "We're right back to our sales figures from before the boycott started," she said. Baker added that there were no plans to remove South African produced whitefish from Safeway stores outside the Central area unless the product wouldn't sell. "all this is, is a stocking problem," she explained, "If it doesn't move, we simply won't stock it any further."

Surrounding supermarkets have noticed an increase in sales, though. Rodgers Boldtman, owner of Rodgers Market at Empire and Union remarked he had seen "a definite increase in business" although he could not name a percentage figure.

The picketers have support from other sides though: Reverend Gil Lloyd, preacher at the Cherry Hill Church, confirmed he had urged his firm had urged his constituents who live in the area to boycott Safeway.

And Jerome Paige, executive director of the Urban League at 14th and Yesler, said he was "appalled" and that he would write a personal and professional letter to Safeway, expressing his feelings on the subject, but added that the Urban League board had not yet taken an official stand on the issue.

The Whitefish from South Africa comes in a green package with a red and white label saying: 'Cape of Good Hope, South Africa' and it is stored in the frozen food section of the Safeway supermarkets.

by Marleen Nienhuis

Go Bombers

In Richland, Wa., home of the Hanford Atomic Reservation where plutonium for nuclear weapons is produced, the highschool sports teams are called the 'Bombers'. Their symbol is a mushroom cloud.

Columbus Day Beached

October 12, formerly celebrated as Columbus' 'discovery' of America, is now known as an International Day of Solidarity with American Indians. This was one of the many resolutions passed at a conference at the U.N. in Geneva, Switzerland, last September. The conference grew out of a decision made by Indian nations in 1974 to take the issue of genocide and colonization to the international community. At that time 4000 delegates from 97 Indian nations founded the International Indian Treaty Council to do this work.

In January 1977, the Treaty Council was recognized by the United Nations as an NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) which has consultative status with the U.N. At the September conference, the Treaty Council presented to nations of the U.N. and other NGO's the evidence and documentation of the history of genocide of Native peoples. The delegates represented more than 60 nations and peoples, from 15 countries in the Americas.

This year will be the first celebration, a time for all people to stand in solidarity with Indian people in the U.S. and to fight for the sovereignty of Indian nations.

Anita Gives S.O.M.E. More

As of the end of September 1978, Protect America's Children, Anita Bryant's homophobic organization, has donated another \$7,000 to the Initiative 13 campaign. So far the Miami, Florida operation has contributed \$10,000 to the effort to rewrite the law in Seattle (which is nowhere near Florida).

Nicaragua continued

from back page

chance the revolution will fall into the hands of extremists." He called for a "moderate government which respects human rights and free enterprise."

"Free enterprise" is the magic word. The Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) calls for the nationalization of all of Somoza's property (Somoza owns more than 25 companies in all sectors of the Nicaraguan economy—TV, radio, newspaper, manufacturing, banking, insurance, food, airlines, transport, and others are all in his empire. Appropriately enough, Somoza also owns a slaughterhouse, a Mercedes Benz dealership, and a firm which exports blood from Nicaragua.) The FSLN also calls for nationalization of foreign holdings in Nicaragua and genuine land reform. None of these demands spell "free enterprise" on Wall Street or in the State Department.

But the FSLN has also demonstrated its strength and popularity. The bulk of youth of five cities, when given

the chance, chose to fight and die side by side with the guerrillas who've inherited Sandino's struggle.

Now the U.S. government is attempting to head off any new government that might include Sandinists by "foisting" a new political settlement on the country. Gunboat diplomacy, famous in the 1910's and 20's, has been taken out of the mothballs, and the only change is that the Richmond K. Turner, a guided missile cruiser presently stationed off the Nicaraguan coast, has more all-new features than the ones that visited Nicaragua in the 1920's.

More importantly, the U.S. has been clamoring for the right to sit on a five nation mediating board to iron out Somoza's problems with his opponents—not including the Sandinists! The U.S. has decided to deal mainly with the "Broad Front" a grouping of politicians, bankers and industrialists, rather than the Movement of the People United, which includes students, women's organizations, labor and the Sandinists.

The Nicaraguan story is rife with tragedies, ironies, and and hypocrisies. Perhaps the saddest aspect is that broadly similar events have been unfolding in so many other places. Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, Uruguay, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, and Iran have their own "Somozas" backed up by U.S. aid and U.S. multinational corporations. In each terror is a necessary adjunct of class rule, and in all of these countries working people and peasants are thwarted each time they attempt to organize.

But in Nicaragua, at least, Somoza's light may be fading. Haroldo Solano, a Nicaraguan who has lived for five years in San Francisco and edits the Sandinist newspaper for the U.S. there, receives regular communications from guerrillas in the Nicaraguan country side. At a Seattle press conference he expressed confidence that Somoza will be defeated, but he has one big worry: "That we might have a repetition of Vietnam..."

It wouldn't be the first "Vietnam" for Nicaragua.

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Astrology For Astral Activists:

A Political Zodiac

by Sally Kinney

You say you're going to punch the next person who asks what your sign is? That humanity has been painfully trudging toward rationality, and you don't enjoy watching it stumble backwards through this astrology nonsense?

I can understand your feeling. Astrology has gotten a lot of superficial overexposure the last few years. This has been unfortunate for the art itself, and for people like myself who are interested in the practice of it. (Especially since I'm the person you're likely to punch if indeed you get to the point of punching... which will be most likely if you are an Aries, by the way.)

However, you might be interested to know that astrology, through its long history stretching back to the Chaldeans who lived so long ago I can't remember the dates, has endured all manner of criticism, from mere nit-picking to serious persecution. For instance, this somewhat acid judgment of the star-charting business made in the 1500's:

'There has been of long time a foolish curiosity to judge by the stars of all things what should chance unto men; and thence to enquire and take counsel as touching those matters which are to be done. But we will by and by, God willing, declare that it is nothing but a devilish superstition. Yea, and it hath been rejected by a common consent as pernicious to mankind. And yet at this day, it hath got the upper hand in such sort that many which think themselves witty men, yea and have been so judged, are as it were bewitched therewith.

— John Calvin

As is evident today, the 'devilish superstition' survived Calvin. It's survived so long, in fact, that maybe there is something to it after all. Perhaps, instead of being passively annoyed by its popularity, you might try using it to aid you in your interactions with others, especially if you are involved in some sort of political or organizational activities. In other words, fight fire with fire. Or stars with stars. Or planets with...

Enough rambling Libra justifications. Below are short descriptions of the characteristics of the 12 astrological signs as they might appear to people involved in group projects with those sign-people.

Bear in mind that these descriptions are not 'orthodox', but were arrived at by a combination of astrological readings, conversations with astrologers, pragmatic experience with people of certain signs, and informed intuition.

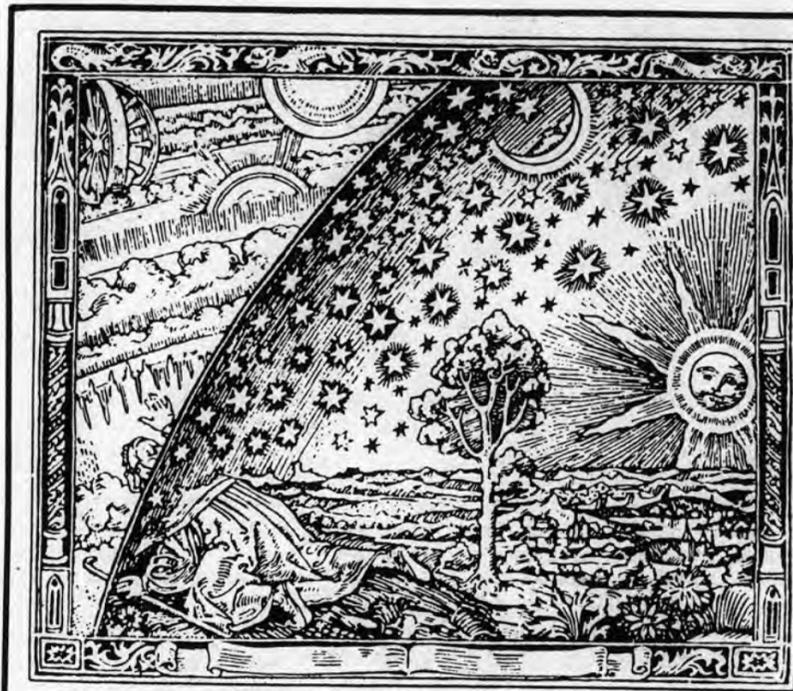
And then to make it more interesting, I made up a lot of stuff. But I don't remember which is which by now.

ARIES (March 21-April 20)

People of this sign are *always* right (especially when they're left).

Do not argue ideology with an Aries. You won't even be granted the courtesy of being called wrong...just stupid. They are very often the speakers at a demonstration or conference; if not, they're probably the ones to tell the speaker what to say. Every organization needs an Aries or two to keep everyone awake. They also serve as authority figures to rebel against.

WARNING: Don't let an Aries be your public contact person. They are not diplomats. Instead, ask them if they have any new ideas on how to do something. Allow about 2 hours to listen to their reply.

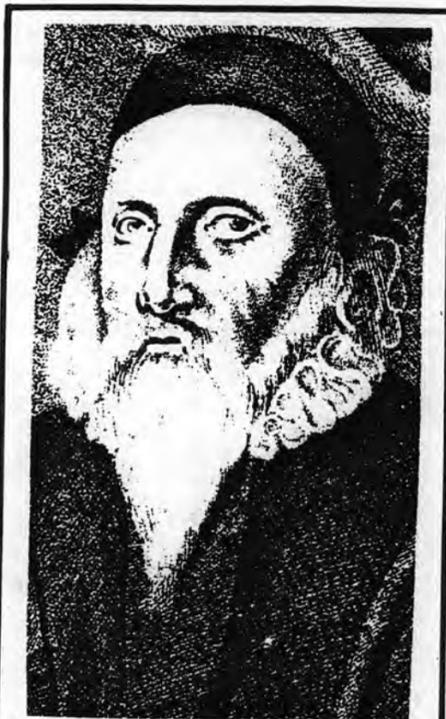


This German woodcut from the 1500's shows the attempt of an inquisitive person (probably an Aquarian) to find out what causes the movement of the heavens overhead. Through the centuries, more people stuck their heads out and created the art of astrology.

TAURUS (April 21-May 20)

If it weren't for the bulls, no political group would last more than a week. They keep things going. They know where everything is, what has to be done, who has to do it, and why getting it done is more important than getting bogged down in minor intellectual squabbles. The person saying, 'Can we get back to the main problem here?' is probably a Taurus. If you don't get back to the subject pretty soon, the Taurus will probably get up and quietly start doing other work until you're ready to talk sensibly again.

WARNING: Even in a group devoted to consensus, don't question a Taurus' request. They usually know what they're talking about. They are also exceedingly stubborn and you'll be there all night.



Dr. John Dee, political astrologer for Queen Elizabeth I. If he looks edgy, it's probably because it was then a capital offense to cast the horoscope of any member of royalty unless they asked for it personally. Usually a rival royalty member wanted the info, and the astrologer was caught in the middle.

GEMINI (May 21-June 20)

Gemini are eminently political people. All of them at one time or another will probably get involved in some cause or campaign. But they get bored easily (especially if they can't hear their own voice constantly). It's a rare Gemini who achieves, and holds, an authoritative position in a group. They love to converse but aren't too great at adhering to collective goals. But when they do reach prominence, they inspire those around them because they always maintain their intellectual curiosity, and they very seldom have built-in cultural or ideological prejudices.

WARNING: Gemini love to talk. With anyone. About anything. If your group has private doings you'd rather the whole world didn't know about, don't let the Gemini know. (Except they always find out.)

CANCER (June 21-July 20)

If you're introduced to someone who theorizes brilliantly, proselytizes tirelessly and convinces you the revolution will happen tonight at 6:15...s/he is not a Cancer. The Cancer is the one over in the corner lending money to someone who got kicked out of their apartment and has nowhere to stay.

Cancers keep political groups human. They can be theoreticians, but they never abstract themselves from the food-and-shelter issues. They're very good with projects involving older people, children and money.

WARNING: Don't expect a Cancer to remain staunch amidst emotional appeals from the opposition. If you must have one represent your group at a crucial conference, send a Taurus along to keep the Cancer from caving in.

LEO (July 21-August 20)

This person will walk into a group and say, 'Here I am, the action can start NOW!' The world dates from their notice of it. They are very good at getting public attention for a cause, but someone else better monitor what they're saying because they aren't the greatest intellects of the zodiac. They're generally better natured than the other autocrats, the Aries, because they're not as concerned with being *right* as much as being *first* and *loudest*.

WARNING: Don't give Leos detailed tasks. Give them scenes to direct. They're interested in the whole Gestalt of the play, not the minute details of the plot.

(Continued on following page)



Pages from one of the earliest astrology books printed, ca. 1500's: The information here, outlining the various positions of the planet Mars in horoscopes, is probably very similar to that to be found in current astrology books. Except this is in Latin, of course.

VIRGO (August 21-September 20)

Virgos are (interested in minute details, that is) VERY minute details. They are the backbone of any organization with an established ideology; they learn it, adhere to it, preach it, and watch anxiously for signs that others are straying from the prescribed path. If they see this happening, they do not suffer in silence. They just mention, quietly, that you have made an error. Then they watch, and if you don't correct that error, they mention it again. And again. Soon you consider murder, or becoming a Democrat. However, though irritating at times, Virgos are valuable as 'grounding agents' (i.e. Leo antidotes).

WARNING: Virgoes are not suited to either debate or public relations. Let them organize things instead.

LIBRA (September 21-October 20)

It's risky to be this definite about any group of people, but in political life, Libras are a complete disaster.

Libras are sweet. They don't want to hurt anyone. They diligently consider everyone's point of view, and try to explain everyone to each other. They even sometimes take a stab at trying to make up their minds about something. But they can never KEEP their minds made up, even for 5 minutes. Thus their dependability in a group situation is less than perfect.

WARNING: Let Libras make nice posters or media; internal disagreements. Just don't ask for their opinion.

SCORPIO (October 21-November 20)

Scorpios tend to rise to leadership in groups because of their inscrutability. No one knows how much they know, what they're doing, or how to figure them out, so they follow them, figuring they must be somebody important. Usually, they are.

The value of a Scorpio, besides the incisive intelligence they usually possess, is the charisma (actually, chutzpah) that exudes from them. In any confrontation with authority, the directed will of a Scorpio can often win what words can't. (They use hexes a lot.)

WARNING: Scorpios are not PR people; they mystify rather than explain. They should be considered political weapons to use in 'battle' situations.

SAGITTARIUS (November 21-December 20)

These people have lots of ideals and no common sense. No sense of humor, either. If you joke with them, they may report you as a traitor to the cause. Sagittarians are energetic and willing to work at anything that doesn't require too much heavy-duty thinking. They're generally cheerful and provide esprit de corps to a group.

WARNING: If you suffer defeat in a campaign or cause, tell the Sags to stay home for a while. Their unflinching positive attitude can get wearing. It's like being around animated Smile cartoons.

CAPRICORN (December 21-January 20)

Capricorns are the 'authorities'. Where a Cancer will comfort those oppressed and in need, a Capricorn will sternly suggest how they could lift themselves up out of the needy class and at the same time will use her/his power to thoroughly crush the enemies of those needy. Capricorns are not interested in any emotional BS or political rhetoric. Things are pretty simple to them: they see a problem, decide what should be done about it, and expect others to do it their way.

WARNING: If Capricorns see that their suggestions about things are not being followed, they will react with stronger suggestions. These can get VERY strong. Treat Capricorns with care.

AQUARIUS (January 21-February 20)

Visionaries who sometimes don't realize how far out they sound to others, Aquarians are apt to catch all the flak that's aimed at your whole organization. In past times they were the most likely to be shot as traitors, burned as heretics or witches, or imprisoned in madhouses. Their foresight is very valuable, if the organization they're in realizes that it can't all be translated into immediate action. You have to correct for the drift with Aquarians. They're here for the purpose of stretching the rest of us.

WARNING: Don't depend on Aquarians staying with any group very long. They want to help humanity but they get bored with individual humans very fast, and move on.

PISCES (February 21-March 20)

The best thing to do if Pisceans join your group is to take them gently by the hand, lead them home, and give them a downer (just look around, they'll have plenty of everything on hand). Then run back to your office and lock the door. They are not meant for political action. They get all messed up. Sometimes they make spectacular martyrs, but they're more likely to walk off with important papers in their pockets (having forgotten they have them), and join the Moonies, never to be heard of again.

WARNING: See all of above.

...AND NOW A WORD ON THE FUTURE...

In addition to treating cases of individual humans, astrology gets into the big picture: the end of the world. Nostradamus, a famous scientist-astrologer (that combination of pursuits was OK back in the 16th century) gives the following description of the world's future in his Complete Prophecies:

'In the year 1999 and seven months from the skies shall come an alarmingly powerful king, to raise again the great king of the Jacquerie; Before and after, Mars shall reign at will.'

The year seven of the great number being past tuere shall be seen the sports of the ghostly sacrifice; Not far from the great age of the millenium that the buried shall come out of their graves.'

Nostradamus' translator decided that the first of these strange quatrains means that a tremendous world revolution is predicted for the year 1999, which is to bring about a complete upheaval of existing social orders, and that this revolution is to be preceded by world war. And the second quatrain means simply that in the year 7000, judgment day will be pronounced, the dead shall rise from their graves, and the world will come to an end. Now you know.

TIP FOR THOSE WHO STILL DON'T WANT ANYTHING TO DO WITH ASTROLOGY:

The next time someone irritatingly inquires, 'What sign are you?', say 'I'm a Scorpio, and it wouldn't be wise to talk about it further.' He or she won't. Scorpios, even fake ones, are very seldom challenged.

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Woman on the



Kate Dwyer

Women who see me working often ask how I like it. "It" being my job, landscaping on an all male (except me) crew. Bellevue housewives whose yards I am sodding, deli workers whose parking lots I am "beautifying", secretaries of the company I work for, girlfriends of the guys I work with -- want to know what it's like. And on the other side of the Lake (or is it the world?) my feminist friends in Seattle have their questions too.

I've wearied of the one-sided answers. To the passing stranger woman I'm overly simple and cheery. What can you say to such a question in a minute or so? As a feminist in a non-traditional, visible job, I feel this responsibility to be a role model, to be inspirational. To say things like: "Yes, it's tough, but I like it, though I sure miss other women." And they probably go away with not the least inkling of *how* tough it is - psychically or physically. To my feminist listeners I tell the dismal side. The sexist horrors, the "contradictions".

My work experiences of the last four years include non-traditional work in sexually mixed collectives; with only women, alone (a one-woman gardening business) and on traditional mostly-male or all male crews.

In the "old days" (say four or more years ago) a woman choosing "male" work was almost surely either a feminist or a dyke or both. Thusly too I first came to non-traditional work in the form of carpentry and collectives made up of like-minded people. I, like many others, moved from the female world of offices and service work to the male world of physical labor and production because of the intellectual appeal of making things rather than serving people. I came because of who I *wanted* to be, not because of who I *was*. Because of my changing self image and life style.

There is something comforting about starting out life in non-traditional work with women only or in a collective. The primary value in such situations is not profit-motivated (though, of course, some profits are essential). Non-alienating labor, if not outright enjoyable labor is usually the goal. The means are as important as the ends, if not the whole point. In the collective, work becomes an experiment. Capitalist and sexist values are rejected. The struggle is to accomplish the task without exploitation of people or the environment, while learning skills and non-hierarchy work methods. No small task.

In such an environment, however, a woman can be nurtured through unfamiliarity with hard physical labor, clumsiness with tools and machines and body, fears of high places or loud noises or new language. Nobody shows scorn or laughs because everyone is enlightened about sexism. At the same time feminine and feminist values are articulated and incorporated into the system of work. The way you feel about what you're doing and how you interrelate with other workers are not trivial or irrelevant matters.

When there are problems between the men and women in the collective over sexism or work styles, you do at least operate from a similar value structure you speak the same lingo (sexism, alienation, macho, non-hierarchical, oppressive, supportive, power, struggle, etc). You are not complete aliens to one another.

The woman working on a company crew, however, faces an entirely different atmosphere. It is not the work that is so different; it is the work environment.

Probably my biggest problem at work is justifying my existence on the crew, both to myself and others. How do I justify myself when I can't work as hard as the men, that is, carry, push, lift, wheel, or haul as much. I need to rephrase that. I often work harder than the men, but I get less done because I am smaller and weaker than they are.

In a more humanist system this justification question would be absurd because the work values would be

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e Company Crew

entirely different than those of the capitalist system I do work in. Here I am inefficient, a very mortal sin as we all know. The boss says he expects only that each person work up to his or her own potential; there is no standard performance level. But I know that no matter what the boss says some on the crew will continue to taunt me with the slogan "equal pay for equal work" whenever I cannot compete. And I have no good answers to their taunts.

I could describe an ideal, non-exploitative society. And explain how in that place bags would weigh 50 or 75 pounds instead of 100, tailgates would weigh 75 pounds instead of 150. Tools, knobs, seats, gears and pulleys would be designed so that smaller people could operate them too. All types of work would be paid and respected fairly. The elimination of sex roles would make the frequent ineffectualness of women in this sort of work unknown. But, most importantly, the ultimate value of work would not be profit and therefore efficiency.

I could say all this and have in bits and snatches. But the point is that it's all just science-fiction out there and has no relevance to the fact that I am and always will be smaller and weaker than most men and therefore, less effective. Thus, when I spill an overfull wheelbarrow and hear the taunting sing-song of "equal pay for equal work", I simply say nothing and feel defeated and sorry for myself.

I toy with this question too: does my feminism make the job harder or easier for me? and the sister question: would I survive this job, would I even want this job if I weren't a feminist?

"Token: an item, idea, person, etc. representing a group; a part as representing the whole; sample; indication" (Random House Dictionary). Without my feminism, being the token might be less a burden. I know that if I don't make it, they probably won't hire women again. Three others have come and gone quickly since I've been there. To be a "model" when I'm barely getting by is uncomfortable and pretentious, not to mention exhausting. But I do feel this weighty responsibility to succeed, not just for my own ego's sake, but for the sake of the group for whom I am a "sample" an "indication". But do I really need to be a "good" token to be a "good" feminist? Do I really need to be so religious about my feminism? For me these are not rhetorical questions.

If I weren't a feminist, I probably could tolerate better the checking out of the "chicks", the references to my "tits", the ever-present stares, the jokes about women, the metaphors. (To ride in the middle in the cab of the truck is to "ride bitch", a position always reserved for me; To hurry up is to "haul balls" even when the command is directed at me)

Being a woman and a feminist complicates what for anyone else (i.e., a white man) is a very simple event-making a mistake. Making mistakes is no fun for anyone. But my mistakes at work are almost always seen as WOMAN failing, rather than Kate fucking up. Sometimes I am silly enough to absorb their point of view and feel embarrassed or humiliated for my entire sex when I make a mistake. One day I was clumsy enough to fracture my wrist at work (slipped on some stones and fell from the tailgate of a truck). The first thing I said after the groans was "I'm sorry"! Who but a guilt-ridden woman would apologize at that moment? My ego was apparently so demolished that I saw my clumsiness as being somehow woman-related. This nonsense is reinforced by the crew who still tease me about the accident that "could have happened to anyone, but only happened to a woman."

They make such "jokes" because they know I'm a feminist and resent it. I'm a very convenient target for their hostilities and confusion about women and feminists. They refer to non-feminist women as "normal". Sometimes I think the guys on my crew stay up late thinking up things to say to piss me off. It is tiring to dig a ditch and argue while trying not to get emotional. (An example: "Now tell me honestly, Kate: If you were 5'7", long blonde wavy hair, a beautiful body, classic face, would you still be a feminist?" Being somewhat mellowed-out I can

answer such questions with a sense of humor: "Am I that ugly?". But the challenges, rigged questions and "jokes" tire me out more than the physical work.

On the other hand without the self-affirming atmosphere of the sisterhood, I would probably lack the confidence (albeit dwindling) or the ambition to get through this (it's a step in a career plan, not a mere masochistic journey). Nor would I have the ideology that gives importance to "making it".

But as I now see it I came to non-traditional work with some feminist propaganda as well as zeal and tenacity. Without it I wouldn't have come at all; but it has been necessary to undo some damage caused by it.

I believed, for example, that women were physically weaker than men primarily because we lacked the kinds of physical experiences men had. I believed that if I wanted, and tried, and suffered enough I could be strong enough. (I'm all of 5 feet even and

yet my immediate reaction to her application was negative.

I want the company to hire more women. But I want them to hire women who have a chance of making it. Who are big enough or experienced enough or gutsy enough to make it. It is worse to continually hire women who fail than to hire none at all from my perspective. I have wised up from the simplicity of "Hire Women" (which is easy for a company to do and apparently enlightened) to the complexity of "Hire the Right Women" (which is a difficult process and apparently discriminatory). Is it social justice to hire a 90 pound woman with no experience in manual labor or working with men who lasts a week and reinforces the crew's negative attitude about women laborers? I have, in short, learned the distinction between discrimination and discriminating.

But work is not all horror and suffering. For one thing there is the famous camaraderie of men.



Photos by Kevin Schaffer

115 pounds.) The problem was I had no conception of how much "enough" was or of how strong men can be. When sheer will did not produce sufficient strength, I was neatly set up for what I think of as my Feminist Guilt.

The feminist attitude that we women can (and should?) do anything has been nothing less than wonderful, inspiring great achievements by women over the past several years. However, a side-effect of this attitude for some of us has been a certain Superwoman ethic. Thus, though it has been feminists who have articulated the absurdity, the trap, of the Superwoman concept of liberation, it is largely feminists who have created it. And feminists who suffer the guilt when we are not, after all, superwomen.

Another effect of the we-can-be-and-do anything attitude for me is a new sort of jealousy and competitiveness toward women. At work when I am faced with tasks I have been socialized away from (such as mechanical comprehension, map reading, equipment operation, etc.) I think of some of the Superwomen I have known. The women I know who are completely unimpaired by rebuilding an auto engine, who do their own plumbing with no apparent ado, who build log cabins in the Alaskan wilderness, have the ability to inspire me, as well as bring on jealousy and envy in a way no man could. If they overcame their social conditioning or never succumbed to it in the first place, why can't I?

I recently saw an application of a woman to the company I work for. She is a secretary wanting to change and do "physical, outdoor" work. She has only office experience. I was once that woman. And

Which turns out to be the camaraderie of physical labor, the group sweat, which is not a monopoly held by men. Women discover it, too, in team sports and in physical labor. But as a paid laborer, I get a large dose of it and at times truly relish it.

Also, the irony of my situation always amuses me. For a man this sort of work is the lowest of the low. We are the proverbial ditch diggers and mound movers. But for a woman to do o.k. in this humble, poorly paid, zero status work is a big deal of sorts, something perhaps to be proud of. I have to laugh at this ex-well-paid-administrative-assistant's pride and joy at being a grunt on a laboring crew.

It is small compensation for all the stares, teasing and unwelcomeness, but I do savor the feeling of being a sort of spy into the male world, of seeing how it all works out there in the construction sites, rock yards and garages of America. I love driving my truck into the highway weighing stations and watching the cops' eyebrows pop up. I like being watched doing something like operating a tractor (when I'm doing it smoothly) by a bunch of people. Because not all stares and watching is hostile or sexist. Some is just curious and maybe occasionally a tad bit admiring.

There are moments, such as driving a dump truck in downtown Bellevue in a John Deere cap, when I have a sense of "playing" worker. The feeling comes of being someone very different than who I thought I'd grow up to be. And it feels mighty good.

And, of course, I've always loved playing in the dirt.



Photo By Akwesasne Notes

Fort Laramie Treaty Commission, 1869

Treaties Made, Treaties Broken

New Legal Strategies for Subverting Indian Rights

Last month the U. S. Justice Department announced that it will formally advocate Supreme Court review of lower court rulings in the Indian treaty fishing rights cases from this area. Since the United States was the winning party in the original federal court suit which now wants reviewed, the government appears to be appealing its own victory.

The Justice Department's decision is not only an illogical step; it is a betrayal of the government's co-plaintiffs--the Indian tribes whose fishing rights the federal courts affirmed. But the tribes were not surprised by this development; for it is only the latest in a series of government moves away from its obligation to Indians and into the arms of those who would redefine and abrogate Indian rights. And waiting eagerly to give the first congratulatory embraces are Washington's elected officials, led by Senators Henry Jackson and Warren Magnuson.

Once friends and allies of the tribes, our senators are now among the most vigorous supporters of the emerging "backlash" against Indian rights. They are certainly the most powerful. Magnuson's power as head of the House-Senate Conference Committee on Appropriations was dramatically demonstrated on September 15, when he cut three million dollars out of the Interior Department budget. The money is needed for implementation of treaty fishing rights as defined by the federal court. Magnuson's immediate target is government-funded litigation on behalf of Indian tribes. But he and Jackson have made it clear that their ultimate aim is abandonment of the federal trust responsibility to Indian people. And they are not running into strong resistance from the Carter administration.

The federal trust responsibility to Indians--an invention of the U.S. government and its courts--is not an easy concept to understand. It is based in part on the eighteenth and nineteenth century view that weakened Indian Nations, surrounded by non-Indian settlers, should have the protection of more powerful U.S. government. Most Indian treaties promise the tribes federal protection, from "bad" U.S. citizens as well as from foreign powers, in return for the tribes' relinquishment of vast territories.

But the idea of a U.S. trust responsibility also stems from the less magnanimous non-Indian assertion that "discoverer" European nations got legal title to all land previously held by Indians, leaving the native people with no more than a right to occupy their land at the pleasure of the new sovereign. This convenient doctrine now enables the U.S. government to claim that it holds remaining Indian land and resources in trust for the tribes.

This definition of the United States as guardian and the Indians as wards has too often furnished a legal justification for federal policies designed to force Indian assimilation into the mainstream. But having set itself up as trustee for people it had reduced to desperate dependency, the U.S. found itself admonished by its own courts to treat its wards honorably. The courts have said

that the government must take its responsibility as seriously as it would any other trust relationship. And among the most important Indian property rights which the U.S. has pledged itself to protect are the rights reserved by treaty.

Non-Indian hostility toward Indians, in this area as in many areas of the country, is hardly a recent phenomenon.

The doctrines of federal responsibility toward and federal power over Indian tribes grew out of repeated attacks by states on the distinct Indian communities in their midst. The U.S. has acted in such cases to enforce the treaty promises, as much to preserve its constitutionally conferred power over Indian affairs as to promote tribal interests. As so, in 1970, the Interior and Justice Departments came, belatedly, to assert that Indian treaty fishing guarantees take precedence over Washington State's power to regulate its fishery.

THE STATE VIGOROUSLY RESISTS FEDERAL LAW

The federal trust responsibility explains why the lawsuit which is too often called the "Boldt decision" was actually entitled *United States v. Washington*. Now,

four and a half years after it won that suit, the U.S. government is asking the Supreme Court to review the favorable decision. Justice and Interior Department officials offer two reasons for this startling turnabout; first, non-Indian resistance to the lower court decisions, resistance which has taken the form of widespread illegal fishing, will not subside until the nation's highest court speaks on the subject; second, Washington's supreme court has handed down recent decisions which are in direct conflict with the federal courts' rulings.

In other words, the government is saying that the Supreme Court must rule on the treaty fishing issue because Washington State has refused or failed to obey and implement the lower federal court decisions. Our constitutional system makes federal law the supreme law of the land; yet the high court of the state rejected Judge Boldt's interpretation of the treaties and forbade state officials to enforce the treaties. It did this in a lawsuit where the supposed "adversaries" of the non-treaty fishers were the same state officials who had repeatedly pronounced Boldt's decision wrong, immoral, and a disaster to the state's fishing industry. There can be little doubt that the conflicts which the federal government hopes the Supreme Court will resolve were provoked and reinforced

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by Washington State's own response to its loss in federal court.

As the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals noted on one of the four occasions when it upheld Judge Boldt, the state has gone through "extraordinary machinations in resisting the decree" during the past four years. The appeals court called what it saw "the most concerted official and private efforts to frustrate a decree of a Federal court witnessed in this century," comparable only to some school desegregation cases.

But in the desegregation cases, where state and local officials tried to appease their white constituents' racism by defying federal law, the federal government moved in to see that the law was enforced. In the fishing rights controversy, no federal force has been brought to bear on the state. To the contrary, the U.S. has initiated an important effort to appease the recalcitrant non-treaty fishers and state leaders. The U.S. proposes to compromise rather than enforce the Indians' declared rights.

FEDERAL TASK FORCE OVERLOOKS TREATY RIGHTS

Last year the Washington congressional delegation, pointing to demonstrations and violent actions by non-treaty fishers, persuaded the administration that *U.S. v. Washington* would continue to spawn controversy and volatile confrontations unless the President stepped in. As a result, President Carter appointed a cabinet level task force which was instructed to study the problem and propose a settlement that could be agreed to by all interested parties.

Although the task force was told to respect Indian treaty rights, its assigned mission of seeking agreement from the state and from non-Indian sports and commercial fishers required that it propose some departure from the treaty rights as they have been defined by the courts. And it was understood from the beginning that any settlement proposal—whether the tribes agreed to it or not—would form the basis of legislation to be introduced in Congress. This threat of a legislated diminishment in their newly affirmed rights forced the tribes to cooperate with the task force. They tried to educate the task force's local representatives and to build a good case for defeating any legislative attempt to rewrite the treaties.

Nevertheless, after nine months of hearings the task force issued a report which asks the tribes to give up important elements of their right under the treaties. Protesting non-treaty fishers have directed their anger at the fifty percent opportunity sharing imposed by the federal judge and therefore most publicity regarding the task force report has focused on the proposal that the treaty allocation be dropped to roughly forty percent. A far more significant aspect of the task force recommendation, however, is its complete disregard for the tribes' powers as sovereign governments to regulate their members' fishing. According to tribal leaders, implementation of the task force proposal would virtually return the commercial fishery in Washington to state control—a situation which prevailed before the decision in *U.S. v. Washington* and which made the litigation necessary.

Even though non-Indian fishers' spokespeople as well as the tribes have publicly rejected the task force recommendations, those recommendations are already providing the basis for bills being drafted by Washington congressmen. On September 29 Representatives Don Bonker, Norm Dicks, and Joel Pritchard announced that they are preparing legislation which will include provisions to restore control of off-reservation fishing to state agencies, and to stop commercial treaty harvests of steelhead. If enacted, these provisions would be unilateral and direct abrogations of U.S. treaty promised to Northwest Indian tribes.

ENGINEERING A CONGRESSIONAL BACKLASH

According to law developed in U.S. courts, Congress has power to override the treaties in this way, as long as it compensates the Indians for the loss of their valuable property rights. Therefore, if the Supreme Court refuses to review or to reverse the decision in *U.S. v. Washington*, our senators and representatives can be expected to press seriously the legislation which they now intend primarily as a demonstration to voters back home that they have taken to heart their anti-Indian mail.

Because it will be presented as a matter of limited local interest, any fishing bill backed by most or all of Washington's delegation should sail smoothly through Congress especially if it incorporates the proposals of an executive task force which did many months of investigation. But such congressional action would have great significance nationwide. It would come at a time when several bills to limit Indian rights and change Indians'

The Appeals Court called what it saw "the most concerted official and private efforts to frustrate a decree of a Federal Court witnessed in this century"



Terry Tafaya photo by Ben Guydelkon

When the U.S. acts as the Indians' attorney, Bell worried, "the people of the United States are without a lawyer."

legal status have been put forward. Many of the pending bills are sponsored by men who represent Washington State, but they are not all simply reactions to the uproar surrounding treaty fishing. Water rights and general jurisdiction bills drafted by Lloyd Meeds, for example, would take away resources and governmental powers which are as important to the existence of all tribes in the U.S. as fishing rights are to the existence of Northwest tribes.

Our representatives are finding allies among the delegates from Maine, Michigan, South Dakota, California, New York, and other states where people are annoyed by Indian claims to resources which the non-Indians too long ago appropriated for their own use. The Indians' claims are hardly new; but only in recent years have the tribes had access to the funds and lawyers needed to press their claims successfully. The claims apparently strike at some important interests. Led by people whose racism is but thinly disguised under rhetoric which calls for "equal rights and responsibilities" for Indians and amply funded by people who stand to lose financially if the tribes' rights are recognized, the anti-Indian lobby is well organized and effective. The opponents of Indian rights would most like to see the federal government stop backing Indian tribes when tribal and state desires conflict.

But leaders of the backlash know that it will not be easy to bring most congressional representative around to their view. It is less than two decades since Congress abandoned as disastrous an attempt to "get out of the Indian business" and came to see "self-determination" as the best solution to the terrible poverty and other grievous problems still facing Indian communities. Also, representatives from states with no substantial Indian populations can usually be counted on to vote their sympathy with Indians when the opportunity arises.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT BETRAYAL

However, Senators Magnuson and Jackson may have found a way to affect the exercise of the federal trust responsibility without getting Congress to redefine that responsibility. Using their considerable power, including Magnuson's power over the purse strings, they are pressuring officials who administer the U.S. trust not to advocate the tribes' rights against non-Indians. On March 1 this year, Jackson wrote to Attorney General Griffin Bell with the request that the Justice Department "develop methods of reducing litigation" in which Indian tribes make "claims to natural resources and jurisdiction over non-Indians." A week later Magnuson sent Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus a demand for a detailed justification of budget requests from the two Interior offices which sometimes litigate on Indian tribes' behalf. Apparently not satisfied with the response he got, Magnuson engineered the recent cuts in money needed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for regulation and enhancement of treaty fisheries in Washington.

The Senators' messages to the Carter administration are not falling on unresponsive ears. Attorney General Bell answered the Jackson/Magnuson communications in a letter dated May 25 which Jackson called "a good start" toward solving the problems raised by Indian claims. Bell indicated that the administration is reviewing the government's historic role as an advocate of Indian rights. He betrayed the bias that he brings to such an investigation in a 1977 interview which was carried in the *Atlanta Constitution*. When the U.S. acts as the Indians' attorney, Bell worried, "the people of the United States are without a lawyer."

This statement by the nation's top law enforcement officer also betrays a shameful ignorance of his duty under the law. Ten Indian leaders who signed a letter to Bell late this summer expressed succinctly the reason why the attorney general must not bow this way to pressure from non-Indians. "When the Justice Department sues to protect and enforce Indian rights, it is acting in furtherance of fundamental national policies that are as old as the nation itself... [I]t is acting to effectuate public policies just as much as it is when the United States compels private individuals to respect environmental law or to protect public property."

The Indian leaders were referring, of course, to the U.S. trust responsibility—to the responsibility which the U.S. imposed on itself. The Federal Government has long recognized its moral obligation to help and protect the people who had paid so dearly for the right to live as a separate people in their own occupied land. The Indian leaders realize, as do their opponents, that it is the U.S. trust responsibility which is at stake in the current controversy regarding Indian rights. Although they have seen the U.S. adopt destructive Indian policies in the past, the Indians fear for the very existence of their still vulnerable people if the government abandons altogether the intermittent efforts it has made to protect tribal rights and resources from the Indians' greedy and jealous neighbors.

FIGHTING FOR DE-COLONIZATION

On the other hand, there are Indian leaders, particularly in those Indian nations which have preserved their traditional governments, who believe that U.S. trusteeship is a concept which describes and excuses colonial domination of Indian nations. They share the views of Indian attorney Tim Coulter, who says:

The trust responsibility is an invention of people who thought there was something wrong with the policy whereby the United States simply stole Indian land.... I don't see any hope in the domestic law setting for the vindication of Indian rights. Indian rights didn't originate there and they won't be upheld there. And Indian rights are not truly upheld under the so-called federal trust responsibility. There isn't much that is important about Indian rights except their rights as nations...

Many Indians consider that the United States' frequent and continuing disregard of signed treaties can only be properly addressed as violations of international law. These native people, joining together in the International Indian Treaty Council, hope to bring world opinion to bear on the U.S. for repeatedly violating international law and human rights in its dealing with the Indian nations. In the meantime, they would agree with those Indians and non-Indians who feel that all people must continue to demand in all domestic forums that the United States at least honor its existing promises to the Indians.



Pam May/NWP

Randy Francisco with Orielle and Zachary Francisco.

Kids Without Schools?

by Doug Honig

In 1970 Randy Francisco was fired from an elementary school teaching job in Bellevue because his principal felt he gave students too much of a say in the classroom. After a 5-year legal battle, the state Supreme Court ordered him reinstated with full back pay. He now teaches at Clyde Hill Elementary.

In this interview Francisco discusses his philosophy of education and offers his observations of how schools have evolved in the Seventies.

Doug: You were fired 8 years ago for doing things like enabling students to choose their own reading material and set their own schedules. What's it like teaching now?

Randy: What I've found in regular public schools is basically the same as when I left. And alternative education, which I had a special interest in, has become less political. I originally saw alternative schools as a way of transition for people to take more responsibility. But the term "open education" has become so overused that no one can identify what it means. To some of us it signified a whole new way of looking at how teachers and students relate. To others it meant simply that walls of individual classrooms could be removed.

Most people still look at schools in terms of traditional roles. The teacher's job is to *make* the kids learn. Open classrooms have usually ended up being places where you're supposed to have a 3-ring circus, with the teacher as ringmaster responsible for organizing everything the kids do.

You see, young people traditionally haven't liked school very much and were liking it even less in the Sixties. I'm afraid alternative ed, with its stress on informality, was designed to seduce kids into liking school while still doing what adults want. Educators used different jargon, but still wanted to see children manipulated and controlled.

Doug: So what's your notion of teaching?

Randy: My idea of teaching is to ask kids what do you want to learn? How can I help you get control over your life?

I start from the premise that young people are curious -- they want to know how things work. But they're stuck in compulsory schools that constrict them, force them into areas in which they have no interest. I want teaching that helps kids expand, that has them really search in the world and be excited about learning.

I've learned you have to help people do this gradually. I used to think that if I could be free and open with kids, they would automatically respond. But they have all sorts of pressures from parents and society. Some students respond by demanding fixed schedules. Others even ask me during sex education if they're supposed to be learning it at that age. So you have to be very sensitive to the people you're working with and start where *they* are.

This isn't to say that older people don't have things to teach. And that there isn't a certain talent to sharing knowledge. If you feel something is important to know for survival, you should be up front about why you want to teach it. And then leave the decision to learn it up to the students. But even in a lot of alternative programs, you're held responsible for exposing kids to X amount of things, as if you were a photographer and they a roll of film.

Doug: But a lot of people say students have been given too much freedom and it didn't work.

Randy: I don't think freedom has really been seriously tried. Even alternative schools at their zenith involved very few students. People talk about going back to the basics, but we've never really left them. Like everything else, alternative education has been treated like a trend, like some new textbook.

A commitment to real alternative education would mean getting away from compulsory schools entirely. Real education is often very different from schooling. Mass high school graduation is a fairly new phenomenon, yet people have been learning their society's culture for as long as human beings have been around.

Doug: Sure. But now we're in a highly technological society.

Randy: With our technology most of what needs

to be learned can be learned on the job. It certainly doesn't take 12 years of compulsory attendance. At this point compulsory schooling is basically a way of warehousing people because we don't know what else to do with them.

I feel it's absolutely crucial that we work so that it's not mandatory that everyone go to school, even though most young people would probably keep going for a while. People must not be made criminals for not attending school.

Doug: So the basic change you want is to make school attendance voluntary?

Randy: There's a lot more to it than reforming schools. Our whole attitude toward childhood needs to be questioned.

It wasn't so long ago that kids were around most of the time, appreciated for things they did and didn't do. They learned from their parents and the people around them. Now we're in a society where people seem less interested in devoting time to young people, so they shuffle the job off to "experts." They rationalize that kids are learning if they endure a lot of schooling and get a certificate.

There was a big public sell job on schooling because of the need to enculturate all the immigrants. The public bought the idea that it would be more efficient to have specialists show kids what the culture is all about. Now people have built their whole lifestyle around not having kids around.

Children should be much more integrated into the daily life of society. People traditionally have learned things incidentally by seeing the world in operation, rather than in some make-believe, specially staged affair. Until they show an interest, younger kids should be left alone in terms of people specifically setting out to teach them.

People should look seriously at the apprenticeship notion of learning. They're possible at a much younger age than we think. Apprenticeships got a bad name prior to this century because young people were exploited;

but people forget it's because all workers were exploited back then.

Doug: If you feel this way, why are you teaching in public school?

Randy: I see school as an arena for bringing these issues up. Where else can you have such massive contact with people having trouble with schooling? There's a contradiction here, no doubt about it. But there's no way to proceed in changing our culture at this time without some contradictions.

I do feel I have things to teach young people. For example, I have an approach to reading I feel is very important. But it's not something that students have to take. They can take from it what suits them.

Also I think it's important that young people come into contact with people who have marked differences with the norm. Kids should know there's another way of looking at the world. If all people with serious differences with a system pull out, it's not going to suddenly change.

Doug: If you don't agree with the values of Bellevue where you teach, why do you remain there? Don't you believe in community control?

Randy: Most communities tend to be ingrown. I don't think schools should just parrot the values of people who live there. When young people want to find out about the world, they want to find out about the deviants. They know all about their parents' values. They need to have an idea of what else is possible.

Sure, communities should be able to make decisions for themselves. But young people are citizens of the whole society, not just a small enclave. Public institutions shouldn't be private or segregated in terms of ideas or types of people. Kids should have access to non-exploitative people of all persuasions.

Doug: Are the schools reflecting the swing toward conservatism seen in other aspects of society?

Randy: Definitely. People seem self-centered. Students have fallen into the trap of simply playing the game to get the grades. Teachers think, "What the hell can I do about things? I may as well buy a hot tub and sit in it." There's nothing new in this, it's just that "me-ism" has been popularized.

The current rage in the profession is "teaching to objectives." It dresses up in new jargon the old concept of teaching lessons that don't deviate from pre-set goals. It stresses that teachers shouldn't have discussions that digress from the main point of a lesson. Students who don't see much point in what they do in school cause what are termed "management" problems: they won't keep to a task set for them and be quiet about it. Yet managing people who don't see a reason for being there is the basic business of schools. Even in China and Cuba schools serve essentially as tools to control young people.

So teaching to objectives is being sold as a way of keeping kids on target, so you don't come out of class tired of hassling with the kids and having to deal with questions you didn't feel like handling. Of course, this approach systematically avoids some of the best learn-

ing situations -- when someone sees something they're interested in, asks a question, and learns by going on a tangent.

The assumption behind this is that school is an industry, with students as products and grades as steps on the assembly line. People want to be assured they are getting a proper return for spending money on schools. So teaching to objectives is a way to convince the public that the right steps are being followed to get the desired results from kids. The problem is that people aren't products and knowledge shouldn't be viewed as a commodity.

Doug: Yet the Legislature is very concerned about making schools accountable.

Randy: Right. The Legislature has gotten into pressing local districts to formulate learning objectives. Most have responded with umpteen committees that come up with lengthy lists of specific competencies for various grade levels. The competencies get very detailed; everyone is trying to outdo everyone else to look good.

It's completely artificial. It's unrealistic to require students to learn something just because someone else thinks they should. It doesn't work, and it's a waste of money.

This whole issue of centralization of control is important. It leaves less and less decision-making to the people who are actually doing the work. People working in any institution ought to be making decisions for themselves.

It's part of the whole industrial model foisted on

schools--this false idea that some people can be managers for what others should learn. When we talk about how much money is wasted in schools, we might consider eliminating most of management. Very few teachers or students I've talked to can see much relationship between their daily experiences and what administrators do.

Doug: Though getting certain people into management is a key part of affirmative action programs.

Randy: To many people affirmative action means that more minorities and women will move up the ladder. I feel it doesn't really matter whether the people in management are men or woman, black or Chicano. What we really must do is cut back that whole area.

School is segregationist in the sense of segregating young people from what's really going on. Real affirmative action would involve putting teachers and learners into society as a whole. Young people would learn from adults carrying on their cultures. And of course those would be all kinds of people, including women and minorities.

In the Fifties male teachers were recruited by elementary schools to provide macho images and become administrators. I think some of this is still with us. There's an undercurrent of antagonism when male teachers don't deal in things traditionally expected of male role models, when they show compassion and deal with the feelings of young people. What's needed is affirmative action that exposes youths to a wide range of human characteristics without stereotyping them.

Back to School Quiz

by Doug Honig

Time to sharpen your pencils, boys and girls, and see how you do with this week's Passage Quiz. Anyone scoring less than 70% will be required to take the quiz daily until a passing grade is made.

1. What novel was banned from Issaquah classrooms this year as "anti-religious", "full of profanities" and "part of an overall Communist plot"?
2. According to the 50's Rock & Roll group, the Coasters, "He walks in the classroom cool and slow; who calls the English teacher Daddio?"
3. If you want to go to the bathroom in school, you must first
 - a) raise your hand
 - b) get a hall pass
 - c) demonstrate a pressing need
 - d) all of the above
4. What Brazilian educator developed a "pedagogy of the oppressed," a successful approach to teaching literacy to peasants that was suppressed by the country's military dictatorship?
5. That "school children don't learn much differently than rats" was a statement made by
 - a) Spiro Agnew
 - b) S.I. Hayakawa
 - c) Benito Mussolini
 - d) an education prof at Western Wash. Univ.
6. Actress Eve Arden joined the likes of Mr. Conklin and Walter Denton in what radio and TV show set in a high school? (Hint: It was one of the last shows on education that made no pretense of being "relevant.")
7. Neill, Neill, Orange Peel is a book about the founder of what famous free school?
8. "For girls, petting is good preparation for marriage" was the correct answer to an Educational Psychology test question given at Western Wash. Univ. in
 - a) 1923
 - b) 1933
 - c) 1953
 - d) 1973
9. Where did Jimi Hendrix go to high school, when did Scoop Jackson graduate from Everett High, and in what field does Dixy Lee Ray hold a PhD?
10. Sidney Poitier starred as a tough kid won over by the teacher in what movie whose theme was "Rock around the Clock"?
11. When and where was the first teacher strike in Washington?
12. Nicknamed "the Penguin," what All-Star 3rd baseman of today's L.A. Dodgers started his sports career at Tacoma's Mt. Tahoma High?
13. The wave of student protests of the Sixties was kicked off by the Free Speech Movement in 1963 at what campus?
14. What Black Panther activist/poet teaches at the Oakland Community School, a community-operated alternative school?

THE ANSWERS

1. "Catcher in the Rye" by J.D. Salinger.
2. "Charlie Brown," a No. 1 hit in 1959.
3. d.
4. Paolo Freire.
5. d. in a "Secondary School Instruction Methods" class I took in 1973.
6. "Our Miss Brooks."
7. Sumner.
8. d. in an "Adolescent Psychology" course I took.
9. Garfield High in Seattle, 1930, and Marine Biology (Stanford, 1945).
10. "The Blackboard Jungle," 1955.
11. 1972 in Aberdeen, 12 Ron Cay, 13 U. Cal., Berkeley, 14. Ericka Huggins.

BONUS QUESTION

The Passage will donate a subscription to a prisoner on behalf of the first reader who sends in the name of the man pictured here. (Send all entries to "NWP Quiz" at the Passage's Seattle office.)

Once dubbed "the Mickey Spillane of education," this oft-quoted California Supt. of Public Instruction during the Sixties is still syndicated in many papers. He rose to prominence with such pearls of wisdom as "The worst of our youngsters are growing up to become booted, ducktailed, unwashed, leather-jacketed Slobs whose favorite sport is ravaging little girls and stomping polio victims to death."



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Jobs & the Environment

Cancer in Our Lives

by Rick Swann

Environmental groups and labor have traditionally squared off. That conflict has been described as a conflict between the already affluent who want clean air, water and the survival of porpoises, against those, not yet affluent, for whom immediate jobs and comforts are more important.

But at a time when there is a growing awareness of both the physical limits to growth and of the spread of environmentally-caused cancer, it seems that certain basic concerns might be common to both groups.

CANCER: A GROWING PROBLEM

Cancer has gone from being the nation's number eight killer in 1900 to the number two killer in 1970, and its rise is accelerating. The American Cancer Society has stated that soon, the ratio of Americans developing cancer will be one in four. Of those cases, two-thirds will be fatal.

Approximately 90 per cent of all cancer is caused by environmental factors (with 10 per cent involving genetic or viral causes). And 90 per cent of that cancer is caused by chemicals. Yet in addition to the estimated 30,000 chemicals in commercial production now, several hundred new varieties are added annually. Most of these we know little about, especially their carcinogenicity (likelihood to cause cancer) because cancer has a latency period of up to 40 years and may not be traced back to the chemical cause after that amount of time.

Unfortunately, little energy is spent by those in the cancer research field working to find and ban the carcinogens. In fact, the American Cancer Society has failed to support legislation such as the Toxic Substance Control Act, and has never backed a ban on any carcinogenic product. Instead, they have concentrated on trying to find a cure for already-existing cancer, with little success.

WORK SAFETY TRADEOFFS

The common concern of environmentalists and labor is brought to light by the fact that workers are expected to handle these carcinogenic chemicals, both in the actual process of manufacturing the chemicals themselves, and in the manufacture of other products. Although scientists have not been able to determine threshold levels (if they indeed exist) of safe exposure to these chemicals, arbitrary levels are set. Regulation of these levels invariably gets decided on political and economic grounds, rather than safety to the worker.

Here, the policy-makers must make the tradeoff between the cost of controlling an economically valuable chemical, and the threat to workers' lives. The costs of controlling exposure to the chemicals is high, and business uses that as its main rationalization for not developing controls.

When DuPont last year discovered a high rate of cancer among its textile workers handling the chemical AN, the Department of Occupational Safety and Health moved to limit worker's exposure on an emergency basis. OSHA wanted to drop exposure levels from 20 parts per million to 2ppm, and eventually to .2ppm a day (and even at this level, cancer can develop).



The President's Council of Wage and Price Stability, relying on DuPont data and calculating that only 3,400 workers are exposed to any significant degree to AN, said that this move would prevent only 18 cancer cases and 7 deaths, while costing the industry \$126.2 million in engineering changes. (And, they argued, even with this limited exposure, the risk of cancer still exists.)

Their final argument was that an 8.5 percent rise in the price of AN and its products would result from OSHA proposed limits. Therefore, they resisted any measures to control industrial exposure to AN.

The same debate on a more massive scale is raging in the textile industry. There, as many as 150,000 of the country's 800,000 textile workers are believed to be afflicted with byssinosis, or "brown lung" disease, caused by the inhalation of cotton dust.

OSHA has compromised itself in this instance, leaving 13 percent of the work force still exposed to high levels of cotton dust while the American Textile Manufacturers Institute is threatening to drag them to court for taking any action at all.

ENVIRONMENTAL "RESTRAINTS"?

While OSHA is charged with regulating the workplace, the EPA is charged with safeguarding the environment and the public from toxic substances.

As with OSHA, most of the programs termed environmental operate within the framework of the system. The constraints are of an "institutional" nature, generally regulatory or of a resource-management type, carried out within a particular economic and legal context. They are not long-term solutions.

Pollution control devices, for instance, are short-term. If 50 percent of existing pollution sources were removed today by the implementation of these devices, but economic growth in the sectors creating this pollution continued at 4 percent a year, in less than 20 years pollution would have risen to its current level.

The EPA, by the way, has also been criticized by the President's Council of Wage and Price Stability for the "inflationary" effects of its regulations.

BUSINESS' CALL FOR "ECONOMIC PLANNING"

OSHA and the EPA, though designated as federal protection agencies, do not however represent environmental concern groups. Nor do they represent the labor force.

There are many groups in these sectors that do, but they have one liability in common: they are special interest groups not aligned along any sort of broad front.

Business, on the other hand, is organized. Worried about dwindling natural resources, industry seems to be entrenching itself. The current call for "economic planning" is their solution to shrinking profits.

As Nobel prize-winning economist Wassily Leontief has said, planning "will come not because some wild radicals will demand it, but because businessmen will demand it to keep the system from sputtering to a halt."

Financier Felix Rabatyn has even proposed the resurrection of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation of Depression days, which would formalize direct subsidies to ailing corporations so that firms like Lockheed would not have to go to Congress every time they needed more government money.

The same group of businesspeople who are working to restrain environmental and workplace safety constraints, and requesting governmental subsidies, are also lobbying for sufficient unemployment and reduced social welfare programs to keep wages down.

Here in Washington State, the Association of Washington Businesses militantly lobbies for government intervention...in their interest...in both labor and environmentally-related issues.

Cindy Gipple of the Teamsters 741 and the Coalition for Protective Legislation, an independent labor group lobbying for legislation prohibiting mandatory overtime, better working conditions and 30 for 40, says that "any hearings" on these issues "brings the Association down to Olympia in force."

The Association of Washington Businesses is also the main group behind an attempt to terminate the Clean Air Act by having it covered by the Sunset Act of 1977. The Act would thus be void in 1982, leaving this state as the only one without clean air legislation.

Furthermore, the Association is working on a bill with Rep. Joe Hansen of Moses Lake that would require environmentalists and others who bring lawsuits against developments to post bonds to cover the costs of delays.

LABOR HAS UNUSED POWER

Labor holds the key to both its own weakened position and that of environmental groups.

The Council of Environmental Quality and the EPA can argue rightly, that environmental protection has created many more jobs that it has eliminated. But this argument has shortcomings: the jobs created are usually not in the community where the job losses occur.

Businesses work on those economic fears. They use industrial blackmail: threatening shutdown or the raising of consumer prices in order to hold their own position of power. Business has not only set labor against environmental progress, it has gotten people to work while knowing they are endangering their health. As Cindy Gipple says it becomes a choice "to feed your spouse and family or lose 10 years off of your life." Enough people choose the latter to keep the system operating.

She believes that there is a "need for mutual agreement within labor, and with environmental groups in order to achieve anything." And so far, that agreement is lacking.

WHERE WILL THE SYSTEM GO?

One solution might be a coalition of groups to work on something like the original Humphrey-Hawkins bill that guaranteed full employment. A guaranteed job program would go a long way toward eliminating the fear of economic loss that is at the heart of the matter.

Also, rather than subsidize businesses when they're not doing well, "emergency" funds of that sort could go to help communities take over businesses when their parent corporations desert those communities. There are two such factories now operating: a lathe manufacturer in Indiana, and an asbestos plant in Vermont.

And, of course, if a certain amount of retooling is

continued next page

OVERCROWDING:

More than just too many people



The word "prison" has become almost synonymous today with overcrowded conditions. This overcrowding leads to a tense and dangerous living situation for prisoners, and causes custody personnel to fear rebellion or retaliation by prisoners.

A range of solutions are being attempted. In Florida, Alabama and Maryland, prisoners have won court cases directing the immediate release of some inmates as a first step toward alleviating inhuman conditions.

In Washington, a class action suit has been filed by prisoners at Monroe to release one-third of the population.

Washington, however, like most states, has long attempted to keep the lid on its problems. But under pressure for action both from the public, and also from private construction interests, the Dept. of Corrections and DSHS have proposed a "solution": building more prisons.

Remodeling of current facilities, building one new major prison and two mini-prisons, all for a tab of roughly \$45 million, are proposals currently being considered by the State Legislature. While prison administrators favor this solution, groups such as the recently-formed Washington Coalition Against More Prisons (Wa. CAMP) have publicly called for the release of 1,000 Washington State prisoners. They point to the fact that many people now in prison, could be safely released into the community. CAMP says, "We're talking about people convicted of non-violent and victimless crimes, and parole violators. They state that even establishment figures concur with this reasoning: the Governor's 1977 'Blue Ribbon' Commission on Corrections recommended releasing 500 Walla Walla prisoners; ex-warden B.J. Rhay called for 800 Walla Walla releases; and even the Chairperson to the Board of Prison Terms and Parole recommended that a more conservative figure of 300 could be currently released.

Despite these recommendations only a small number of prisoners are being paroled. Meanwhile, prison populations are at 150 percent capacity and increasing daily. The economic end of the overcrowding problem is serious also. Currently, it costs almost \$16,000 a year to maintain each prisoner, and this figure is also climbing.

The following article sent to the Passage by prisoners in the segregation unit at the Washington State Pen at Walla Walla talks about overcrowding and some of the underlying issues that are often glossed over or neglected when addressing the problem.

MORE ON OVERCROWDING

Governor Ray recently stated that overcrowding of state penal facilities is not the problem in Washington's prisons. She said overcrowding is but one of many problems, most of which date back to 1966 and the introduction of the philosophy of rehabilitation. In her opinion the root cause of prisoner unrest stems from the introduction of an improper conceptual approach to corrections. Her scapegoat is Dr. Conte, the former Director of Corrections and the man responsible for trying to implement the concepts of rehabilitation into this state's prison system. The Governor advocates getting back to "basics" as a solution to the increasing anger of prisoners—corrections basics is a euphemism for pure punishment. Those who disagree with her are branded as being "simplistic."

We are a group of progressive prisoners here at the Washington State Penitentiary who happen to have some

ideas of our own. Since we are victimized on a day to day basis by the oppressive cruelty of these institutions to the tiny cages provided prisoners here at Walla Walla to force prisoners to experience the stress placed on the prison hospital, kitchen and other essential services that were designed to serve half the number of prisoners they we have the right to put forward and fight for the demands that will best serve the interests of both the public and the prisoners.

This puts us at odds with Governor Ray and the solutions she proposes. While we agree that the problem of the prisons is an old one, going a lot further back than the decade suggested by the Governor, we do not agree that the solution lies in regressing into the arms of the failures of the past. It was, if you remember, the failure of long sentences and strict punishment to curb the growing recidivism rate that led to the adoption of the rehabilitation concept. This concept has never been given a meaningful opportunity to work. Changing the name of prisons to "Corrections Centers", guards to "Correctional Officers", wardens to "Superintendents" and prisoners to "Residents" has not resulted in the rehabilitation of anyone. Neither has the institution of token reforms that did not involve a transfer of actual power into the hands of the prisoners, such as control of all non-custody budgets and a voice in release procedures, lead to anyone's rehabilitation. And while the state cries about the failure of rehabilitation to work, the only vocational training available to prisoners in this place is license plate making 101. The concept of rehabilitation has not failed; it was sabotaged by the state before it ever got off the ground.

The answer is not to go backwards into the unworkable past. It is, rather, to go forwards into the more just future. The starting point is to implement the concept of rehabilitation in a real way, with genuine prisoner helping-prisoner programs and concern for the material and emotional well-being of prisoners.

We would indeed be guilty of oversimplification if we tried to pass the problem of the prisons off as a difference between the conservative and liberal approach, i.e. punishment vs. rehabilitation. It is more complex than that. Actually both concepts are bankrupt inasmuch as each has as its aim the adjustment of prisoners to an environment that is destructive to the best notions of humanity. No, overcrowding is not "the" problem. It is more like a symptom of a far deeper problem—one that Ray cannot admit—and this is the inability of the state to provide its poor with jobs or other meaningful social opportunities. It is a problem of the system. Capitalism is in such a state of decay that it cannot meet the basic needs of an increasing segment of its population. Such a situation must inevitably result in prisons stuffed to the gills.

We do not claim that a reduction in prison populations is going to in any way solve the growing number of poor people forced into unlawful means of support. It is not. What we are saying is that it is morally, ethically and legally wrong to confine four human beings in

presently serve (this stress is measured in terms of inadequately treated or dead men at the hospital or improper clothing to wear if considering the clothing room); and cruel to make people live in an atmosphere of fear and tension because of the short tempers resulting from too many people in too small a space for too long a period of time. This dehumanizing condition of existence is politely referred to as the strain of over-crowding. Our captors justify this condition of existence by saying that we have been convicted of a "crime", the theory being that such conviction deprives us of the right to resist the crimes being committed in the holy name of punishment.

If punishment is to be the name of the game, so be it. The mere fact that we are confined in a condemned prison 350 miles from our families and loved ones is the only legitimate interest the state can have in punishment. Anything beyond simple confinement is a form of torture. Now we might passively submit to the numerous indignities inflicted upon us by overcrowding if it were not for the fact that it is an unnecessary condition. The Chairman of the State Parole Board told the House Institutions Committee that several hundred W.S.P. inmates could be released immediately. The former warden put the figure at 800 prisoners. And the President's Task Force on Corrections says that eighty percent of those confined in maximum security prisons do not require such an intense level of custody. There are hundreds of non-violent and victimless offenders at W.S.P. who can be released immediately, thus reducing the terrible strain of overcrowding. The Governor knows this. She also knows the all she has to do is order the parole board to release the necessary number of prisoners and the intensity of the problem will be relieved. With a ceiling of 850 prisoners, instead of the nearly 1,400 we presently have, this particular problem will not reoccur.

Governor Ray was here a few months ago. She examined the cells and made noises on television about how small they were. She saw our posters demanding relief from what we called intolerable overcrowding and was told by prison leaders of the pressing need to rectify this situation. She went back to Olympia where she quickly forgot the problem.

Months of continuous unrest in the state's prisons, including a work-strike around overcrowding at Monroe and a bomb blast in the Walla Walla control room that killed one guard and injured four more, should be an indication that prisoners are not going to continue to let the state ignore its responsibility to those in its custody.

No, over-crowding is not the problem. It is, however, a symptom from which we must be given some relief. State law requires that prisoners be given more unobstructed floor space than we are receiving. In fact, the law provides more space for animals in a zoo than what they give us. This is a crime against both law and humanity. Governor Ray and the system she represents are the criminals.

The Walla Walla Brothers

Continued from previous page

necessary for a shift in the economy, it can come in areas where major changes wouldn't be necessary. The economist Gar Alperowitz has estimated that if one-fifth of all traffic was shifted to public transportation, one million new jobs would be created, and a significant number of these could be from a retooled auto industry.

One thing is certain: big business poses a threat in this country. Along with the government, it is pursuing measures (such as nuclear and coal-fired power plants,

the production of new chemicals) that will further endanger workers' and the public's health.

As resources scarcer, businesspeople will continue to try and eliminate environmental controls in the name of "protecting the system" (i.e. in order to realize consistent private profits). Labor, for the same reasons, can expect to experience worsening conditions.

If the experience of Third World democracies can serve as a lesson, constraints on human freedom can quickly be applied in the name of protecting the system as a whole. The system, however, has proved itself

unhealthy.

Further discussion can be found in: "Controlling Chemical Hazards" by Peter Behr, *Environment* Vol. 20, 6; "A Civil Servant of the Environment" by Gus Speth, *Center Magazine* Vol. 11, 3; "Building a Democratic Economy" by Gar Alperowitz and Jeff Faux, *progressive* July 1977; "No Room in the Lifeboats" by Richard Barnett *New York Times Magazine* April 16, 1978.

Also, there will be a dialogue entitled "Jobs or the Environment: Must We Choose?" sponsored by the Coalition for Protective Legislation on MON. OCT. 30, 7:30 pm at the Seattle Labor Temple, 2800 1st Ave.

CALENDAR

Events

KCTS Ch. 9: 9 part ELECTION SPECIAL starts Tues. Oct. 10 7:30 PM with report on Norm Rice/Wayne Larkin race. Weds. Oct. 11, 10:30 PM, Ann Sandstrom/Jim McDermott race airs. 5432000 for info.

Cynthia Rice, UW Epilepsy Ctr. presents course on **EPILEPSY**. University YWCA, 4224 U. Way NE, Tues. Oct. 10, 7:30 PM. 632-4747 to register.

League of Women Voters and Metrocenter present forum series, **'INITIATIVE 13: Should Seattle's Anti-discrimination laws be changed?'** at 7:30 PM Thrus. Oct. 12, Washington Jr. High, 2101 S. Jackson Central District; Tues. Oct. 17, Whitman Jr. High, 9201-15th N.W. Ballard; Tues. Oct. 24, Ad-dams Jr. High, 11051-34th N.E. Lake City.

Native American Solidarity Committee presents program for **INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH AMERICAN INDIANS**, Thurs. Oct. 12, 6:30 PM at Seattle Masonic Temple. Indian crafts, light dinner, Marie Sanchez speaking, music, pow-wow. \$2 donation. Childcar® 324-7738.

Innerspace Womyn's Coffee House, 5241 Univ. Wy N.E. is open Fridays 9-12 midnight. Oct. 13 & 20 programs feature **OPEN MIKE** with poetry reading and jamming. Oct. 27 is **HALLOW'S EVE COSTUME PARTY**.

Fri. Oct. 13-Sun. 15 **NORTHWEST WOMEN STUDIES REGIONAL FALL CONFERENCE** at U. of Washington. Workshops include: How to use sexist Materials in a non-sexist way & How can women's studies respond to community needs? Panels on Women writers; Oral History; Feminist Therapy. fee \$10. call Women's Studies 543-6900.

Four forums on **DOMESTIC VIOLENCE** arranged by Metrocenter Y, Fri. Oct. 13, 7:30-9:30 at Puget Counseling Center North, 901 N. 96th St. Speakers include Dr. Lynne Iglitzin, UW Dept of Political Science, Dr. Vick Boyd, Group Health Hospital and Karil Klingbeil, Harborview Hospital.

Mini-Public Forum on **ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT** to be held at Environmental Faire, Coliseum, Seattle Center, Sat. Oct. 14, 3-4 PM. Speakers discuss "The 3rd World and the Space Ship Earth" and "Food/Population/Development-Interrelations" Info. 543-1812.

Sat. Oct. 14 University YWCA holds **FINANCIAL PLANNING FOR WOMEN** class from 10am-2pm. Members \$10, non-members \$13 4224 U. Wy. NE Register 632-4747.

Brynn Boerse of Sea Water Conservation Laboratory speaks at **ENVIRONMENTAL FAIRE**, Sat. Oct. 14, 11 AM, Room A on Ocean Technology.

5TH ANNUAL NE WASHINGTON BARTER FAIR on Oct. 14 and 15. Sell or barter your excess food or crafts. For directions, contact Rural Resources and Information, Rt. 2, Box 2-A, Rice, Wa. 99167.

The Olympia Women's Center for Health (OWCH) holds **SATURDAY WORKSHOPS** Oct. 14 Breast Health; Oct. 21 Common Female Illnesses; Oct 28 Sexuality; Nov. 4 Birth Control. Info at 943-6924.

KCTS Ch. 9 airs **THE CHAMPIONS'**, two 1-hr. documentaries on Quebec PM. Rene Levesque and Canadian P.M. Pierre Trudeau. Sat. Oct. 14, 10PM and Sun. Oct. 15, 8 PM. Focus on public and private lives.

SCAT presents **SKATE FOR SCAT**, disco roller skating for the family, Sun. Oct. 15, 7-9:30 PM, Lake Hills Roller Rink, 164th and 8th NE, Bellevue. \$1.75 children, \$2.50 adults. SCAT meets 1st and 3rd Thursday of each month, 7:30 PM, Capitol Hill Methodist Church, 16th Ave. & E. John.

Frederick Wiseman's **SINAI FIELD MISSION**, documentary on American-run surveillance base in Sinai, airs on KCTS Ch. 9, Tues. Oct. 17, 10 PM.

Wed., Oct. 18, 7:30 PM, Committee to **STOP COORS BEER**, meets for 1st time at Northwest Passage Office, 1017 E. Pike St. to plan strategies. All interested parties welcome.

Della Balick, Sex Equity Commission Seattle Public Schools, speaks on **HOMEMAKERS AND THE ERA**, Thurs., Oct. 19, downtown, YWCA, 5th and Seneca, 8 PM.

NATIONAL LAWYERS BUILD NW REGIONAL CONFERENCE, Fri., Oct. 20-Sun. Oct. 22, UW Law School, Campus Pkwy and 41st NE. Workshops on Political Spying by Police, The Struggle in S. Africa, Anti-Nuke Movement, Indian Fishing Rights, Economics of the Housing Shortage, and others. \$10-15-20 fee. Call 682-1948.

Sat. Oct. 21, Live Without Trident sponsors **RUMMAGE SALE**, 10 AM-5 PM at corner of NE 45th and 16th Ave NE. Call 632-8323.

CALIFORNIA REICH, documentary on National Socialist White Peoples' Party (American Nazis) airs Sun. Oct. 22, 8 PM, KCTS 9.

2nd forum on **DOMESTIC VIOLENCE**, Sun. Oct. 22 at Plymouth Congregational Church, Hildebrand Hall, 1217 6th Ave., 10-11:30 AM. Speakers are Carol Orlock, author, and Stuart Dautoff, counselor at Family and Child Services.

Oct. 22, **BREAD AND ROSES COLLECTIVE NON-SECTARIAN PROGRESSIVE SCHOOL** opens registration for classes on Sun. Oct. 22 at 915 E. Pine. Courses incl. anarchism, medicine and capitalism, 'left' writing. Call 323-4640.

Tues., Oct. 24, 11:30 PM, KCTS Ch. 9 airs **THIEVES OF TIME**, documentary on the destruction and illegal plundering of ancient Indian ruins in Arizona.

3rd forum on **DOMESTIC VIOLENCE**, Tues. Oct. 24, 7-8:45 PM at Greenwood Library, 8016 Greenwood Ave. N.

The Feminist Writers Guild sponsors a **WORKSHOP ON BOOK REVIEWING**, Tues. Oct. 24, 7:30 PM at the University YWCA, 4224 U Way NE. Speakers include Barbara Wilson, Michelle Celarier, Debra Dragovich, Susan Pelzer and Karen Gales.

4th forum on **DOMESTIC VIOLENCE** Thurs. Oct. 26, 7:30-9:30 PM at the King City Multi-Service Ctr., 2450 Star Lake Rd., Panel includes Susan Watkins, UW Women's Studies, and Kay Frank, Evergreen Legal Service. Abused Women Project. Battered Women and the Legal System and history of laws relating to marital violence to be discussed.

FORUM ON FISHING RIGHTS, Thurs. Oct. 26, 7 PM at Douglas-Truth Library 23rd and E. Yesler Way. Phil Sutherland, Puget Sound Gillnetters Assn., Gary Morishima, Fisheries Biologist, and spokesperson from Northwest Indian Fish Commission will speak. Call 625-4904.

Sat. Oct. 28, Seattle Tenants Union hold **BOOK SALE BENEFIT** from 10 AM-9 PM at Red & Black Books, 4736 U. Way NE.

JOBS OR THE ENVIRONMENT: MUST WE CHOOSE? will be discussed by Tom Burkholders, Intl. Rep. for Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and Dennis Bader, Crabshell Alliance at a public meeting Mon. Oct. 30, 7:30 PM at Seattle. Labor Temple, 2800-1st Ave. 632-7468.

The ASWWU Program Commission Presents:

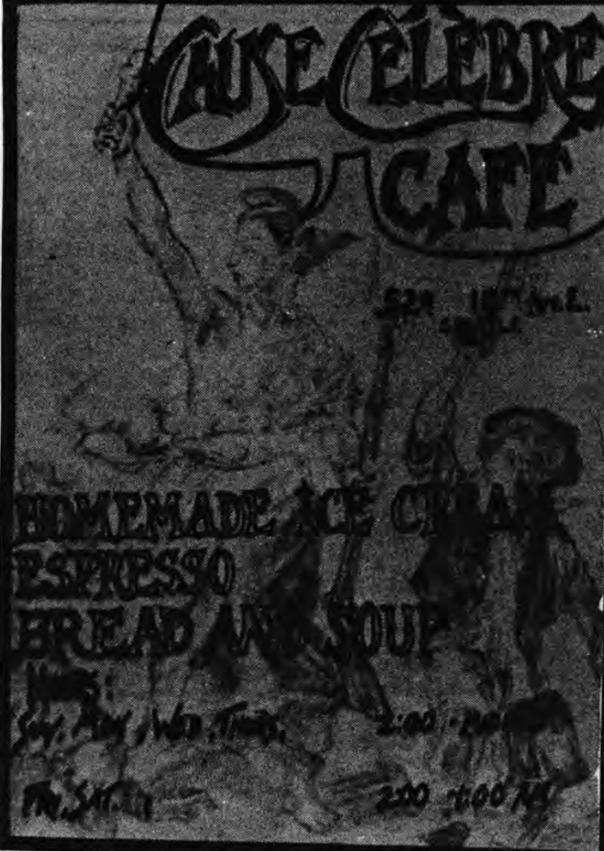


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CALENDAR

Rural America, a national non-profit advocacy organization for small towns and rural areas, sponsors conference entitled **'THE RURAL NORTHWEST: THE LAND, THE PEOPLE AND THE REGION'**, Sun. Nov. 12-Tues. Nov. 14 at the Olympic Hotel in Seattle. Regis. fees \$20 R.A. members, \$30 non-members, \$15 students. Write Rural America, 1346 Connecticut Ave NW, Wash. D.C. 20036 or call (202) 659-2800.

Fri. Nov. 17-Sun. Nov. 19, Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media (WAVPM) holds 1st Nat'l **FEMINIST CONFERENCE ON PORNOGRAPHY** in San Francisco. Focus on developing a feminist analysis of pornography. Write WAVPM PO Box 14614, San Francisco, Ca 94114 for info.

Art

'IMAGES IN CLAY' by Mary Ann Johns at Chrysalis Gallery, Fairhaven, Dorm 2 Western Washington U, Bellingham thru Oct. 20. Slide lecture Fri. Oct. 20, 1 PM.

'PHOTOGRAPHS '72, '73, '78' by Linda Rockwood and **'EARTH-SKY IN FIBER'** by Rita Hollingsworth are at the Women's Cultural Center, 4224 U Way NE, thru Oct. 27. 9AM-5PM.

Cafe Intermezzo 212 W. 4th, Olympia exhibiting "Photography in the Northwest: 1860-1935" thru Nov 2. Contemporary Northwest Artworks from the permanent collection thru Nov 19. Both at Whatcom Museum of History and Art 121 Prospect St. B'ham.

Ingmar Bergman original television series **Scenes from a Marriage** airs on KCTS ch 9 Wed Oct 11, 11pm.

Krab Radio, 107.7 FM presents a night of Lenny Bruce Concerts Thurs Oct 12 beginning at 11 pm. Program features 3 concerts: Carnegie Hall & Curran Theater in 1961 and a Berkeley concert from 1963.

Thurs Oct 12 8 pm The Market School presents a program of 5 films on **Folk Individuals**. Folk musicians discuss their craft on-film. \$3 1916 Pike Place, 682-0988

Thurs Oct 12 7:30 pm Jack Dejohnette's Directions and the Olympia Jazz workshop "Obrador" at Seattle Concert Theatre. \$5. Fairview N. & John. 624-2770

Reception for special 1-man exhibit of recent drawings and paintings by E. Walker, Northwest muralist and painter Sat Oct 14 3-8 pm Exhibit shows Sun Oct 15 12-6pm at U'W. Ethnic Cultural Center 3931 Brooklyn Ave N.E.

Tues Oct 17 8:15 pm, a slide lecture on Northwest photographers Darius and Tabitha Kinsey will be given by D. Bohm at Whatcom Museum, B'ham.

Tues Oct 17 6 pm KRAB Radio presents PP **POETRY WINDOWS**. 2 short stories by Alice Walker recorded at Bumbershoot. 107.7 FM

Arlo Guthrie in concert Wed Oct 18 8 pm in Carver Gym, Western Wash. U. \$5

Thurs Oct 19 7 pm Native American Solidarity Committee and Setattle Public Library present a film "I Will Fight No More Forever" at Columbia Library 4721 Rainier Ave. S. 625-4921.

The Market School Folk Music series cont. Thurs. Oct 19 with 4 films on **Festivals and Performances**. 8 pm 1916 Pike Pl. 682-0988

Sat Oct 21 8 pm the Touring Trio of the American Contemporary Dance Co. performs and improvises at Gould Hall Court, UW. Corner NE 40th and U. Wy. 623-2232

Wed. Oct 25 8 pm Poetry and Music sponsored by Poetry Exchange at the Classic Coffeehouse 5509 U Wy. NE. Julianne Seeman, Candace Purser & Mary Litchfield read & sing.

Thurs Oct 26 The Market School Folk Music Film series presents 4 films on **Mississippi Folk**. 8 pm 1916 Pike Pl. \$3. 682-0988

Thurs Oct 26 The Ethnic Cultural Ctr presents Miguel Pinero's play "Short Eyes" Performances Thurs, Fri, Sat thru Nov 18 8pm. \$3 general, \$2 students-seniors. 3931 Brooklyn Ave NE. 543-4635 res.

KCTS ch 9 airs **Visions**, an original teleplay by David Epstein about a young disc jockey who deals drugs and alienates his friends, Fri Oct 27 10:30 pm.

Thurs November 2 8 pm, 3 films about country fiddling shown at the Market School 1916 Pike Pl. \$3. 682-0988



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JOIN US TODAY!

Give a few hours. YOU can learn to canvass. Call the SCAT/WAT office at 292-9172. Come to a canvassing orientation session Sunday, October 15, 3-5 p.m. at Capitol Hill Methodist Church, 16th and E. John, or Tuesday, October 17, 7-9 p.m. at University Unitarian Church, 6556 35th NE.

WE NEED YOU ON NOVEMBER 7, ELECTION DAY.

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4. Help with childcare
5. Distribute leaflets.

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Letters continued

male prisoners, to sterilization abuse of women of color, to anti-imperialist work, to union organizing... most of these groups include men and women of all sexual orientations. We work with and try to give and receive personal support from the other members of these groups. Obviously the lesbian community that I know does not assume that if you deal with men, that you accept the patriarchy, but your insistence that bisexuals face the same oppression as lesbians is ludicrous. Bisexual women are oppressed, their lifestyle is not sanctioned by society. But a bisexual woman does receive privileges when she relates to men sexually that lesbians do not have; you can fight against bisexual and heterosexual privilege but you can't give it up because society gives it to you every time you have a male lover. As long as you are bisexual you can not give up that privilege, anymore than I can give up the the privilege, I receive for my white skin even though I am fighting racism. The way to deal with our privilege is not to deny that it exists but to acknowledge it and fight against the roots of that privilege, in ourselves and society.

I doubt that NWP would print an article criticizing the American left that used statements from the U.S. Labor Party as examples of leftist thinking. Yet you print an article that does similar things to the women's movement. Guila does not give us the names of the women or the groups from which she is quoting ideas, instead she tells us where she "perceives many dykes to be coming from." She does not tell us how she arrived at her perceptions, whether these are the opinions of a small minority or generally accepted. Her fabrication of the history of the influence of separatism should have been checked out with someone who knows something about the herstory of the lesbian community and lesbian political analysis. Guila would have discovered the long time political split over separatist issues from the very beginning of their development. If anything there has been a herstory of too much lack of "esteem" and respect, and too much trashing on both sides. I too was told by patriarchal society that "all lesbians hate men," and that "all dykes look the same," but I expected better from the women's issue of NWP!

I thought that "Why Talk About Heterosexual Relationships?" was a very defensive article. "People will soon accept the fact that heterosexuality is not a condition that will wither like the state," is an over-reaction to a viewpoint held by lesbian separatists (and I doubt if they will ever accept this idea anyway, so who are you talking about?) I do not think that heterosexuality is politically incorrect. Parts of the Women's movement developed in consciousness raising groups in which women seldom talked of anything but their male lovers. I admit that I welcomed the time when women began to discuss other issues too, but I continue to support and talk to my bisexual and heterosexual friends about their sexual relationships. I also discuss political issues involved in heterosexual relationships in the Women's Studies class I facilitate and in other groups. Some opposite sex relationships are very healthy and supportive for the women involved. If some heterosexual women feel ashamed or guilty about relating to men sexually, they should not blame it on the women's movement. Where is the organization of heterosexual radical feminists in Seattle, why didn't you start a women's groups to fight Initiative 13? When a group of lesbians got together to organize an anti-13 groups we very consciously made it a group for all women of whatever sexuality. Sometimes lesbians choose

to be in all lesbian groups, we are proud of being lesbians and sometimes it gives us strength to work only with each other. But this doesn't mean that you can't be proud of being heterosexual or bisexual. These two articles seem to be part of a straight and bisexual backlash against lesbians in the women's movement. It's true that lesbians have had a large role in developing the analysis and direction of the movement, but this is because we have put so much work and energy into it. Our strength and our pride does not have to detract from you, unless you let it.

Karen M. Rudolph

Author's Reply:

I want to make a short response to Karen Rudolph. I think the most important thing I can say is what I said in my article's first paragraph: that I can only speak from my own experiences, and talk about *my* perceptions, *my* analysis, *my* preferences. Karen doesn't seem willing to accept this, desiring instead to perceive my personal decisions as evangelism and trashing.

If I had written my article based on Karen's and my shared experience alone on a small committee of 6, I would perhaps deserve the label "homophobe." I agree that generalizations based on a small sphere or stemming from one episode are prejudiced, unfair, and ignorant. Just as Karen assumes I know nothing of lesbian political analysis or 'the split', she also assumes I've lived in a bell jar, totally removed from interactions outside our committee experience. I mention this example in my article because it co-incided with the peak of my frustrations, stemming from many experiences. Really, should I have listed them?

Any criticisms of any oppressed group can and will be considered backlash by some. Whether or not they agree with me, I have no doubt that my article caused both lesbian and straight women to think or re-think. Where does a movement's strength lie except in its questioning, analysing, *thinking* members?

Guila Howard

Kudos for Women's Issue

Dear NWP,

The 5th Annual Women's Issue was exciting to read. The well-rounded selection of articles presented welcome information and original thought on where the women's movement is today. The women's issue emphasized support for women's self respect, as in Sally Kinney's interviews with secretaries, an attitude which I find refreshing. I was moved by how revealing most of the material was, and felt an overriding sense of people reaching out to one another. The effort that was put into this issue is greatly appreciated.

Thank you,
Chris Miner

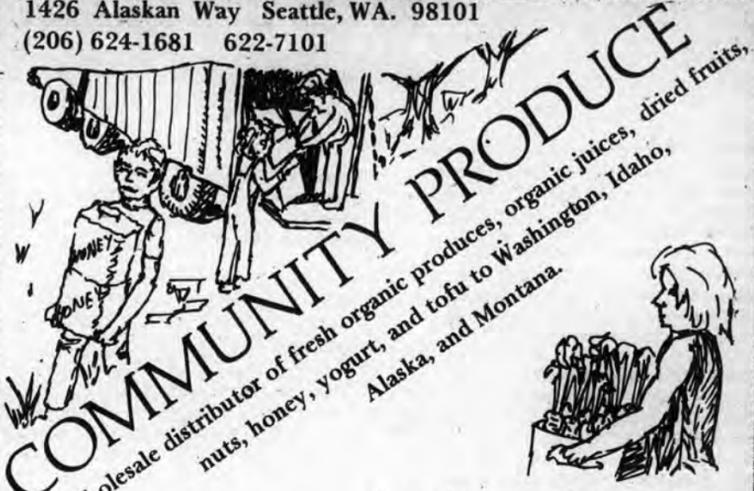
German Readers Praise NWP

Dear Friends:

My husband and I read your article about Germany, in the August 22 edition and felt that it was extremely good and accurate. (We are both living in Germany; he is German, I'm American.) Unfortunately, we neglected to take the article with us. I would like very much to translate the article for a newspaper here, if you wouldn't mind. It would be an article entitled something like "Germany as seen from America: --an article from 'Northwest Passage.'"

Sincerely,
Nancy Eichner

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Connections

photo/ Bill Patz

Personals

Men's House. I am forming a household for men against sexism. I want to set up a house in Seattle with other men who share my interests. I would like to live w/men of all ages & sexual preferences. Ideas I'd like to form the house around are: fighting sexism in ourselves, supporting and nurturing each other, and giving criticism when we deserve it. Me? I'm a faerie, an anarchist and a dancer, very politically active and a mainly raw food, no dairy vegetarian. Call George 522-4587

ISKRA: We lost your number. Please call office 323-0354. Also JEAN, who wanted to sell ads.

Traveling Companion, Business-Barter Partner needed for a trip to Peru S.A. Call 217-378-4175 and ask for Ellie

Housemate wanted for communal house in Wallingford. 2 Women, 1 man looking for lively person to join us in sharing dinners & chores. Person should combine social awareness w/good sense of humor. \$100/month + ut. Call 633-1635.

Walter Hatch: What's your new phone? Do you still want to do the labor article we talked about? Give me a call at 633-1635. Doug.

Marje Anderson: Do you still want to do darkroom work for the NWP? If so leave a message at the NWP office

Jack Court would like to receive letters from anyone interested in writing. Write J. C. 145874 P.O. Box 511 Columbus Ohio 43216

Announcements

Remodel work; all phases, Plumbing a specialty. Trade for a servicable van, panel or pick-up truck, or ? Paul 329-9022

Meeting Thurs Oct 19th 7:00 pm E Pike st NWP Office for photographers interested in forming mutual support system. Bring your work & munchies.

Help up save our house! 467 S. State St is doomed to be bull-dozed to the ground for 20 unit apts. You can help by coming to a gathering at our house Sat Sept 30 call 734-3437

KRAB Radio fund raising drive thru Oct 15. Help keep public access radio alive in W. Wash. with a \$25 donation. 325-5110

Are you interested in helping publish the Passage, but were unable to come to our "Intro. to the NWP"? It's still not too late to get involved. Call Doug at 633-1635.

Ecotope Group is organizing a Conference on Women in Appropriate Technology scheduled for Dec. 2&3 All interested Call Liz Stuart or Elizabeth Coppinger, 322-3753

Jobs

The U. YWCA is looking for women to serve on its executive board. Seattle Rape Relief, Abortion Referral and the Lesbian Resource Ctr are some of the Y's current programs. We are interested in all ages, sexual preferences and ethnic backgrounds. To apply, call Reza, 632-4747 Deadline Oct 16

Seattle Counseling Service for Sexual Minorities needs volunteer phone counselors. Crisis intervention training & supervision provided. Call Monroe 329-8272

Bright, honest, creative person sought as Representative-Distributor for growing regional ecology/self-reliance magazine. We will train & pay commission + expenses for position. Call Seriatim: the Journal of Ecotopia, 415-526-5827 for interview & appt.

The NWP needs someone who drives from Seattle to Bellingham on Tues to carry the Papers.

CONNEXIONS rates are 5 cents/word for non-profit organizations; 12 cents/word for money-making ventures. Send submissions to Seattle Passage office by Thurs. Oct. 24



Classes

Seattle Institute for Sex Therapy, Education & Research (SISTER) offers classes including Massage for Women Tue 7-9 pm, Oct 10-Nov 14; Loving Women Sat Oct 14, 12noon-6 pm; Sexual Enhancement Group for Women, Wed 7:30 pm Oct 18-Dec 6. Call 522-8588

Downtown Y.W.C.A. and Wind Works Sailing School offer sailing classes Wed evenings. Next 2 class sessions start Oct 11 and Oct 25. info: 784-9386

A political effectiveness group for women beginning Oct 15. Sliding scale. Questions? call Sandy 325-9296 or Cara 322-9285

Seattle Poetry Workshop, private, tuition-supported workshop for poets seriously interested in craft of poetry, holds on-going classes. Write Box 5072 Se Wa. 98105 or call 522-8055. \$50 for 10 sessions.

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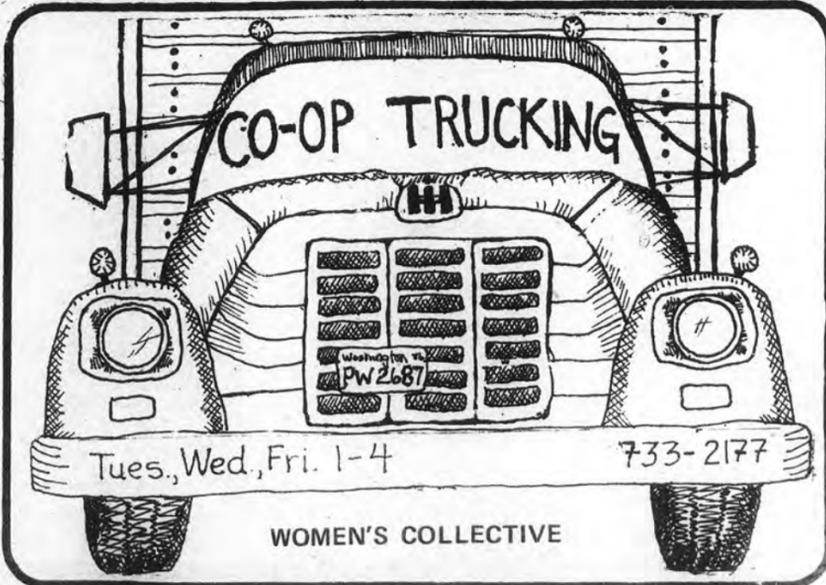


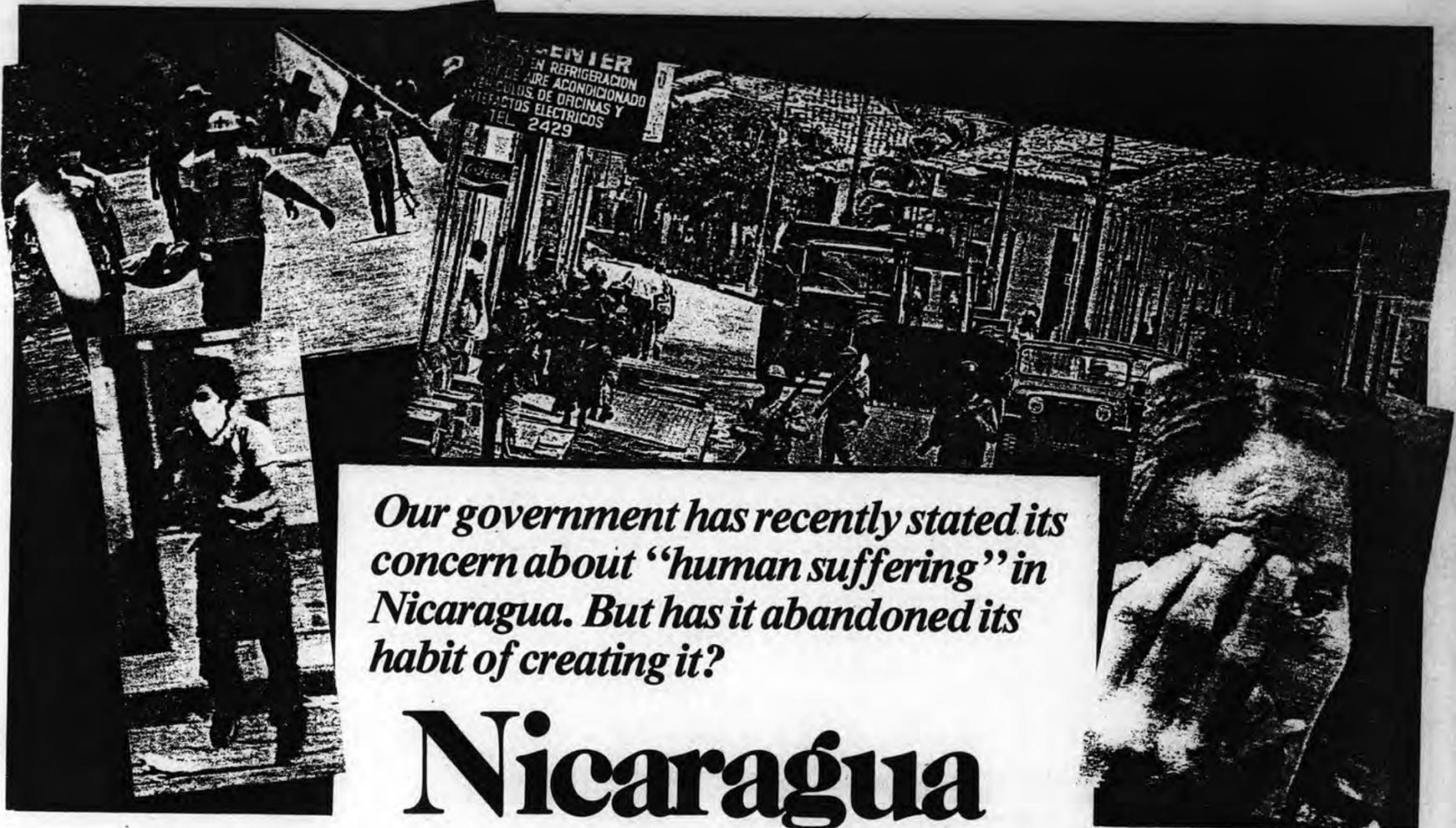
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Our government has recently stated its concern about "human suffering" in Nicaragua. But has it abandoned its habit of creating it?

Nicaragua

by Ed Newbold

In its September 11 issue, *Time* magazine began casting about for possible future leaders of Nicaragua in the event that the country's dictator, Anastasio Somoza, would be deposed. "But," wrote the authors, quickly catching themselves, "Nicaraguans have too long had their leaders foisted upon them."

The magazine doesn't mention who it is that might be foisting leaders on this poor, small country in Central America.

Throughout the month of September, 1978, the *Seattle Times* also was busy covering the Nicaraguan civil war, with almost daily wireservice reports. Typical of the stories were these news summaries: on September 20, "National Guard artillery and planes pounded the last major Sandinist guerrilla stronghold in Esteli to rubble today, and reports of atrocities by government troops reached the capital," and this report on Sept. 16th, "In Leon...more than 500 Guardsmen backed by armored cars, propeller driven warplanes, and helicopter gunships advanced toward downtown."

But only once (September 2) in a full month of reporting, did the *Times* make any allusion to who might have supplied Somoza's National Guard with artillery, armored cars, guns or helicopters.

The fact about which U.S. editors have been so coy is that the Somoza dynasty is entirely a creation of the United States government—which has been its sole outside source of support for the last 41 years. "Ninety-nine per cent of Somoza's arms come from the U.S.," said Sandinist Front spokesperson Haroldo Solano in Seattle last week.

The Sandinist Front, the leftist group leading the guerrilla forces in Nicaragua, is named after a man who long ago tried to resist U.S. plans to "foist" leaders on his country.

Back in 1927...

The story began in 1927, after 14 years of U.S. occupation of Nicaragua. War broke out between U.S. Marines and guerrillas led by Nicaraguan constitutionalist Augusto Sandino. Several years later the United States had 4,600 troops deployed in Nicaragua and had introduced a new tactic—aerial bombardment—into the war. But it had made no progress toward its goal of dislodging Sandino's poorly equipped peasant army.

People in the United States, acting out their part in a sequence of events that was to be repeated years later, grew tired of what seemed to be a senseless war in a far-off land against an indigenous revolutionary force. A popular anti-interventionist movement began to demand that the U.S. pull out of Nicaragua.

But by the time popular indignation finally forced an end to overt U.S. involvement in 1932, the State Department had already conceived a plan by which to

continue the fight against the leftist Sandino: "Nicaraguanization." A young Nicaraguan who could speak English and charm U.S. officials was chosen to lead the now all-Nicaraguan "Guardia Nacional." His attitude towards human rights must not have troubled his American mentors: "I'll give this country peace if I have to kill every other man in Nicaragua," he proclaimed. His name was Anastasio ("Tacho") Somoza.

After another year of fighting, in 1933, Somoza and Sandino signed an uneasy truce. Sandino retired to the mountains of northern Nicaragua to organize agricultural cooperatives, but was continually harassed by the Guardia Nacional. The worst, however, was yet to come. In 1934, as Sandino was departing from a dinner party with the Nicaraguan president, he was gunned down by Guardia Nacional soldiers. To drive home the point, Somoza ordered the simultaneous massacre of 300 families who were Sandino's friends and supporters.

With Sandino out of the way, Tacho Somoza set about about tightening his grip on Nicaragua. And in this endeavor, he had an influential partner...

Somoza: a Connoisseur of U.S. Aid

Under Tacho Somoza, and later under his sons, Nicaragua has received enthusiastic U.S. diplomatic support. A succession of upper-class U.S. ambassadors have tended to fawn over the dictator. (Turner Shelton, U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua during the Nixon and Ford years, was a great personal friend of the Somoza's. Shelton, who could not speak Spanish, drew furious criticism when after the 1972 earthquake in Managua, he refused to unlock the doors of his mansion for earthquake victims. He wouldn't even let U.S. rescue workers use the bathroom.)

Along with diplomatic support, considerable amounts of U.S. military aid reached Nicaragua during the Somoza period. Most of the weapons that came in so handy for Somoza last month were generous gifts—from the U.S. taxpayers. \$32 million in overt military aid was delivered between 1946 and 1977. When outright aid fell short of satisfying Somoza's appetite for weapons, the U.S. was happy to approve private arms sales. In the four years prior to 1976, for instance, the U.S. State Department approved permits for the sale of 1,713 revolvers and 40,000 rounds of ammunition to Nicaragua.

Weapons require trained personnel to operate them, and again, Uncle Sam has been happy to oblige. The officers of Somoza's Guardia Nacional, who made it a "crime to be young" in Nicaragua last month, were largely graduates of the U.S. School of the Americas in the Panama Canal Zone. In that school students were taught interrogation techniques along with more abstract subjects, such as "The Communist Threat." Between 1950 and 1976, 5,167 Nicaraguan soldiers were trained under this and other U.S. programs.

Somoza has also received lavish amounts of

"economic" aid from the U.S. government and multilateral agencies in which the U.S. is influential. Last May a \$12 million "nonmilitary" U.S. loan was granted to construct a road in northern Nicaragua—which happened to connect two military garrisons. (Some 600 peasants have been killed in that area since 1975, according to sources inside the Catholic church.) Another "economic aid" venture sponsored by U.S.A.I.D. involved contracting with a U.S. firm (Mackay) to provide ID cards for Nicaraguans.

You Can't Find Aid on a One-Way Street

The United States government, in return for its pains, has been assured a government in Nicaragua that will take a tough stand against communist insurgency, which, in theory, will prevent any "domino" action in Central America; It has received a loyal friend in the councils of the United Nations; A staging grounds for military counter-insurgency operations (Nicaragua was used both for the Bay of Pigs invasion into Cuba and the 1954 invasion into Guatemala, organized by the CIA); And, perhaps the return treasured most by the financiers on Wall Street, a guarantee that U.S. corporations investing in Nicaragua will go unmolested. Nicaragua is noted for its generous treatment of foreign capital—although Somoza generally insists on a piece of the action.

Among the banks and corporations with holdings in Nicaragua are Citibank, Bank of America, Wells Fargo, Monsanto, General Mills, Nabisco, Ralston Purina, Quaker Oats, Nestle, Wrigleys (gum), and IT&T. Western International Hotels, a Washington based corporation, owns a first class hotel, the Camino Real, near the airport in Managua. ASARCO, the mining conglomerate that owns the Tacoma smelter, also controls zinc, silver, and gold mines in Nicaragua.

Hypocrisy: Theory and Practice

Even 41 year old marriages can wash up. And now, as Somoza's ability to govern is called into question, we are witnessing the spectacle of a United States government scrambling to put some distance between itself and the Somoza dynasty. The U.S. Senate did it by voice vote on September 22, cutting all aid to Nicaragua for the time being...41 years too late, however, to help the estimated 35,000 to 40,000 people who have disappeared or been killed since the Somozas took power.

The State Department, after all these silent years, has finally started talking about human suffering in Nicaragua, urging a cease-fire to "bring an end to the suffering of the people of Nicaragua."

Suffering may well be the main concern, but the suffering of U.S. stockholders tends to take precedence over that of Nicaraguan peasants for these organizations. Senator Frank Church put his finger on the group fear when he warned, "The longer we delay, the greater the

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