

# 1979: A Bad Year For Dictators

*But Not Bad Enough...*

# Northwest Passage

—A Tugboating Story—



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NEW YEAR'S  
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Cover by Bill Patz;  
photo by Louis Howe

graphics on this page by Wendy Sanders

## LETTERS

### Wobbly Resurgence

Dear *Northwest Passage*,

Life-long union activists like Julia Ruuttila are always an inspiration to the rest of us in the labor movement. It is essential for young activists today to profit from the wisdom and experiences of those who came before us. And it is up to us to preserve this history that is systematically deleted from our formal education.

The Pacific Northwest Labor History Association sponsored a day long memorial trip to Centralia on November 11, 1979—60 years after the Centralia Massacre. The approximately 200 people attending the trip exceeded the most optimistic expectations. It was a rare experience of inspiration and re-dedication to the principles of unionism for which the I.W.W. martyrs died.

At least ten percent of those who participated in the Centralia memorial are current members of the IWW. They came from branches in Seattle, Tacoma, Olympia, Portland and Eugene. A few were long time members of the union; but most were younger people who have joined the I.W.W. during its recent resurgence.

There are a few I.W.W. union shops in the Seattle-Tacoma area and organizing activity is on the increase. Perhaps the NWP will give some space to this story in the near future.

Bob Markholt  
Seattle, WA

### Guns and Paranoid Crazies

Dear *Northwest Passage*,

I highly resent the obviously infantile, fanatic and thoroughly irresponsible journalism which reduces the NW Passage's credibility to a mere "ho hum" in Pat Hadley's article on Guns! Her statement "I am just like you" is quite an assumption on her part in that all women share her own *personal* opinion—baloney, toots! Such subjective "sensationalistic" nonsense is not only counter-productive to women (attacking the "symptoms" rather than the real "disease") reducing them to hostile, paranoid crazies, but even more important does not address the fact that it is merely another ploy or roadblock in which the poor, minorities, etc., are so busy fighting each other—meanwhile the "capitalist fatcats" watch with glee as another sector—women vs. men—

and the purchasing of hand guns will not only reap more benefits for their pocketbooks but also keep the lawyers courts and jailers even busier. *Now that really scares the hell out of me!*

If some crazy angry male threatens me at knifepoint or whatever I would gladly spread my legs and let him have at it. After all, he would be just another standing in my lifetime "screwed over" list and most probably at the end of the line. Rape is an act of hostility, & the accompanying violence with it is the real "kicks" (sick) not the act of sexual pleasure. By placing the "Vagina" in the elevated position of yet another "battleground" for the proliferation of guns leads one to believe that feminism has now sunk into the same moral abyss created and condoned by this society, i.e., the only solution to violence is by still more acts of violence, and on, and on, *ad infinitum*.

What really disturbs me (and I hope women out there will also voice disapproval) is Ms. Hadley's totally irresponsible act of also teaching her nine-year old daughter not only to familiarize herself with a gun but the instilling in the mind of a nine-year old, the self proliferation of her mother's abnormal preoccupation of her own 24-hr-a-day quest for safety. Yes, it is her own personal private choice of dealing with the problem but certainly for the NW Passage to consider her entire philosophy as even PRINTABLE one has the only choice of assuming that the "passage folks" think that readers are still out here "swinging from tree to tree and squabbling over who gets the most bananas!"

Now if the NW Passage and all us out here want to confront these issues with any success—it is obvious to me that what we have to do is "buy" out of the system by striking out at the "pocketbooks" of this society.

For starters, I personally, will not purchase another single copy of the NW Passage until you address yourselves to the personal and collective objectives of the basic premises on which you print or do not print certain articles. And please no bullshit about freedom of the press—I consider this article on "Guns" one of the most obscene, offensive and criminal on the part of the NW Passage and totally counter-productive to the "alternatives" women can and are taking!—*especially in a Women-Controlled Issue!!!*

Power does NOT have to come out

of the barrel of a gun. Women and men can create their own power by alternatives such as I have suggested. Support the people who are not just talking—but doing it, *in the here and now*.

Sincerely,  
Royale Landy  
Seattle, WA

Note: This letter was edited by NWP for length.

### Gay Prisoners at Monroe

Dear *Northwest Passage*,

We wish to express our support for the Sexual Minority Prisoners' Caucus (SMPC) at the Washington State Reformatory at Monroe. SMPC has been denied official sanction as an inmate organization. Denial of official sanction means that the group cannot obtain access to any of the prison facilities, such as office space or telephone privileges, that are necessary to carry on its activities. The Monroe administration has not given any reason for this action, in spite of months of meetings and negotiations with SMPC.

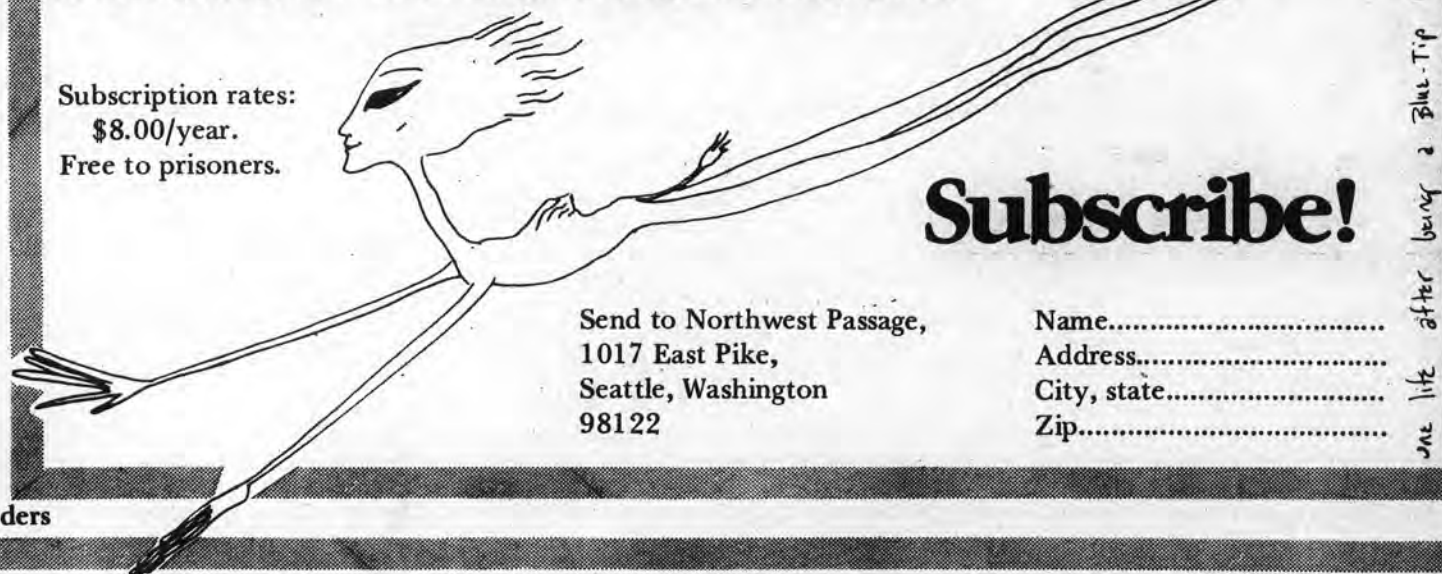
Gay people are subjected to discrimination and harassment both inside and outside of prison. Homosexuals in conventional rehabilitation programs at Monroe have been harassed both by prison staff and by other inmates. SMPC has been attempting, with outside support, to provide services to gay inmates that will prepare them for their re-entry into society. The counseling, career planning, alcoholism and drug abuse treatment programs of SMPC provide a more supportive atmosphere for gay inmates than regular prison programs.

It is important to realize that acceptance of SMPC does not imply administration approval of homosexual activities, but only recognition of the spe-

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cial needs of gay prisoners.

As citizens and taxpayers of the State of Washington, we urge you to sanction SMPC so that its important work can continue.

Yours truly,  
Olympia Gay  
Men's Group  
Olympia, WA

### A Word from Otis

Dear *Northwest Passage*,

It thrilled me to buy a *NWP* at the train depot in Seattle this last weekend. I come from a small town on the Oregon coast. We don't have *anything* like *NWP* here. We need you!

You might keep in mind that we have a heavy-duty herbicide controversy going on here. The bastards are saturating us with herbicides to perpetuate the timber industry, among other things. Meanwhile, miscarriages run rampant and birth defects are 7 times the national average (my son's one of them).

Our local general practitioner, Dr. Rene Stringham, has convinced 14 other doctors here to sign a paper calling for a moratorium against herbicides until "proven safe." This woman is dynamite! She's up against the medical profession and the chemical industry.

I won't get carried away but, anyway your newspaper is needed here. Anxious to receive my first copy by mail!

Thanks,  
Sherry La Marche  
Otis, OR

### Krasnowsky Replies

Dear *Northwest Passage*,

Mike Schiller's letter, criticizing Mike Wold's interview of me, made some important points about recent steel-worker history, and particularly the role played by the RCP in them. Had he stuck to facts and tactical issues it would have contributed to a needed discussion of problems in steel and the perspectives of class struggle. Instead, however, he cuts off the discussion by blaming local problems of the Sadlowski campaign—as well as other issues—on my ambitions and leadership illusion.

How does one answer such charges? My sympathies are close to those of Eugene Debs, who said, "I am willing

to be charged with almost anything, rather than be charged with being a leader. Give me the rank and file every day in the week." It is not my "ambitions" which have irked Schiller over past years, but my refusal to accept the RCP's claim to being, as they put it, "the only organization in this country seriously working for revolution."

Schiller does cite some omissions in the published interview. This is understandable, since Wold digested some four hours of questions covering half a century into two pages.

(1) He asserts that Sadlowski and his supporters "waffled" on the no-strike agreement. Not true. My own opposition and that of the Seattle Fight Back Committee to the no-strike agreement and the unions productivity pact with the companies was unambiguous.

(2) Schiller correctly says the Seattle Fight Back was not critical of Sadlowski. I might observe that it is hardly typical for an organization to attack its spokesperson in the midst of a campaign. (RCP is not overtly critical of its "condescending savior", Bob Avakian, either.)

Fight Back here was part of a national network instituted by Sadlowski and his supporters, which financed leaflets, tours, etc. Nobody in the Seattle committee was in 100% agreement with Sadlowski, but we did feel he had some rights; and refused to put out material opposed to him in his name. We made no objection, however, to material critical of Sadlowski published by the "On the Move" caucus, which they distributed along with our leaflets.

(3) Schiller finds my contention that a Sadlowski "victory would have moved him to the left ridiculous, if not criminal." (Such strong words!) But if Schiller believed Sadlowski's election would make no difference, why did he campaign for him? And why did RCP supporters eject October League members from a Fight Back meeting because they held the position Schiller now holds?

There are no guarantees. But Sadlowski entered his campaign with a record of opposition to the top steel-worker officials, and because of the insistence of militant caucuses throughout the USWA. There was an active rank-and-file opposition to bureaucratic rule which threw its support behind Ed, and I am convinced this would have changed the context of the struggle in Steel—even without the leadership of RCP.

continued on page 15



graphic by Stella Mandel

## Winter Gardening

By Rick Swann

I came West by bus from New England in early 1978. For three days I watched old snow and brown fields. But as the bus dropped down from Steven's Pass, things radically changed. Not only did the roadside green, plant's were flowering.

When I arrived at my destination, a house in North Seattle, I was further surprised. Even before being allowed to settle in, I was whisked out to the garden, which in early April was going strong. The snow wasn't off the ground in Maine, and here, at a higher latitude, planting had not only begun, but harvesting was still continuing on last year's crops of leeks, cabbages, collards, onions and swiss chard. I wondered what people did on Labor Day out here, if they didn't have to harvest crops before the first "killing" frost.

Later, of course, I learned that I was still in the U. S. of A., and that not many vegetables are, in fact, grown in Western Washington. Fewer still are grown year round. Within the year, I was back to eating a lot of the same vegetables I had eaten mid-winter in Maine—the old California-grown routine. The only difference was that by being closer to California, produce was a fraction of the price and it hadn't even begun to rot.

In both the NW and the once self-sufficient New England, though, there are people trying to change the system by growing food locally for local consumption. Mostly centered around networks of food coops, the original impetus came from people wanting chemical-free (organic) foods. Growing fuel prices have since helped things along, by escalating the price of Californian, and now Mexican, produce. Back before I left Maine, lettuce was already over a dollar a head and looked like hell. So some people were well on their way to rediscovering the diet of old-apples, turnips, carrots and sprouts (brussel sprouts, that is). Other Mainiacs were up to their usual winter tricks — hardly any vegetables at all. The coop movement, although it was spreading, had yet to reach most people.

Since there was a growing awareness of the need for food self-reliance in Maine — where most of the year the only thing that grows is the cold — I assumed there would be an advanced state of affairs in the Maritime NW.

It ain't so, but it's not so bad either. There's fresh locally-grown produce in the coops most of the year; a person can even find fresh-picked cauliflower and broccoli in Seattle's Pike Place Market in February.

There's even a book out, *Winter Gardening in the Maritime Northwest*, by another transplant to this area, Binda Colebrook. The book comes out of a local

Continued Next Page—



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## A Women's Place



By Fred Berman

This November, in a contest that drew far less news coverage than the World Series, the people of Baltimore overcame long odds to vote rent control into law.

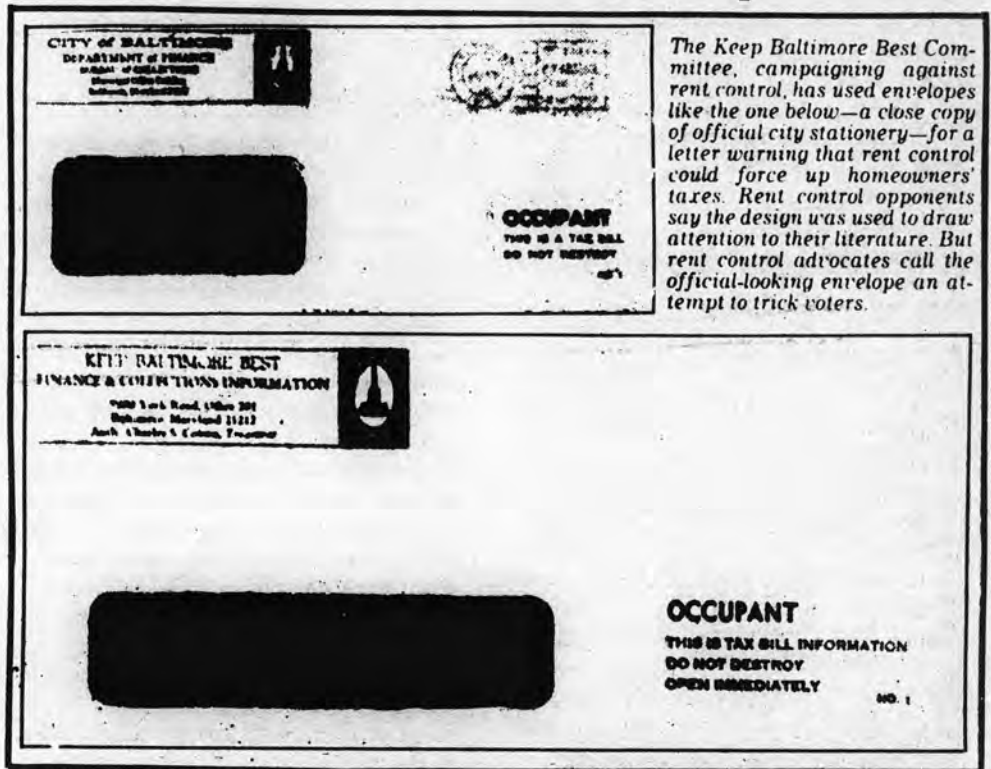
The Keep Baltimore Best Committee, representing all the vested interests threatened by Proposition K, the rent control ordinance, put together a formidable campaign to try to assure its defeat. Joining them in opposition to the measure were the Mayor, most of the City Council, the still powerful political machines in South and East Baltimore, and most of the local media. Rent control advocates were outspent \$400,000 to \$8,000. Nevertheless, the defenders of 'free enterprise' found it necessary to resort to the deceit and playing upon fears that we have come to expect when big bucks are at stake: just before the election, city homeowners were mailed—in envelopes nearly identical to those used by the city for tax notices—a letter, signed by the President of the City Council and three

Councilmen, warning of a possible tax increase if Proposition K passed.

Landlords and realtors supplied the usual rhetoric about how rent control would lead to increased abandonment of buildings, reduced levels of maintenance, and an erosion of the tax base. They even hired Solem & Assoc.—a slick media consultant with previous experience in running seven successful campaigns against rent control in other cities (it never had been involved in a 'losing' effort)—to deliver their message. Yet, rent control won.

Although that victory surprised both sides, it isn't hard to understand why voters supported the measure: Baltimoreans, 60% of whom are renters, have lived with a housing crisis for a long time. Rich Gotto of the Rent Control Campaign, one of the two broad-based coalitions that led the fight, estimates that of a total of 160,000 rental units, some 60-70,000 are in physically substandard condition. Approximately 93,000 fam-

# One More City For



The Keep Baltimore Best Committee, campaigning against rent control, has used envelopes like the one below—a close copy of official city stationery—for a letter warning that rent control could force up homeowners' taxes. Rent control opponents say the design was used to draw attention to their literature. But rent control advocates call the official-looking envelope an attempt to trick voters.

"Dirty Tricks", Baltimore Style

## Winter Gardening continued

food coop's commitment to having fresh local produce. In 1975, Colebrook worked on this Puget Consumer's Coop-initiated Winter Garden Project, an attempt to determine the commercial possibility of supplying winter vegetables for the Coop. Her work continued at Pragtree farm in 1976, a supplier of produce to several WWA food coops.

Although *Winter Gardening* doesn't seek to be definitive by any means, it is a very complete book. Colebrook begins by talking about the wherefore—the climate, and then covers such basics as choosing the best site, crop rotations, protecting the crops from the elements and what to plant when, as well as discussing how to deal with "sharecroppers" (pests and diseases), the benefits of organic gardening and how to save your own seed.

A large part of the book is devoted to specific herbs and vegetables: tips for growing and eating them and timetables for planting and harvesting. Here is where you learn Fava beans get planted in January when the last of the lettuce is dying.

Appropriately, Colebrook discusses the need for more self-reliance in food production which has disintegrated under the control of national and multinational

corporations. She reports that, "in 1976, 1311 train carloads of fresh vegetables were imported into Portland, while another 2753 carloads were imported into Seattle... The land and the people of California, Texas, Florida, and Mexico are all being exploited to provide us with 'cheap' food, while in our own communities farmers are being forced off the land to make room for industry, highways, apartment houses and parking lots.

At present, small farming is a difficult way to make a living. Winter growing, because produce can then be marketed year round, could help provide the stabilization necessary for that living. Colebrook feels that not only must we keep these farmers on the land by providing them with markets, more research and education on winter vegetable production is needed to insure steady supplies. Her book is a step towards rebuilding local agriculture.

*Winter Gardening in the Maritime Northwest* is available from Tilth for \$4.50 + .50 postage + .25 tax for WA residents (payable to Tilth), Route 2, Box 190-A, Arlington, WA 98223. Periodic updates from Binda, as well as other food growing info, can be found in the Tilth newsletter — \$5 / year (quarterly).

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# Rent Control

amilies live in overcrowded or otherwise substandard housing or pay more than 25% of their income for rent. Tenants and low income homeowners alike have been forced to move from their homes as speculators and land hungry institutions, such as hospitals and the Johns Hopkins University, pounce on their neighborhoods. As in Seattle, the city's courtship of young professionals and their tax and spending dollars has also contributed to displacement. With a vacancy rate of under 2% and skyrocketing rents, there have obviously been no 'market forces' to pressure landlords to make changes beneficial to their tenants; the climate was ripe for political action.

Rent control made its way onto the ballot with a bang. 35,000 signatures (only 10,000 were needed) were collected in just a few months as petitions were circulated everywhere. It became the hottest issue of the election. The Central Labor Council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. endorsed the measure, as did Catholic Charities. Active support for it came from community organizations, neighborhood churches, union locals, political groups, and residents throughout the city. Yet the outcome remained in doubt until the final moments. When the ballots were counted, rent control, with support that cut across racial and ethnic lines, and that included homeowners as well as renters, had passed with a 52% majority.

The law sets up what is known as 'moderate' rent control. Instead of freezing rents, it allows for moderate annual increases for properties which comply with health, safety, and housing codes. It also specifies conditions under which rent reduction would be justified. Under the new law, a landlord must

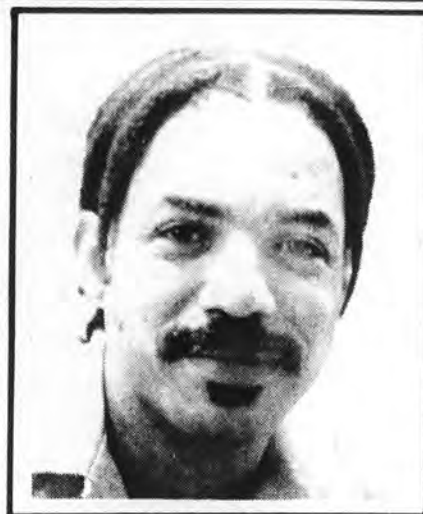
make available basic information (now hidden) about each rental property. Should s/he wish permission for an 'extraordinary' rent increase or to abandon, demolish, or convert to a condominium a property with four or more rental units, s/he would have to furnish considerably more detailed financial data to a hearing commission.

The law has some weaknesses. It does not prescribe penalties which are substantial enough to ensure landlord compliance. Nor does it require replacement housing or relocation assistance or protect against evictions for other than just causes in its provisions on removal of a property from the rental market. But it would be a major first step in making tenants something more than second class citizens. If it gets a chance . . .

Less than a week after it passed, the law was voided by the courts. In a deferred decision on a pre-election challenge by local real estate interests, a Circuit Court judge ruled that the law was created by an unconstitutional exercise of the referendum process, that it deprived landlords of due process because it was 'too vague', and that it illegally discriminated against condominiums in violation of a state law. Coalition lawyers, however, are optimistic about an appeal they have filed.

Regardless of the outcome of the court battle, the victory of rent control at the polls is significant. It showed that broad-based, grassroots organizing can stand up to big bucks. Perhaps most important, though, is the fact that the right to adequate and affordable housing proved more important to the voters than the 'free enterprise' of the few who can afford it.

## Odell Bennet To Be Freed Or Is He?



After twelve years in prison, Odell Bennett (*NWP* January, '79) finally won a parole date: March 3, 1980. Or so we thought.

The date was granted by the Regional Parole Commission in California but required approval of Regional Commissioner Anita Kaslow. However, she chose neither to approve nor reject his parole. Instead she referred Bennett's case to the National Parole Office, maintaining that due to the amount of publicity his case had received only the national office should decide his fate.

Apparently the commissioner hopes public pressure (much of it from the Northwest) will now be less effective, since the national office is located in Washington D.C. In the opinion of Bennett's Seattle attorney Stephen Stron, "it just makes it easier for them to deny him parole...or give him a later date."

It seems the Regional Commission would like Bennett to remain in prison no matter what. In 1975, with favorable parole recommendations from his prison treatment team and counselor the commission refused him parole. In December, 1978, it turned

him down again, but the National Appeals Board overruled and required a new meeting with parole examiners.

This November, Bennett met with two parole examiners; he and his lawyer presented three hours of testimony. Using the recently revised parole guidelines the examiners determined that Bennett should have served between 58 and 64 months in prison. Bennett is now serving his 144th month.

But now, after finally receiving a favorable decision, the Regional Board feels inclined to refer his case to the National Parole Board because of the publicity his case has amassed. Apparently they see nothing suspect in this, despite the fact that public attention has been going on for over a year, and at any of his past hearings, or at any time, this referral could have been made.

The Committee to Free Odell Bennett, which has been coordinating support for his case, urges people to write Cecil McCall, U.S. Parole Commissioner, 101 Indiana Avenue, Washington, D.C., 20537. If possible also send a copy to the Committee, Box 18682, Seattle, WA, 98112.

Bill Patz

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Sue Davidson, book editor, *The Feminist Press*

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14



# RAPE



Lori Johnston at home

## Overcoming Rape: Lori Johnson's Story

By Valerie J. Southern

Three years ago, Lori Johnston, then 26, was raped. The attacker was a friend. They were on a walk, when he pushed her down, raped her, then drove her home. The crimson blotches on the victim's face impelled her mother to call the Portland Rape Relief Center. Lori was taken to the police station, examined, then sent home. A report was filed by Portland Police on August 19, 1976. The next day, Lori filed a complaint in the Multnomah County District Attor-

ney's Office. She was told that her case was "a good one." There was no evidence of foul play. She had a "clean" background (a student of religions and engineering).

was followed around corners, through intersections, long distances by a mysterious car. Threatening messages were mailed to her home. Each of these acts of passive violence were from Henderson, she said.

The trial began on December 9, 1976. Johnston and Henderson were ordered to take a polygraph test. Lori failed.

Henderson's test results were inconclusive. He was angered by the publicity and expense caused by John-

*She became aware that her condition was not singular, but one that represented many rape victims throughout the nation.*

ston's charge and had come to court drunk that day, Johnston said; his polygraph was influenced by alcohol.

Because Lori failed the test, despite the great amount of evidence which substantiated her claims, the charges were dismissed. Henderson was acquitted on December 9, 1976.

Two years after his acquittal, Wiley Henderson on

December 8, 1978, filed a \$60,000 suit against his accuser. She was charged with Malicious Prosecution. Why did he wait two years? The State of Oregon has a time limitation in which legal action relating to a particular case must be filed. The time period is two years. Henderson chose to file suit on the eve of the deadline, preventing Johnston from taking further legal steps. Johnston, with the assistance of the Portland Community Law Project, filed a counterclaim in April, 1979, asserting that the suit was falsely brought and that Henderson "forcibly raped her." Because of the time statute, the counterclaim was disallowed in a pretrial proceeding. Mysteriously, five months later, Henderson dropped his charge against her.

### Breaking and Surviving

Lori Johnston was sick through most of this. She suffered a stroke on August 19, 1978; exactly two years after the rape. The stroke left her mouth partially opened, her speech slurred and her body temporarily paralyzed. She was forced to undergo exploratory surgery because her head and back ached. She suffered weight loss and was unable to work. The welfare system supported her through much of the two and one half year ordeal.

In May of this year, Johnston sought psychological help. Then she began to "heal." She became aware that her condition was not singular but one that represented many rape victims throughout the nation. She formed the Oregon Coalition For Change of Rape Laws and began distributing leaflets in June, 1979. Support continued from the Portland Community Law Center and enough money was raised to start a growing communications network throughout Oregon and into neighboring states.

CORL has challenged all District Attorneys in Oregon to investigate the validity of the polygraph testing procedures and the device itself. The organization is concerned about:

- the rape victim subject to the test even when there is sufficient evidence
- the victims misled into taking the test, without being informed of their option of not having to take the test, as was the case with Lori Johnston.
- the traumatization which occurs if and when a victim fails.

### Today

Today Lori Johnston says she is fine. Her bodily aches are less frequent and she is confident about her new role in life. The threats against her life have started again. This time she is prepared. She wears a registered carbine on her side wherever she goes, and is skilled in a martial art. Lori has begun lecturing and touring the state, telling her story to college audiences and women community groups. She urges all citizens to check their state laws as they relate to rape. In most cases, she says they are written to prove the victim guilty until proven innocent. "The implications of my case are clear—women victims must know what their rights are. Otherwise, we run the risk of retaliation through the legal system if the accused are acquitted. We should refuse to cooperate with the criminal justice system's policies and practices which violate our rights." She plans to "go national" soon and has already written to prominent national figures. Somehow, her ordeal has made her stronger.

## SURVIVAL

Severe malnutrition and epidemic disease threaten the life of this Cambodian child, one of an estimated three million people in Cambodia whose survival is in serious jeopardy.

As it has in so many past emergencies, UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, is responding to this tragedy. Designated the UN "lead agency" for Cambodian relief, UNICEF has mounted a massive relief program jointly with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to bring food, medicine and other urgently needed relief supplies to the Cambodian people.

In the first six months of the emergency program alone, \$110 million is needed—just to begin feeding and treating a sick and suffering population. President Carter has pledged U.S. Government support for the UNICEF/ICRC relief operation and has urged the American public to contribute generously to help save the Cambodian people.

Right now, food, medicines, health equipment, and other relief materials are reaching the people of Cambodia and Cambodian refugees in Thailand. A team of UNICEF and Red Cross officials is coordinating the distribution of supplies through air, sea, river, and land transport.

Life today for three million Cambodian men, women—and especially children—is a matter of survival. Please help by giving generously to:

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# SPEAKING OF

By Sarah Stearns

Illustrations by Wendy Sanders

It's getting harder and harder to speak the English language lately.

Over the last 5 years as I've come to identify myself more as a feminist, certain sticky semantic situations keep coming up. Situations involving the use of language to indicate gender, marital status, physical appearance and such, or the use of language to indicate juicier things like anger, aggression or sexual feelings.

Though I don't consider myself a raving fanatic about either feminism or word usage, a number of recent incidents indicate that maybe I'm not too clear about the means to my anti-sexist goals. (Or anything else.) For example:

— My female cat is named Ms. Mew (a male named her that, by the way). I heard myself one day correcting a friend who had called her *Miss* Mew, to wit: "It's *Ms!* What's the difference whether she's married or not?" Then I realized what I'd said. Both my friend and the cat looked at me like I should be put in restraints.

— I live with someone I'm not married to, so our last names are different. People calling the house who don't know us often ask, "Is this Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_?" And I say, "No, it isn't; there is no Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_; who specifically did you want?" attempting to get them to name someone. Of course, all they want is someone to sell something to, but I'm so annoyed at their automatic assumption that I'm a Mrs. (an appendage) that I put us through a 5-minute routine until they give up and hang up. I could probably just say, "No this is the woman of the house," but some perversity makes me lecture them instead.

— There are a lot of people in my city with the same last name as mine and I'm often asked if I'm related to so-and-so. Instead of simply saying, "No", or "No, that was my husband's name" I go into a long dissertation about the mistake of "assuming a woman's name is *hers*, since women traditionally have taken their husbands' names and then, if they get divorced,

— I've proudly exercised what I'd considered to be woman's new freedom to utter those words most of our grandmothers never spoke (at least in our hearing). But for the last 3 weeks I've been working in an office with a sweet 60-year-old lady and I haven't been able to even say "Oh, shit" when I spilled my Pepsi all over my desk. *Other* people—including my female boss—come into the office and spew 'fucks' and 'god-damns' all over the place and the lady seems to survive, so why can't I speak freely?

I'm obviously in a bad state of confusion concerning my own use of English, and others' use of it to me. So I was interested on seeing a news item about a University of Washington linguistics professor who is doing research on sexism in language and how it affect society's perception of women. I had a moment's twinge of doubt because the professor is male; I imagined someone demanding, "Why did you go talk to a man about sexism in language?" Well, because he was *there*, that's why, and I was curious. Besides, I hope we haven't gotten to the point where we can't listen to men, especially men as intelligent, reasonable and non-patriarchal as I personally found this guy to be. But judge for yourself.

**Dr. Sal Saporta**, a 20-year veteran of the UW Linguistics Department, is a solidly but economically built man probably in his early 50's. He has a poster of the Lord High Semanticist, Lenny Bruce, tacked up on his office door, and he speaks with a confident but nonaggressive precision. I asked him to give me a brief synopsis of what his research entailed.

**SAPORTA:** We're trying to understand what sexist language is, how it interacts with peoples' perceptions, and how that language might determine some political strategies. In other words, what is it that you want to change, and how can changing the language be effective to that end.

*One of the privileges men have always had is the greater latitude to use emotionally-charged language.*

were thought to be cruel to their kids if they renounced their married names and resumed their maiden names which *also* came from men, of course—, and on and on until the person's eyes glaze over and they fall to the floor in a bored stupor.

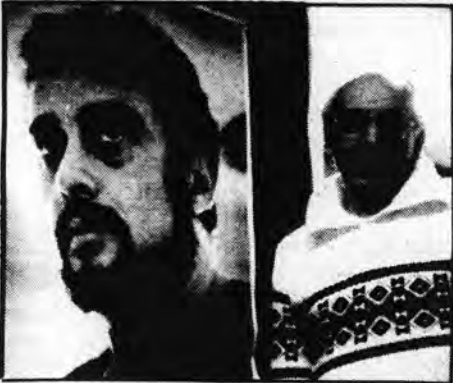
**NWP:** Do you mean by deliberate manipulation of the language?

**SAPORTA:** No, I'm very skeptical about such 'word magic', like "If only English didn't have pronouns," etc. That seems to me to be very simplistic. I don't think you can expect very much by linguistic engineering. On the other hand, there are some cases where



# SEXISM . . .





*Sexist language is a symptom of a sexist society and you have to deal with the disease. But symptoms can be painful and even if you don't cure the disease, you'd like to eliminate some of the symptoms.*

Dr. Sal Saporta

the language itself is offensive and in that case it's a straightforward thing. If the word 'bitch' is offensive, you don't allow people to use it.

**NWP:** In the case of his/her and he/she, that's simple enough to change, right?

**SAPORTA:** Right. But to think that you somehow change peoples' perceptions by having them say 'chairperson' instead of 'chairman'--it doesn't necessarily happen.

The main thing I'm interested in lately is studying the double-bind that women get into when they use language previously considered to be 'male'. One of the privileges men have always had is the greater latitude to use emotionally-charged language.

**NWP:** Why have they had that greater latitude?

**SAPORTA:** I think it's the usual thing: women are expected to conform to the rules of propriety.

**NWP:** As defined by men?

**SAPORTA:** Sure. I can pick my nose in public; you can't. Similarly, in the case of language, men have more options. Women can't say, "Oh, shit" in public without penalty. So there's a sort of dilemma. Women who resent male privilege are in a non-win position: either they refrain from using emotionally-charged words, and therefore legitimize monopoly on those words by men, or they decide to use them anyway in an effort to achieve some sort of egalitarian society. But then it turns out that many of those emotionally-charged words are offensive to women; they're demeaning.

**NWP:** So women may end up putting themselves down with those words?

**SAPORTA:** Yes, it's an incongruous situation. Some women who are indignant at the use of the word 'chairman' call other women 'bitches'.

**NWP:** Now, we're talking about words here that aren't swear words, such as Christ and Goddamn, but rather words with sexual connotations, right?

**SAPORTA:** Yeah, sexually-loaded words. The swear words aren't sexist, because they don't have anything to do with gender.

A prime question in this area is: Is it possible to have a rich erotic language in a sexist society? Probably the answer is "No". If you're going to have an erotic language, it's going to reflect the mores of the society.

**NWP:** Do you feel that eroticism in language could even exist without sexual inequality?

**SAPORTA:** Why not? It doesn't seem to me that erotic language presupposes inequality. But if you have a society in which that inequality is institutionalized, then the language reflects that.

**NWP:** Maybe we'll have to deliberately develop a non-sexist erotic language, then.

chicken-or-egg thing, is it?

**SAPORTA:** The analogy that I sometimes use is symptom-or-disease. Sexist language is a symptom of a sexist society, and you have to deal with the disease. But symptoms can be painful and even if you don't cure the disease, you'd like to eliminate some of the symptoms. Language is symbolic, but not merely symbolic.

**NWP:** Lately I've been insisting, among people I know pretty well, that they not use words that really bother me. I ask to be addressed the way I want to be addressed, and not have it automatically assumed that I'll feel included in male-gender terms. Some people resist and sometimes I've carried it too far. But I think it's caused them to think about language and some have come through their initial annoyance into agreement that words are important. What seemed like empty form at first to them may have actually changed their thinking.

**SAPORTA:** Well, what sometimes happens is that once you start pointing out sexist language, people become overwhelmed by its pervasiveness and become



of your complaint.

**NWP:** But if you feel that sexism in language is like bacteria, it's hard to ignore anything that might indicate its spread--

**SAPORTA:** I know. People ask me things like, "Should I use poet or poetess, what's the politically correct usage?" Well, it probably doesn't matter, you can say she's a poet or a poetess, but for a man, all you can say 'correctly' is that he's a poet. So if you really want to make a political point, the way to make it is to call him a poetess. Then people will really take notice.

**NWP:** You mean treat the man as the variable rather than the woman--

**SAPORTA:** Yeah. Nowadays, that situation comes up naturally. For instance, there was a case in New York where apparently men were being hired as 'meter maids', and they refused to work under that job title; they wanted it changed to a non-gender-indicating title. And another instance: a friend of mine was one of the first male students at Bryn Mawr when it became co-educational. He said it was a real culture shock when he picked up a catalogue and read, "...Each student will take her program to her advisor..." So if you want to educate your male friends, turn the tables on them.

**NWP:** A little cold water in the face....As far as language which women traditionally have not used, there are the swear words that express anger, and then there are words like 'cunt' and 'fuck' that usually indicate a man talking about a woman/object. It seems I encounter less flak when I say "Goddamn it to Hell" in polite society than when I say the other words. Why are the swear words safer for women to use? After all, they're 'power' words; they express aggression and anger which is traditionally male.

**SAPORTA:** I think the blasphemous words are offensive to only a certain segment of society today; the public at large isn't offended by anyone, male or female, saying "Jesus Christ". But the sexual terms are still taboo, even for men under certain circumstances, but always for women, because there are greater constraints on propriety for women. There's an interesting phenomenon here. Take a word like 'shit, which is not sexually-loaded and therefore not considered a sexist word. If you drop your coffee cup and say, "Oh, shit!", that's somewhat offensive. But it's more offensive if you use it literally, as in "Excuse me, I gotta take a shit."

**NWP:** That calls up the visual image of the real thing--

**SAPORTA:** Yeah, and that's generally offensive coming from anyone. What we have are a lot of code words for that, like "I'm gonna go to the john". Well, the same principle applies to sexually-loaded words. If you say, "Oh, fuck it" and you simply mean, "Oh, the hell with it", that's not offensive. But "He fucked her" is. The literal use is emotionally-charged. Then you add on to that the fact that women are expected to behave 'properly' and it's really noticeable. Women, in fact, are expected to be more linguistically proper at all times than men, according to attitude studies.

Generally, for every taboo word in a language, there is a substitute to be used, or a number of them. In English, since most of the words dealing with women's bodies are taboo, we have a whole lot of code words. But not just one set of them, but two sets: one set is euphemistic, innocuous, like 'expecting' for pregnancy, and the other set is emotionally-charged, like 'knocked-up'. The euphemisms, of course, are the ones to be used by women; only men can use the others. 'Lady' is an example of this; it's a euphemism for 'woman', and on the other side there's 'broad', etc.

**NWP:** When I was a child, the word 'woman' was definitely not a polite term. Too close to bodily reality, I guess.

*You can't be completely purist and say, "From now on, I won't use any form of English that could be considered sexist."*

**SAPORTA:** I think that's what some women have decided. They'll say, "I use the word 'fuck' and in my subculture it's not a sexist word." But there's a difference between just breaking a taboo and eliminating it. I don't know how to resolve the dilemma, but I think it'll change when everything else changes. In order to get an egalitarian use of the language, you're going to have to develop an egalitarian society.

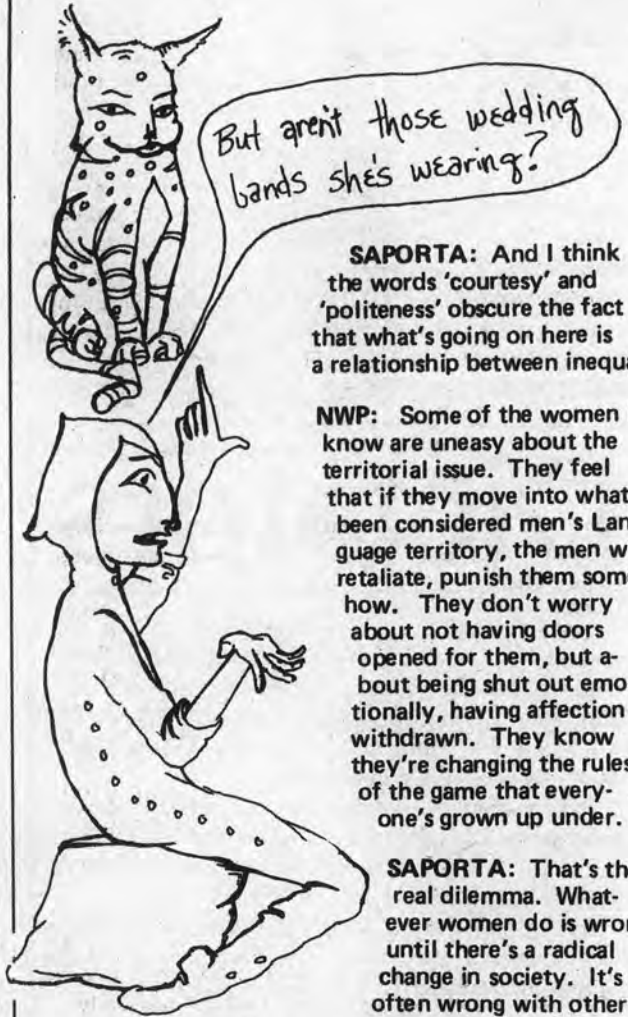
**NWP:** Well, what comes first? Doesn't everything have to slowly meld together? It's not really a

highly sensitized. But then again, some people become resentful, and even more stubborn in their sexist usage. It's not clear what the right strategy is in all situations when trying to get people not to use certain words or phrases. You can't be completely purist and say, "From now on, I won't use any form of English that could be considered sexist"; you just wouldn't talk very much. There's also the danger that this whole thing can become trivialized, as for instance with the word 'herstory'. History is a word that has nothing to do with 'his'. When you go to that extent, you make it easy to ignore the content



**SAPORTA:** There's nothing wrong with being polite, and nothing particularly egalitarian about being rude, but when you have a selective demand that certain people have to comply with, then there's inequality. For example, men are very often more polite in their dealings with women than with other men, but it's the kind of politeness that a privileged group shows a non-privileged group.

**NWP:** Like, "I'll open the door for you, but you're going to have to do the dishes, not me."



**SAPORTA:** And I think the words 'courtesy' and 'politeness' obscure the fact that what's going on here is a relationship between inequals

**NWP:** Some of the women I know are uneasy about the territorial issue. They feel that if they move into what's been considered men's language territory, the men will retaliate, punish them somehow. They don't worry about not having doors opened for them, but about being shut out emotionally, having affection withdrawn. They know they're changing the rules of the game that everyone's grown up under.

**SAPORTA:** That's the real dilemma. Whatever women do is wrong, until there's a radical change in society. It's often wrong with other women, too.

I have a friend who's been very active in the women's movement from its early days and she put on lipstick and a dress and went to a meeting, and got a lot of flak. She said, "Look, my credentials are impeccable, and if I feel like putting on lipstick, that's my business; that's a trivial matter." Another friend says she and her friends have started using the word 'girls' again, but are using it as a joke, saying "Come on girls, we're late"—they've *recaptured* the word and use it as a form of solidarity against their oppressors.

**NWP:** That happens in the gay world too, doesn't it?

**SAPORTA:** Yeah, but there's something else going on there, I feel. I went to speak to a gay group once and I was giving examples of sexist language, things that men would say, like the fact that a woman can be called a 'slut' but a man wouldn't. Some of the guys said, "In the gay community, a man can be called a 'slut' too." Finally, one guy got up and said, "I think there's another issue here. We think we're being nonsexist by referring to a man as a 'slut'. But in fact we're just conforming to the stereotype: that when gays get together, they imitate women."

**NWP:** And they're using words that same way, to indicate somebody they don't think much of, assuming that to be called a 'woman-word' is a put-down.

**SAPORTA:** Right, and the way you insult a homosexual man is to equate him with a woman. Which just reinforces the stereotypes about both gay men and women.

**NWP:** What about the factor of sexual violence in language?

**SAPORTA:** That's very complex and I don't pretend to understand what's going on there. In language, when you do find metaphors for sex which are violent, they invariably refer to *men's* sexual activity. For instance, women don't 'bang' men. In *The Godfather*, the author discusses the fact that in that subculture, you use the expression 'to do the job on somebody.' It means either to kill, or to have sex with, somebody. But what he didn't point out—he just assumed we know—is that only *men* can do the job on someone. So the equation of sex and violence is very asymmetrical, i.e. only the man engages in the violence. Some people claim that seeing a connection between sex and violence is a perversion, a distortion of perception. I don't think so.

I don't know enough about physiology of either sex or violence to know in what sense they are connected, but what does seem to me to be significant is that when they're equated, it's always taken to mean that the *man* is violent.

**NWP:** Like the man is the only active party—

**SAPORTA:** And that doesn't seem to have any solid physiological basis—

**NWP:** Or perhaps the man is the 'punisher'?

**SAPORTA:** As a matter of fact, that's an expression that athletes are known to use: They say, "I'm gonna go home and punish the old lady." But a woman wouldn't say, "I'm gonna go home and punish the old man."

I think that there are two issues here. One is non-linguistic: what is the basis of the connection between sex and violence? And the other is a linguistic question: Why is it that metaphors for sex which are violent are always 'male' metaphors?

I don't really know the answer to either question. I wish I did, but I don't.



## Do you know someone who has had an abortion?

If she was lucky, her abortion occurred after 1973, when abortion became safe, legal and an individual choice. If not, she faced the dangers of illegal abortion, which killed or mutilated hundreds of women each year. Now, small, well-financed groups are working to make abortion illegal again. They are aggressively fighting for the government to prohibit abortion even if the woman would die or be seriously harmed by childbirth . . . even if the woman would have a child with severe birth defects . . . even if the woman were a victim of rape or incest . . . even though millions of unwanted children are abused physically or psychologically during childhood. Abortion is a difficult and agonizing decision. But it must be an individual choice. Protect the right of all people to make the difficult choices which affect their lives. Protect those you know from the dangers of illegal abortions. Help us fight the harmful and misleading drive of those groups working to make abortions dangerous and illegal for all of us, no matter what the circumstances. This is why we are asking you to send this coupon to the National Abortion Rights Action League.

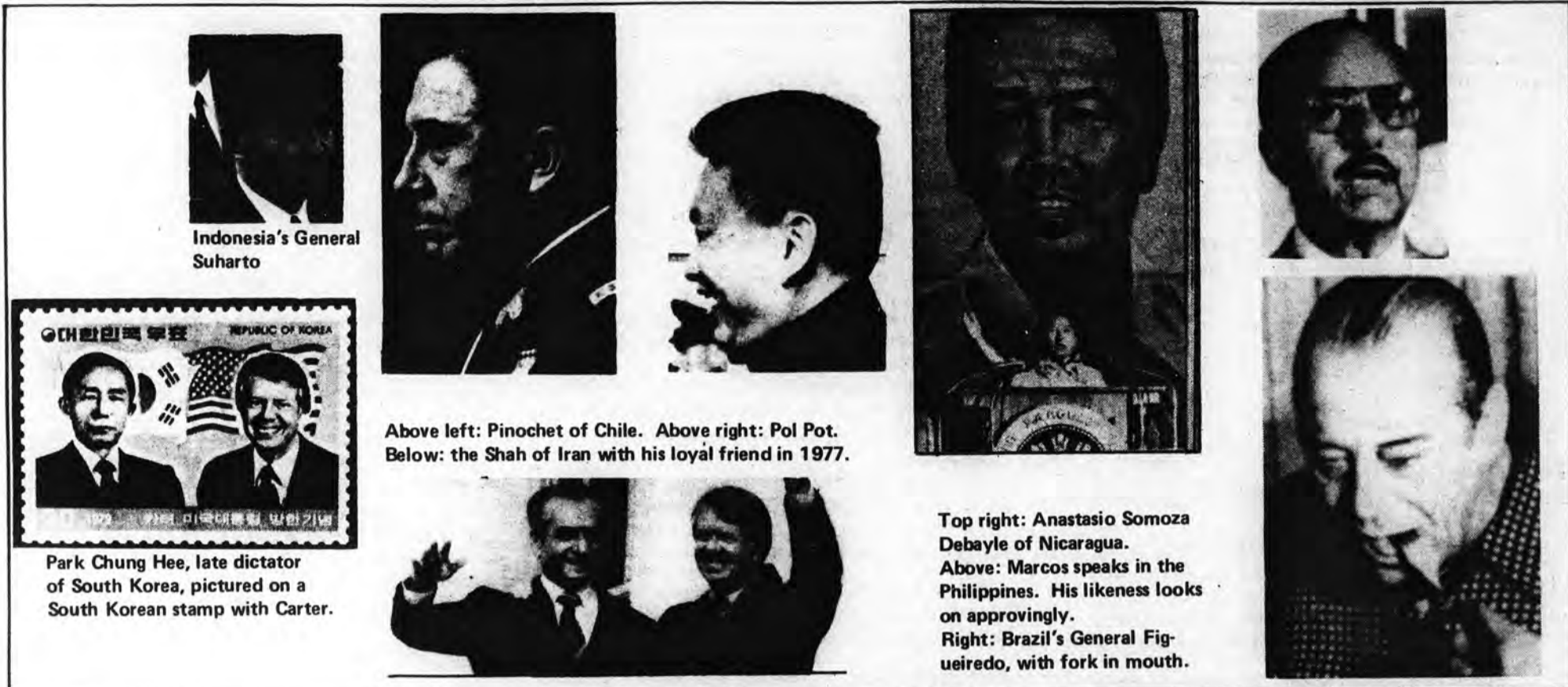
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Indonesia's General Suharto



Park Chung Hee, late dictator of South Korea, pictured on a South Korean stamp with Carter.



Above left: Pinochet of Chile. Above right: Pol Pot. Below: the Shah of Iran with his loyal friend in 1977.



Top right: Anastasio Somoza Debayle of Nicaragua. Above: Marcos speaks in the Philippines. His likeness looks on approvingly. Right: Brazil's General Figueiredo, with fork in mouth.



# 1979: A Bad Year For Dictators

By Ed Newbold

As we ride out the last days of 1979, the shah of Iran is holed up in a Texas hospital. The former "Light of the Aryans"—who only recently lived as an unquestioned ruler of a wealthy nation of 30 million and thrived in a kind of narcissistic nirvanah where even the ashtrays were solid gold—has now entered a new state of consciousness which practitioners of pigeon-hindu call "Karmic Kickback." In this new state he is experiencing a serious illness (cancer of the lymph) and the belief, which any serious psychiatrist would dismiss as a paranoid delusion, that an entire nation of 30 million is out to get him.

More needs to be said about this interesting case, but for now, it will serve to underscore the point: 1979 was a bad year for dictators.

## 4 Little, 5 Little, 6 Little Dictators...

In a year that saw a number of contests, dictators lost a total of five in 1979. If you throw in the end of last year's season, the number is brought to half a dozen. Popular revolutions pulled out of a minor slump and outclassed two dictators—Somoza in Nicaragua and the Shah in Iran. A combination of popular resistance and "benevolent invasions" claimed two more—Idi Amin in Uganda and Pol Pot of Cambodia. One dictator, Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Empire, was shut out by a foreign-coached palace coup, while the last, hapless Park Chung Hee of South Korea, was the victim of plain old bad luck when he and his five bodyguards were caught in a ferocious hail of bullets from the head of his own CIA.

## Parked for the Last Time

Actually, some have suggested that Park Chung Hee was not merely unlucky but really the victim of an elaborate conspiracy from within or without his government. This is entirely plausible, but it is not well advised for anyone to hold their breath awaiting this bit of news from South Korea. After all, it's been 16 years since a conspiracy took the life of President John Kennedy here in the U.S. and even the *Washington Post* has yet to break that story.

Park ruled a very tight police state which in the litany of the western press was always called an "economic miracle." Park's miraculous economic formula consisted of eroding the agricultural base in the countryside, thus forcing the peasants into the urban work-force; policing the work force in order to make sure that it did not unionize or strike for higher wages; and encouraging foreign corporations (mainly U.S. and Japanese) to take advantage of the low wages and set up export industries.

The industries that were thus built in South Korea (such as the plywood and electronics industries) do not use South Korea either as a market for the finished product or as a source of raw materials. Therefore, they will have reason to stay only as long as the wages remain extremely low.

This does seem like a benign miracle to the transnational corporations which were generally pleased by Park's willingness to keep his country's working class in check.

Park's demise, in and of itself, is not likely to have a great effect on Korea, although the new caretaker gov-

ernment did recently revoke one of the worst of the anti-free speech laws.

## A Diamond is a Dictator's Worst Mistake

Bokassa was an Idi Amin-like figure who came to power in Central Africa in 1965. Diana Johnstone, writing in *In These Times*, attributes some of Bokassa's personality to the 23 years he spent with French forces: "It was the French colonial army that taught him to worship decorations, titles and ranks; that gave him the taste for ordering people around. It was the French colonial army—in Indochina—that taught him to kill, terrorize and "interrogate" rebellious peasants."

But it was French operatives who also helped depose Bokassa when the opportunity arose in 1979, despite years of friendship between Bokassa and France's ruling parties. French aid and support throughout most of the '70s was seen as a way to keep the country's diamond mines and untapped uranium deposits in friendly and dependent hands. But the friendship started becoming embarrassing to French rulers, especially when right-wing French president Giscard was accused of accepting a gift of a large diamond from Bokassa, who was then under criticism as a ruthless, murderous tyrant. The French change of heart followed shortly thereafter.

## "Benevolent" Invasions

As we all know, intervening in another country's affairs is morally wrong. When the U.S., for instance, spent \$141 billion and 60,000 lives trying to support an unpopular puppet dictator in Vietnam, it only succeeded in causing untold misery.

But then there are the cases of Cambodia under Pol Pot and Uganda under Idi Amin. Both regimes were accused of being among the most barbarous in the world—and no evidence has come up in either case to refute the allegations.

So it was with mixed emotions that the world watched Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge fall to a Vietnamese led invasion and Idi Amin fall to a Tanzania-assisted invasion in 1979.

Both countries are now dealing with the wreckage. Despite earlier reports to the contrary, the Vietnamese backed government in Phnom Penh is more than anxious to receive food aid from the west for its starving population, and Vietnam has committed a significant portion of its own meagre food resources to the new government. In Uganda, politicoes are involved in a tug-of-war over how to develop Uganda's atrophied agricultural and small industrial production—whether to take the road of collective self-reliance or invite in the foreign investors.

## True Revenge

Unlike Khomeini and company, the Nicaraguan revolutionaries who deposed Anastasio Somoza do not put a high priority on bringing the old dictator to justice.

Instead, the Sandinists have lived up to their long-time motto: "Implacable in the fight, generous in victory," and have executed no one for crimes committed before the revolution. The strength of this attitude among the Sandinists is illustrated by a story about Tomas Borge, who as Minister of Interior may hold the most important post in the new government.

Borge had just captured five of Somoza's national guardsmen. As the guardsmen emerged, hands raised,

from their hiding place, one hung back as though embarrassed. Approaching the man, Borge recognized a person he had seen before—a man who had once tortured him. Exclaimed Borge, "I will have my revenge here and now!" Borge did get his revenge, and right then: the two men shook hands.

Here in the U.S., perhaps the most obvious result of the difference in generosity between the two revolutions, in Iran and Nicaragua, is that the latter one simply isn't getting any press coverage.

But with or without Walter Cronkite, what is happening in Nicaragua may be, in some ways, one of the most exciting things happening anywhere in the world. Out of the brutal destruction left by Somoza, his guardsmen, and his family businesses, a new society is being built which intends to respect human freedom and dignity and refuse, as much as possible, to allow the exploitation of the many by a wealthy parasitic few.

Yet the country's extreme poverty presents a serious problem. Promised aid from the U.S. has still not materialized, and worse, the specter of retaliation from corporate America is always present when the needs of an underdeveloped country conflict with the needs of the bankers on Wall Street: Nicaragua has recently nationalized the foreign owned fruit and mining companies operating in Nicaragua.

While it is too early to make solid predictions about Nicaragua's future, one Nicaraguan exile living in Seattle, Julio Amador, is optimistic about his return there this month. The letters and clippings he is getting from his relatives in Nicaragua convey an impression of a people mobilized with a new-found confidence and freedom—and a government not afraid to let them organize to solve their problems.

The contrast is all too clear to Julio. Thirteen of his cousins died in the revolution, all murdered, in various ways, by Somoza's guardsmen.

## The Karma Kickback

The shah, of course, is still back where we left him when we began our tour of deposed dictators. He is somewhat less comfortable, however, since, unlike Mick Jagger, the shah does not have time on his side.

As Americans, we have always been told by our newspapers and televisions that the shah was a "liberalizer," a "friend and ally," and just an all-around nice guy.

But with a little time, it shouldn't be too hard for Americans to figure out that anybody who killed 45,000 to 100,000 people and stole upwards of \$17 billion from his country is what Nixon once claimed he wasn't: a crook.

And as time goes by, the lives of those U.S. citizens sitting in Tehran might seem, comparatively, more and more important.

And for those who shudder at the thought of Khomeini's Islamic justice, there is always the possibility of setting up an international tribunal to examine the shah's alleged misdeeds.

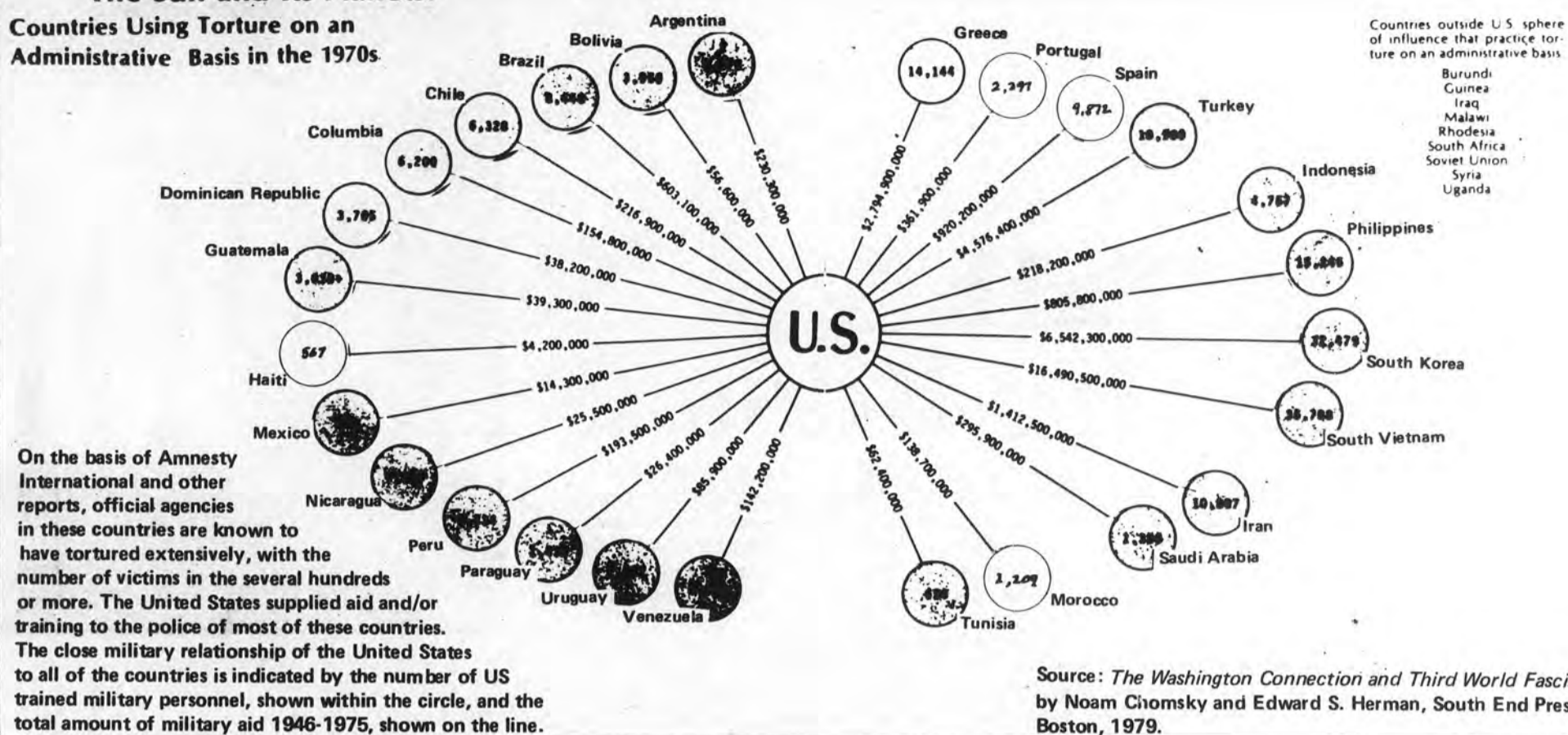
In time, the shah's friends may dwindle to the men who like the shah for the same reason they always did, men like David Rockefeller and Henry Kissinger.

These men think the shah is the cat's meow principally because he's got between 17 and 30 billion dollars.

Now, if we can only get the Iranians to take Kissinger and Rockefeller in the bargain...



**The Sun and Its Planets:  
Countries Using Torture on an  
Administrative Basis in the 1970s**



# But Not Bad Enough...

By John Burroughs

In May 1975 liberation forces marched into Saigon, and the Vietnam War was finally over. In the years since then, movies such as "Coming Home" and "The Deerhunter" have explored the American experience of the war.

But there has been little discussion of a key question: why did the United States support the South Vietnamese dictator Thieu right up to the bitter end?

What discussion there is commonly implies that the US intervention in Indochina was an aberration in the government's overall foreign policy, an instance where good intentions (human rights, democracy, etc.) led honorable men astray.

Unfortunately we don't have to go too far to find this type of thinking. For example, in the midst of the Iran crisis the latest issue of Seattle's posh publication *The Weekly* featured several articles on the theme of "Thinking About War."

One article is about a practice bombing run of a Navy plane, the A-6, based on Whidbey Island. The author says that while 10 years ago he thought American pilots who bombed North Vietnam should be tried as war criminals, he admires the courage and skill of the pilots he recently flew with. Since the article begins with a scenario for an attack on Iran, it is plain that the author could well imagine these qualities being put to use.

In another article, "Post-post-Vietnam," it is argued that Americans must put the war behind them, snap out of their "isolationism," and think more intelligently about securing "political stability" in the third world.

## The Washington Connection

In their new book *The Washington Connection* Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman take sharp issue with the notion that the intervention in Indochina represented something unusual in US foreign policy. To make this point, the authors recount depressingly similar stories of US governmental support for right-wing authoritarian regimes in country after country, from South Vietnam to the Dominican Republic.

Take the case of the potentially very rich and powerful country of Indonesia. The generals who overthrew the left leaning nationalist Sukarno in 1965 had close ties with the US military. In fact, many had received American military training.

In the years following the coup, hundreds of thousands of Indonesians accused of "communist sympathies" were indiscriminately massacred. One low estimate of 500,000 comes from an official Indonesian source; others go as high as over 1 million.

Still, it might be thought that these events were the responsibility of Indonesians and little related to US policy. Not so, however, if we are to believe a one time commander of US forces in Vietnam. In 1972

General Maxwell Taylor explained to *US News and World Report* that with large US forces moving into Vietnam the Indonesian anti-Communists "were willing to run the risk of eliminating President Sukarno and destroyed the Indonesian Communists."

Chomsky and Herman comment that in Taylor's view, "this was a constructive bloodbath. The victims, once identified as Communists, have lost all claim to humanity and merit whatever treatment they received."

*It was 1964 and a US warship stood by in the Atlantic...*

## The Brazilian Miracle

It was 1964 and a US warship stood by in the Atlantic. The American embassy offered to help with military supplies should a conflict emerge. After the Brazilian generals smoothly took power from President Joao Goulart, the Johnson Administration recognized the new government before it had actually been formed, and congratulated Brazil on its turn to "democracy."

In the wake of the 1959 Cuban Revolution it was really no surprise that the US government lined up with the generals against the reform-minded Goulart, who was planning land redistribution and even hinted at nationalization of foreign enterprises. Indeed the ideology with which the Brazilian military justified the coup, the need for "security and development," had been worked out in close association with the American military. (One US-run military training institute is known by Latin Americans as the "School for Coups.")

As I learned while studying Latin American politics in graduate school, in the next 15 years of military rule Brazil experienced economic growth which some have termed a "miracle." However, the growth has been very dependent on a great inflow of foreign investment and credit. Now as much as 50% of Brazil's heavy industry is owned by multinational corporations. Meanwhile the great majority of Brazilians continue to live in poverty. The standard of living has actually dropped due to cutbacks in public services, inflation, and government control of wages. The Brazilian elite, however, has been able to up its consumption of items like cars and dishwashers.

All this has been accompanied by such lovely things as suppression of political liberties, the throttling of independent political parties, labor and peasant movements and the press — and extensive torture. The United States, while officially critical of Brazil's human

rights record, remains basically committed to the Brazilian brand of dictatorship. Vice-President Mondale recently paid a friendly visit to the current general in power; and after the unexpected uprisings in Iran, the CIA was instructed to upgrade its intelligence on Brazil so that the United States would not be caught by surprise again.

## Latin American Dominoes

In the decade after the coup in Brazil, similar coups occurred in Argentina (1968 and again in 1975), and in Chile and Uruguay (1973). A common syndrome is emerging of US governmental support for the coup-makers (certainly the case in Chile and Brazil, less clear in Argentina and Uruguay), increased multinational investment and foreign credit, elite-oriented "growth at all costs" economic policies, and increasingly sophisticated, long term military rule.

In a way Latin America is the United States' Eastern Europe. Just as politics in Eastern Europe reflect the impact of the Soviet Union, so Latin American politics are shaped by the United States, as the Monroe Doctrine made clear over a century and a half ago. If the "free world" we hear so much about is to be found anywhere, it should be in this bastion of American influence. And yet, as Chomsky and Herman point out, while our press agonizes over the problems of a relatively small number of dissidents in the USSR, thousands upon thousands of Latin Americans have been assassinated by military and police agencies which receive aid and sometimes training from the United States.

## Pragmatism and Stability

It is time to face the fact that just as the 20 year intervention in Indochina was no humanitarian mistake, but rather a cold and calculated effort planned by Pentagon strategists, so the intimate associations of the US government with regimes like those of Somoza in Nicaragua, the Shah in Iran, and the generals in Brazil and Indonesia are far from accidental. The goal of this policy is often said to be stability; a less euphemistic term for it is counterrevolution.

Conservative political scientists, notably the current National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, delight in contrasting the "pragmatic" orientation of Americans with the "ideological" bent of communists and other undesirables. If pragmatic means anything, it is to recognize practical realities. Perhaps the fall of rulers like the Shah and Somoza, each with strong ties to the US government and each hated by the people involved, will begin to make the practical realities of American foreign policy too prominent to ignore: the United States government has consistently—in Vietnam and elsewhere—aligned itself with rightwing dictators against popular movements. Americans may yet decide that they want no part of this kind of stability.



# A Talk with the Boss

"Is that you?"

It was the boss on the phone. He sounds a little like a mallard duck and he asks questions like, "is that you?" I said yes it was me and I asked him how he was doing. He didn't answer that.

"Hey, listen, when you put the boat aground at Sitka did you tear anything up?"

I told him the fathometer wasn't working right, but I'd checked for damage and everything else was fine.

"Is that right?" He was angry, but interested. "What in the hell were you doing all the way in Sitka anyway?"

"Well, those guys took forever to get the barge unloaded, and we missed the tide at Surgis Narrows, so we went into town to look around."

"That skipper told me he needed water!"

"That's right, we did take water in Sitka. In fact, I'm the one who told the skipper we needed water."

"Well, I ought to fire you."

So he fired the skipper. "Too late. That was my last trip."

"That boat didn't need any water. Hell, that boat has the biggest tank of them all. Christ, you could go a month on that boat without running out of water."

He had me doubting myself already, he could exaggerate things till I wouldn't remember how it really was.

"I thought we needed water."

"Did you sound the tank?"

"No, I just judged by the trim of the boat, and how long we'd been out. There was an extra person along, you know."

"Christ! You didn't need any water. That guy said there was an extra person along. I asked him who. He said 'My wife.' Christ! She didn't use that much water did she?"

Actually she did. "I don't know."

"So you all went up town and got drunk, right? Then you put the boat on the beach! I know what goes on. And that guy tried to tell me he wasn't drunk."

"He wasn't. He stayed on the boat the whole time. I had been drinking, the mate had been drinking, but the skipper stayed aboard the boat."

"Why?"

"I don't know. I guess because he was going to have to take it through Surgis Narrows and he wanted to be sober."

"Well, if he wasn't drinking why'd he put the boat on the beach?"

"I don't know. We'd been through there twice with the barge alongside and in the fog. I guess he thought he knew where he was and misjudged it. It's really narrow right there. There's a rock with a light on it, right in the middle of the channel. I guess he was staying too far off that rock."

"Yeah, I know where that light is. So you went on the mud. Then what did you do?"

"We called the Dolores Foss to come pull us off. But she couldn't. We were stuck pretty good. So we just sat there for six hours waiting for the tide, and people taking pictures of us."

"Okay, but did he spin the wheel in the gravel? Sure he did. I know what goes on. You sure that guy hadn't been drinking?"

"No, he didn't spin the wheel in the gravel. Look, that guy did pretty good. I mean, he shouldn't have been on the beach, but once he got there I thought he handled it all really well. You're lucky the mate wasn't running the boat. He was all for having that big Coast Guard Buoy Tender come pull us off. He'd have ripped the bottom right out of her. That skipper made sure she was going to set down easy, then said 'good enough.' He was cool and calm. The mate nearly panicked."

"Well, I don't care how calm a guy is. He should never have been there. I had to let that guy go. You have to nip that stuff in the bud. He should never have been in Sitka harbor to start with! You know what he should have done? When those guys finished un-

loading the barge, he should have just grabbed it and gone. How are we supposed to charge the customer for six hours sitting on the beach? We'll have to make an adjustment for them. We'll never get that back. There's no way we'll ever make that money up."

"Well, it was the customer who invited us uptown for a drink."

"Well, it doesn't matter. You should never have been in there. Besides, we checked the tide tables, you could have made the tide. You had to be there at two AM and there you were leaving out of Sitka at four."

This one really caught me off guard.

"Wait a minute. I know we were leaving when we did because we had to make the tide. I didn't look it up, but the skipper and the mate did. They were talking about it the whole day. They thought we were right on the money."

"Well, you can't fool me. You just gotta nip that stuff in the bud. I told that guy we just didn't need him anymore."

"You didn't have to do that."

I had finally realized why he had called me. He wanted reassurance. He wanted me to say he was right to fire that skipper. For six years I've been telling this man whatever he wanted to hear. But this time I couldn't. He was asking too much. He was asking me to degrade myself, to say that firing workers was okay, to give up my right to a job. This time I could see that if he could do it to the skipper he could do it to me. His forceful will, his barrage of facts and figures, and his machine gun way of firing them at me were all washing by me. Later when I was alone and the phone was hung up I heard myself hiss, "You stay in power because you can FIRE people. That violates people. Your system is violent." But right then I just knew it intuitively. It was trembling through my body.

"And that deckhand, what's his name?"

I told him.

"Yeah, him. We let him go too. You know what he did? He called up his gal or somebody in Portland on the marine operator and blabbed all about it for forty-five minutes. The secretary in the office at Ketchikan was listening in the whole time. Everybody

(continued on page 14)

*Well, I was drunk.  
So was the deck-  
hand. Still, you didn't  
need to fire him.*

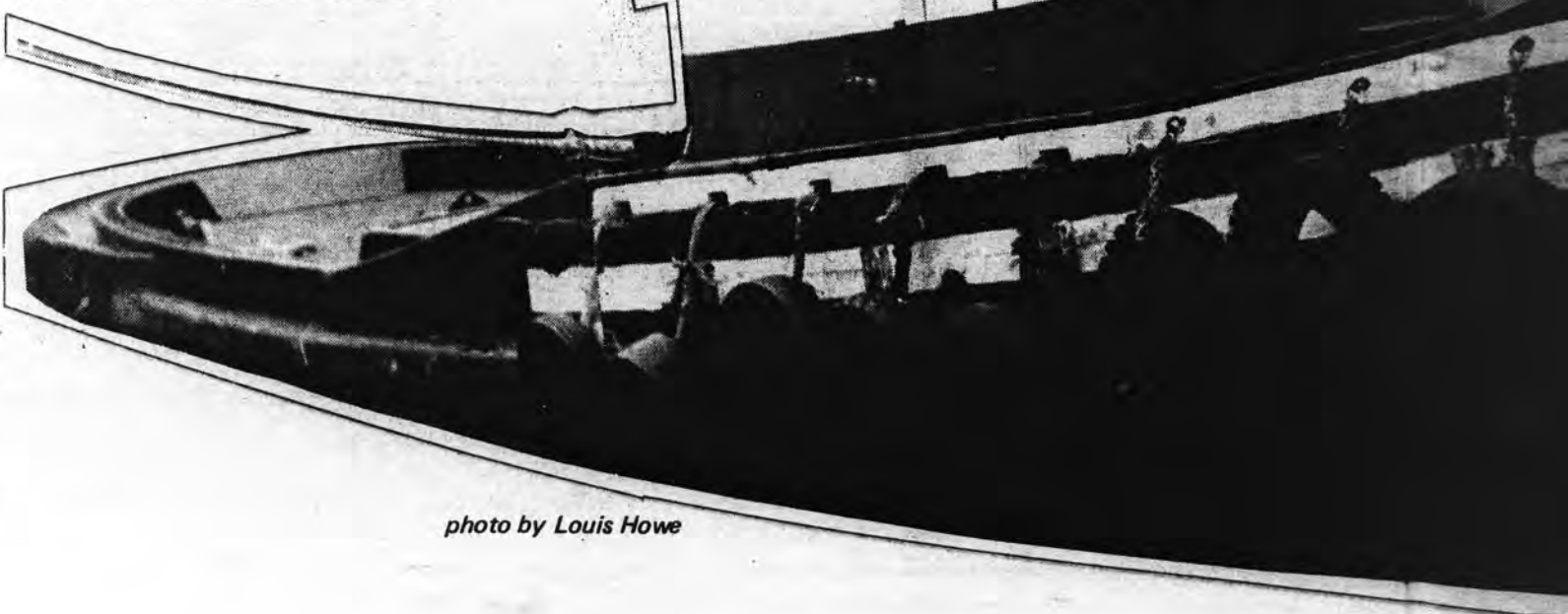


photo by Louis Howe

# TUGBO



# BOATS

## Towing the Line

*By Louis Howe*

Tug boating is not like other jobs. That is what some people like most about it. The boat is physically confining, you can't just walk away, and you don't get to go home at night, but there is a lot of freedom in the job itself. The pay is good, managers don't breath down your neck, there is a certain amount of craftsmanship in the work, and you are always learning new skills. There is a hierarchy, with the skipper over the mate, and both of them over the cook, the engineer and the two deckhands. But every skipper was once a deckhand, and most of them like to teach you whatever they've spent the last fifteen years learning. Which is a lot.

On a typical trip to Alaska I had to be a window washer, a painter, a diesel engineer, a rigger, a forklift operator, a line handler, a housekeeper, a barge lasher, a record keeper, and a lookout. The mate was teaching me to navigate, forecast the weather, and use the radio. But the most important thing to learn was how to use a ninety foot tug boat to control a three hundred foot barge. We were supposed to get into and away from docks and loading ramps without tearing anything up. Occasionally we would blow it, but it was never serious.

I really don't know how many pots of coffee it took, or how many packs of cigarettes the skipper smoked to get through a trip. We worked, we worried, we joked, we grab-assed. We would paint the boat, chip the rust, fix the engine, out-guess the weather and the tide, wash the windows, read the dials and gauges, log the lighthouse, keep each other awake on the midnight watch, or stand hours at the wheel watching one little white line on the compass. You might spend four days, or a week, or a month getting somewhere, trying to get along with the same five people for all that time, learning their interests, learning what things never to mention to them, and you do all that so that you can get there and deliver the freight. You deliver the Pampers and mattresses and bulldozers, the potato chips, the sparetires, the household goods, and the booze. And that is what makes it all go, the bottom line, the reality behind the corned beef hash and the salty language.

Some people talk about the adventure and romance of the sea and of boats. I understand what they mean. I like to be proud of the boat, to keep it clean and painted. And I do have my share of superstitions. I won't eat split pea soup on a boat or whistle in the pi-

*Some people talk about the romance of the sea...But mostly I leave that stuff to yachters.*

Tug boats have tools. Sometimes people would make things for the boat. Maybe a coat rack, or a bracket for the coffee pot in bad weather, or a hand rail in the engine room. They would take their time and do the best job they could. Then we would have something nice. I think most of us preferred to work that way, carefully, without having someone making a cost/benefit analysis on our every move. It occurred to me every now and again that if tug boating ever becomes a democratic industry, these people will be able to run it.

lot house because those things bring bad weather, and I get seasick. But mostly I leave that old salty stuff to yachters. Too much romance and mystery obscure the real reasons why tug boats and barges can even afford to go to Alaska. I am talking about what S.D. Campbell, speaking in 1973 as president of Foss Tug Boat Company in Seattle, called, "our growing involvement in Alaska's commerce."

Increasingly Alaska depends on shipping companies from out of state to transport goods, which is a good thing for tug boat operations like Crowley Maritime Corporation and Foss Launch and Tug. Through mergers and expansion, both companies have grown a lot in the past ten years. No Alaskan tug boat company has been able to seriously challenge these two. It is difficult to see how they could. Foss, through its parent company, Dillingham, had a budget for capital expansion that increased by \$10 million from 1978 to 1979. Financing isn't a big problem at Foss. With money like that dominating the scene it is hard to imagine a local Alaskan company cutting deeply into the market.

To me this is just an example of the dilemma in Alaska's peculiar economy. I think Alaska is caught in a state of perpetual frontier. Local manufacturing can't compete with industrialized national producers, so Alaska has to import all its food and manufactured goods, paying high prices and supporting a lot of middle men, and even speculators. That relationship eats up the state's wages. To pay for the imported goods, the state sells its logs, pulp, fish, ore, and oil to manufacturing centers outside the state. That might be okay, but the companies who extract the raw materials are all outsiders, so anything they produce in the state eventually finds its way out of the state. Alaska is like a colony with high wages. Which is fine, I suppose, if you don't mind seeing industrial centers and out of state corporations growing at Alaska's expense. But Alaskans really depend on out of state raw material extractors for their industries and jobs. That can get ugly. Louisiana-Pacific could ruin the city of Ketchikan by closing down shop there. L-P is known to be callous in labor disputes, and they don't mind invoking Alaska's right to work law. L-P also has a record of resisting pollution control. They don't care, and they really don't have to.

Sometimes I wonder what will happen to tug boats if the fuel oil runs out. Tug boat owners are wondering too. I am guessing, but I'll bet the Sydney Foss burns

*(continued on page 14)*





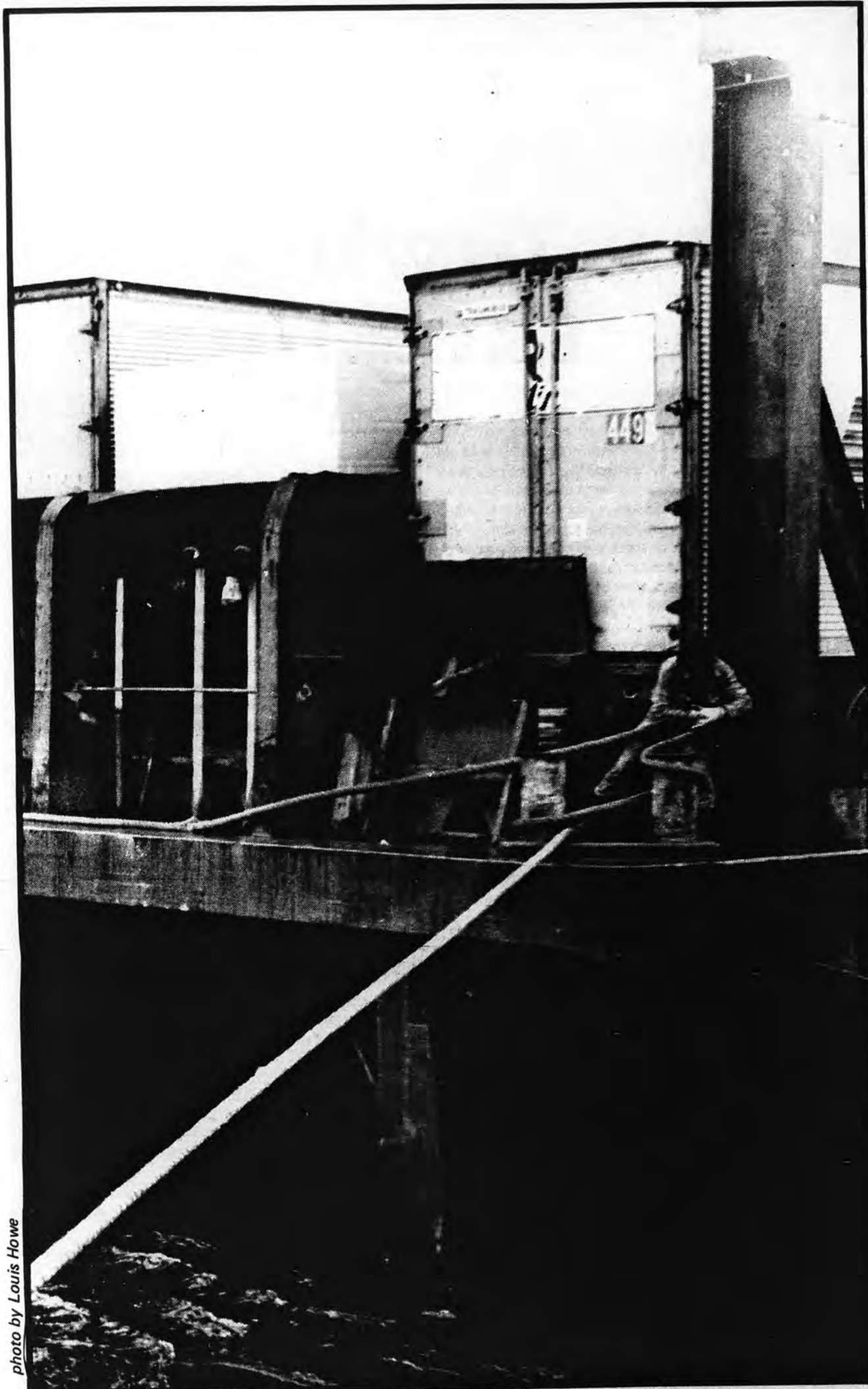


photo by Louis Howe

### THE BOSS ON THE PHONE, Cont.

listens to that frequency, you know. He lets goes with a big story about going up town and getting drunk and going to some strip joint. Can you imagine a guy like that? Everybody listening in. We just don't have any use for a guy like that. Anyway, according to him everybody got roaring drunk."

"Well, I was drunk. So was the deckhand. Still I don't think you needed to fire him."

"Well, I know you think I'm being hard, but we gotta make it go. Sometimes you just gotta do unpleasant things. Christ, we'll never make that money up."

"Yeah, it is your business, I guess."

The rest of our conversation sort of blurs. He kept telling me why he had to fire those two men, but I don't think he was all that convinced himself. That's why he needed me to tell him he was right. I think every worker ought to have a right to a job. Nobody's profit is more important than that.

### TOWING THE LINE, Continued

200 gallons an hour. If fuel oil prices really hit the ceiling, I wonder if small out of the way towns would still get barge service. If they did, the freight rates would be awfully high. In some communities, for Foss or Crowley to pull out would be serious. But if that meant an end to the "growing involvement" and the start of local autonomy, then it might be worth it.

The other workers on the boat didn't feel the way I do about these things. They saw Alaska as a growing place with a bright future. Sometimes late in the night we had long discussions of such things, and many other thoughts came out. For instance, we worked for a non-union company and most of the other workers said that it was a good thing. They understood unions as just another drain on their pay checks, like taxes.

We paid a lot of taxes, 30 and 40 percent. Most of them believed that it was wrong for people to get welfare, especially mothers, because they felt it was "our" tax money being used, and they didn't want to support someone else's sex life. When we hauled government housing for the Indians, even though those buildings gave us work and paid our wages, our crew saw "our" taxes going to support people who "won't" work.

And along with all this, they had a dream.

They wanted to spend more time with their families while still doing the work they enjoyed. Often they talked of getting off the boats to start their own small businesses, like an airplane upholstery business or a custom auto body shop. In six years of being around the water, I never met anyone who wanted to be told that the world wasn't like that.

I came to feel a gulf between the way I think and the way the other workers thought. How do you bridge that gap? Their attitudes did not come from books, like mine, but from living, from working, and from paying taxes. When they believed something, it became a part of them. Their values were woven into their lives in a way that mine were not. It is no small thing to ask people like that to change their minds because it amounts to asking them to change their lives. Why should they do it? Why should they change their whole way of seeing and thinking even if I present them with the most logical of arguments? That is asking them to give something they can't give, to be someone they don't want to be. I don't believe that words alone will ever politicize tug boat workers. It is time to try something else.

### The Seattle Midwifery School announces the opening of Seattle Home Maternity Service



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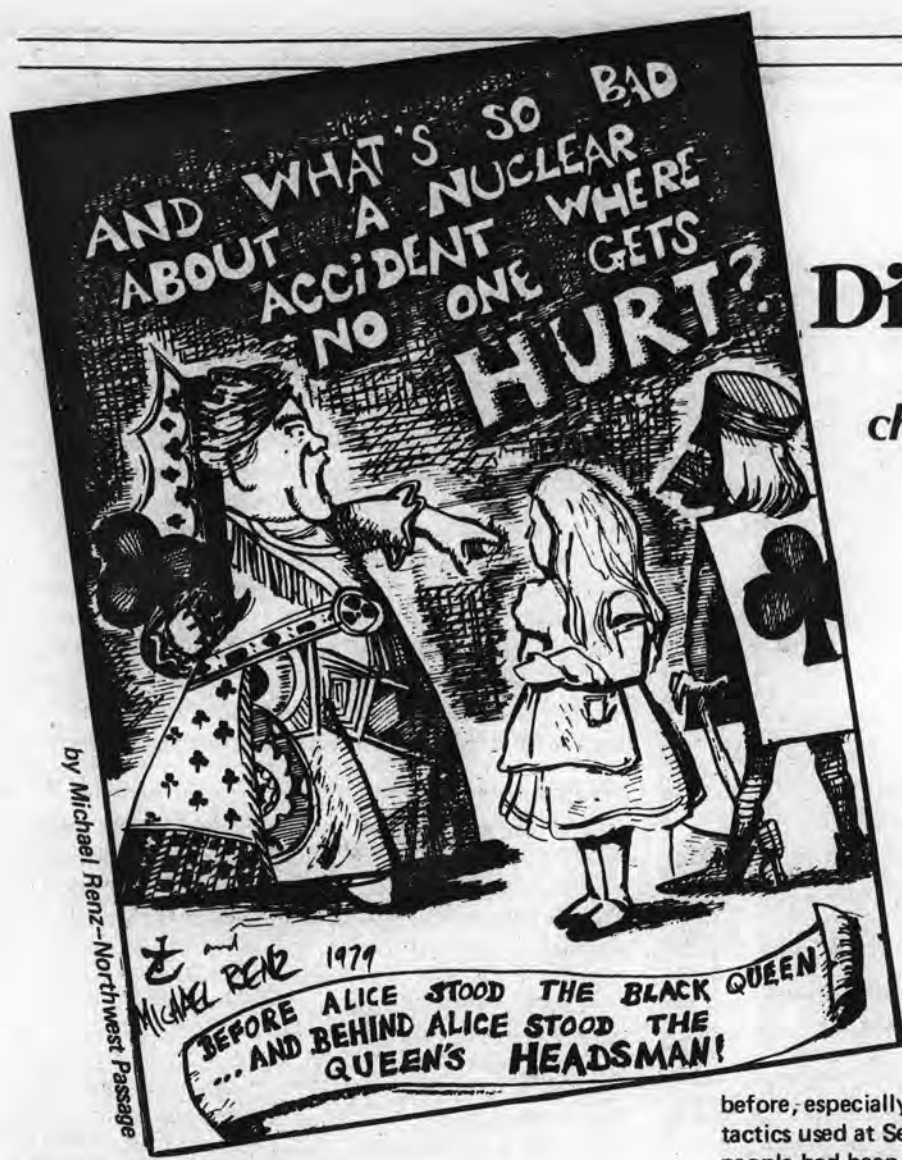
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# Direct Action: The Next Step?

changes, nukes and granola



By Shannon West

Who could hate an alliance of catfish, sunflowers, palmettos, armadillos, abalone, crab, oyster and clam shells? Nobody with a heart, or so hope the anti-nuclear activists from the West Coast to the South to the East Coast of the United States. Those names chosen for regional organizations reflect, among other things, the anti-nuke movement's efforts to present itself as non-threatening and down home.

Yet, like any other protest movement the anti-nuclear movement has constantly been undergoing evolution. There are some signs the movement may now be evolving away from its non-threatening image.

"At the anti-Trident demonstration people came away feeling like school children. It was the way the organizers treated people; 'yes do this, no don't do that, it might offend someone.' The demonstrators knew they were no real threat to anyone.

At Seabrook, I felt more powerful afterwards than before because I'd actually done all this stuff; helped cut fences, actually interfered with the plant's construction. I realized how much we don't do because we are intimidated by the cops and the court. When you have large numbers of people that intimidation doesn't work so well."

Janet Broida  
Northwest resident and participant in the action at Seabrook

These feelings are home-grown northwest examples of a push for more militant anti-nuke activities being felt around the nation. Similar discussion has surfaced

before, especially in 1978 when it centered around tactics used at Seabrook. The previous year 1,414 people had been arrested in a mass symbolic action of civil disobedience. In 1978, though 3,000 gathered at Seabrook there were no arrests. As a matter of fact, there was no civil disobedience. Instead there was an agreement with the state whereby an 18-acre (former) city dump was provided as rally and camp site and the protest was legally sanctioned.

### What is Direct Action, Anyway?

Direct action means changing something yourself rather than trying to convince somebody else to make the change. When successful it is not symbolic, but actually (directly) accomplishes its goal.

Direct action against a nuclear plant can mean blocking roads so no traffic can get through to the plant. It can mean occupying a plant so that no construction or operation can occur.

Direct action can be nonviolent. However, it generally does not include much cooperation with authorities. As a result, police response tends to be more violent than in cases of anti-nuclear style civil disobedience.

According to Clamshell Alliance organizer Wasserman, "The state made us a middle-ground offer that was very difficult to refuse. If we refused a peaceful solution we'd appear unreasonable, and lose the credibility we'd gained. If we accepted, it would look like we were going soft. It was very well calculated to split the alliance and it succeeded. . . ." A classic case of you can't please everybody and Clamshell didn't.

Predictably, disagreements arose. The following Seabrook demonstration was pulled off this past fall by the Clamshell Coalition for Direct Action. Its goal was to physically stop construction at Seabrook by occupying the site. No striking back at the police was the only rule. The action's more aggressive nature was matched with a greater use of force by the police. The

3,000 who participated could not pull it off. They did not even get inside the plant.

What a joke, right? A bunch of those anti-nukes really thought, all by themselves, they could stop a nuclear plant? Well, don't laugh too hard, because it's been done.

In Whyll (pronounced Veel), West Germany a plant actually was stopped by 28,000 people who occupied the site and wouldn't go away.

Twenty-eight thousand. The march on Washington, D.C. against nuclear power drew 100,000 in 1979. Peter, Paul, Mary and their ilk drew 20,000 in a protest against the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant in California. 15,000 turned up at Shoreham last summer; 600 were arrested. When it comes to actually risking arrest at a nuclear plant in the U.S. the numbers generally don't go much higher than 3,000.

"Not yet, anyway," say the direct action converts.

Why this growing push for direct action? Has the movement been ineffective so far?

First, whatever may be said of the current anti-nuclear movement, its civil disobedience tactics, and the need for change, people should remember how very young this anti-nuclear movement is. The first arrests, at Seabrook and at Trident, occurred just three years ago in 1976. Has anything changed since then?

In 1977, the *New York Times*/NBC poll claimed 55% of voting age people in the U.S. wanted a nuclear

plant in their own community. In 1979, they claim only 38% do. That's progress, anti-nuke style.

Several states have bans or moratoriums on nuclear plant construction:

-California has a state ban of nuclear power plants in the absence of a national system of fuel reprocessing.

-Hawaii has a state constitutional amendment which requires any nuclear project to be approved by both houses of the legislature.

-Montana passed an initiative setting stringent safety and liability requirements which effectively banned nuclear power.

-Thirty-three communities in Vermont have voted to ban nuclear power there.

Continued Next Page—

### LETTERS CONTINUED

(4) Schiller scoffs at my observation of a "generation gap". But most of the activists in the campaign were young, and I doubt if any of the "RCP-organized steelworker" had more than five years in the plant.

Younger workers at Bethlehem are hired into shipping, reinforcing, and plant clean-up. Few older workers are in these departments. Even in production departments, younger workers are getting the "benefits" of an increasing vicious managerial policy. While conditions for older workers are degenerating, our wages are better, our jobs fairly secure; and the once militant workers of the forties are looking forward to retirement.

(5) Schiller correctly criticizes the article for playing down three recent wildcat strikes. The interview, however, was not a history, but a biographical sketch. It covered some 33 years in the plant, in which the four years significant to Schiller were only one part. No at-

tempt was made to build up my role in events where I played only a supportive or secondary part.

I agree that these wild-cats, and other rank-and-file actions demonstrate the growing opposition and militancy of steelworkers in general and younger workers in particular.

On the other hand, I do not share Schiller's estimate of the significance of campaigns designed exclusively to recruit and consolidate RCP support.

My super-ego undaunted, I remain,

Frank Krasnowsky

### US Student in Iran

Dear Northwest Passage,

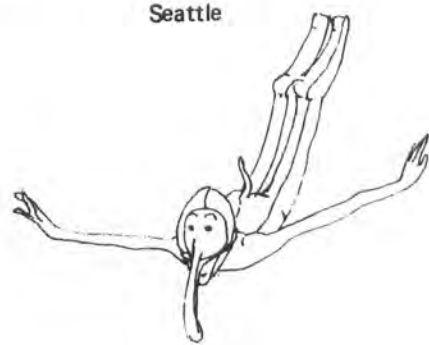
I am an American student who lived in Iran five years ago while the Shah was in power. Military guards were on the campuses. Students were shot for speaking out against the Shah. Schools were shut down. More and more people were killed. I lived in fear. I was warned never to speak about politics; never to write home about what was going on.

I would go to the American sections of town. I picked up the American newspapers. Nothing was ever written about what was happening to the Iranian people. There were articles about the Shah. The papers said the Shah was doing great things for his country like building more schools. However, the papers did not mention that no matter how many schools there were in Iran, the people could not attend them. The masses in Iran are in poverty. If the children do not spend their days working (they have child labor) then the children do not eat. There was no time for them to be in school.

It was clear that the Iranians hated the Shah. But, it was hard to throw him out because he was supported by American military. American military and American oil men swarmed Iran. The American Military had their own radio station. They broadcasted pro-Shah news reports to all the American visitors. But, I was not there as an American tourist, oil man, or military man. I lived with Persian families. I studied with Persian students. I lived

among the people. I can understand the Persian's anger toward the Shah. Our American government kept this tyrant in power. When the Persians finally succeeded in throwing him, the U.S. government protected him. It is as if we are harboring a fugitive. We are insulting the Iranian people by showing them we don't care about THEM. But, we will protect the Shah, because we care about money, oil, and military bases. The PEOPLE are not important to us.

C. A.  
Seattle



Windy Sanders



"Direct Action" continued from page 15

It's interesting to note that all these constraints were accomplished by popular vote. Nuclear power is one glowing potato that legislators find too hot to handle.

Spokespeople for the nuclear industry complain protests have contributed to delays in licensing and construction. Actually the direct source of many of these delays is the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), not generally regarded as the anti-nukers best buddy. The NRC has added new safety requirements for plants being built and required more safety devices in operating plants. Since Three-Mile Island the NRC has imposed a moratorium on granting operating licenses. So far the openings of four completed nuclear plants have been delayed, and officials expect the moratorium to last into the spring.

Popular vote has directly and indirectly stopped construction of individual plants in California and in Skagit County, Washington. But so far, these successes are isolated.

The country is still going nuclear. Right now there are about seventy nuclear power plants operating in the United States. In the three years preceding 1979, construction plans for twenty-three nuclear plants were canceled, and nine new orders were made. Yet the nuclear power industry anticipates the completion of 92 plants over the next five years bringing the nation to depend on nuclear power for 20% of its electricity.

There are reasons for industry's optimism. Some of the legal interventions formerly available to anti-nuclear groups to slow down and discourage nuclear development have been weakened.

For starters there's Carter's new Energy Mobilization Board, intent on cutting away the red tape which has been used to package away some pro-nukers (as well as acting as a restraint on other types of potentially harmful industrial development).

Then there is Carter's current proposal to grant most necessary permits and licenses to plants at the outset of construction. This will prevent constant-every-step-of-the-way harassment by anti-nuclear people, and will also severely limit the time available to rally local opposition.

Even without Carter's actions, the courts are now less receptive to legal maneuvers. In April 1978, the Supreme Court unanimously reversed appellate court decision halting nuclear plant construction and ordering further studies of environmental consequences (Vermont) and possible energy alternatives (Michigan). In that decision the court chastised the lower courts for excessive judicial activism.

A few months later the court issued a similarly enlightened opinion which upheld the Price-Anderson Act limiting liability of nuclear plants to \$560 million. Again a lower court decision was overturned. The reversal was justified because striking down the act would be a major impediment to further private development of nuclear power. It's a good thing the Supreme Court doesn't believe in taking sides.

And that brings us back to direct action and why people out there want to do it. The main goal of previous demonstrations has been education via media coverage. Through this coverage anti-nuclear groups are able to make public statements about nuclear power, and they are also able to demonstrate the degree of their personal commitment by submitting to arrest, willingly, right there in America's living rooms. The goal of education includes the assumption that if enough people oppose nuclear power, state legislatures and one day even the U.S. Congress will go anti-nuke.

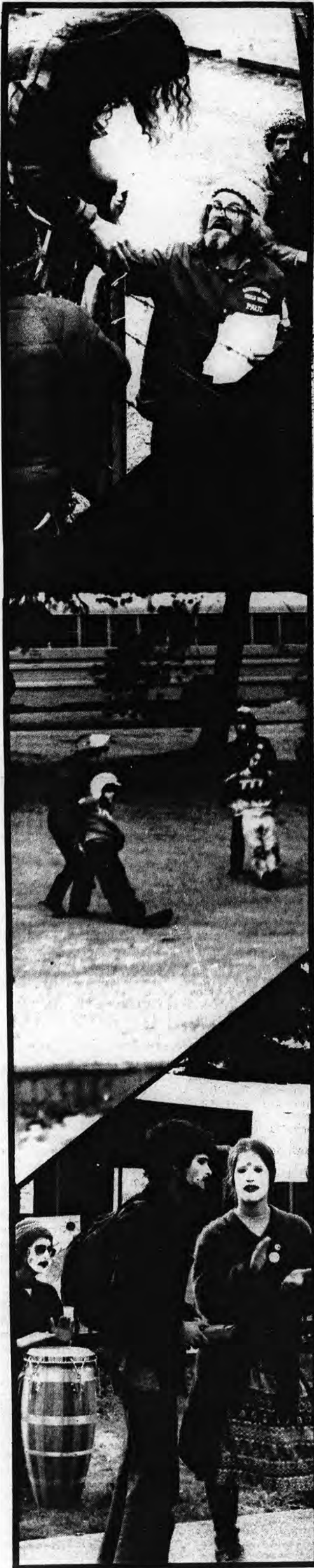
Dream on.

But then who knows. Even some advocates of civil disobedience and cooperation with authorities admit that congressional help, given the power of corporations, is very unlikely. Yet they feel the only hope is to reach people and increase the numbers opposing nuclear power. They see the low-key, gentle approach to demonstrations as the least alienating, most effective way to do this.

Direct Action and the increased police violence that comes along with it generates more publicity, for sure. To some, publicity associated with violence is bad publicity. The demonstrators will be viewed as more destructive than nuclear power.

Others are convinced that the increased violence endured or even provoked by the protestors will better convince the nebulous "public" of the nuclear threat, and counteract the frivolous, full-of-granola image of the anti-nuclear movement.

Regardless of whether the movement goes pro- or anti-granola, its work is certainly cut out for it. President Carter last week stated that, "We can't just close the door on nuclear power." Apparently reactors still have not caused a loud enough voter reaction to scare off politicians in an election year.



Photos by Christian Kallen

## A Forum On Anti-Trident Tactics

Where does anti-nuclear weapons activism go from here? On Sunday, October 28 several thousand people rallied and marched at the Bangor base for the Trident submarine. The next day 115 were arrested after going over the base fence.

In the hope of stimulating some useful controversy, the Passage asked several people to talk about the action and the future of the anti-weapons movement.

The rally was nice. Shelley and the Crustaceans were dynamite and get better all the time. But from there on it was all down hill.

On the march, "peacekeepers" attempted to quiet the crowd with raised hands, to suppress any anger or militancy. Cooperation with the authorities was stressed. The atmosphere at the main gate was as totalitarian as any I've ever seen (not from the police but from "our own" "peacekeepers"). The march finally dissipated in quiet passivity.

Who were we trying to impress? the guards?, Carter?, God? The rulers of this country will not give up nuclear weapons because of our niceness or good intentions. Nuclear weapons are an integral part of their system.

Monday and we were waiting by the fence at the Trident subbase in Bangor. Our friends had been busted that morning for acts of civil disobedience protesting the nuclear facility. As morning gave way to a cool, sunny afternoon, this tall fellow walked up to the fence and squatted down next to his wife and child.

"You know," he started, loudly enough for the guards across the fence to hear, "the Pentagon once did a study of nonviolent defense systems. They said that an army can't win against a people who don't cooperate, who resist an occupation nonviolently. Occupation would only work if some violent group could be exploited, to break down the nonviolent discipline of the population. If peaceful unity was sustained, though, the Pentagon figured that no army could win against the people."

The father paused to eat some food from a bowl. "I'd like to find some documentation of that study," he went on. "We could print it up and give it to the guards, and they could share the information—think about it."

The nonviolent resistance of which this man was speaking characterized the October 26-28 weekend at Trident. Faced with all the carefully orchestrated force that military security can muster, a decentralized

Interview with Mary Van Bronkhurst of Live Without Trident, 12/1/79 opinions expressed are not necessarily those of Live Without Trident

NWP: How do you respond to criticism of Live Without Trident, that you were too restrictive and overly cooperative with authorities at the last action?

Marie: It seems to me that whenever a group decides to put on a demonstration, if you are going to invite several thousand people to go to the demonstration you have some responsibility . . . (for the) . . . safety of those people. That requires some organization. If people have a problem about it being too organized, that's too bad, but I cannot say that we could do it any other way.

There's always problems with peace-keepers who get a little too militant in directing people. They get excited and say things that don't necessarily come from Live Without Trident . . . Like last year a peace-keeper said it was a coalition decision to not have people chant and that was not the case . . .

I think Live Without Trident tends to take certain tactics now because of internal philosophies. People are into non-violent philosophy and that means gen-

a mass movement, not a collection of leftists and hippies  
**A Need for  
Everyday Activism**

Whether some more "direct" approach to anti-Trident submarine protests is called for, say blocking supply trucks from entering the base or tearing down fence, is open to debate. Just for starters, direct action proponents might want to consider the difference in risk (attitude of security forces, legal penalties, etc.) between obstructing the operation of a civilian facility like a nuclear power plant and doing the same at a military installation like the Bangor subbase.

What is less debatable, I think, is the widespread feeling that Live Without Trident (LWT) could organize more exciting demonstrations. On October 28th, the march fizzled into mere milling around at the base gate. The rally had already taken place and there was nothing to do except to look at the (let's face it)



The war in Viet Nam was not as central to the economy as nukes are. Yet the war was only ended because masses of people occupied ROTC buildings and disrupted business as usual, because the whole fabric of society was tearing, because political/business leaders feared they were losing the allegiance of the population; most of all because the army was losing the war and was disintegrating (more officers "fragged" every year).

This is the kind of movement we need again. In trying to do this, we should not be so concerned with numbers that we purposely support attitudes that will undermine our effectiveness (sexism, racism, nationalism, respect for government authority, etc.). In order to change the world, we need to change people's ideas, not just organize people around what they already believe.

In line with this, the incident on Monday was particularly disturbing. Protestors clapped the raising of the U.S. flag at Bangor. The flag is not ours. It is the symbol of U.S. government power. It was painted on the planes that bombed Viet Nam. It is now waved by racist mobs attacking Iranian students and demanding that we "nuke Iran." At the very least it promotes loyalty to one "nation" against the others. Such loyalty breeds war fever as is so clear in the U.S. today.

### Who are we trying to impress?

## It's Time for Direct Action

American nationalism is just another form of racism (setting people against each other because of birthplace or parentage). If we wouldn't support racism we shouldn't support U.S. nationalism either.

Hopefully, future actions will look more like Seabrook October 6 where people refused to negotiate with police and physically attacked the plant's fence—instead of Bangor October 28-29, where leaders were concerned to suppress militancy and not offend the police.

Stop and think. The insane fools who run this country are threatening to literally destroy the whole world, just so they can continue to make money. Is a little anger entirely out of line?

—Steve Leigh  
Member, International Socialist Organization



### The highest respect for the law

## Civil Disobedience Will Stop the Nukes

A band of demonstrators, including many children and older people, staged a peaceful protest at the gates and on the grounds of America's latest atomic war

machine. Working in a spirit of mutual cooperation, demonstrators and guards avoided violence as rallies were held, alternative energy and peace projects were set up, and civil disobedients crossed over the fence to be arrested and held on the base.

The nonviolent civil disobedience at Bangor that weekend compares favorably with the "direct action" taken by protestors at the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear power plant a few weeks earlier. The means used at Seabrook were not in harmony with the goals of peaceful protest against nuclear power. Determined not to attack people, the Coalition nevertheless destroyed property and incited violence by the police against the demonstrators. In wanting to go a step further, advocates of direct action lost sight of their antinuclear goals and turned their protest into an ugly confrontation. Their behavior was inconsistent with their purpose, and their message was missed in light of their violence against property and themselves.

In contrast, the Trident demonstration achieved its goals in two ways: strict adherence to the principle of nonviolence and long-term communication and negotiation with security personnel on the base. These methods allowed both demonstrators and guards to anticipate the action of the Trident protest. For

example, when the guards were told that some protestors intended to pray peaceably at the actual site where nuclear weapons are stored, the marines on that site (who are authorized to use "deadly force") were withdrawn and replaced by more cooperative—and less lethal—security guards.

It is not easy to condemn the Seabrook protestors on the basis of nonviolence. Certainly they did no injury to other people. And yet, by choosing a course which they knew could lead to violence, they struck the spark of confrontation which is at the heart of greater violence: hatred, war and atomic oblivion. In doing so, they angered many people who otherwise might have been more receptive to their message.

In defending civil disobedience, Martin Luther King wrote: "An individual who breaks an unjust law and accepts the penalty in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for the law." This is the power of civil disobedience: it quietly convinces citizens that antinuclear principles are moderate, accessible and flexible beliefs. It confronts nuclear violence with a surer, more patient and abiding strength. It is through nonviolent civil disobedience that we will free ourselves of nuclear power and weapons. —Gordon Hardy

erating as little extra tension between people as possible. It gets to the point where other people see it as non-confrontative. I don't see it that way and I don't think most pacifists see it that way or they wouldn't keep doing what they're doing.

We choose tactics that will communicate a positive image to people who normally would not be opposed to nuclear power and nuclear weapons. If people turn on their TV set and they see people throwing bricks or screaming, very hostile, their image of the type of people protesting is even more negative than it has to be.

With nuclear power it may be necessary to go in that way (more militant and confrontative). With nuclear weapons we're already judged communists, we're really seriously shut out of people's minds from the very beginning... To some extent it's more American to rise up in arms and protect yourself against evil which is in your neighborhood; radioactivity and the possibility of something blowing up in your backyard. It's not as American to rise up in arms against the government and say we don't want weapons to protect us. It's seen differently in the eyes of the public.

### We choose tactics that communicate a positive image

## Weapons Are Different Than Reactors

NWP: Do you think educating the public will eventually cause Congress to ban nuclear weapons?

Marie: I don't know. In some ways I think, oh yeah, Congress could become responsive, it could stop funding of weapons programs. In fact they have. But the level we're attacking at is for no nuclear weapons. That's not going to happen because the corporations have too much of a vested interest in nuclear weapons. Short of a revolution which completely wipes out capitalism, etc., you're going to have nuclear weapons. They're too much in the interest of the powers that are.

NWP: How then do you see your philosophy of educating the populace and adhering to non-violent philosophy, working in the long run?

Marie: I don't know. There's a real divergence in Live Without Trident over whether we can be successful given the political and economic system that we're in. You have to act on the hope that an informed group of people will eventually take the actions appropriate to change the system, whether that's throwing out the system or actually making the system work the way it's supposed to. The chances of success are probably very small.

With nuclear power I think they have a better chance of success, but they may be less successful if they have actions where there's a possibility that the media can present them... as a bunch of rabble rousing weirdos.

In some ways this whole thing reminds me of the women's movement, where it seems like so much energy went toward criticizing women who are very bright and powerful and who speak a lot... more energy goes toward criticizing them and whether they're correct than goes toward continuing the struggle.

—Shannon West  
Passage staff

somewhat childish peace conversion displays.

One possible remedy simply would be to hold the rally after the march. More ambitiously, civil disobedients could go over the fence on Saturday or Sunday with several thousand people there to cheer them on, rather than waiting until Monday when most protesters have gone home.

It is true that in making actions more lively, we must be careful not only of the image projected to the public via the media, but also of the desires of the protesters themselves. What critics of Live Without Trident seem to overlook is that the anti-Trident actions have involved many people otherwise little touched by the various currents of radical politics. The non-violent training session I went to was conducted not by old anti-war activists, but by two women who work as nurses in old people's homes and a Roman Catholic priest. Among those present were several young people self-identifying as Christians who plainly had never been around an anti-war demonstration or an affirmative action march.

The fact is that through LWT people not especially prone to either political activism or countercultural rebelliousness are participating in demonstrations and

even symbolic law breaking. If a mass movement and not just a collection of leftists and hippies is what we want, then LWT is doing something right!

What we're really talking about, then, is creating grassroots anti-weapons sentiment. In pursuing this goal, it is important to remember that demonstrations

alone are not enough: anti-weapons activism needs to become part of everyday life, in neighborhoods, workplaces, churches, unions, schools. Otherwise the occasional actions at Bangor, whether Ghandian in their nonviolence or Maoist in their militance, may not make any difference.

—John Burroughs  
Passage staff





# SALT



## SALT II Spices Up Spending

By the Dollars and Sense staff

As fiscal year 1980 began on October 1, Congress was still debating the 1980 defense budget. It was already certain that the defense budget would increase; the only question was, by how much. The strong downward trend in the military's share of national income has been successfully reversed.

The decline in the military's economic importance is shown in the box. Military spending—corrected for the shrinking dollar—has fallen sharply from its Vietnam War peak. It is now at its lowest since before the Korean War. National defense takes up only about half as much of gross national production as it did in the Cold War '50s and '60s.

The military's role in boosting the economy has been partly taken over by other government programs. If the military grows now—as the economy shrinks into recession—people are going to be getting less government help just when they need it more.

Why is the defense budget going up at a time like this? Partly it has to do with Congressional politics; partly with the recent overthrow of some "free world"

### MILITARY SPENDING, 1947-79

	Military spending, billions of 1972 dollars	Military spending as a percentage of GNP
1947-49	21.1	4.4
1950-54	63.0	10.5
1955-59	66.2	9.7
1960-64	68.5	8.6
1965-69	83.3	8.3
1970-74	72.6	6.3
1975	65.8	5.5
1976	64.6	5.1
1977	66.1	4.9
1978	65.1	4.7
1979	63.9	4.5

Notes: Figures are for Defense Dept. spending only; they do not include veterans benefits, war debts, and other military costs. 1979 figures are a projection based on first 6 months. 1947-74 figures are annual averages for each time period. Dollar figures are corrected for inflation by using the implicit price deflator for GNP.

dictatorships. It has little to do with any real Soviet threat.

Senate debate on ratification of the SALT II Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty has provided conservatives with an excellent opportunity to raise the defense budget. It takes a majority of the Senate (51) to amend a budget bill, but it only takes one-third plus one (34) to block a treaty. The traditional Senate defense constituency of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans, currently led by Sam Nunn (D-GA), is holding the SALT II treaty hostage in order to boost military spending.

It's a tactic that has worked before. The price of SALT I was the Trident missile-carrying submarine program. Today, Nunn and friends aren't sure what they want to buy, but they know what they want to spend: in real terms (that is, in addition to what's needed to keep up with inflation), 3% more in 1980, 5% on top of that in 1981, and then another 5% in 1982.

The conservatives will probably succeed, since they have already managed to limit debate on the defense budget to how much it should expand. This suggests that more is involved than just the military-industrial complex helping itself to another pork barrel. US policy-makers are upset at their inability to impose their will on Angola, Iran and Nicaragua. An increasingly popular explanation of such failures is the claim that the US is falling behind the Soviet Union in world competition for lack of sufficient arms.

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger argues that the Soviet Union, because it has relatively more strategic forces than it used to, and despite the fact that it dare not use those forces, nevertheless "may perceive a period in which . . . its military power is dominant." This perception may be making the Soviet Union more adventurous in its foreign policy, more willing to support its friends abroad.

There is a kernel of truth to this. The Soviet Union's achievement of strategic equality—not dominance—means that the United States cannot use a nuclear

Kissinger neglects to mention that these radical forces represent efforts by the people of these countries to throw off the corrupt dictatorships that US government and business find so congenial.

Kissinger and the right wing do seem to have a goal, but that goal is an ever-receding mirage. Kissinger calls it strategic "equality," but what he means is strategic dominance. The right wing's fantasy is that without Soviet meddling, the powerful, profitable US presence in the Third World could easily be kept secure. Thus the right would like the US to be able to use the nuclear threat to make the USSR back down from its support of Third World liberation movements.

The right wingers look back with nostalgia to the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. At that time the US had a big lead over the USSR in ICBM's (180 quick-fire solid fuel rockets for the US versus 30 Soviet liquid fuel rockets that took ten hours to juice up). The Soviet Union backed down, apparently, and agreed to withdraw its missiles from Cuba.

The right says this was a victory thanks to US "superiority," but, as was hinted at the time and has since been publicly acknowledged, the US made an important concession in return. Efforts to invade Cuba were halted, which may have been the main goal of putting the missiles in Cuba in the first place.

The relative superiority that the US had in 1962—such as it was—is gone forever. No imaginable US defense budget is going to bully the Soviets into cutting aid to Cuba, the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, South Yemen or Vietnam.

The SALT II treaty is, in effect, an official confirmation of this fact, a fact that the right wingers do not want to face. SALT II does not require the US to curtail any weapons programs that are already in production, only some which are still on the drawing boards. In the USSR, on the other hand, the treaty does require cuts in already existing weapons systems. What the Soviet military gets for this unequal exchange is a cap on the arms race in some of the new weapons the Pentagon has thought up. What the people of both

*SALT II gives conservative Senators a chance to increase military spending. It's a tactic that worked before. The price of SALT I was the Trident submarine program.*

threat to prevent, for example, Cuba from aiding liberation movements in Africa.

In the bizarre logic of the "perceptions" argument, however, even patently wasteful military programs, programs that do nothing to help the US respond to a military threat, become valuable to the perception of power. For example, in his July 31 testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the SALT II treaty, Kissinger complained about the cancelling of the B-1 bomber and the closing of the Minuteman ICBM production line (as if 1054 of them are not enough).

Kissinger blamed the recent foreign policy setbacks for the United States on "the unprecedented Soviet use of proxy forces in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and . . . radical forces and terrorist organizations sponsored by Moscow's friends . . ." He told the Senators that he endorsed Nunn's effort to raise the defense budget because "the geopolitical equilibrium must be maintained lest radical forces hostile to the West gain such momentum that they appear as the irresistible wave of the future."

countries get is the possibility of mutual force reductions under a far-in-the-future SALT III.

Kissinger, however, has asked the Senators to hold up SALT II until the Soviet Union somehow curtails Cuba and stops "the support . . . of groups and activities seeking to undermine governments friendly to the United States."

Holding up arms talks in a vain effort to halt the pace of national liberation would only continue the waste of resources and labor for military purposes that could be used to meet real human needs. Pursuit of the mirage of strategic dominance can only worsen the risk that miscalculation in time of crisis will cause worldwide nuclear disaster.

Yet this year the right has been able to sell its dream. Hence the paradox that an arms control treaty makes the defense budget go up.

Sources: Center for Defense Information's *The Defense Monitor* follows military issues closely. Available from the Center, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC, 20002. *Economist*, 2/10/79; *Washington Post*, 8/1/79; *Wall Street Journal*, 10/1/79, 10/2/79, 10/5/79; interviews.

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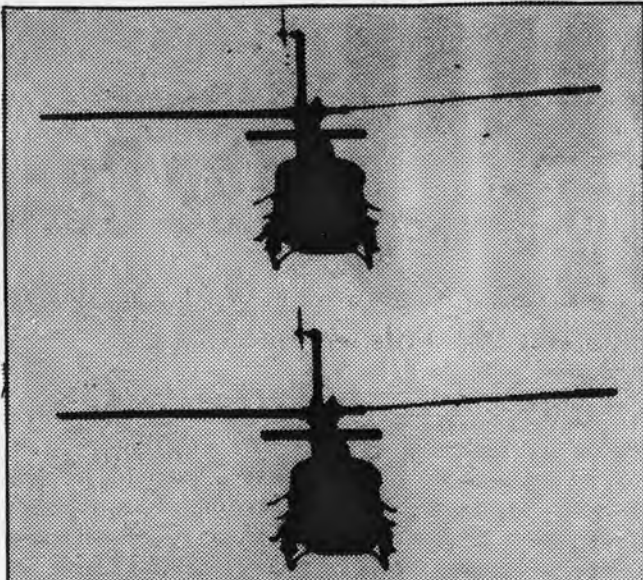
Sitting in my seat and gazing at the screen, I felt chilled. The half-empty theater was no doubt a bit cold. Somewhere behind my eyes, memories were trying to slip back in view: The 60-second film-clips of battle scenes on the evening news, the stern yet blank look on Cronkite's face as he read off the numbers of dead Americans and Vietnamese; the bold confidence of Majority Leader Gerald Ford sounding the battle cry on Capitol Hill or the methodical press briefings by MacNamara at the Pentagon. Other images were trying to weaken my focus on the screen: the broad grin of my sister's boyfriend while fading back to throw a pass, as I was scrambling to get in the open. My standing over his grave on a windy January day years later.

A friend sitting next to me in the theater is restless with a mild boredom. The napalm expanding upward on the screen consumes the jungle growth. It is not too hard to remember that you're just seeing a movie, and the napalm was merely gasoline planted by the special effects people. The screenwriters had concocted a story to send you up a river and placed you in a small armored boat with a somewhat enigmatic Captain Willard whose purpose was to "terminate with extreme prejudice" a fellow officer gone mad. You drift along a waterway in the Philippines where the filming took place.

Recently, Hollywood has felt able to put out major expensive films about our national nightmare. The first two, *Coming Home* and *The Deerhunter*, won Academy Awards. *Apocalypse Now* burned up (some times literally) \$30 million in its making. All three of these films mainly concerned the devastating effects of the war on the hearts and minds of their characters. There is hardly a whisper about the toll of the war on the countryside; and the impact on the lives of the Vietnamese comes out only tangentially and in a transitory fashion. We only are shown the Vietnamese as being the other party in a bloody exchange of killing and explosive violence.

Recently, a low-budget documentary on the lingering effects of the war, *Vietnam, An American Odyssey*, had several showings in Seattle. It was made by a small film crew which toured Vietnam last year. The narrator and director, Robert Richter, was surprised to see almost no visible signs of the war remaining in Hanoi. You see the smiling faces of small children crowding together to fill up the screen, the sweaty bodies of citizens doing volunteer "socialist labor" on their day off. A young woman hurrying through a crowded street is explained by the narrator: she is the only survivor of a family that was killed in the Christmas bombings of 1972. As the film continues, the camera tours hospitals and rehabilitation centers still dealing with the human toll of the war and bombings. The film crew moves south and the physical scars of the decades of war pass before your eyes again and again. On a sunny and placid day, the film crew stops at a rural site laced by canals and flowing green fields. Minutes later, tears stream down the face of one of the very few survivors of My Lai. She has just told us of the day when all her village was rounded up by the American troops into two groups, and how in a short time, Americans were pumping extra shells into any body, young or old, which still moved or twitched. Her Vietnamese words end suddenly as she says, "That is all I have to say."

In the latter parts, the film shifts its location to Saigon, a name that some residents still use. More rehabilitation centers are visited. One, a center for redirecting the lives of drug addicts, is, we are told, a part of the 50% success rate that has been achieved with the hundreds of thousands of addicts in Saigon; another, a center for the "redignification of women," helps some of the half a million prostitutes who lived



## Just a Crazy Jungle War?

### VIETNAM ON FILM

By Ben Arp



### THE AMERICANS ARE COMING

in Saigon when it fell. The film then focuses on one woman who spoke in a halting fashion about her coming to Saigon during the war in order to make money for her family in the countryside. She eventually found that prostitution was the only way for her to do so. Scenes of some black market trading and muddy urban slums, and interviews with Europeans engaged in reconstruction projects are among the many punctuating the last of the film.

I had not made a great effort to see *Apocalypse Now* immediately after it first came out. Judging from the

reviews I'd seen and from word of mouth, there was mixed interest in the film. There wasn't the kind of protest and criticism, internationally and within this country, about a one-sided and actually racist view of the Vietnamese so evident in *The Deerhunter*. Absent were references to the kind of emotionally rivetting scenes like the Russian roulette episodes in *The Deerhunter* which had vividly etched themselves in the minds of millions of viewers for days after seeing that film.

In the program handed out at the Town Theater, where *Apocalypse Now* is being shown, the director and producer, Francis Coppola, has written that in making this film he wanted to give its audience "a sense of the horror, the madness, the sensuousness, and the moral dilemma of the Vietnam War." Did he do that? Yes and no.

I found scene after scene that graphically drew my attention while also recalling to my mind things I'd seen in the media, heard of from soldiers who had returned from Vietnam, and read from the Vietnamese themselves. Coppola didn't hesitate in displaying the disintegration that took place among the US troops in Vietnam. In a night scene at an American bridge which had been subjected to daily and effective rocket attacks, disorganized and freaked-out US infantry are seen scrambling down the bank to get out of there and are seen wildly shooting machine gun shells into the darkness that holds the Viet Cong. You also notice the disproportionately high numbers of Black soldiers ending up in the front lines.

In the movie, you see American troops brutally assaulting Viet Cong villages. These battles effectively underscore the technological advantage coming to bear on the enemy whose weapons were mainly bullets and small bombs. In another scene with the sun flooding the boat, Willard has been slowly preparing himself mentally for his encounter with Colonel Kurtz who is holed up with hundreds of Montagnard followers. Thinking to himself, Willard muses, "The Viet Cong have two ways home, death or victory." That is about as close as the movie gets to dealing with the moral dilemma of the Vietnam war.

Instead, the movie physically moves us further into the ever-darkening jungle where the fixation is on savagery in war and the senseless effectiveness of bullets ripping apart flesh and bone. Coppola's portrayal of the "moral dilemma" culminates in Colonel Kurtz's telling of a Viet Cong act of cutting off the arms of a villageful of children who have just been inoculated by the colonel's special forces troops. Kurtz is both utterly repelled and yet powerfully attracted to the act itself. Through this and numerous scenes before, Coppola has achieved not only his obvious intention to show the butchery of the American and Viet Cong soldiers, but also has presented as savage and dehumanized the whole of a country and its people.

Walking out of the theater after the movie, we head down Pike Street and my eyes are temporarily distracted by the trim and polished displays of sterling silver and diamonds in several jewelry stores. My friend's voice picks up in intensity while commenting on the overdone symbolism throughout the film that ineffectively climaxed in the final scenes. But my mind is wandering backwards thousands of miles and many years. I remember the sounds of half a million voices yelling "Stop the war," bouncing off the stone facade of the Capitol Building on a mild spring day in 1971. And remember the weathered and faraway look on the face of a close friend who had returned from Vietnam after over a year of loading dead and dying bodies into a helicopter. And I remember that maybe tomorrow, another forgotten mine will explode beneath the feet of a Vietnamese villager clearing land left idle since the war.

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REVIEWS

# WASI'CHU

## The Continuing Indian Wars

By Ben Arp

On certain days, brown smoke snakes up the hill and into the hogan of Emma Yazzie. She becomes nauseated and sleepy.

In the midst of the barren Southwest Emma has lived on the same plot of land for seventy years. Her Navajo forebears, having lived for thousands of years beneath the turquoise sky, had chanted in song:

*In beauty may I walk  
All day long may I walk  
Through the returning seasons may  
I walk . . .*

*With beauty all around me may I walk  
In old age wandering on a trail of  
beauty, lively, may I walk.*

But now Emma Yazzie walks out her door and sees a giant coal-mining dragline scatter the bones of her ancestors. Close by, the smokestacks of the Four Corners Power Plant tower above the single largest source of electric power and pollution in the western United States.

Since the early sixties, Emma has known a mud-colored sky like that of Chicago or Los Angeles. In her words: "My sheep are dying. Their noses bleed. The baby goats do not grow up . . . This is the biggest, baddest disease ever visited on mankind." The disease of which she speaks is not just the one afflicting her body and her sheep, but one that has crept slowly and steadily across this continent for hundreds of years.

Many hundreds of miles northeast of Emma's hogan is the homeland of the Lakota (Sioux) people. When the white race became known to them, the Lakota called the newcomers by the term *wasi'chu*, which means "take the fat" or "greedy persons". For this strange white race not only took what it needed, but took all the rest, too. The term, *wasi'chu*, was meant not to describe a race, but a state of mind. Bruce Johansen and Roberto Maestas in their book, "Wasi'chu: The Continuing Indian Wars" have skillfully told of the resistance to that state of mind and to the economic system which rewards it.

Over the last 15 years, there has been an expanding realization in this country about the pollution and destruction of the very earth that sustains our lives. During that same time, Native Americans have asserted the right to preserve their lands and culture from the final onslaught that has intensified

in the '70's. Johansen and Maestas in their book have chronicled in detail many of those struggles including the intense efforts of the FBI to destroy the American Indian Movement in the years after the Wounded Knee occupation, the actions of many Indian tribes in reclaiming land leased or sold illegally, the complex story of the continuing development of coal and uranium in the Southwest, and the struggle of Indians in the Northwest to utilize their fishing rights.

The authors both live in Seattle. Roberto Maestas is the director of El Centro de la Raza and also a journalist. Bruce Johansen, well-known as a journalist for several Seattle newspapers, is presently completing a Ph.D. at the University of Washington.

Their book is remarkable in bringing together for the first time, information and accounts scattered throughout hundreds of sources. Among other things, the authors document how the Interior

Department (the parent agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) serves oil, mineral, land-trust, transportation, fisheries and other energy interests at the expense of Indian lives and resources.

Not only do Johansen and Maestas explore the repression and violence unleashed upon Indians, and the consequences of the Indian resistance to the *wasi'chu*, but they show clearly that the Indian movement is a part of the larger struggle that affects us all.

In the final chapters, many striking parallels are drawn; including the ones between the AMAX (American Metal Climax) corporation's attempts to lease coal lands from the Crow and Northern Cheyenne and its exploitive operation of the huge Tsumeb copper mine in Namibia (South-West Africa), and between Kennecott Copper's operation in Chile before and after Allende and Peabody Coal Company's (owned by Kennecott) stripmining of the Black Mesa on Navajo land. By these parallels, the authors demonstrate that the methods of the *wasi'chu* are a global and continuing pattern. The pattern remains the same: maximizing profit for investors and raising capital for expansion in the future takes precedence over the welfare of people and the ecological integrity of the earth.

As this book points out, one of the most eloquent warnings about the *wasi'chu's* blind greed which rewards the domination of one over another, was heard on the shores of Puget Sound over a hundred years ago. Chief Sealth in his address to President Franklin Pierce said:

*Every part of the earth is sacred  
to my people . . .  
We know that the white man does  
not understand our ways.  
One portion of the land is the same  
to him as the next,  
for he is a stranger who comes in  
the night and takes  
whatever he needs.  
The earth is not his brother,  
but his enemy,  
and when he conquers it, he moves on . . .  
All things are connected.  
Whatever befalls the earth befalls  
the son of the earth.  
Man did not weave the web of life,  
he is merely a strand in it.  
Whatever he does to the web,  
he does to himself.*

**Wasi'chu means "take the fat" or "greedy persons." It was meant to describe not a race, but a state of mind.**

graphic from Wasi' Chu



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# Connections

## Announcements

**BATTERED WOMEN SHELTER IN BELLINGHAM**, funded solely through private donations. Urgent need of financial support. P.O. Box 4094, B'Ham WA 98225.

**PREPARE CHILDBIRTH ASSOCIATION** is a non-profit association that provides a three week early pregnancy class covering maternal changes, fetal development, nutrition, exercise, relaxation, and birthing alternatives. Also offered is an 8 week labor delivery class that includes Lamaze and Bradley Breathing techniques. Prepared Childbirth Association also provides films three times yearly and maintains a lending library. 671-4692.

YWCA is offering winter classes. Registration January 7-11. 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., call 734-4820, 1026 N. Forest.

Need information on social services? Call Information and Referral at 734-5121 or 384-1476.

**DON'T throw it away.** Give it to the American Diabetic Association. Call 235-4310 for pickup. Shop and save at the newest and largest **THRIFT STORE** in the Northwest. Fourth and Meeker, Kent.

A printing collective has been formed and is looking for work. If you have any printing needs call 624-9056. Shop 562 1st So. 2nd Fl.

Address correction needed:  
Diane Dickstein  
Jean A. Ross

To the person who returned my lost purse after the Kate Millet lecture - Thank You!

**HELP!** Need space to park 30X10 home. Terms very negotiable and very flexible. Gwen 784-0095 or 625-4721. Leave name.

**NEW BEGINNINGS/SHELTER** for battered women is seeking donations of household items to aid women in setting up a new home. Needed are beds, cribs, dishes, and linens. 522-9472. Items to be picked up.

The NWP is looking for folks with a compact station wagon or larger car who are willing to help us out once every six or nine weeks. (Smaller cars would also work if they have a luggage rack.) We need to drive to our printer in Shelton. We leave Monday morning and return that evening. You or we drive. We pay for gas. Call Shannon at 323-0354 or leave message on tape.

Give self-defense or Karate classes as a special present. Gift certificates for women and children available from the **FEMINIST KARATE UNION**, 282-0177.

**REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY.** Vietnam's top thinker tells **HOW WE WON THE WAR**. \$2.00 plus fifty cents postage to **RECON**, P.O. Box 14202, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

**KADIMA AN ORGANIZATION OF JEWS AND NON JEWS WORKING FOR A JUST PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST AS A STATE ALONGSIDE OF A HOMETLAND FOR THE PALESTINIANS'**

**CORRECTION:** Labor's Retold Story, a conversation with Julia Ruutla which appeared in the Women's Issue, was the work of Barbara Willer AND Lori Ubell.

Seattle Counseling service for sexual minorities is holding monthly meetings to discuss the needs of ethnic and racial minority lesbians, gay men, and other sexual minorities. We will discuss the needs of minority gays, make recommendations to the gay and minority communities on how to better serve these needs, and provide a supportive atmosphere from which to take actions. Please come to share your views on the first Friday of every month. 7 p.m. at the Seattle Counseling Service, 1505 Broadway, the corner of Broadway and Pike on Capitol Hill.

Donate a Can of Food or give a cash donation: **NORTHWEST SECOND HARVEST**, 1551 10th Ave E Seattle, WA 98102, 324-8177 or P.O. Box 12272.

**NEW LAW CHANGES PROCEDURES FOR 'LIVING WILLS'**—Persons who want to instruct their physicians to not use certain methods to prolong the natural process of dying need to review any previous "living wills" they have signed to make sure these documents are valid. Under a new law, the Washington Death Act of 1979, "Living Wills" must be filled out and witnessed in very specific ways to be legally binding. A lawyer or notary public is not required but interested individuals need to read the new rules very carefully and may wish to solicit professional advice. Guidelines are available for the King County Health Planning Council. 464-6870 or 464-6143.

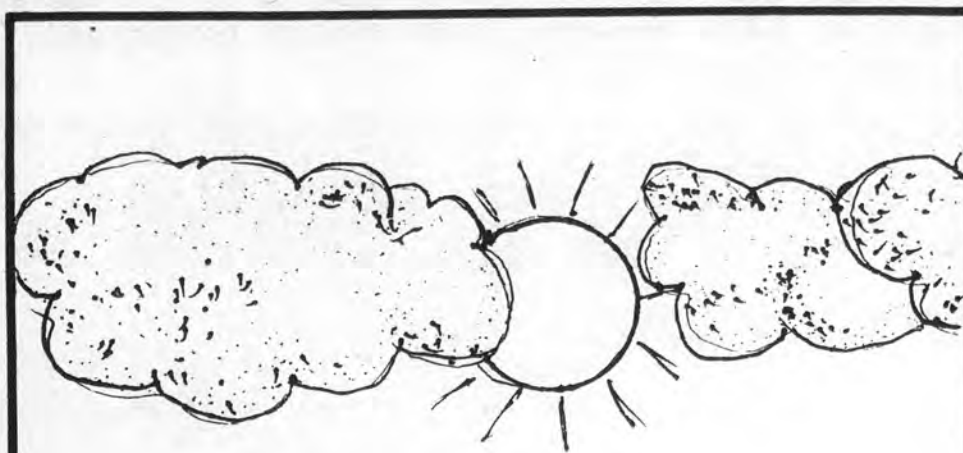
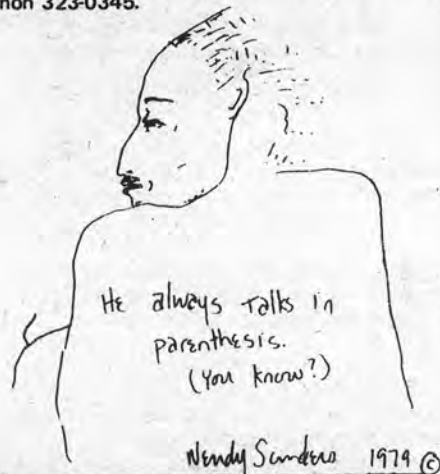
The Northwest Passage does not make it on subscriptions and advertising. If you find it of value, make your support real. Renew your sub without being dunned, make a contribution to the sustaining fund. If you use the **CONNECTIONS** send in a few dollars with your request.

**PRISONERS CORRESPONDENCE:**  
Michael Walker, P.O. Box 33, Terre Haute, IN 47808.  
Danny Burdick, P.O. Box 607, N.N.C.C., Carson City, Nevada (Hometown Eugene).  
James L. Wilson, 7GA3241, 135 State Street, Auburn, N.Y. 13021.

## Jobs

Aradia Women's Health Center is looking for a woman to fill an opening on our Board of Directors. We need someone who has had an appointment at the Clinic within the last two years and has an active interest in Women's health. Arni, 323-9466. Lesbians and Women of color are encouraged to apply.

The NWP needs volunteer layout people. We will train you in exchange for a four month commitment to the NWP. Help produce the NWP, meet new people, and learn a new skill. Shannon 323-0345.



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**MALE FRIENDSHIP WORKSHOP** Dec. 1 & 2, Sat., Sun. 323-5603 Chris Darling

**MASSAGE** therapy as a meditation, Esalen style, breath work & traegering 324-3799 Bonnie Olson

**MASSAGE** therapy, Kinesionics using deep muscle treatment, Reflexology, Greenwood 789-4885 Barb Collins

**PROSPERITY WORKSHOP** Nov. 17, Sat. Wallingford, Chai Gang 633-3196, Chris Darling 323-5603

**PSYCHIC HEALING WORKSHOP** using psychic surgery, color, meditation, reassemblance of energy 633-3196 Chai Gang

**REBIRTHING** breathing process enhancing physical, emotional, mental, spiritual well being 323-5603 Chris Darling

**VITAL-reFLEX** therapy, spinal adjustments through footwork etc. with color healing, Swedish massage, Reflexology, shiatsu 634-3856 Joey

**WORKSHOP & Classes** in personal growth, inter-personal relationships, holistic health, consciousness, etc. 782-2806 Oak Tree Institute

For Information on Directory Listings  
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**IZQUIERDA ENSEMBLE** is four Oregon Women who make acoustic images with guitar, piano, flute, percussion, and voices whose intricate, vibrant, sensual harmonies explore the dimensions of being woman, alive today.



# CALENDAR

Calendar compiled by Genise Lee with:  
Portland: Barbara Willer B'ham: Leo Griffen Olympia: Pam Dusenberry

## REGIONALLY

Sat Dec 22, 9pm **Ila Meyer**, feminist songwriter, performs her own creations as well as traditional folk songs at The Other Side of the Tracks, Main St., Auburn, WA; \$2 cover (nice atmosphere)

Sun Dec 16, 3pm **Christmas Concert** by the Bremerton Symphony at Sylvan Way Baptist Church; tickets at the door or by calling 377-3992 (Bremerton)

## PORTLAND

Sun Dec 16, **December Disco Duo Dance: Benefit** to go to the women and crisis assistance line. At Metropolis 1st SW & 3rd. Kids disco, 15 & under, \$1.50, 2-5 pm. Adults, 16 & up, 8 pm on, \$3. Sponsors—Women's Mental Health Project and Bradley Angle House.

## OLYMPIA

Thurs, Dec 13, **Simon and Bard**, a five-piece original jazz band from Chicago will perform at the Gnu Deli, 111 W. Thurston, at 8 p.m.

Thurs, Dec 13, **Women Against Violence Against Women** meet from 7 to 9 p.m. in the Sun Room of the YWCA, 220 E. Union. All women are welcome. For more information, call Carolyn at 352-0593 or Kathy at 943-6772.

Fri, Dec 14, A forum on the Simpson strike, sponsored by Thurston Co. N.O.W. and Young Socialists' Alliance, will be held at 7 p.m. in the Olympia Community Center.

Dec 14 and 15, **Medieval music by the King's Music** at the Gnu Deli, at 9 p.m., 111 W. Thurston.

Dec 14, 15, and 16, A **Christmas Carol Ballet** will be presented by Ballet Northwest, at the Evergreen State College Communications Bldg. Music is by Mahler, artistic direction by Bernard Johansen. Dec. 14 show is at 7:30 p.m., Dec. 15 and 16 shows are at 2 p.m. Tickets are \$3.50 general and \$2 for students; they're available at the TESC Bookstore, Yenny's Music, and Johansen School of Ballet.

Sat, Dec 15, **MEChA** hosts a celebration for the Third World community at the Evergreen State College. Before the celebration, a meeting of the state-wide MEChA organization will take place at 11 a.m. in the Board Room, 3rd floor library. The celebration starts at 1 p.m. on the 4th floor library with pinatas, games, and two Mexican dance troupes. This part's free. At 8 p.m. to 1 a.m. Ray Tabares y Los Mexicanos will play; mixer and ice available. The dance costs \$5 per couple; on the 4th floor library.

Mon, Dec 17, **Myra Melford** performs jazz standards and originals at the Gnu Deli, 111 W. Thurston, at 8 p.m.

Mon, Dec 17, **Olympia FOOD Co-op** holds a general meeting at 7:30 p.m. at the Co-op, corner of Bowman and Rogers.

Thurs, Dec 20, **National Organization of Women** meets at 7:30 p.m. in Friendship Hall, Olympia.

## BELLINGHAM

Dec 11, **Even Dwarves Started Small**, Cars That Eat People, movies as Lecture Hall 4, WWU, 6:30 & 9 pm, \$1.00

Dec 12, **SCANP benefit**, the Dillards country-rock at FW Hall, Mount Vernon, \$5

Dec 12, **Swing Dance Workshop**, Watcom Middle School, 7pm, \$10

Dec 14, 10am, **Public Hearing re Puget Power's proposed rate hike**, Hollywood Inn Ballroom

Dec 14, **solar greenhouse workshop**, Aftermath Hall, 1300 Brdwy, Call 676-2170, free

Dec 14 - 16, **Nutcracker Suite** by Anacortes Community Theater, 7:30 pm, 10th and M Ave., Anacortes

Dec 15, **Nutcracker Ballet**, WWU performing arts center, 7:30 pm, Adults \$3

Dec 20 - 22, **Broadway Melodies**, musical celebration of Broadway music at B-Ham Theater Guild, call 733-1811

Dec 28, 7 pm **general meeting of organization** for citizen action. Bridge House, Fairhaven College



photo by K. Bubriski

Thurs Dec 30, **Fibers Unlimited 6th annual** exhibit of fiber work. At Whatcom museum of history and art. Free

## SEATTLE

### EVENTS

Th Dec 13, 8pm-1am **Cambodian Refugee Benefit with Very Live Music by The Isaac Scott Blues Band**; Blue Moon Tavern, I-5 & 45th; \$7.50- all proceeds to be used to aid Cambodian refugees in Southeast Asia, presented by the Cambodian Association of Washington State

F Dec 14, 7pm **"Report From Cambodia"** eyewitness account/fundraiser sponsored by American Friends Service Committee; sacrificial dinner & Cambodian music precedes speaker; \$15 donation suggested, but all welcome; Meany Middle School Auditorium, 301 21st E; for childcare reservations & more information, call AFSC, 632-0500

F Dec 14, 8pm **Bill of Rights Day Dinner** honoring Edward R. Murrow & panel discussion on "A Free Press Entering the Eighties" sponsored by ACLU; 1624-19th Ave (no-host cocktails precedes at Antioch College West, 5:30-7:30pm); advance reservations encouraged, \$15; call 624-2180

F Dec 14, 8pm **June Blue Spruce** reads poetry from her new book at Innerspace Women's Coffeehouse, 5241 University WyNE donation \$1-2; call 525-0999 for information phone numbers

Sat Dec 15, 10am **Gala Agricultural Center Clean-up, Ketchup, Potluck & Big Rock Move** followed by potluck at the Good Shepherd Ag. Center Site, 4649 Sunnyside No; if you're interested in the development of Seattle's first urban agricultural center, please come & get involved; Ecotope/Tilth

Sun Dec 16, 6:30pm **Chanukah Party for Jewish lesbians & friends of Jewish lesbians** at Themis House, 4676 Eastern AveN; potluck—bring a dish to share; phone 632-5735

F Dec 21, 9pm **Solstice Party at Innerspace Women's Coffeehouse**, 5241 University WyNE, basement of It's About Time bookstore; bring food, rituals, songs, ideas

Sat Dec 22, 1pm **Boomerang Saturday at Seattle Center** with Marni Nixon & the Boomerang Puppets; free at Center House

F Dec 28, 9pm **Evening of sharing ideas & hopes for the New Year** at Innerspace Women's Coffeehouse, 5241 University WyNE

## FORUMS

W Dec 12, 7:30pm **Dr Lendon Smith**, pediatrician, speaks in W. Seattle High Auditorium \$2 admission proceeds to scholarship fund for pre-school co-operative program; tickets available by calling 935-1097 or 932-5238

W Dec 12 **Committee for Access to Nursing** local group of nurses & other health care workers, meets to discuss their on-going work against WSNA's 1989 Nursing Proposal & other issues affecting nursing care; all are welcome at Bannon Hall, Rm 112, Seattle University, 12th Ave, btwn. Cherry & Madison

F Dec 14 **Crabshell Alliance/Live w/o Trident present: Uranium Mining on Native Lands** speakers from Chippewa/Red Nation Women and Black Hills Alliance. 7 PM—Film "Shut it Down". 8PM—Speakers, Discussion. U. W. HUB 309 A 325-1983

F Jan 4, 7:30pm **public forum on electoral politics** sponsored by Bread & Roses School, 915 E. Pine, Rm 426; call 323-4640

beginning 1/80 **French Conversation Groups** open to anyone who wants to keep up with their knowledge of spoken French & modern French culture; International Books sponsored call for more information, 323-5667 (Tu-Sat 10am-6pm)

## MEDIA

W Dec 12 & 26, 8pm **Energy News** of regional & national concern on KRAB radio, 107.7fm

Th Dec 13 & 27, 2pm **Rational Inquirer** on topics as seen by the radical press; 107.7fm

Sat Dec 15, 12 midnite **Life Elsewhere** "kinda Young, kinda wow"—pick hits of '79; listener-supported KRAB radio, 107.7fm

Sun Dec 16, 11:30am **Grey Panthers Answers & discussion** of topical community concern 107.7fm radio, KRAB

every other Tu, 7pm **Latin American Review** on KRAB, 107.7fm

Thursdays, 8:30pm **"The In Crowd"** ... prison life, writings, activities, issues on KRAB radio, 107.7fm

Thursdays, 10pm **"Somebody Else's Troubles"** ... listen in on 107.7fm radio

Sundays, 7pm **"We: Women Everywhere"** news produced by the Lesbian Feminist Radio Project on KRAB, 107.7fm

Mondays, 4pm **"The Krabbettes"** radio by, for & about young people on 107.7fm

Mondays, 11pm **"Sing Out a Woman's Story"** dial in on KRAB radio, 107.7fm

weeknights, 6:30pm **International News**, uncompromised by commercial interests; KRAB, listener-supported radio, 107.7fm

Sun Dec 16, 2pm **"Another Voice"**, timely analysis of current events from the perspective of America's minorities; channel 9-TV

Sun Dec 16, 7 & 8pm **Mother Teresa of Calcutta**, '79 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize; KCTS/9 TV

M Dec 17, 3:30pm **NewsWorld** presents alternative approach to international news ch. 9, KCTS (next program 12/22, 6:30pm)

Tu Dec 18, 2pm **To Ratify or Not to Ratify** debate on SALT II; KRAB, 107.7fm radio

Tu Dec 18, 10:30pm **Newsmakers** ... important stories affecting the NW (rebroadcast 12/19, 3 pm); TV channel 9

W Dec 19, 8pm **Environmental News** examines Hanford's fast flux test facility; KRAB, 107.7fm

W Dec 19, 11:30pm **"Youth in the Barrio"** film portrait of gang members from E. Los Angeles, how they view society & themselves; channel 9

Th Dec 20, 10pm **"Lost in the Stars"** based on "Cry, the Beloved Country", dealing with racial problems in South Africa; TV KCTS/9 (rebroadcast 12/22, 9pm)

M Dec 24, 9pm **Kate Millet** at the University of Washington—tape of feminist author's recent talk; 107.7fm radio

F Dec 28, 2pm **Tim Butz** "Is the NCLC a CIA Front?" original '76 broadcast by representative of the "Fifth Estate"; KRAB, 107.7fm

M Dec 31, 11pm **New Year's Eve in Seattle** with phone-in resolutions on KRAB, 107.7fm

## MUSIC

W Dec 12, 8 & 10:30pm **Betty Carter**, "the youngest of the indisputably great jazz singers" performs at Seattle Concert Theatre, 1153 John; tickets available at A Different Drummer, Discount Records, Left Bank Books, Mount Olympus Records, Rubato Records & Tickets Tonight

F Dec 14, 8pm **Celtic Yuletide**, unique arrangements of ancient music & original compositions on the Celtic harp & hammered dulcimer, in concert with Philip Boulding & the Magical Strings; Seattle Concert Theatre (Fairview & John); \$3 in advance (call 524-7470) or \$3.50 at the door

F Dec 14, 8pm **The King's Music** presents Christmas Concert of Renaissance & Baroque music at Central Lutheran Church, 1710 11th Ave; \$5 (\$4 students/seniors); call 783-5474







# Can We Let Senator Jackson Speak for Us?

## PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSERS

### National Organizations:

N.A.A.C.P.  
S.A.N.E.  
COMMON CAUSE  
BLACK CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS  
BLACK LEADERSHIP FORUM  
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN AND  
WAREHOUSEMEN (I.L.W.U.)  
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS  
AND AEROSPACE WORKERS  
UNITED STEEL WORKERS  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE WORKERS  
OIL, CHEMICAL AND ATOMIC WORKERS  
UNITED FOOD AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS  
COMMUNICATION WORKERS OF AMERICA  
U.S. PEACE COUNCIL  
UNITED AUTO WORKERS  
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST  
CENTRAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN RABBIS  
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION  
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN  
GRAY PANTHERS  
NATIONAL SENIOR CITIZENS COUNCIL  
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES  
AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCH U.S.A. (Nat'l Ministries)  
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, House of Bishops  
LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA  
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U.S.A.  
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS  
U.S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE  
UNITED METHODIST CHURCH  
COUNCIL FOR A LIVEABLE WORLD  
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION  
UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS  
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN  
AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION  
300 MEMBERS OF THE NAT'L ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
DETROIT CITY COUNCIL  
CLEVELAND CITY COUNCIL  
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND  
FREEDOM (W.I.L.P.F.)  
WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE  
COALITION FOR A NEW FOREIGN AND MILITARY  
POLICY  
and many, many more

### Local Organizations:

Washington State Coalition for SALT  
2000 Washingtonians for SALT  
WASHINGTON DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL  
KING CO. CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
THURSTON COUNTY DEMOCRATS  
32nd, 36th, and 37th District Democrats  
Seattle Gray Panthers  
Seattle Branch, W.I.L.P.F.  
Women Act for Peace/ Seattle/ W.S.P.  
Washington Association for Social Welfare (W.A.S.W.)  
State Employees Local 1488  
165 Olympians in an ad in the Daily Olympian  
People's Coalition for Peace and Justice  
Washingtonians for SALT

CONTRIBUTIONS TO HELP PAY FOR THIS AD  
WILL BE GLADLY ACCEPTED

Make checks out to Will Parry, Sec'y  
and mail to:  
1226 Smith Tower  
Seattle, WA 98104

Let's face it: The Pentagon, the multinationals, the nuclear monopolies  
the ultra-right AND our Jr. Senator, Henry M. Jackson  
are working overtime to kill SALT II.

### They Oppose Because

**SALT II**  
SALT II: does limit the arms race. For the first time it  
puts specific limits on the numbers of specific  
nuclear weapons systems.  
SALT II: forbids deployment of new weapons for three years.  
SALT II: will be in effect for five years, giving us precious  
time to marshal our strength to defend peace.  
SALT II: opens the door to--and mandates--immediate negotiations  
toward SALT III  
SALT II and the Protocol recognize the futility of striving  
for nuclear superiority and acknowledge that it is in the  
self interest of each nation to mutually strive to curb the  
arms race.  
SALT II: if ratified, will create a better climate within  
which we can more effectively attack our burning  
domestic problems.

Senate refusal to ratify would derail a 20 year process of negotiation.  
It would jeopardize dozens of other agreements already signed or under  
consideration. **WITHOUT SALT II THERE CAN BE NO SALT III.** Given enough  
support for SALT II the momentum would carry on into negotiations for  
SALT III.

A majority of the Senate favor SALT II, but ratification calls for a 2/3rds  
vote. Any amendment or amendments will kill SALT II--negotiations would have to start  
all over again. The Senate will include a "Senate Resolution of Understanding" with the  
resolution to ratify. A simple majority is all that "Resolution of Understanding" needs.  
Any amendment calling for a MORATORIUM should be attached to the Resolution;  
**NOT TO THE TREATY OR THE PROTOCOL,** both of which would have be  
renegotiated.

A Senate that will not ratify SALT II, certainly will not accept  
a moratorium. The Senate has already voted down Hatfield's amendment to  
cut all funds for the MX. That is why it is important to support SALT II,  
without amendment.

### The World Awaits the Outcome

The governments of all European nations, East and West alike, are on  
record for SALT II.

The NON-ALIGNED Nations, meeting in Havana, in the midst of their own  
struggles for liberation--gave their unqualified support to SALT II.

Here at home, the "salt of the earth"--the people and movements  
in struggle for survival and for justice--support SALT II. A quick  
glance at the list of endorsers--a partial list--suggests the scope  
of this vast movement of peoples.

### Your Letter--Your Call Could Be Decisive

WRITE TO: SENATOR WARREN MAGNUSON or CALL the local office:  
127 Russell Building 442-5545  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
Send a copy to Senator Henry Jackson

For further information call 623-5097 or write to: Will Parry, Sec'y  
Washingtonians for SALT  
1226 Smith Tower  
Seattle, WA 98104

If you prefer you can clip and mail to:

Senator Warren Magnuson  
127 Russell Building  
Washington, D. C. 20510



I urge you to support SALT II without amendment,  
and with immediate negotiations for SALT III.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

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