

# AGENDA

Ann Arbor's Alternative Newsmonthly



Photo by Gregory Fox

## Hunger Activist Lappé speaks at U-M

On March 27, 1986, Frances Moore Lappé, best known for her book, "Diet for a Small Planet" and co-founder of the Institute for Food and Development Policy, spoke on "Food, Politics and Hunger" at Rackham Auditorium on the U M campus.

I feel very honored to be here. I appreciate your introduction very much, Peter. I appreciate the generosity of the people who brought me here and certainly the welcome that I have received.

As I was downstairs preparing to come up here, I found myself getting more and more nervous and I couldn't understand it because I'm among friends. It dawned on me that what was happening was that I was having a bit of a psychological flashback. Ann Arbor has a very special place in my personal history. I gave my first public lecture ever here in 1972. I came back, I believe it was 1973, to this very auditorium and I gave my first lecture to a sizeable audience. I still remember in this flashback that I was absolutely terrified. My knees started to wobble just terribly. Right before I was about to go on stage, a fellow ran up to me with a big, flat, white box. It was a pizza from a local pizza parlor. It completely broke my nervousness, and I was able to carry on and give this talk on world hunger. So there are some advantages to speaking about the topic.

What I would like to do tonight is to focus on Central America. I think it is very appropriate given the news of the day. Has

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## U-M denies Mandela honorary degree

The month of April was an important one for anti-apartheid activists in Ann Arbor. On April 4, climaxing two weeks of actions, several hundred people rallied on the U-M campus and then marched through the streets of Ann Arbor to protest racism at the U-M and in South Africa.

On April 17 to 18, seventy people staged an all-night sit-in at the U-M Regents Board Room as part of their effort to persuade the University to grant an honorary degree to imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela.

The following is the text of a speech by Roderick Linzie, M.S.A. Minority Enrollment Researcher, delivered to a meeting of the Regents on April 17, 1986.

The Michigan Student Assembly of the University of Michigan maintains a commitment to increased minority enrollment. The Assembly has repeatedly called for the University to focus on retention and has supported the nomination of Nelson Mandela for an honorary degree. Approximately one year after the article "Being Black at the U of M" was printed in the Detroit Free Press (3/31/86), it must be noted that no new plans have been implemented to improve the quality of minority student life at the University.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., stated that "the largest part of white America is still poisoned by racism, which is as native to our soil as pine trees, sagebrush and buffalo grass....We must all learn to live together as brothers and sisters or we will perish together as fools."

The University of Michigan Affirmative Action Office reports that minority enrollment has reached an all time high of 11.5% (2,466). Yet, only 1,619 (5.2%) of the more than 31,000 students at Michigan are black. Five hundred fifty (1.8%) are Hispanic, 156 (.5%) are Native American and 1,404 (4.5%) are Asian American. These figures drastically fall short of the 10% black student enrollment target. The target was agreed upon in the Black Action Movement strike of 1970. In 1985, the four year graduation rate for black students was 26.6 ( a mere 50 students), while it was 57.3% (2,183) for white students.

Black students trail their white counterparts by 18 percentage points in completion of their undergraduate degrees, even after six years from their freshman year.

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## Proposal "A": The work continues

by Jim Burchell

The phone calls, mailings, house meetings, and door-to-door literature may be over, but the work continues for Proposal A, Ann Arbor's recently adopted ordinance establishing initiatives for peace in Central America.

The ordinance outlines a series of findings critical of U.S. government military policies in the region, instructs the city clerk to send a message expressing Ann Arbor's desire for a new direction in those policies in Washington, D.C., and establishes a Central America Sister City Task Force.

Organizers of Proposal A, the Coalition for Peace in Central America, have moved quickly to ensure the fulfillment of the Proposal A vote.

Mayor Ed Pierce nominated seven people for the Central America Sister City Task Force at the Monday, April 21 City Council Meeting, following Coalition recommendations. The nominations will be

acted upon at the May 5 Council meeting.

The Task Force nominees are: Jane Pogson, a Spanish teacher in the Ann Arbor Public Schools, Gregory Fox, a free lance photographer and member of the Coalition's Steering Committee, Jim Burchell, an aide to State Representative Perry Bullard and Coalition Steering Committee member, Thea Lee, a doctoral candidate in economics at the University of Michigan and LASC activist, Robert Wallace, senior minister of the First Baptist Church of Ann Arbor, which has recently established a sister church relationship with a Nicaraguan congregation, Kim Kratz, the canvass director for SANE, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Future, an organization crucial to Proposal A's passage, and Isaac Jacobin-Campbell, the chair of Ann Arbor's Hospitality Committee.

LeRoy Cappaert and Benita Kamowitz, Coalition co-chairs (the folks who got this

(cont. on page 5)



Photo by COLLEEN MCKAY

## Margaret Randall speaks at U-M

On April 4, 1986, feminist, poet, and writer Margaret Randall spoke at the Michigan Union Ballroom on the University of Michigan campus. Her speech was on "Cuban and Nicaraguan Women."

The last time I was in Ann Arbor was in 1978, which was perhaps a more vibrant time in general on United States campuses and certainly a very vibrant time here in Ann Arbor. Going to campuses around the country this year, mostly in connection with my case, or reading poetry or speaking, I've felt sad about the subdued nature of campuses, and the lack of continuity that students seem to have even with their own history, let alone with the history of other peoples in the world. So it's very exciting to me and stimulating to see that this has apparently not happened in Ann Arbor, that you are still a bastion of thoughtfulness and questioning and all the other "subversive" things this administration apparently does not want students and people in general to engage in.

I'm going to share some thoughts with you tonight about women in Cuba and Nicaragua; thinking about women in those two countries is especially interesting because both have had people's revolutions. They have many things in common and many differences.

The Cuban revolution came to power in 1959, the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979. Those intervening 20 years were exceptionally important in terms of women's struggles in the world. The

(cont. on page 12)



# Greetings Ann Arbor!

Due to the demands of deadlines, we didn't have the time to properly introduce ourselves in the April debut edition. As Ann Arbor's Alternative Newsmagazine, **Agenda** focuses on the news that doesn't find its way into the local mainstream media on a regular basis. As good as our local news sources are, they leave something to be desired when it comes to reporting on Ann Arbor's vast network of grassroots political organizations and community service organizations.

One look at the index of the **Community Resource Directory (CRD)** (see page 21) is all anyone should need to be convinced of the need for this paper (and this is only our second issue). These organizations do a tremendous amount of "newsworthy" work every day, work that benefits not only Ann Arbor but people all over the world. **Agenda** believes that these organizations and their work deserve more public attention and support than they are currently receiving.

The unique thing about **Agenda** is that all the organizations listed in the **Community Resource Directory (CRD)** write their own material (we do minor editing). They are given adequate space to publicize their activities and are encouraged to provide general information about meetings, membership, goals, strategies, current news, coming events and community services.

In addition, these organizations and their members write feature/news articles for **Agenda**, tape-record speeches of speakers they sponsor, provide us with photographs, and help with production and distribution. At this point, **Agenda** relies almost totally on volunteer help and probably won't have the money it takes to pay for the full time staff it needs for some time to come.

Which brings us to the only sour note in all of this: Money.

One of the goals of **Agenda** is to increase participation in the available political processes, from meeting rooms to the voting booth. (Already, we have heard reports of new faces at the meetings listed in the April **CRD**.) To do this, we have to give the paper away for free (we print 10,000) in order to reach people who aren't necessarily going to buy a paper that is political in nature.

We are receiving a great deal of support from the Ann Arbor small business community by their willingness to advertise in **Agenda**. However, advertising revenues fall far short of providing the kind of revenues we need to continue publishing. What we really need is the support of individuals in the form of paid subscriptions.

If you like what you read, if you

think that the organizations listed in **Agenda** are doing work that deserves to be made more public, please fill out the subscription form on page 18 and send it to us soon.

With that aside, more needs to be said about how **Agenda** is put together. A great deal of the newspaper is written by the activist community--people who are involved in grassroots politics and human services organizations who volunteer their writing as a way educating the public on a particular issue, and as a way of promoting the work of their respective organizations.

In addition to soliciting material from these sources, **Agenda** is able to field reporters now and then. We are calling our brand of reporting "verbatim journalism." The dictionary defines verbatim as "using exactly the same words; word for word." This approach is best exemplified by our "Why are you here?" series (see page 7), in which an **Agenda** staff member attends an event to ask participants their reasons for being there. We try to get a variety of opinions and we also try to print what we record in its entirety, believing that the reader can best draw conclusions after hearing a number of different eyewitness accounts.

This is different from standard journalistic practice in which reporters are sent into the field to gather data in order to substantiate a preconceived "angle." "The story", it seems, is sometimes written beforehand and the reporter searches for quips and quotes to use as ornaments to it. If you have ever been a subject in a news or feature article, or have been at an event which is reported on TV or the next day's newspaper, you know the shortcomings of this standard approach.

**Agenda's** "verbatim" strategy has its shortcomings too. It is not a claim to objectivity or a necessarily more virtuous brand of journalism. It is an attempt to remove the reporter from the story and to give more weight to eyewitness accounts with the HOPE that this will result in a more accurate presentation of events and the motives of the participants.

## HOW OFTEN DOES AGENDA COME OUT?

Every month. Our next issue will be out June 1, 1986.

## HOW IS AGENDA DISTRIBUTED?

10,000 copies are printed each month. 6,500 free copies are distributed from over 100 strategic locations in the Ann Arbor area. The remaining 3,500 copies are mailed to subscribers, targeted readers, and regular advertisers. Targeted readers are drawn from mailing lists of community organizations and receive

three free promotional copies.

## WHY SUBSCRIBE TO AGENDA WHEN YOU CAN GET IT FOR FREE?

Granted, you can walk into any number of places and pick up a free copy of **Agenda**. Some of you even receive it in the mail without charge. Like paying for public radio or public TV, subscribing to **Agenda** is an act of conscience and an act of generosity. It is also an act of necessity, for without support from individuals, **Agenda** will not survive.

## HOW DOES AN ORGANIZATION GET PUBLISHED IN THE COMMUNITY RESOURCE DIRECTORY?

First, the organization has to be appropriate to **Agenda's** format. This is determined on a case-by-case basis, and at this point it is up to interested organizations to come forward and begin the process. It doesn't cost anything to be listed in the CRD but each organization is responsible for the writing and editing of all material submitted on their behalf. The **DEADLINE** for submitting material is the **19th of the month prior to publication.**

## HOW CAN I GET INVOLVED IN AGENDA?

**Agenda** needs volunteers to do all kinds of tasks, from proofreading to distribution. If you are willing to help out, please give us a call at 996-8018. We also need news and feature writers and especially encourage non-professionals. If you think you have a great idea for an article, **Agenda** staff will gladly help you develop it into something for publication.

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# More News

May 11, West Park

## Mother's Day Festival of Peace

by Susan Else Wyman,  
WAND Publicity Chairperson

The Washtenaw County chapter of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) will be sponsoring a major peace event on Sunday, May 11, 1986, the second annual Mother's Day Festival of Peace. The festival will be held at West Park in Ann Arbor. Participants will gather at the bandshell which is near S. Seventh and Miller. The day's events will begin at 1:00 and last until 4:00, rain or shine. Mothers, fathers, children, and all other people who care about peace are welcome. Last year's event attracted more than 500 people during the course of the afternoon and more are expected this year.

Mother's Day, originally called Mother's Peace Day, was founded by Julia Ward Howe, composer of the Battle Hymn of the Republic, in 1872. She intended that it be a day to honor women who had lost sons in the Civil War while "speaking, singing and praying for those things that make for peace." She felt strongly that all people had to work for a peaceful world but that women, especially mothers, were in a unique position to make their feelings known as they felt most directly the pain caused by the loss of a son in war. As she stated in her book *Reminiscences* "Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere in these matters, to prevent the waste of

human life which they alone bear and know the cost?"

As the cost has now grown beyond anything she could have imagined, all peace groups but especially those composed primarily of women, feel an increased urgency to educate the public about the realities of nuclear war. A significant number of Ann Arbor WAND members are mothers of young children and they hope to change the way people think. Jenni Zimmer, the mother of two young sons and a new baby, was the coordinator of the event last year and is doing the work again this year. Julia Ward Howe's words speak for her and for many as she realized almost one hundred years ago that ending war would require fundamental changes: "Let the fact of human brotherhood be taught to the babe in his cradle, let it be taught to the despot on his throne. Let it be the basis and foundation of education and legislation, the bond of high and low, of rich and poor..." Her words about despots seem particularly important in 1986 as the world becomes caught up in a situation which was created by despots and which could conceivably lead to nuclear war.

The festival will be a family-oriented afternoon with activities for all ages. Featured events are speakers, music, games and arts and crafts for the children, face painters, jugglers, and refreshments. In addition, participants will enjoy viewing some of the Michigan panels of the Peace



Photo by Jan Lipton and Karen Jania

### There will be a children's art exhibit with the theme "Peace is..."

Ribbon which encircled the Pentagon and other Washington buildings last Hiroshima Day and a children's art exhibit with the theme "Peace Is...". There will also be the presentation of the first annual WAND Mother's Day Peace Award, sales of peace-oriented items, a raffle featuring an Amish quilt wallhanging and other prizes, a singalong, and a launch of peace balloons.

Headlining the entertainment will be Peter "Madcat" Ruth, harmonica player extraordinaire. Also appearing will be Jesse Richards, earth dancer, Anne Doyle, folk singer, O.J. Anderson, mime, and a jazz band. Featured speakers include State Senator Lana Pollack, Ann Arbor Mayor Ed Pierce, Elise Bryant of Common Ground Theatre reading poetry, Lillian Genser of the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies at Wayne State University, and Kelly Stupple, Community High student and peace activist. Sharron Singleton who was one of the founders of the local chapter of WAND and who has been its president since the beginning will also speak; this will be her last public appearance on behalf of WAND before moving with her husband Richard to Providence, Rhode Island.

Other local peace and disarmament groups such as SANE, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Michigan Alliance for Disarmament, Physician's for Social Responsibility, and Beyond War have been invited to participate and will join WAND in setting up tables with literature and peace-oriented items for sale. WAND will be selling T-shirts with its mother and child logo, tote bags, note cards, posters, books by Helen Caldicott, and earth balloons. This year there will be pizza and apple cider for sale and carnations, the traditional Mother's Day flower, for all mothers and other celebrants to wear.

The group sponsoring the festival, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), was founded in 1980 by Dr. Helen Caldicott. She is an Australian pediatrician who became a forceful anti-nuclear activist when confronted with French atmospheric testing in the Pacific and whose concerns are now global. WAND has over 100 chapters nationwide and the Ann Arbor chapter is a year and a half old

with several hundred members. WAND's goals are to inform and educate the public about the threat of nuclear war and to encourage grassroots lobbying and political action to halt the arms race.

Of particular concern to activists are facts such as these: military spending under the Reagan administration has increased by \$77 billion from 1982-1985 while domestic spending has decreased by \$167 billion---but the budget deficit is still the largest any country has ever had and women and children in particular are being affected; together the US and the Soviet Union have enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world 67 times over---and the race continues; just one Trident submarine carries 19 megatons, the firepower of six World War II's and even though 300 megatons is enough to destroy every large and medium size city in the world we now have 20,000 megatons---and still counting.

The Ann Arbor WAND meets on the second Sunday night of each month except May when everyone goes to the festival all afternoon instead. The meetings are held at St. Aidan's Episcopal/Northside Presbyterian church at 1679 Broadway; doors open at 7 for sale of WAND items and conversation, the meeting begins at 7:30 and the program, usually an informed speaker, begins at 8:30. All interested men and women are invited to attend.

The word "Peace" was omitted when Woodrow Wilson proclaimed Mother's Day a national holiday in 1914, but WAND and others intend to remember that original intention. Most of WAND's chapters around the country plan Mother's Peace Day celebrations. John Kerry, Senator from Massachusetts, submitted a resolution last year which was approved by the Congress that May 12, 1985 should be called Mother's Peace Day. The precedent lives again, and we all have the opportunity to enjoy a day of music and fun while remembering the sober purpose behind this day's events. For more information about the festival or WAND's activities, call the WAND information line at 761-1718, or Jenni Zimmer, the festival's coordinator at 662-3523.

## History of Mother's Day

Though others have been given formal credit for the founding of Mother's Day, history shows that Julia Ward Howe of Boston was an early originator of the idea of celebrating a day focused on mothers. Born in New York City in 1819, Mrs. Howe was a published poet, author and advocate of better treatment for the disabled, insane and the criminal.

Julia Ward Howe's concept of Mother's Day was considerably different from today's celebration. Acutely aware of the losses of women and the nation suffered during the Civil War, and distressed by the carnage of the Franco-Prussian War, Julia Ward Howe conceived of the day as a time when everyone should dedicate themselves anew to the task of bringing about world peace. In her "Reminiscences," she describes how the question came to her: "Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere in these matters, to prevent the waste of human life which they alone bear and know the cost?"

In September, 1870, she sent out "An Appeal to Womanhood throughout the World," calling for an international gathering of women to consider their roles in stopping war. Her next step was to call a meeting in New York in December of the same year---"a World's Congress of women in behalf of international peace." More meetings followed and Julia Ward Howe became president of the American Branch of the Women's International Peace Association. She continued to try to understand why women had been ineffective in trying to restrict warfare. Realizing that the changes for ending war had to be fundamental, she wrote, "Let the fact of human brotherhood be taught to the babe in his cradle, let it be taught to the despot on his throne. Let it be the basis and

(WAND press release) (cont. on next page)



## History of Mother's Day

(cont. from previous page)

foundation of education and legislation, the bond of high and low, of rich and poor..."

She spoke on peace in many cities and in 1887 went to England to spread her message there, but was unable to organize a Women's Peace Congress. This disappointment led to another idea: "a festival, a day which would be called Mother's Day, and be devoted to the advocacy of peace doctrines." She chose the second day of June and observed this day with her followers until her death in 1910. She often urged the newspapers to publish articles about how to bring lasting peace and wrote many such articles herself over the years.

The last formal observance of her Mother's Peace Day was held in Riverton, New Jersey on June 1, 1912, by the Pennsylvania Peace Society in conjunction with the Universal Peace Union. The printed invitation to this event read: "Thirty-nine years ago Julia Ward Howe instituted this festival for peace - a time for women and children to come together, to meet in the country, invite the public, and recite, speak, sing and pray for 'those things that make for peace.'"

Parallel efforts to establish a regular observance in honor of mothers were being made by several other people including Mary Towles Sassen, a Kentucky school teacher who started conducting Mother's Day celebrations in 1887; Frank Hering of South Bend, Indiana, who launched a campaign for the observance of Mother's Day in 1904. Also in 1904, Anna Jarvis, who is regularly credited as the founder of the celebration, began a campaign for a nationwide observance of Mother's Day. She chose the second Sunday in May and began the custom of wearing a carnation.

In 1914, on May 9, President Woodrow Wilson signed a joint resolution of Congress recommending that Congress and the executive departments observe Mother's Day. The next year, the President was authorized to proclaim Mother's Day as an annual observance. In 1985, Senator John Kerry (D-MA) submitted a resolution to Congress to call the holiday "Mother's Peace Day." The Kerry resolution states in part:

Whereas world peace is an urgent goal of the United States and the American people; and

Whereas a day in honor of world peace and of the special role mothers have had in seeking peace throughout human history will help bring about renewed public thinking about the important issues of peace, motherhood, and the family: Now therefore be it Resolved by the Senate and House hereby designated as "Mother's Peace Day."

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## Activist Declares Candidacy

# Challenging Pursell

*Dean Baker is a doctoral candidate in economics at U-M and has been actively involved in opposing U.S. policy in Latin America over the past several years.*

Over the last few years those of us working against U.S. intervention in Central America have tried in every way imaginable to make our views known to our representative in Congress, Carl Pursell. We have called, written, sent telegrams, visited his offices, both in the district and in Washington, and even sat-in at his Ann Arbor office. We have cited mountains of evidence from universally respected sources showing that the administration's policies stand in direct opposition to the struggles of the people of Central America for self-determination, democracy and basic human rights.

Pursell's response has been to ignore our arguments and to hide from his constituents, as he ever more firmly embraces Reagan's policies. Still we are determined to press our case against U.S. intervention in Central America and to continue to make Pursell a target of this pressure. As part of this effort I intend to challenge Pursell in the November election.

Pursell must be made to understand that we will force him to account for his votes in every way that we can. We will not simply let him take our tax dollars and give them to the Contra terrorists who prey on the Nicaraguan population. Nor will we ignore his votes to send the Salvadoran military money for the bombing campaign it is waging against its civilian population.

We cannot let our representative join Reagan in his crazed drive to get U.S. troops directly involved in the repression of the population of Central America. We have demanded and continue to demand that Carl Pursell publicly defend his votes on these issues. As a candidate I will continue to press this demand and force him to respect the views of his constituents.

Pursell's voting record on Central America is the main reason, but certainly not the only reason why it is necessary that he be challenged this fall. There are a number of other issues that I hope to be able to raise in a campaign against Pursell. I will briefly touch on a few of them here.

### Arms Control and Military Spending

It's clear that the Reagan administration has no intention of reaching any sort of arms control agreement with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has repeatedly made concessions in order to remove obstacles to a treaty, such as allowing on-site inspections to meet Reagan's concerns about verification. It has gotten to the point where the Soviet Union is making proposals virtually identical to ones made earlier by Reagan but which he now seems to have retracted. While the Soviet Union seems to have recognized that

an escalating arms race can only lead to economic ruin and increasing danger of war, Reagan seems determined to pursue his arms build up regardless of the risk or the cost. As long as representatives like Pursell are prepared to write blank checks for the Pentagon, Reagan will be able to continue to buy up every weapons system that comes along, no matter how dangerous or how costly it might be.

### Taxes

Under Reagan, the tax system has been significantly altered so as to drastically reduce the proportion of taxes paid by the wealthy. For example, under the current system, wealthy individuals who make their money from buying and selling stock only have to pay taxes on 40% of every dollar they make, as compared to the rest of us who have to pay taxes on every dollar we earn.

The enormous deficits the government is currently running stem directly from such tax breaks for the rich and Reagan's massive military build up. Insofar as it is necessary to take measures to reduce the deficits, we should start by attacking its primary causes, massive military spending and tax breaks for the wealthy, before raising taxes for the average person.

### Women's and Minorities' Rights

Under the Reagan administration much of the progress that women and minorities have made over the last two decades has been reversed. Black family income has fallen significantly as a share of white family income, and women's right to control their bodies has been increasingly called into question. These trends have to be reversed. The government must actively lead the way in allowing minorities to achieve full equality, as they had begun to do under past administrations. If Reagan persists in his efforts to obstruct the struggle of minorities to obtain equality, then Congress will have to force him to respect the law. Similarly his efforts to fill the judiciary with judges who would deny women the right to control their bodies may require legislation that will remove their authority in this matter.

### Social Spending and Social Policy

Virtually all of Reagan's efforts at curtailing "waste" have been directed at discretionary social spending which accounts for less than 20% of the budget. This has led to drastic cutbacks in federal aid in such areas as housing, education, student loans, and nutrition.

The amount of money saved by these cuts would be dwarfed by the amount spent on many weapons systems, yet they have led to considerable hardship for millions of citizens. In part due to Reagan's cutbacks, millions of people are homeless, infant mortality rates are actually rising, and millions of students may be denied the opportunity to complete their education

because of inadequate funding.

These cutbacks are not simply cruel to the people directly affected, they are also extremely short-sighted from a financial standpoint. For example, the money saved by cutting back nutrition programs for pregnant women is more than offset by the medical bills the government pays to care for the increasing number of unhealthy babies.

The same sort of case could be made for childcare and education which allow more people to enter the labor force and get decent jobs. Congress should be leading the fight to reverse the cutbacks in these areas, and pushing to have the United States catch up to the rest of the western world in the quality of the housing, health care, and education which it provides to its citizens.

### Labor-Management Relations

Under Reagan, the government agencies established to mediate labor-management relations have been turned into tools with which to harass workers. All manners of outrageous conduct by employers have been tolerated, while the regulations that apply to unions have often been applied in nitpicking detail. Most unions don't even bother dealing with the National Labor Relations Board anymore, since they know they won't receive a fair hearing.

Similarly the Occupational Health and Safety Administration seems more concerned about protecting the profits of corporations than protecting workers from exposure to hazardous working conditions and dangerous chemicals.

Also it's time that the government raises the minimum wage. There has been no increase in the minimum wage for five years, while prices have continued to increase. The minimum wage should be set at \$5.00 per hour to compensate for inflation over the last several years.

### Environmental Issues

The Reagan administration's callous disregard for anything to do with the environment is well known. The Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of the Interior have been concentrating their efforts on subverting environmental regulations. Their actions on toxic wastes for example seem to be more intended to assist corporations in escaping responsibility for their waste, than to clean up dangerous dump sites. The well-documented threat to our health posed by these wastes necessitates that they be cleaned up quickly.

Again, if the Reagan administration refuses to act on this and other environmental issues that pose immediate threats to our health and quality of life, then Congress will have to take the lead and force them to act.

For more information call: 663-4052.



# The Plan to Silence Dissent

By Joe Roos  
Re-printed with permission from  
*Sojourners*, February 1986

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is a little-known government agency that occasionally makes headlines by assisting the victims of tornadoes, floods, earthquakes and other natural disasters. But FEMA's powers go far beyond relief efforts. It is now also prepared to widely curtail basic civil liberties in the event of a "national disaster."

In April 1984 President Reagan signed a highly classified document called the National Security Decision Directive (NSDD). According to Daniel P. Sheehan, attorney and investigator for the Christic Institute in Washington, D.C., the directive contemplates the president unilaterally declaring a "State of Domestic National Security" in the event of direct U.S. military intervention in Central America. Under the directive's provisions, FEMA would then be called upon to enforce a domestic side of the administration's Central America war plan.

This NSDD is similar in many ways to "Project Garden Plot," former President Nixon's unimplemented contingency plan designed to round up and detain thousands of U.S. citizens opposed to the Vietnam War. Two of Project Garden Plot's most enthusiastic supporters were Ronald

Reagan, then governor of California, and his special assistant Edwin Meese, now U.S. attorney general. When they came to Washington, Reagan and Meese appointed their long-time associate and friend, Louis O. Guiffrida, to be director of FEMA. Guiffrida recently left FEMA and hopes for a higher post within the administration.

In a "state of domestic national emergency," FEMA's role would be crucial in silencing dissent to the administration's Central America policy. According to Sheehan, FEMA with the assistance of all State National Guard units, would, under the proposed plan, be authorized to summarily arrest, detain and imprison undocumented Central American immigrants.

FEMA officials are also seeking the authority to arrest, at the same time, U.S. citizens whose names are listed on a classified "Administrative Index" kept by the FBI. Those arrested would be detained at 10 national detention centers located on military bases in the United States which are now being readied for possible use.

Other preparations for a state of emergency have also occurred. In 1984 FEMA supervised a secret project code-named "Rex 84." Conducted simultaneously with "Operation Night Train," a simulated U.S. military operation in Central America, Rex 84 tested FEMA's round-up scenario and the government mechanisms needed to implement the plan.

*Sojourners*, 1321 Otis Street, N.E., Box 29272, Washington, D.C. 20017

## Proposal "A": The work continues

(cont. from page 1)

LeRoy Cappaert and Benita Kamowitz, Coalition co-chairs (the folks who got this idea on the move) and Jeff Epton, Third Ward Council member, will serve as non-voting members of the Task Force.

Our representatives in Washington received Proposal A's message shortly after the vote. Ann Arbor's City Clerk, Winifred Northcross, sent the official ordinance wording to federal officials on Thursday, April 17, while Coalition members Kim Kratz and Marlene Ross traveled to Washington on Friday, April 18 to take the message directly to federal officials.

As you might expect, Kim and Marlene received the runaround from Congressman Pursell's office: "The Congressman will be in the district," they were told by the office receptionist when they tried to schedule an appointment. (Hmm, when critics of Pursell's persistent support for the contras and more dollars for more killing in Central America try to meet with Pursell in his district, he's in Washington. When they go to Washington, he's in the district.) So they tried to schedule an appointment with a staff member. "He will be out of the city on that day," said the receptionist. When they popped into Pursell's office anyway the line

was: "Oh, he (the aide) just stepped out for a meeting."

Kim and Marlene also spoke at length with Senator Levin who assured his continued opposition to any aid to the contras, and met with a staff person for Senator Reigle who expressed similar sentiment. Both also said they would be willing to participate in an event related to the establishment of sister cities by the Sister City Task Force.

The Coalition has thrown its full support behind the Task Force and encourages the many people who took part in the campaign to continue to work with the Task Force. The Task Force will probably hold its first meeting in early May, after the confirmation of its members. All meetings will be open to the public.

The Task Force is charged by the ordinance to do the following:

- 1) Establish sister city relationships.
- 2) Encourage community groups to facilitate educational and cultural exchanges with the people of Central America.
- 3) Report to the Mayor and Council on its work and recommendations within 6 months and again at the end of its one year existence.

For more information call Jim Burchell at 769-5051.

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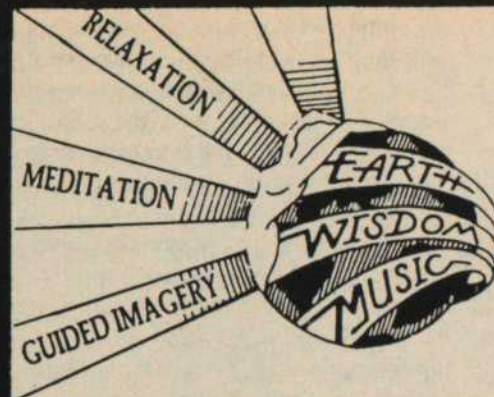


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## Minority Enrollment at U-M and the Mandela Honorary Degree

(cont. from page one)

There is a definite link between the struggle against racism, increasing minority student enrollment and granting Mr. Nelson Mandela an honorary degree. The University can send a clear message to prospective and currently enrolled minority students that it is creating a more hospitable educational climate for minorities and for all students. Will you honor those who struggle against the evils of racism?

In April, minority students and majority students erected a shanty on the Diag to show our collective concern about eliminating apartheid in Southern Africa and racism at the University. Students have jointly worked to demonstrate that the U-M is not a hostile or indifferent place. In order to bridge the gaps between the continents of our African, Asian, European, and Hispanic heritages, we exercised the right of free expression of our ideas and hopes.

We took a risk in exposing our abhorrence of a system of complete racial subjugation in Africa and racial inequality at the University of Michigan. We drew some attention to our different opinions and races.

We were attacked, our symbols were spit upon, burned and denigrated. The shanty was called a "nigger shack," "a piece of shit," that needed to be torn down. More than five times, the shanty was violently attacked. Each time the cowards responsible for these terrorizing incidents were able to get away with their violence without arrest or detainment.

In one specific case, a security officer merely spoke to two white male students assaulting the shanty. No arrests have been made. It is regrettable that President Shapiro and Provost Frye have not made public and specific statements about these attacks.

The attacks on the shanty and racist graffiti on campus, underscore the fear that black students have about the safety of our lives and the freedom to express our ideas in this hostile environment. I understand what Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. meant about the American dilemma. King said that:

"We may have to repent not merely for the vitriolic actions and words of the bad people but also for the appalling silence of the good people."

The education of black students at the University is not receiving thoughtful protection and action. Dr. King wrote about the function of education which is to: "Teach one to think intensively and think critically. But education which stops with efficiency may prove the greatest menace to society. The most dangerous criminal may be the man gifted with reason, but with no morals. We must remember that intelligence is not enough. Intelligence plus character....This is the goal of true education."

University of Michigan educators must focus on retention! The Student Assembly and the Free South Africa Coordinating Committee strongly urge that the Regents request a full report from President Shapiro, about these racist attacks on the shanty and the institutional responses to them.

Members of the Minority Organization of Rackham Graduate School, the organization founded to meet the needs of Rackham graduate students are present with a resolution that urges the Regents to grant an honorary degree to Nelson Mandela. To bestow this honor on Mandela is to bestow an honor on minority graduate students of African descent at the University. Granting an honorary degree, even in absentia, will bestow honor upon the Black Faculty. It will bestow honor upon the Center for Afro American and African Studies and its interim Director, Professor Thomas Holt. And It will bestow honor on all the students who have sacrificed time and energy to support the Mandela nomination.

Dr. King stated the following about the South African situation, "We realize that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. Therefore we are concerned about the problems of Africa as we are about the problems of the United States."

Finally, the enrollment of minority students is a difficult problem. And, difficult problems often require difficult solutions. A difficult solution is also required in South Africa. There is concern among the Regents that Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress have not ruled out the possibility of using violence to abolish apartheid.

Thus, some argue that the University of Michigan should not grant him an honorary degree. Martin Luther King's tactics are often compared to those of Mr. Mandela's. Dr. King spoke about non-violence, but did not use it as an excuse for inaction and subjugation. The forces in South Africa want the argument to be used in that way. Dr. King said that: "Non-violence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. It is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends, but....it is just as wrong, or perhaps even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Further, as much as I deplore violence, there is one evil that is worse than violence, and that's cowardice."

Mr. Mandela has chosen not to be a coward and deserves to be honored in absentia for his sacrifice on behalf of the humanity. We implore you to bestow upon Mr. Mandela an honorary degree and in so doing, honor all of us at the University of Michigan.

by Roderick K. Linzie, M.S.A. Minority Enrollment Researcher and F.S.A.C.C. member

## Mandela Honorary Degree: CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

by the Free South Africa Coordinating Committee (FSACC)

Nelson Mandela has been nominated for a U-M honorary degree because he has dedicated his life to abolishing the oppressive, evil apartheid system of the South African government. Mandela has been imprisoned for 23 years for fighting a system that we all abhor.

The University of Michigan has expressly opposed apartheid. Is it too much for the Regents to honor Mr. Mandela's contributions toward realizing the goals of justice and freedom that we share and study at the University of Michigan?

### Sequence of Events

**October 1985:** Professor Tom Holt, Director, Center for Afro American and African Studies receives copies of the honorary degree guidelines. Guidelines do not state requirement that recipient attend the ceremony.

**November 1985:** Professor Holt nominates Mandela and the Honorary Degrees Committee acknowledges receipt of the nomination.

**November 1985 to April 1986:** Letters of support from U.S. Senator Don Riegle, author Nadine Gordimer, U.S. Representative George Crockett, State Representative Perry Bullard and signatures of 2,000 students, faculty and staff presented to the Regents and the administration.

**March 1986:** FSACC discovers that all Honorary Degree Committee members have not received letters of support and copies are forwarded by FSACC.

**April 4, 1986:** Five hundred protestors march against apartheid and racism and call for increased minority student enrollment. Marchers urge the Regents to grant an honorary degree to Mandela.

**April 4 to 11, 1986:** Daily delegations of 15 to 20 students visit President Shapiro's and Vice-President Kennedy's offices asking for information about the nomination. They urge the University to break its "no comment" position.

**April 10, 1986:** President Shapiro issues statement which in effect affirms the intent to follow procedure. Shapiro states that some nominees are "ineligible because they are unable to accept a degree in person." (see October, 1985)

**April 11, 1986:** Vice-President Kennedy insists at 4 pm meeting that "no decision has been made concerning the honorary degree" for Mandela. Kennedy admits (before 6 pm) that Mandela will not be nominated for a degree in May, despite the overwhelming University community support, the gravity of the situation in South Africa and the importance of a continued focus of international attention on South Africa during this critical period. Vice-President Kennedy agrees to contact President Shapiro and to provide FSACC with a written response to the request to: 1) reconvene the Honorary Degrees Committee to reconsider its decision concerning the Mandela nomination, 2) ask the Regents to suspend the bylaw requiring attendance at the ceremony and 3) ask the Regents to change the bylaws. This bylaw change would make it possible for great humanitarians (like Raoul Wallenberg, a former U of M student who saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews in Nazi Germany) to receive an honorary degree in absentia.

**April 12, 1986:** Both President Shapiro and Vice-President Kennedy are unavailable to meet with students at 4 pm. President Shapiro declines to ask the Regents to overrule the bylaw obstacle or seek a change in the regental bylaws. President Shapiro states that it is unlikely that the Honorary Degrees Committee will be reconvened.

**April 12 to 14, 1986:** The anti-apartheid shanty on the University of Michigan Diag is burned and partially demolished. FSACC members re-construct it after more than four major attempts fail to destroy this symbolic link with the oppressed people of South Africa.

**April 17 to 18, 1986:** At 4 pm a mass rally is held at the Regents meeting. Seventy students stage an all-night vigil in the Regents Board Room, Fleming Administration Building One hundred students from across the campus and a variety of organizations (FSACC, BSU, MSA, LASC), voice opposition to the Regent's decision not to award honorary degree to Nelson Mandela. Regents adjourn to President's Office. Regents decide to review the bylaw governing the granting of honorary degrees.

**April 19, 1986:** Shanty on the University of Michigan Diag is destroyed by vandals.

**April 20, 1986:** Shanty reconstructed by FSACC volunteers and members.





Photo by Peter Odom

## A reporter asks:

# Why are you here?

*On Friday, April 4, 1986, the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., approximately 500 people marched through the streets of Ann Arbor to protest racism at the University of Michigan and apartheid in South Africa.*

*A member of Agenda's staff carried a tape recorder and asked people: "Why are you here?"*

### Neil Foley, graduate student

I guess like so many other people here today, I'm disturbed by the United State's policy toward South Africa. I'm referring to the policy of constructive engagement and I believe that we have to take more active measures against the apartheid regime, the apartheid system of South Africa.

I also think the United State's foreign policy is so misguided with regard to Central America and South America in general. I think they're indicative of a strange and perverse sense of ideals that I'm not—that I don't want to have any part of.

So I'm out on the streets today to make my point, to join others who want to make a similar point. I think it's a good sign that a lot of people are starting to wake up to the injustice in South Africa and want to do something about it.

### Christina Landeryou, student

I'm here because I believe in what's happening and I feel that what's going on in South Africa is wrong and the United States should take stronger action against it.

**Doris Wilson, member planning committee for march and a member of the Black Law Student Alliance**

Well, this is the culmination of two weeks of national action against racism and apartheid that myself and members of the planning committee have put on.

We have about three or four goals. We want the University to divest the rest of the money they have invested in the South African corporations. We want to stop the racist graffiti on this campus and all the racist comments that have been made. We want to honor Nelson Mandela with an honorary degree, and also, the whole march is to bring attention to the plight of the people in South Africa in Namibia, and to say that they must be free now, and that we here in America have the means in which to bring about this change.

So I guess we're sending a message to President Reagan that we, the students here at the University of Michigan want something to be done about the situation in South Africa, and we want to bring about change, now.

### Michael Tresh, student

I'm here to try to show some support for anti-apartheid groups. I'm really not too involved in it, and I just felt like I should get out and do something. My views are not as strong as some of these people's but I feel I just should get out, you know, and show some support. I'm pretty happy, pretty satisfied at the big turn-out and I

think a lot of people in Ann Arbor are going to hear the message that the march is trying to give about down with apartheid and more freedom around the world, not just in South Africa

### Nicole Pinsky, student

I'm here because I think that this is a combination of two weeks of some really important stuff. If we can show how many of us care and how many of us feel this is important, we can get the University to divest, get more people to think about it.

The more people who see things, the more people who think, the more people are ready to pull our investments out of South Africa. We've gotten a good turn-out in spite of the weather, which is really good. If people stay fired up and stick with it and if we get the coverage we need, it should be a good thing. We should get a lot of thought and that really helps.

### John E. Mack, Psychiatrist, Harvard Law School

My wife and I are visiting our son here on the campus. We are marching and we are really impressed with the conviction that is present here about the South African issue of apartheid, and to see this, that emerging excitement and concern with social values on the campus is really impressive to us. We wanted to get a feeling for it and I know Tony is very committed on this issue and on the struggle in Nicaragua and so we wanted to chat with him.

### Steve Meyers, student

I'm here basically to show solidarity with the people of South Africa and those in this country that are victims of racism. I think this will do a lot of good and we can educate people to the problems in South Africa and elsewhere.

### Kevin A. Hill, student

I'm here to protest the evil apartheid system in South Africa which is oppressing and killing many people day-in and day-out and I think it is not just political but I think it is a moral and just cause.

### Andre Thornton, mental health worker

Well, first of all I noticed the gathering. Then I noticed the colors of the flags that were being held and they definitely looked familiar, so I thought I'd stop and take a look and see what was going on over here. It looks like a peaceful get-together, and I was concerned and I was curious, so I thought I'd stop in.

I haven't had a chance to observe and listen to the speeches that have been given. I'm going to stand around for a little while and take notice and maybe pick up a few things that I probably haven't heard already. I noticed that it's Free South Africa, the banner there, so I'm already curious. I'd just like to find out more about what's giving and what's going on.

### Ted Tsao, student

Well, I'm not really a person who's really involved in all this. I mean, I know about it from the outside, but I feel, you know, strongly that one day out of a whole year that they're asking people to come out here to fight racism and apartheid. I think that it's the least I could do and I'm really sad there aren't more people out here and there aren't more students, you know, so that's basically how I feel.

I think it's been run very well. But as I said, again, I just wish there were more people. You know, out of a school of forty-thousand people, I feel more students would be conscious of what's going on here, at least give one day or one hour of their time, and I don't feel it's too much to ask.

### Peter Konigsberg, high school student

I'm here because I don't believe in apartheid in the South African government system. It's going pretty well. I wish there were more, there's a lot of people here, but I wish there were more. I think it's going really well.

### Jeff Epton, city council representative

I'm here because I believe the march is sending the best possible message against apartheid. I'm amazed at the turn-out. It's a far bigger march than I expected. I've seen a lot of marches in the past, intending to make a political point just as strong, which were weakly supported by the community. They were hoping to reach, clearly, the issue has a tremendous amount of momentum. It's a surprise to me that the Ann Arbor pension board has decided to fly in the face of morality and refuse to divest at this point. Though I know that the march is about U of M investment in South Africa.



# Women, Power

by Sharron Singleton

*The Washtenaw County affiliate of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) was founded by Sharron Singleton and others in December of 1984.*

*Agenda is pleased to print the text of the following speech given by Singleton in December of 1985 marking the first year of the organization and of her presidency. Singleton will be leaving Ann Arbor for Providence, Rhode Island at the end of this month.*

Hello everyone! It's great to see all of you and we particularly want to welcome guests. This first year of Washtenaw County WAND has been quite an amazing year. I never dreamed, a year ago, that such a marvelously vital organization would come to life with so many people involved and so many accomplishments, or that I would have the nerve to be standing up here before you to talk about women, power and politics. I think these facts themselves say something about women's power and abilities.

I want to begin by saying that I certainly am no authority on this subject. The research I have done, however, has been fascinating and I have learned a lot which I'd like to share with you. I had never particularly made it my business, as many as you have, to study women or women's issues in any depth. So when I went to the library to do a little research, I was amazed to find that there were three whole file drawers on women!

Granted, some of these books contained less than scholarly or profound insights into the issue of women and power that I was concerned about, such as the book, "How to be a Successful Mistress and Happy Wife," and my favorite, "An Intelligent Man's Guide to Understanding Women." In all of these books, however, it was amazing how little there was on women and power.

In any case, my interest in this subject was aroused after hearing Helen Caldicott state, "The age of women has arrived. If we don't stand up and rapidly become elected to the highest offices in the country and change America's national policies from those of death to those of life, we will all be exterminated." That belief is the basis for the formation of WAND.

This was a radically new idea for me. Previous to this, I had only lamented and despaired and suffered from gross ignorance about the nuclear peril. Now I am convinced of two things: that she is right and that it will be a very long, hard struggle.

Dr. Caldicott's argument, which I won't reiterate in its entirety, is that we are living on the brink of nuclear annihilation and that when she looks at how we got there, she sees a violent, militaristic world, dominated by men. She also describes her own experiences, how as she has travels around the world talking about the dangers

of nuclear war, women are the ones who respond most strongly and emotionally and ask her, "What can we do?" She thinks this response arises out of women's closer connection with child-bearing and with the mother's strong instinct to protect her children.

I believe her analysis of the situation is basically correct, but I think a lot more needs to be said about how we can turn things around and what the problems are.

First of all, very basically, one has to have power to make changes. Are there different kinds of power? How do we get it?

One fairly universal measure of power has been the electoral franchise--the vote. Nations, groups and individuals have fought long and bloody battles, both figuratively and literally, to get the vote.

The history of women's suffrage is worth looking at a little more closely. It actually began in 1833, when the American

right to vote as a sideline to the anti-slavery movement, suffering extreme abuse such as being hosed down with cold water while speaking on a cold winter night (and continuing to speak) and having their lives threatened. (In one city, the mayor mounted the platform alongside one woman speaker with revolver in hand to protect her.)

But one of the most devastating forms of antagonism to the suffrage movement was that of ridicule. For half a century, jokes about suffrage were standard: in the press, on the vaudeville stage, in the bar rooms. This has continued throughout history. Any time women dared to threaten male establishments, ridicule has been more effective than abuse.

As is usually the case, something of value came from these hardships. Lucy Stone talking down hecklers became one of the most effective women speakers this country ever produced, and Susan B.

entire history of our country, only 12 women have served in the U.S. Senate, 6 of whom were appointed to fill unexpired terms, due usually to the deaths of their husbands. In the House, out of about 435 members, only 23 are women. Two women currently serve as Governors and only a total of 47 women hold office in State government nation-wide. In State legislatures women represent 14.7% of the total number of legislators. These are appalling figures! This, after 70 years of presumably being able to vote ourselves into any office we desire.

Figures on the global level are informative too. While women make up half of the world's population and work two-thirds of the world's working hours, they only receive one-tenth of the world's income, own 1/100th of the world's property and constitute 10% of the seats on national legislatures. Clearly, women nationally and globally are not a powerful group.

The reasons for our lack of involvement are many and complex, but I think that they are basically a combination of an institutionalized, self-conscious determination on the part of men in power to keep women out of power and a deep-seated sense on the part of many women of their inadequacy for, or the inappropriateness of, political involvement. (The latter perhaps deriving from the former.)

It's hardly surprising when we look at what the women's movement has revealed to us regarding discrimination to ward women on every level--from the personal and domestic to education, labor, business, and religion. It's a given that in none of these areas do we find women equally represented in the upper echelons. Most men enter politics through having attained high-level success in the areas of law, business or education--attainments that still elude women. And yet women constitute the backbone of party politics. They do the organizing, canvassing, phoning, mailing, polling, and generally get the vote out. No matter what their talents or accomplishments, traditionally, as New Orleans Mayor Moon Landrieu said, "Women do the lickin' and the stickin' while men plan the strategy."

Research also shows that most men enter politics in a very self-conscious, determined, career-oriented way, already schooled in the ways of competition and the rough and tumble of public life, while women often seem to stumble into politics to advance a particular cause. Now I'm not suggesting that women are pure and selfless while men are evil and calculating. But they are very different and often those differences have been distorted to the point where male behaviors and attitudes have been considered the norm while female behaviours have been considered deviant or even worse, insignificant.

**Numbers translated into votes can create power and women have it over men in terms of numbers. We constitute 53% of the vote, yet currently make up only 4% of nationally elected representatives. There are only 2 woman Senators of 100, and in the entire history of our country, only 12 women have served in the U.S. Senate, 6 of whom were appointed to fill unexpired terms, due usually to the deaths of their husbands. In the House, out of about 435 members, only 23 are women. Two women currently serve as Governors and only a total of 47 women hold office in State government nation-wide. In State legislatures women represent 14.7% of the total number of legislators. These are appalling figures! This, after 70 years of presumably being able to vote ourselves into any office we desire.**

Anti-Slavery Society was formed. Women played a pivotal role in the movement, but their public involvement was severely restricted by men and has been largely unacknowledged in most historical accounts. Women attending meetings of the men's abolitionist societies were sternly informed that they were to listen and learn, but not to raise their voices. Churches closed their doors to women speakers. Susan B. Anthony was once burned in effigy for speaking in a community where most people were as strongly opposed to slavery as she was, but who would not tolerate a woman speaking in public.

This treatment brought into sharp focus for women the realization that their own situations were not much better than those of the slaves they were trying to free. A husband absolutely controlled his wife's person, children and property.

To Elizabeth Cady Stanton, there was only one way to change this--women must have the right to vote. So, for more than 20 years women ran their campaign for the

Anthony learned tricks of organization without which the suffrage victory could never have been won.

Nonetheless, when women pleaded that the words "or sex" be inserted into the 15th amendment granting "negro males" the right to vote, they were turned down and accused of jeopardizing the entire abolitionist movement. It took 50 more years for women to win the right to vote. Many of those who worked so hard for so long never lived to see their victory.

Was getting the vote the key to unlocking the hidden treasures of full participation in American democracy? Let's look at a few facts. While during the past several decades tremendous gains have been made by women, access to political power remains as elusive as ever.

Numbers translated into votes can create power and women have it over men in terms of numbers. We constitute 53% of the vote, yet currently make up only 4% of nationally elected representatives. There are only 2 woman Senators of 100, and in the



# and Politics

Carol Giligan, in her book, "In a Different Voice," re-examines traditional developmental psychology theories and describes a number of fascinating studies of school children. She shows how much of our perceptions of "normal development" are based on how the male child develops. Freud built his theory of psychosexual development around the experienced of the male child that culminate in the Oedipus complex. Freud saw women's different development as deviant because they were anatomically deprived by nature. Much of the standard work which developed after that time, delineating children's growth and the development of ideas of fairness, laws, and morals, was based on Freud's ideas.

In 1974, however, Nancy Chodorow ascribed the universal differences between male and female personalities and roles not to anatomy but to the fact that women are largely responsible for early child care. Because mothers experience their daughters as more like and continuous with themselves and their sons as opposite, girls fuse the experience of attachment with the formation of their own identity while boys, in forming their own masculine identity, must separate themselves from their mothers.

Her research indicates that, "Since masculinity is defined through separation, while femininity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender identity is threatened by separation."

Other studies also revealed interesting sex differences in play. Of particular interest was the fact that boys' games were often interrupted by quarrels, but never called off. In fact, the boys seemed to enjoy the arguments as much as the game and the usual resolution was to repeat the play.

In contrast, squabbles among the girls tended to end the game. The quarrel was usually seen to threaten relationships and rather than do that, the girls chose to end the game. Boys were found to be fascinated with rules and legalities and the development of fair procedures for resolving conflicts, while girls were more willing to make exceptions to rules and more ready to accept innovations in games.

Without a great deal of elaboration, we can see how these behaviors get played out in adult life. The volumes of research behind this brief description help us to understand why women are less interested in competition and conflict than in interdependence and taking care. But involvement in politics means and competition and conflict; and all of the important decisions in life are political decisions that involve the welfare of our families, especially decisions about war and peace. Women can no longer afford to stay out of the game. What we do need to do is to change the rules because the current ones are surely leading us to the final disastrous end game.

Let's take a look at the different strengths and powers that women have and could bring to bear upon changing national priorities. Jean Baker Miller, in her book, "Toward a New Psychology of Women," says that for women today, power may be defined as the capacity to implement. People have always engaged in power struggles to control others rather than be controlled themselves. But in the realm of human development, the reverse is true: the greater developed an individual is, the more able, more effective, and less restrictive of others he or she will be.

Women do not come from a background of membership in a group that believed it needed subordinates or that power was necessary for its self-image. Yet women do have problems with power. We often don't use our powers openly and we fear power. These are important problem areas we need to pay attention to. However, women can readily turn to others for help in dealing with these areas and can use our abilities to support one another as we develop more effective and appropriate ways to deal with power. We do not need to diminish others or take on the destructive attributes which are merely a part of maintaining a dominant/subordinate system.

Women start, however, from a position in which they have been dominated. To move out of that position requires a power base from which to make the first step; that is, to resist attempts to control and limit them. Jean Baker Miller again suggests that power in the world has operated without the special values women can bring to it -- a sense of connectedness and interrelatedness. Full participation by women, she says, would result in not using power as a poor substitute for other things, like cooperation. Dependence versus independence is a limited concept. Feeling effective and free and at the same time intense connections with other people may be more difficult to achieve, but will help us all to create more humane, life-enhancing institutions and policies.

Other strengths I believe women have which will help us in our struggles toward self-realization and political involvement are:

**A willingness to get our hands dirty.** I remember when my daughter was in nursery school and they were carving the Halloween pumpkin, the teacher told me that it was always the little girls who stuck their hands into the pumpkin to pull the slippery insides out while the little boys said, "Yuck!"

More seriously, for thousands of years before we had professionals, who birthed the babies (and changed the diapers), who physically tended the ill, who washed and prepared the dead for burial? Women are too close to the awesome processes of birth, life, and death to be afraid of them.

We also have great fortitude and endurance. Think of the pioneer women, leaving home and family, often never to see them again, burying their children who died

along the way, and moving on to an unknown future. Think of young women you see on dark winter mornings, often black and probably poor, waiting for a bus with a child or two in tow, to take the children to day care and then themselves to a job -- only to repeat the process all over again at the end of the day -- and then arriving home to cook supper, clean house, put the children to bed, maybe pay some bills and start all over again the next morning.

We can learn almost anything when we have to. I don't feel that I've been particularly well-prepared ahead of time for almost anything I've ever done, including being married, raising children and working with the chronically mentally ill. My MSW in policy and administration certainly didn't prepare me for working with schizophrenics. The important things in life I've learned to do because I've had to. Learning to be involved in politics isn't any different.

We can do at least 6 things at once. We often laugh at this and joke about it -- but believe me it's no joke! We can work at a job, keep a home basically functioning, tend to children and/or a husband, maintain close relationships and usually do community work as well. Some of us don't do this alone but some of us do. Now I'm not necessarily advocating this superwoman lifestyle because it costs us dearly. One thing that suffers is the ability to concentrate on any one thing at a time. However, the ability to organize all of this ought to count for a lot and be put to good use in the political arena.

We women are good mediators and traditionally have been the ones "to keep peace in the family." But here we have to take a close look at the issue of conflict. Have we been the mediators out of a position of strength or because we are terrified of conflict and powerless to do otherwise? Or because that role has been assigned to us by men? Most societies as a whole don't do well with conflict and handle it in very dangerous ways. There is very little recognition that conflict is a necessary state of being and needs appropriate forms of expression.

Women are particularly taught to see conflict as frightening and bad, and overt conflict for women has been taboo since subordinates do not openly engage in conflict. But when conflict is forced underground it becomes distorted and saturated with destructive force. Perhaps this is partly what men are sensing when they fear they are involved with a "castrating female." Women as a group can only engage in indirect conflict until they can act from a base of strength in the real world.

But conflict is necessary for growth and change. Without it, everything is static and stagnant. In fact, all of the traditional good, "womanly" qualities already mentioned, like helping in the development of others, are

(cont. on page 15)



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# Civil Disobedience: Four Testimonies

Between March 13 and March 19, 1986, 118 protesters were arrested for non-violent civil disobedience at Congressman Carl Pursell's Ann Arbor office. Agenda asked arrestees to write about their experiences. Here are the four responses we received.

## Arrestee #1

Approximately four weeks ago, I was one of the 118 people arrested for trespassing at Carl Pursell's office. This was my first time committing civil disobedience, and I found it to be a positive experience.

One of the most important events that drew me to this conclusion was when the arrests began to take place. The police had already given us time to leave the premises. The door was now closed. Our action executed. The video camera was rolling. As individuals in a group, we began to record our testimonies of why we were there. Our reasons ranged from Nicaragua's right to self-determination to setting examples for one's children. I found it to be a very moving experience. Everything people mentioned captured, expressed--actualized my feelings of why I was there. Things I couldn't even put into words materialized before me. I experienced a oneness with people, something that seldom happens in my life.

Making the decision to commit civil disobedience was not an easy one. I had to weigh its possible consequences, i.e. losing my job. I thought of all the people--children, teachers, doctors, farmers--who have lost their lives in Central America for only wanting a better life; one of peace and equality. I thought of my tax dollars causing those senseless murders and realized losing my job was a small sacrifice. Committing civil disobedience was the most powerful statement I could make to show solidarity with the people of Central America, and to show Pursell I do not approve of the way our Administration is handling the situation.

My advice to people, although little, is to listen to your hearts. Do what you feel is right for you.

I would definitely do civil disobedience again thanks to my father. Before the action, he felt indifferent to Central America. He had no connection to it. After, he decided to vote for Proposal A, the Peace Initiative in Central America. This was the best response of all. I hoped it helped to shed a little light of hope on someone who felt hopeless.

by Roberta Bernhard

## Arrestee #2

Being Jewish, and being born just a few years after the end of World War II, the Nazi holocaust was very much a part of the world I learned about as a child. I often contemplated that had my grandparents not left the "old country," our entire family most likely would have been killed. As it was, the part of my family that didn't come



Photo by Gregory Fox

over met the same fate as the eleven million other victims of the Nazis. It would send shivers up my spine to look at the old photos my grandmother showed me of her sisters who were taken away. I wondered why such cruelty was tolerated. I wondered if I would have behaved any better if I had been a non-Jewish German or Austrian. Those "good citizens" stayed within the law, but we know now how wrong they were.

In cold numbers, the atrocities we are perpetuating in Central America are smaller than those of the Nazis, but they are still happening. They are being tolerated by "good citizens" and we don't have the excuse of ignorance. Our contras are still mutilating, raping and murdering civilians in Nicaragua - with our backing, voted for by our congressman, Carl Pursell. In El Salvador, fascist death squads still "disappear" people in broad daylight, and villages are relentlessly bombed with our bombs, dropped by our planes.

In Guatemala, despite a civilian figurehead, the military still effectively rules and wages a war of genocide against the Indians and peasants, and here, most painful of ironies, it is done with the help of Israel.

Getting arrested for trespassing is an embarrassingly safe manner of protest considering the monstrosity of the matter. Perhaps I did it for my own peace of mind, to assure myself that I'm not being a "good German." Being easier on myself, I can hope that civil disobedience done together with other moral people will show our government that there are people here determined to call attention to their crimes.

by Gregory Fox

## Arrestee #3

As a responsible citizen, I feel it is my duty to stand up for traditional American values like the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all people. I think the present administration has gotten on the opposite track, pursuing a policy of government for the benefit of big business, not for people. I don't believe that it is a sign of good citizenship to sit back and approve of this policy.

Our government has presented a simplistic picture to us, a black and white Western movie featuring the good guys (Western Democrats) and the bad guys (Eastern Communists). We are led to believe that the only sovereign nations in the world are the United States and the U.S.S.R.

In fact, the world is a much more complex and diverse place. We are being fooled into believing that the issue is democracy versus communism. I believe that that is not the issue at all.

The United States has economic interests throughout Central America and the entire third world. The Soviet Union has different, but equally significant economic interests in the third world as well. These economic interests are the impetus behind the maintenance of dictatorships and totalitarian states throughout the world.

I don't believe the contras are fighting for democracy or that our government believes they are either. We are backing the contras (ex-Somoza National Guardsmen) in

order to reinstate a puppet government that can be bought with U.S. aid money rather than the sovereign government Nicaragua has now.

The Nicaraguan people elected the Sandinistas to represent them and just like us they deserve the right to an elected government. I feel strongly that we have no right to be funding a group whose explicit purpose is to overthrow a legitimately elected government. Like us, the Nicaraguans have a right to self-determination. Moreover, the contras rape, torture, mutilate and murder civilians as a matter of course. I am outraged that Congressman Pursell could vote to continue funding to these inhuman monsters.

Of course I committed civil disobedience. I am proud to say I took this small step to stop aid to Pursell's "freedom fighters." I would do it again any day of the week.

Civil disobedience is an act I would highly recommend to others. Not only is it the moral thing, it is empowering. Having handcuffs on made me feel more important. It made me feel that a mere trespass at my congressman's office was a significant thing. It made me feel powerful that my friends and I could scare Carl Pursell, Cynthia Hudgins and staff away from their office for a week, just by standing outside their office door singing songs of peace and remembering all the men, women and children who have died at the hands of the contras.

I just hope that more of you out there will take the same small step and show our representatives in government as well as the people out there in TV land what's what.

by Laurie Wechter

## Arrestee #4

I didn't follow the format you requested because I don't want this printed as my personal statement. Please use as much as you choose, but only as background for your article on civil disobedience.

I'm certainly comfortable with what I did and willing to defend it and my opinions if necessary. But the importance of the event rests in the fact that 118 people were willing to get arrested to oppose aid to the contras, and to some extent in the diversity of those people--workers and professionals alongside students and academics--rather than on the individual personalities involved. I don't need any personal aggrandizement for doing what I feel is right, necessary, and only significant for me if it persuades others to act in the future.

(cont. on next page)



I'm sure the action had greater personal significance for first time CD'ers. Deciding to break the law is difficult when you have obeyed it all your life. You ask yourself all kinds of scary questions: will I meet with physical harm? Will my family and friends accept my decision? Am I destroying my future? When you finally decide to act despite the possible consequences it can be a very liberating experience. Laws, governments, and jails no longer hold the same mystique. And the personal satisfaction of overcoming your fears and standing up for your convictions can be immense. Those for whom this was a first act of resistance deserve a lot of credit for their courage.

I was arrested on Wednesday along with 39 other people. It was a rather mild event as such events go. And considering Judge Alexander's comments at the arraignment, it seems likely the penalties for conviction will be either 36 hours of community service and \$90 in court costs or 15 days in jail. While Nicaraguans face death at the hands of U.S. puppets, the consequences for our opposition seem pretty insignificant.

Everything about the sit-in and arrest was terribly civil. I'm not used to being called "Sir" so often under normal circumstances, let

alone by cops while under arrest. They seemed to be extremely concerned about not providing any opportunity for charges of misconduct, let alone brutality.

A couple of hours in wrist bands with your hands behind your back is very uncomfortable and seemed unnecessary. The new plastic baggie tie-tab wrist bands are much more uncomfortable than the old steel handcuffs. It's hard to avoid having blood circulation reduced. I was arrested last fall at Pursell's too, under similar circumstances with even more people and we weren't handcuffed. There were no undue consequences to the cops. It would seem to make sense from the city government's perspective to have an ordinance providing for a different procedure for handling people engaged in non-violent civil disobedience--no handcuffing and no frisks. (Not surprisingly, they didn't turn up any weapons.) It would reduce the radicalizing effect of the experience on the participants. Of course from a left perspective it is probably beneficial for the participants, most of whom have never had a previous run-in with the law, to experience at least some of its more negative aspects, hopefully to appreciate a bit of what non-political arrestees experience regularly. A good test of the humanity of a society

is how it treats its lawbreakers.

Why was I arrested? Was it Thoreau who said "in an unjust society, the only place for a just (person) is in prison?" Our government is spending our money to kill people who have done us no harm. That seems clearly and grossly unjust.

I find it ironic that people who are opposing injustice at minor personal cost are so often asked why (although in this instance your motivation to educate is clear). There's the Emerson-Thoreau exchange when Thoreau chose jail rather than pay his war tax: "Henry, what are you doing in there?" answered by, "Waldo, what are you doing out there?" "Why not?" might better be asked of those who are doing nothing to oppose growing U.S. military involvement in Central America.

And in the words of Harvey Cox, "Not to decide is to decide." I don't choose to align myself with the good Germans of the Nazi era or the good Americans of the Vietnam era who turned a blind eye to the atrocities being perpetrated against innocents by their governments in their name. If there's any why to be asked it should be, why aren't we all taking greater risks and breaking more serious laws before U.S. involvement in Central America gets even more deadly?

Do it again? I expect to as long as it seems to be necessary. Advice for people considering CD? Do it if your personal circumstances permit and if the issues seems to warrant it. But don't assume one misdemeanor arrest alleviates your obligation to the Nicaraguans, El Salvadorans, or whichever people the U.S. chooses to victimize next. We are all responsible for all actions governments take in our name with our acquiescence. To assume that through one action you have washed your hands of the crimes of your government is to permit governments to continue to perpetrate injustice in the future. Opposing injustice is the lifelong responsibility of a decent human being.

A word to our prospective jurors: What we did may have been illegal, but it was right. We broke a minor law in an effort to save lives and keep the U.S. out of war. You have the power to decide on the basis of what is right rather than what is legal. A not guilty decision would be a strong message to those politicians who vote for war that they are going against the will of their constituents and that the community endorses civil disobedience to stop U.S. aggression in Central America. A not guilty decision is a vote for peace and justice.

anonymous

Mark Twain

**The man who does not read good books has no advantage over the man who can't read them.**

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# Cuban and Nicaraguan Women

Ann Arbor—On April 4, 1986, feminist, poet, and writer Margaret Randall spoke at the Michigan Union Ballroom on the University of Michigan campus. Her speech was on "Cuban and Nicaraguan Women."

(continued from page one)

international women's movement has really come to the fore in those 20 years. In the 50's when Cuban women joined their brothers in struggle to topple Batista, there was virtually no active women's movement as such in Cuba, or for that matter in the United States. In the 60's and 70's when Nicaraguan women participated in their Revolution, the strength of women's struggles made a great deal of difference. I'd first like to talk about Cuban women.

Cuba, before 1959, before the victory of the Cuban revolution, was not much more than a sort of house of pleasure for U.S. businessmen and U.S. marines. There was a nightclub in Havana called the Tropicana with its own private airstrip -- U.S. magnates came down and used that nightclub and the people in it, essentially the women in it and the women on the streets of Havana and the women on the streets of other Cuban cities, pretty much at their whim and will.

Cuba was, economically speaking, a one crop economy -- sugar -- dependent almost entirely on the United States in terms of trade, and the whole country was very much colored by that unequal relationship. This had a specific meaning to Cuban women. Only about 9% of Cuban women were involved in the active labor force and included in that statistic were 70,000 domestic servants and some 100,000 prostitutes -- those who could be counted -- of course. There were many who couldn't be. Most of the other women in Cuba who worked had either very low-level jobs as employees of department stores or they ran elevators. Perhaps they worked in some of the factories, a little bit in textiles, a little bit in tobacco. They had the worst paying jobs: no services, no daycare. That was basically the picture. The Cuban people were badly off, and of course when that is the case, women are always in an even

worse situation, bearing the double burden of their poverty and their gender.

Cuban women took part in the Revolution in a very widespread way, but not in a very powerful way in terms of decision-making, although there were women like Vilma Espín, Hydée Santa Maria, Margaret Hernández, or Celia Sanchez, and others who were at the forefront of the 26th of July movement. Women like Vilma Espín, in fact, became leaders of the movement of the province Oriente during the last two months of the war. This was a small battalion fighting in the mountains, numbering 11 women before the war ended and several hundred afterwards. They wanted to be construction workers of a sort instead of fighters. There were many, many women in the mountains who were working as nurses, as teachers in the liberated zones, doing literacy work; women who were sewing uniforms and arm bands, who were doing underground work carrying messages. But as I say, there was not a large number of women in the leadership of the Cuban movement. So when the Cuban movement came to victory in 1959, it was a liberating force for women. The 26th of July Movement and the Communist Party of Cuba which grew out of it were committed to equality for women, and in fact did some very concrete things to better the situation for women in Cuba.

Education was opened up to women in a vast sort of way. It didn't take more than four or five years for large numbers of women to begin to go into some of the areas that had previously been almost off-limits to them, areas such as engineering, architecture, and medicine. The percentages of women in those fields rose very quickly: six to seven years after the Revolution some 50% of the graduating physicians were women, so in that area the movement was very swift.

The Cuban Revolution declared itself Socialist soon after the triumph of the movement in April of 1961. Many members of the upper classes and even some members of the more aristocratic sectors of the working class left Cuba for economic reasons. Many jobs opened up

which could be taken by newly educated women. The Cubans were able to direct some of their energies towards the problems of the two most exploited sectors of women, prostitutes and domestic servants. Most of Havana had been owned by the American crime syndicate (George Raft, Meyer Lansky) who owned the casinos and the big hotels. After the Revolution some of the "high class" prostitutes went off with them to the Bahamas or whatever was to become the next base for exploitation in the Caribbean. That left, of course, hundreds of thousands of poor women who had come to the city thinking perhaps they would be maids, and in one way or another, fell into prostitution as the only way to make a living to support their children. The new Cuban government was able to engineer plans which in a short period of time proved very successful in giving these women other options. These plans have a lot of anecdotes connected with them. I tell some of them in my first book about Cuban women, "Cuban Women Now."

The Cubans are the first to say that the people involved in these plans, in trying to make them work, were not sociologists or psychologists. They were completely untrained to do the work they were doing, but they had a lot of energy, a lot of love and a lot of drive to make life different, and this they essentially put into action. They made a lot of mistakes, but they did make life different and those plans were very successful. There was also a plan for domestic servants, which was underwritten by the Federation of Cuban Women, a mass organization started in August 1960 to which today about 80% of all women in Cuba over the age of 15 belong. If any of you have been to Cuba, then perhaps you have seen a hotel called the Hotel Nacional, a sort of very lovely old hotel by the sea. Two floors of that hotel were given over from 1960 to about 1965, to a school for domestic servants. Women would continue to work in the homes where they were employed, but they would ask permission to leave for two hours every night to go to school.

The Federation of Cuban Women would give them five pesos a month which

was just what they needed for carfare or for busfare, to get back and forth from these classes. They would learn basic reading and writing skills, basic arithmetic and then very quickly move into some of the fields that were left vacant by, as I said, the more aristocratic sectors of the working class who were leaving the country at that time. These included bank tellers, taxi drivers, secretaries and interpreters. The Federation of Cuban Women also directed some of its energies to really fundamental problems, social problems for women such as daycare. It opened the first thousand daycare centers and the first thousand directors of those daycare centers were former domestic servants. So that was part of what happened with those women.

By about 1965 there were hardly any women in Cuba, who had no option but to work as a servant in somebody's home. So the economic situation that existed in Cuba from 1959 through the mid-sixties, coupled with the commitment to women's equality made first by the 26th of July Movement and later the Communist Party, really did make a huge difference to women in Cuba.

I remember being in a hospital shortly after arriving in Cuba in 1969 and sort of asking everybody what they thought about life. I was experiencing life in a socialist country for the first time and I was very curious. I remember asking a woman who was cleaning the floor in my hospital room what the Revolution had meant to her, and she said, "Well, I got divorced and I married for love," and that was what the Revolution had meant to her. And basically what she was expressing was, of course, economic independence. The Cuban Communist Party shared the line of thought that was prevalent at that time and which to a certain extent is still prevalent in the world communist movement: that economic independence and economic equality can bring equality for women in general. So emphasis was on opening education to women, opening up jobs to women and the rest would take care of itself. There was not a lot of emphasis placed on the struggle against sexism. There was not a lot of emphasis placed on struggling against the remnants of the old mentality and the old



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ideology regarding women in society. Many of us felt that this was too bad and the Cubans themselves came to feel that it was a mistake, and that mistake sort of hit public opinion in the middle of 1974. I think it's very, very important to emphasize that women moved forward in many areas. I don't want to paint a picture of backwardsness in any sense, because when we look at women in a country like Cuba, I think it's very important not to compare them with women in a highly industrialized country, but to compare them with women in that same country, in Cuba, before the change in social structure. Certainly there's no question but that the Cuban Revolution was a very liberating force for all people in Cuba and very much so for women. But I think it's also important to see that there has to be a struggle against sexism at the same time as economic changes are taking place.

In 1974, the Cubans experimented with something they called "People's Power." They were beginning to feel that the Party in Cuba had too much administrative power and that it was necessary to evolve a form of government that would be representative, and that would give direct representation to the people--their needs, their ideas, their energies. And so for the first time since the Cuban Revolution, this thing called "People's Power" was attempted, first in a single province, the province of Matanzas, with the idea that it would be a pilot plan and would be attempted nation-wide the following year based on the lessons learned from the achievements and errors in Matanzas.

Every year the Cubans hold a huge celebration on the 26th of July, the greatest day of celebration in Cuba. It commemorates the attempt to take Moncada Barracks in 1953, an attempt which was a military failure, as you know, but which sparked off the whole last phase of the Cuban Revolution. So every year on the 26th of July, Fidel Castro speaks in a different part of Cuba and he usually chooses a place where something special has happened that year and addresses himself to whatever it is that has been going on there.

In 1974, he spoke in Matanzas and spoke about "People's Power" and people felt it had been a tremendous experience, a tremendous success in most ways, but after noting the successes involved, he pointed out the terrible picture of inequality the project had painted of women. What "People's Power" had been was a campaign at the lowest level, the neighborhood level, followed by the regional level, to be followed the next year by the national level, finally producing a national assembly of delegates freely and openly elected by people at each of those levels. The Matanzas experience showed that only 7% of the candidates had been women and when the final tallies were in, only 3% of the members of the Matanzas People's Assembly were women. This was a tremendous shock to the Cubans because they lived in a country, in a society, which they truly thought had made all of the changes, all of the sort of structural changes that needed to be made for women.

Before 1974, it was not common in Cuba to hear someone say, "There's discrimination against women in this

country." One might say, "Well, there's still a lot to be done," but there was still the sort of idea that "We're on the right track, there's still a lot to be done, it'll take a long time, but all we have to do is keep on moving along the way we're going."

On July 26th of 1974, Fidel Castro said to the people of Cuba, "There is discrimination against women in this country." He cited the example of Matanzas and said "We really have to wage a struggle here for women's equality; it must be led by women, that struggle, but we must all get involved in it and we're going to start doing something about it right now."

What they did was to send a multi-disciplinary commission to Matanzas to interview people there, especially women, and of course, what they came up with was something that is not particularly new, although it was new in terms of discussion in Cuba. What they found was that women who were involved in all kinds of social work, political work, women who worked in the streets, and also raised families, took care of their husbands, took care of their houses and did not want to be members of the People's Assembly because it was too much work.

They realized that they had to attack what we call "the second shift" in a way that they had not done before. This multi-disciplinary study produced a series of papers which then became obligatory study material across the island. People would study them in work places, in neighborhoods, in military units, in schools, in factories, and these discussions were extremely interesting. I was living in Cuba at the time, and the discussions took place on two levels; one was the more formal setting of a block committee or workplace or school. All the workers and students had presumably read the study material and would gather to have discussions.

One of the things they found in these formal discussions was that women needed to get together by themselves first, in the workplace, or in the neighborhood, or in the schools, because if not, they weren't going to feel free to really say what was on their minds. So that's what they began to do in more places one after another and later women and men would get together and the ensuing discussions were pretty heavy.

The more informal discussions were also pretty heavy and those were the ones that you heard on the streetcorner or in the supermarket line or on the bus where women for the first time could really speak their piece about things that perhaps had not surfaced in the history of the Revolution. Of course one of the reasons for this was that the Cubans had quite a bit to do just to keep their revolution afloat, with the blockade and the economic and military aggressions and so forth against the country.

So, it's not only a situation of faulting them somehow ideologically. There were priorities. Those priorities were real but the time came when the Cubans realized they had to do something about it, and I think they wasted a good deal of time by not doing something about it before then. That situation led to a number of changes in Cuban life and some of them were quite wonderful. The Family Code came out of that. The Family Code is a whole package of legislation regarding family life, family



Photo by Gregory Fox

obligations, the obligations of men and women to their children, children to their parents and so forth. The foremost clauses, - 26, 27 and 28, which are included in the marriage contract and read into the marriage ceremonies as well, cover the obligation that a man has to do 50% of the household work, 50% of childcare, and in fact, support his wife in making her situation equal to his in terms of a chance to study, a chance to better her professional education, a chance to make of her life what she as an individual wishes to make of it, instead of being trapped in a domestic situation which somehow never permits this.

The Family Code was very important in Cuba, and I think that the Code should be seen as even more important educationally than legally. Legally it's very important if you're a woman and you live in a country where you know that the state supports you in these kinds of rights. But practically speaking, who is going to take this man to court? It's usually the woman, and by the time she's ready to do that, the marriage is probably not on very steady ground. I don't want to give the impression that this law is being used in a very smooth way and that it has just sort of automatically changed things. So, I think its most powerful aspect is its educational aspect. It has however been used especially in places like Isle of Pines.

Isle of Pines is an island mostly settled by younger people who went there in the sixties to work the citrus plantations. Some remained there and raised families and have therefore been far away from the proverbial grandmother or aunt or uncle who could help take care of the kids. So the struggle is more severe in these family situations. In these cases, the law has been tested legally to a much higher degree and as a result women in these situations have made a big difference in Cuba.

Along with that kind of law came a kind of loosening up, not legally, but in terms of the sense of things in Cuba, in the

prevailing idea about a number of things, a sort of consciousness about women in advertising, a consciousness of some problems around the extreme homophobia that existed and still exists in Cuba.

The State's attitude towards homosexuality which although not really advanced, has changed a great deal for the better in Cuba since the mid-seventies. So, I think that there has been a struggle against many kinds of attitudes, some of them attacked legally, some of them attacked educationally, some of them attacked in other ways. But there's been a whole sort of reassessment in Cuba of the need for an on-going ideological struggle against sexism as opposed to the previous idea that economic freedom for women is all that is necessary.

The struggle goes on in Cuba, and although at this point in time the highest echelons of the Communist Party, the highest echelons of the State, of government, factories, industries, those kinds of things are still not very greatly peopled by women. There are each year more and more women in these positions and that seems to be something which is slowly improving.

Nicaragua is a very different kind of story. As I say, the Nicaraguan revolution came to power 20 years later. Most of the young people who were involved in building the FSLN, the revolutionary movement in Nicaragua, founded in 1959, were college students at that time. Many of them left Nicaragua to study. Some went to Mexico, Chile, or Venezuela. Some of them went to the United States and some to the European countries.

These people became familiar with much of the literature that started to come out at the beginning of the women's liberation movement in different places. This was very important for Nicaraguans because under Somoza's dictatorship there was an absolute clamp-down on literature of

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## Cuban and Nicaraguan Women

(cont. from previous page)

any kind, not just political literature. It was very hard to get even some of world literature in Nicaragua if it happened to be by someone like Dostoyevsky for example. There were jokes people told in Nicaragua about Russian novels not being allowed in, whereas Marx's Sacred Family was allowed in because it was thought to be a religious book.

Nicaragua is a very small country, very cut off from what we would consider the most ordinary trends in world thought, not just the most progressive trends. So it was important that these students who were to create this powerful movement, the FSLN, had contact with these lines of thought in other countries.

Nicaraguan women had their own history of struggle and a very important one, a wonderful one. When we first went to Nicaragua to write about Nicaraguan women, there wasn't much research material available at that time in the libraries or archives. There weren't many libraries or archives at all then in Nicaragua. One of the things we did find, however, when looking into pre-Columbian times in Latin America was that women were in control of commerce in two places on the isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico, which is now Nicaragua. I think that really is important; the economic importance that women have had in Nicaragua goes way back.

This does not mean that they have had high level jobs or that they have made adequate salaries, but it does mean they are used to going out and being paid for their labor, no matter how poorly, and that is very important.

In Sandino's war in the 1920's and 1930's, women took an amazingly active part. There were women like María Altamirano who headed guerilla camps. There were other women like Altamirano who fought in the war in a way that was not usual at that point in history, so there's that history too that the Nicaraguan women have.

The economic structure of Nicaragua, the way dependent capitalism developed in that country, produced what the Nicaraguans call a very high degree of paternal irresponsibility. Basically what that translates into is a man who will live with a woman -- married or not it doesn't really matter -- have a kid or two kids with her, move on to another woman, and keep moving on, leaving the respective women with these kids to fare for themselves. And so these women will go out and do whatever is necessary from prostitution to domestic service, to selling trinkets, to selling vegetables or fruit in the markets to support their children.

This isn't something only native to Nicaragua, of course. It is something you will recognize from many countries in the world, but it was very very prevalent, exceptionally prevalent in Nicaragua.

Many of the women who were involved in the revolutionary movement had gone to study in other countries or had been in

contact with feminist literature through comrades inside these countries and they began to struggle within their movement for their own equality as women.

By 1965-66 many women were involved because they were strong women who were interested in social change, who needed to get involved with that and had their own ideas about it and their own ideas about what their role as women should be in that social change.

There's also another element that was very, very important in Nicaragua and I think it has to do with Vatican II. Nicaragua is a very Catholic country and the tremendous revolution in the Catholic Church was happening in this period, so after Vatican II, the Christian movement in Nicaragua at a base level was tremendously strengthened. The women in that movement, interestingly, were less motivated to join the movement because they had a boyfriend or a brother or a father in it. They were more motivated to join it out of their Christian faith, a very strong motivating force for strong women getting into the revolutionary movement, and demanding a certain kind of equality for themselves within that movement. By the late 60s and early 70s in Nicaragua, there were women in tremendous roles of leadership within the FSLN who would participate in events like the take-over of the Chema Castillo home in December of 1974 or the take-over of the National Palace in August of 1978 where women were parts of those commandos in an absolutely essential way, not the people who went and staked out the place and drew the plans and carried the messages. They were members of the commando. They were the negotiators. They were involved at a military level, at a political level. Then, you have situations like that at the end of the war, with the liberation of the city of Leon, the second largest city in the country, and the first free territory in Nicaragua. It was very, very important at the end of the war, as it was the place where the new revolutionary government was actually able to go and physically install itself. That city was liberated by Dora María Téllez, who was a commander in the war, one of a number of women commanders. In fact, her high command consisted of seven people, five of them women. Women like Mónica Baltodano, like Lea Guido, like Dora María Téllez, Doris Tijerino. The list is very, very long of women who were right up there doing what their brothers and lovers and so forth were doing in terms of winning the war. When the war was over, a very, very large percentage of the leadership was female. Thirty percent of the liberating army were women. When the FSLN National Assembly, which, if it were a party, would be tantamount to the Central Committee of that party, started out 22 percent women. It's higher today, but placing yourself in a Latin American context, placing yourself in the context of a country like Nicaragua, that kind of percentage at the end of a war is really quite startling.

The Nicaraguans did some pretty amazing things when the war ended. The first decree by the new government was the abolition of capital punishment. The second decree was the abolition of the use of women's bodies for commercial purposes,

something that was simply decreed by the new government without even going to AMNLAE, which is the women's organization in Nicaragua. AMNLAE existed, but it was actually the government itself which thought the second decree important enough to make it the second. It was in homage to women and the role they had played in the struggle there.

Unfortunately in Nicaragua, although the ideological struggle is sharper and there was more consciousness from the very beginning that the struggle against women's inequality had to be staged at an ideological level. The economic situation is much worse than it was in Cuba and so you have a very high degree of unemployment. It's very difficult for the Nicaraguans to do some of the things the Cubans were able to do because they simply don't have the economic situation in which to do it and of course today with the Contra war it gets worse and worse -- one of the many reasons why it's so important to stop this madness that we are supporting or that our government is supporting. And I'll just give you two examples that I gave when speaking about Cuba, the examples of domestic servants and prostitutes.

The Nicaraguans would not have been able to open the kinds of schools that the Cubans opened for domestic servants because, sadly, there are no jobs for those women to go into. So what the Nicaraguans have chosen to do in terms of domestic service has been to strengthen a union of domestic servants and back these women in their struggle for a shorter working day, better salaries, better working conditions, fringe benefits which they previously didn't have at all. This has been working quite well in Nicaragua. There are unions for domestic servants all over the country; again, it's a less ambitious plan than the plan that was engineered in Cuba, because of the lack of jobs in Nicaragua. The same is true for prostitutes. There are a number of projects in Nicaragua where prostitutes have gotten together to learn new skills, things like sewing. They've opened up sewing cooperatives or dress-making establishments and crafts projects and those projects have managed to solve that problem for some numbers of women -- a small number compared to the number that really needs a large radical change in that area. Again, there's no way at this point in time of making a more radical effort due to the job situation. The Nicaraguans have managed to bring their unemployment rate down from about 40% at the end of the war to about 16%, but those were the figures I had when I left Nicaragua and I'm not even sure what they are now. They might be considerably higher considering the situation. One looks at Nicaragua today and feels that mere survival is heroism.

The Cuban Federation of Women remains an enormous organization which basically acts as a buffer, a conduit for women to make their needs known to government, to the State, to the Party, and also in the other direction; the kinds of things the State and Party are doing for women come down through that conduit and reach women in that way.

The Nicaraguans, at one point, at the very beginning of the Revolution, thought they would adopt a similar kind of model

for AMNLAE, the women's organization in Nicaragua, and used that model for about a year, involving large numbers of women. At an assessment assembly at the end of that year they felt that this model was not good for them, that it worked well in Cuba, but they needed something else. They felt that women were duplicating the efforts of other mass organizations and so radically changed their view of the women's movement from a mass organization to small nuclei of women in workplaces and schools, peasant-bases wherever they may be. They felt that women's issues are different depending on where women are and what they are confronting. The new model they are now following seems to be working better for them in terms of their women's organization.

The Cubans have managed to move much more quickly in terms of reproductive rights and health care as well. I think that again has to do with the situation of the Church. The Catholic Church was never terribly important in Cuba. It was not the church of working people. It was more the church of the petit bourgeoisie, and it was also a pre-Vatican II church, a church that for many years, until recently, was virtually separated from the revolutionary movement and also antagonistic toward it. The Cubans were able to evolve large programs of educational projects for women: health care and birth control. Abortion was legalized a couple of years after the Revolution; it's treated as any other health problem is treated in Cuba. It's free. It's very well attended. There's a great deal of information out concerning all these areas, so that this aspect of life for women is quite advanced in Cuba.

In Nicaragua there's going to be a little trouble with that. Abortion is still illegal. It is anticipated as part of a certain Nicaraguan Family Code. That part has not been touched on yet. There will be, of course, a great deal of opposition from the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. While the base-level membership of Catholics in Nicaragua is predominantly very much in support of the Revolution, as most of you probably know, the hierarchy is very much in the other camp, so that's a problem that's going to be very specifically different in Nicaragua for that reason.

So these countries have their particularities in line with their own cultures, their own history, their particular national life. This is briefly then, a sort of picture of what these two rather revolutionary changes have meant for women in these two countries.

*Ms. Randall is currently at the center of a controversy regarding her residency in this country. Born and raised in the U.S., Randall was denied residency in October of last year because of her writings and for having lived in Cuba and Nicaragua.*

*She is married to a U.S. citizen, and her parents and brothers are citizens. The U.S. government's case is based on the McCarran-Walters Act of 1952, which was passed over President Truman's veto during the McCarthy era. A decision on Randall's deportation is pending.*



# "BOOKS, BOOKS, BOOKS."

It was not that I read so many. I read and reread the same ones. But all of them were necessary to me. Their presence, their smell, the letters of their titles and the texture of their leather bindings.

After all these years, I have only to shut my eyes to see



once more those walls faced with books. In those days I could find them in the dark. I never took a lamp when I went at night to choose one, it was enough to feel my way, as though on the keyboard of a piano, along the shelves."

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*Colette, My Mother's House*

## Women, Power and Politics

(continued from page 9)

the very characteristics that are not functional for success in the world as it is. They are, however, the qualities necessary for making the world different. The challenge is to learn to make appropriate use of conflict as we move from the one state to the other.

Does conflict mean seeing the "Other" as enemy? I feel strongly that it does not. The conduct of conflict does not have to be the way it has been. There can be other ways of conducting conflict than by creating an enemy. As women, we have much we can learn from men we may have considered to be "over against us." Men can help us learn the political systems and realities. We can help men learn that men don't lose when women win. Men can teach us that we can argue about the rules and still play the game. Women can teach men that no game is worth the destruction of one human life. Also, there are dedicated, caring men in our own midst who can teach us much about peace. What we could learn from each other if only we would!

I believe that we're inextricably together in this struggle for peace, and for the long haul. I also believe that we owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to millions of women who have gone before: the abolitionists, the suffragettes, the settlement house workers, all the caregivers,

the educators and nurses, the social workers, the lowly party workers (the stickers and lickers!), the volunteers and the early women's rights workers. I think their long struggles and disappointments need to be benchmarks for us. I think we have to be prepared to make deep, painful sacrifices like they did, take greater risks, give up more if we really believe disarmament is the most important work we can do right now. I'm afraid that women as a group don't have the sense of righteous indignation and moral responsibility those early women had. In this apathetic and affluent society, it is too easy to become self-indulgent, internalizing the male image of us as not particularly serious people, people who don't understand "Afghanistan" and "throw-weight", people who have made cosmetics one of the nation's largest industries. In our efforts to attain what men have, we have engaged in

self-destructive behaviours. We smoke more, we drink more, and we have more high blood pressure and ulcers.

While there is so much more to learn and so many skills we need to cultivate, we still need to speak out more about what we know really counts. We need to organize and act forcefully together. We need to continue agitating for political power and insisting that those who currently have political power use it responsibly.

One day, as I staggered to the check-out counter at the library with a stack of books on women and politics, a very nice older woman at the counter couldn't help but comment on my having so many books on this theme. She told me she deeply believed that because women were the more emotional sex, that this rendered them vulnerable and that what all women in their heart-of-hearts really wanted was not

political power, but to be able to look up to a strong man who would take care of them and protect them. I think that that's not what a woman wants, that's what a child wants. That's what the child in all of us wants, to be protected and taken care of. Because we're all basically afraid, afraid of who we are and who the other person is, afraid to trust, to reveal ourselves. This is so transparently true on the global level. And so the child in all of us sits trembling behind an increasingly grotesque barricade of deadly weapons, hoping that the other, the enemy, won't strike first or won't call our bluff.

Truly, we must all grow up quickly and recognize and recognize that there is no ultimate safety net, or total freedom from risk, and that every effort we make toward that end takes us one step closer to alienation and destruction. There is no other choice but what all mature people finally must recognize, the necessity to open oneself (and one's nation) to another, to see one's humanity in another and so realize that to threaten that other is to threaten the very essence of oneself. And since life really seeks life, I believe we can, if we so choose, live out peacefully what is left us of the millions of past years of an infinitely wondrous, miraculous and interconnected evolutionary destiny.

Sharon Singleton  
WAND General Meeting  
12-22-85

**We can learn almost anything when we have to. I don't feel that I've been particularly well prepared ahead of time for almost anything I've ever done, including being married, raising children and working with the chronically mentally ill. My MSW in policy and administration certainly didn't prepare me for working with schizophrenics. The important things in life I've learned to do because I've had to. Learning to be involved in politics isn't any different.**



# Food, Politics and Hunger

(continued from page one)

What I would like to do tonight is to focus on Central America. I think it is very appropriate given the news of the day. Has anyone heard? Was there a Senate vote?

Audience Member: "It did. It passed 53-47." (\$100 million for contras).

Well I guess that's no big surprise. I think it is quite appropriate that tonight we focus on Central America and what I want to do is to ask you, how we could reach this point, how could our legislators be so utterly confused about the conflict, that even though, as reported by a Washington Post poll, only 28% of Americans support a policy of attempting to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, still we are letting it happen. Why? How did we reach this point? This is the challenge of my talk tonight, to try to answer this question.

I think we have to start by understanding that regularly, often in invisible ways, we are made to identify not with the majority of people in the third world but with a minority of privileged people. They may look more like us. They may dress more like we do. They may even speak English, because they are educated in the United States, but they are a group whose interests are very different from yours and mine. How does this process take place in which we are made to identify our interests with a privileged minority in the third world? There are many ways and I just brought one extreme example with me of how this takes place.

This is an excerpt from a book, a textbook on Central America written in the early 1970s that has been used in classrooms. In its chapter on Nicaragua, I think it is very telling how Nicaragua is presented. Who are we made to identify with? Briefly, I will quote from this chapter. By the way, the title of this chapter is "Nicaragua where the sun always shines:"

"Up on a hill, not very far from the Presidential Palace, the air-conditioned countryclub with its bowling alleys and cocktail lounge, its palms and flood-lit swimming pool smiles down on the city. Inside the club, people are talking a mile a minute about taxes, business, cotton or cows, about progress.

The book then goes on to talk about the history of the area. It mentions that the North Americans arrived to bring the idea of material advance to Nicaragua, and in talking about the repeated interventions of the U.S. government by the United States Marines, it says that the effect they had was

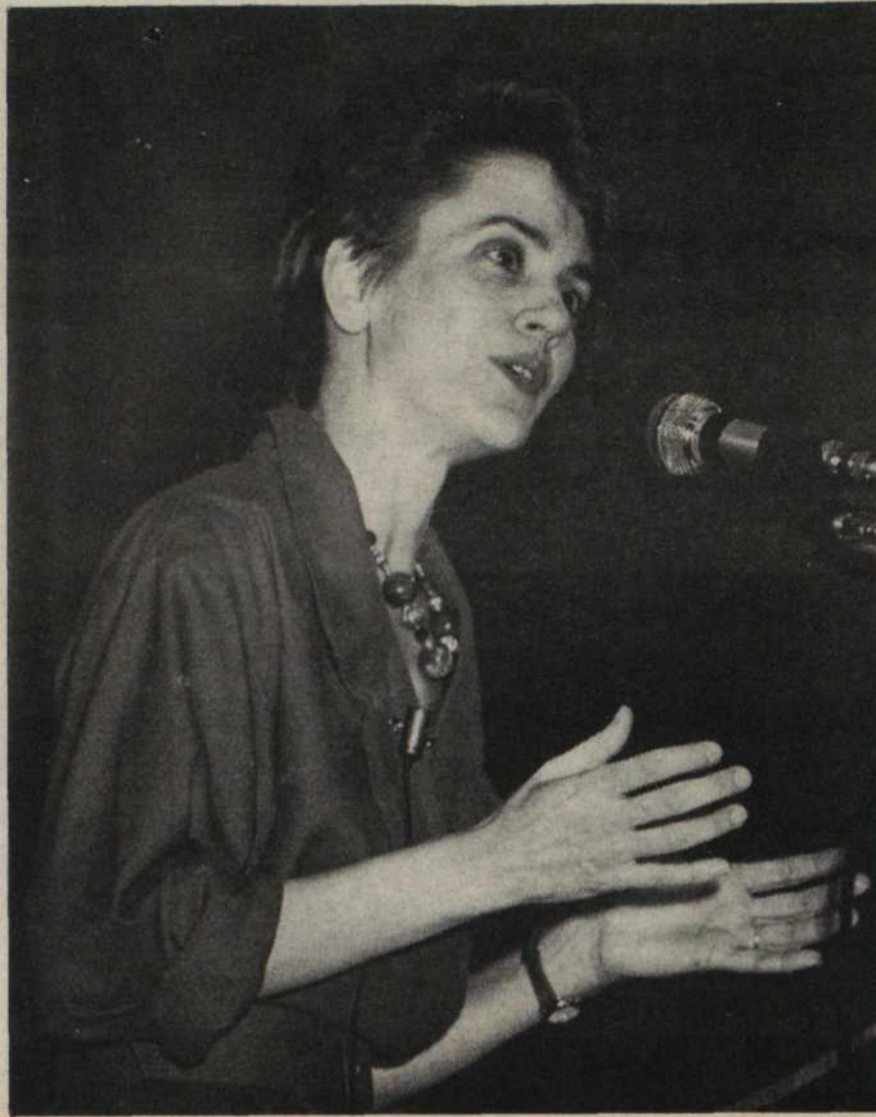


Photo by Gregory Fox

to prevent conflict between parties from deteriorating into an all out civil war. In other words, we saved Nicaragua from a worse fate. The book goes on to say that stability and unity came to the country under the stewardship of Anastasio Somoza. It goes on to say that under his younger brother who continued to rule the "Somoza way"--peace and progress by persuasion if possible, by compulsion if necessary--Nicaragua has advanced. Anyway, it goes on, but I think you get my point, that through many many ways, and this is only an extreme form of something that is quite common, we are made to identify not with people who share our interests, but with people whose interests are very much opposed to yours and mine. Now for that reason, average Americans are totally mystified when aid channelled through these groups--billions of dollars of aid--fails not only to alleviate hunger, but even to make friends for us. Since the early 1960s, although there have been 6-7 billion dollars of American economic aid funneled into Central America, at the same time hunger has deepened in the region. The reason we don't make the connection--"we", I'm using here as the very general "we" of the American people--is that we don't realize that these two different groups, those that are referred to in this chapter, and the vast majority of people that are invisible to the woman who wrote this book, hold very different definitions of development; and aid passed through one group will result in one outcome. It is that that we must understand.

I'd like you to do a little thought experiment with me right now to clarify this for ourselves and for those whom we reach out to and communicate with--that development is not one thing, but very

different things to different people. Pretend, for example, that you are a small, very poor peasant in, say, rural Honduras, rural El Salvador. What does development mean to you? It seems that if we think about it for a minute, we would agree on certain things that development would undoubtedly mean. It would mean more land for our families, growing basic foods so that we could feed ourselves. It would mean higher wages, if we were working for others. In terms of education, it would mean more schools in the countryside, so that for the first time our children could attend school. In health care it would mean more clinics in the countryside, so that our children would not have to die any longer of simple childhood diseases. In terms of the use of foreign exchange in the country, it would mean foreign exchange used to import the basic tools of development, even the most simple things like chicken wire or hoes that weren't produced locally. This is what development would mean. It would be our definition.

Now, let's shift. Let's pretend that we live in Tegucigalpa or we live in San Salvador or another major city and we run a distribution firm distributing agricultural machinery for a multinational corporation. What is our definition of development? Certainly in terms of let's say, education, it would not mean more schools in the countryside. In fact, you probably wouldn't be too concerned about schools because you would intend to send your children to the United States to school. In terms of health care, it wouldn't be more clinics in the countryside. It would be a new hospital in the capital city, so that your children could get state of the art medical attention in case of need. In terms of the use of foreign exchange, it wouldn't mean importing the basic tools of development. It

would mean importing television sets or it might mean importing machinery that you'd then sell to the largest landholders in the country.

What I'm suggesting here is an experiment to help people understand that development is not one thing and development assistance, economic aid if channeled as it has been, particularly in Central America, but also in other parts of the world, through the privileged elite with their definition of development, will often further impoverish the majority of the people. So, it's with this beginning understanding that we must go a little bit farther, to help people understand how it is that our interests are not with the privileged group, that our interests truly are with the majority.

I think it's important to address the fact that we have legitimate interests. What are they and how are they in common with the vast majority of people living in the Third World? I think it's worth our time to just go through the list. What legitimate interests do we share with the majority in the Third World?

First, and most obvious, our interest in peace and stability. Peace cannot exist as long as there is hunger. I'll never forget a Nicaraguan I met several years ago who said to me, "Yes, I stand for peace, but not peace with hunger." There can be no peace with hunger. So our interest is very much, if we want peace, to help to eliminate hunger.

Second, more specifically, our interests are definitely in the alleviation of poverty because poverty is a direct threat. Poverty in the Third World is a direct threat to the wages, to the income of average Americans. It's become more and more obvious as "capital flight" has become a household term. It is made very concrete, when Texas Instruments, for example, can set up a plant in El Salvador and pay people several dollars a day, that this is very much a direct threat to our very real and legitimate needs for a decent income here.

Third, we have a legitimate interest in prosperous trading partners which cannot exist where people, first of all, don't even have income to buy the basic food they need, much less other commodities that they could use.

Fourth, we have an interest, and I think a legitimate one, in an end to the exodus of people fleeing to our shores from areas where they are afraid, rightfully, of the political and economic repression in their own countries. I don't think this is xenophobic. I think it is a legitimate interest of Americans to say that we want people coming to our country who want to be here for positive reasons, not because they are coming out of fear of the regime in the country in which they live. This is a legitimate interest.

A fifth legitimate interest is that we have the respect of other countries in the world, particularly our allies. How can we have the respect of other nations as long as we continue the pattern of the last twenty years? We have contributed 27 billion dollars in economic and military support to military dictatorships. With this kind of foreign policy, there is a very real limit to the respect that we can expect.

I think that I would even add a sixth interest. It's a bit tongue-in-cheek, but I think there's reality to it too. I was reminded of this, actually, during the



Grenada invasion. Right after that there was a story in *The Wall Street Journal*, interviews with people in the street, and they interviewed a Joe Bedeela from New Jersey who touched upon another interest that you might identify as a legitimate American interest, or some people might. Mr. Bedeela said, quote, in reference to Grenada, he said, "The Carribean is a vacation spot. We spend millions of dollars there every year. People want to go there and be safe. You know you can't have something like these communists running around down there and making an airport and bringing all that kinds of stuff in and still have Americans go down there and feel comfortable." So, what Joe Bedeela touched upon is what I might call "recreational rights." We haven't put it into the Bill of Rights yet, but there's something to what he's talking about, and that is our right to be liked, our right to be comfortable when we're in another country, not to be hated. As I was reading this story in *The Wall Street Journal*, a friend who had organized a number of congressional delegations to Central America said to me: "Frankie, do you realize there's only one capital city in Central America where U.S. embassies allow congressional delegations to go around and not be enclosed in a bullet-proof car? Can you guess which capital city that is? Well, it's Managua." It occurred to me that what was making enemies for us was not the kind of changes going on in Nicaragua, but our support for governments that are repressing their own people. This is how we lose our vacation spots, so to speak.

I think these legitimate interests are worth reviewing. If we take them one-by-one we realize that they are absolutely identical to the interests of the vast majority in the Third World. There is no conflict between the interests of the vast majority of us and the vast majority of them.

Now, how do we make this leap of understanding? This is the challenge. Because, as I said in the beginning, we are encouraged in so many ways to identify with people who look like us instead of people who share our interests. How do we make this leap of understanding? We need a firm ground from which to see with new eyes. Over the years I've become convinced that the only ground firm enough to allow us to make this leap of understanding is value based. It is a clarification of our abiding moral values. What are they, and do they allow us to make this leap of imagination, this leap of compassion and understanding to identify with those who really share our common interests?

Tonight I'm going to talk about two of those: freedom and democracy. Absolutely inseparable values: freedom and democracy. Only if we re-think what we mean by these values will we be able to look with fresh eyes and know really where our own interests lie and to know how we can put ourselves on the side of hungry people.

So, let me do a little defining here. Freedom: I would say that, first of all, there are many definitions of freedom. The freedom I'm going to be talking about tonight is very different from freedom as it is understood by Ronald Reagan, who clarified his understanding of freedom several years ago when he told us that the great thing about America is that anyone is free to become a millionaire. That is one

definition of freedom. The definition of freedom that I'm talking about tonight is one based on a concept of choice, of having real choices. Choice is impossible without fundamental security, security of person. This means physical integrity of the person and the security of life itself. That is, what it takes to sustain life: food and shelter. Freedom then is impossible without physical security and without the protection of life itself--what philosopher Henry Shoe calls "subsistence rights," basic economic rights.

Democracy: often we in America get very confused about democracy. We tend to think of it as an institution rather than a principle. We get very mixed up between the two. The institution of voting, the institution of political parties is something that can serve the principle of democracy but they don't necessarily do that. We have to sort out the difference. I was reminded of this by a nun in Nicaragua several years ago. She told me at that time, "Do you realize that if political parties were really the definition of democracy that Guatemala would be the democratic capital of the world?", because there were 39 parties at the time. But the real line, I thought the real response, came from Julius Nyerere. I had the honor of sharing an evening with him once, several years ago, and we were, of course, pushing hard as I always try to do, and talking about the limits of a one party state in serving democracy. He said, "Well, you Americans, you have a one party state too. But, in your typical extravagant American way, you have two of them." So, I couldn't argue with Julius Nyerere. We need to be very careful when we define democracy not to define it in terms of institutions but in terms of basic principles. One, the accountability of leadership to the needs of the vast majority of citizens. This is my working definition. Now, what is required? Certain things then follow. Such a definition of democracy depends upon vehicles for the expression of these needs. First of all free speech, for example, and vehicles to make the leadership accountable. In other words, a way to get rid of them if they're not accountable. This is the core of democracy.

What I'd like to do is go back, then, to freedom and talk about it in light of the case study of Nicaragua, a country that is emerging from decades, even centuries, of great suffering for the majority of the people. I'd like to try to apply my definition of democracy to the changes that I have observed going on in Nicaragua and see what comes of this.

Well, remember that I said freedom first involved integrity of the person, freedom from terror. Certainly we're talking about freedom from a state of terror. I think that one can say without equivocation that Nicaraguans today are free from State terror, unlike most other people living in Central America today. You do not find Nicaraguan people afraid of their own police, afraid of their own army. In fact, I remember a story from one of my colleagues who was first in Nicaragua last year, in '84. She was standing in a bus line waiting for the bus to come. There was someone talking to her who realized that she was a U.S. citizen. He was going on and on to her about how there was no freedom in Nicaragua, about how it was a totalitarian country. The whole time that he

was telling her how wonderful it must be to live in America where there's freedom, there were two armed soldiers standing right next to him. Right in the middle, when he was talking about how there's no freedom at all in Nicaragua, he turned around and bummed a cigarette off one of the soldiers. So, I think that these people are not in terror of their own armed forces. The most striking thing about Nicaragua, however, in terms of the definition of freedom, is that unlike any other revolution that I have studied, they immediately abolished the death penalty. I think this is a very important point to remind people of. Not only did they abolish the death penalty, but there was no organized State retribution against those who had killed so many innocent Nicaraguans. In other words, they brought all the National Guardsmen to trial and, indeed, released several thousand, many of whom then went across the border and began forming the counter-revolution. I think this is very important.

Pursuing this question of integrity of the person, there have been more studies done of human rights in Nicaragua than in any other country in the hemisphere, I'm pretty sure. And there have been, and certainly the recent Amnesty International report documents this, abuses by the Nicaraguan government -- very specific instances of abuses of human rights that mar this record that I've talked about. But Amnesty International makes the point that, while the Contras, for example, and certainly other governments in Central America, show a pattern of human rights abuse, first of all more extensive than Nicaragua's--one characterized by being a pattern, a pattern that goes unpunished. Amnesty International pointed out that in Nicaragua's case, when military personnel carry out abuses, they are tried and imprisoned. There are several hundred serving sentences in Nicaragua for these abuses. This is a very different situation than exists in most of Central America today, where military personnel have gotten away with killing literally tens of thousands of people without even being brought to trial.

I want to move on, though, to another key part of what I said was necessary to the definition of freedom, and that is the right to the necessities of life itself. We cannot be free unless we can live and therefore that which is necessary to life itself must be incorporated into our understanding of freedom. So, I have placed, in my typology as I go through this, the agrarian reform process in Nicaragua under the heading of freedom precisely because it addresses this fundamental need to live, to have the land to feed your family, to live. Of all of the issues in the region, this is what we have focused on the most: the agrarian reform. Certainly we always sit up and take notice when any government says it is going to carry out a land reform. We have watched many reforms: the Phillipines, for example, called for a reform in 1972 and yet land concentration became worse and worse under the Marcos government. We always pay attention. In the Nicaraguan case, though, we had the privilege of coming down down from our book writing tower and out into the very difficult issue of, "What does it mean to deal with the real and limited choices open to a country undergoing very

(cont. on page 34)

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# CALENDAR

## To Publicize Calendar Events

Send press releases to:

AGENDA  
1209 Birk  
Ann Arbor, MI 48103  
Attention: Calendar

**Format:**

Date

Event, Sponsor

Time, Place, Telephone

Deadline: Fifteenth of  
the month prior to  
publication.

### Wednesday, April 30

**Deadline for children's artwork:** Washtenaw County Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament. Due date for May 11, Mother's Day Festival of Peace artwork. Send submission, with the theme, "Peace is....," to WAND, 1340 Wines, Ann Arbor, MI 48103. To have artwork picked up, call 769-9334.

**General meeting: Farm Labor Organizing Committee**  
5:45pm, Room 4318, Michigan Union, U-M, Ann Arbor. For information: 769-0027 or 764-1446.

**Beans and Rice Dinner: Central America Education/Action Committee**  
Donation, \$2 adults, \$1 children (6-12). 6-7:30 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe, Ann Arbor. For

information: 662-5189.

**General Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee**  
8 pm, Michigan Union, U-M, Ann Arbor. Stop at the information desk for room location.

### Thursday, May 1

**General Meeting: HAP-NICA**  
802 Monroe, Ann Arbor. For information: 761-7960.

**International Conference of Progressive Unionists: Industrial Workers of the World.**  
Five day conference (May 1-5), commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Haymarket incident and the campaign for the 8 hour day to be held in Chicago, Il. For information: 483-3478.

### Friday, May 2

**Peer Counselor Training: Women's Crisis Center**  
Training involves 30 hours over two weekends, a six month commitment and four hours per week after training. \$20 fee. For information: 761-9475.

### Saturday, May 3

**General Meeting: Coalition for Arms Control**  
9:30 am, 310 S. Ashley, Ann Arbor. For information: 663-4897.

**Alternative Commencement: Free South Africa Coordinating Committee**  
Commencement will honor Nelson Mandela. Plans are to have a well-known keynote speaker and a representative to accept an honorary degree in Mandela's stead. 10 am, Rackham Amphitheatre, U-M, Ann Arbor. For information: 971-7994 or 769-8549.

**Spring Gardening at Zen Buddhist Temple: Zen Buddhist Temple of Ann Arbor**  
Preparation and planting of the Temple's organic garden. Share skills, ask questions and bring tools if you can. Everyone welcome. A light lunch will be provided. 11 am-3 pm, 1214 Packard, Ann Arbor. For information: 761-6520.

**Demonstration against Star Wars Research: Campuses Against Weapons in Space**  
Demonstration at the graduation ceremony. 1 pm, front of Michigan Stadium, U-M, Ann Arbor. For information: 763-3241.

**Peace Pole Planting: Clonlara School**  
A 91 inch cedar pole, a universal symbol of peace that originated in Japan, will be planted and dedicated. Clonlara School, 1289 Jewett, Ann Arbor. For information: 769-4515.

### Sunday, May 4

**Fifteenth Annual Bike-a-Thon: Ecology Center**  
Bike-a-Thon to raise money for the Ecology Center's core programs. For information: 761-3186.

**Interfaith Council for Peace Benefit: Children's concert by Trees.**

Tickets, \$2 per child, \$4 per adult donation. Performances 1:30 pm and 3:30 pm, the Ark Coffeehouse. For information: 663-1870.

**Positive Gay Identity Conference: Marygrove College (Detroit).**  
For information: 763-4186 or 863-7255.

**Sunday Service: Zen Buddhist Temple of Ann Arbor**  
Meditation, chanting, a talk, and

tea. 1214 Packard, Ann Arbor. For information: 761-6520.

### Monday, May 5

**General Meeting: South African Political Prisoner Bracelet Program**  
5 pm, 2501 Braeburn Circle, Ann Arbor. For information: 973-2016.

**Informal working meeting: Industrial Workers of the World**  
5:45 pm, 42 S. Summit, Ypsilanti. For information: 483-3478.

**General Meeting: Free South Africa Coordinating Committee**  
7 pm, Center for Afro-American and African Studies lounge, first floor, West Engineering Building, U-M, Ann Arbor. For information: 971-7994 or 769-8549.

### Tuesday, May 6

**General Meeting: AIDS Action Alliance of Ann Arbor**  
7 pm, Michigan League, U-M, Ann Arbor. The room number will be listed on main floor.

### Wednesday, May 7

**Beans and Rice Dinner: Central America Education/Action Committee**  
(See April 30) Spicy Chicano Pintos (FLOC beans).

**Committee Meeting: Interfaith Council for Peace-Hunger Task Force**  
7:30 pm, Pine Room, Wesley Foundation, 602 E. Huron, Ann Arbor. For information: 663-1870.

**General Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee**  
(See April 30)

**General Meeting: Farm Labor Organizing Committee**  
(See April 30)

### Thursday, May 8

**Scrap Box Open House: Ecology Center.**  
Open house of organization that reuses many kinds of industrial and household discards. For information: 994-4420.

### Friday, May 9

**Gay Coffee Night: Gay Liberation**  
Socialize and relax. No charge. 8-11 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe, Ann Arbor. For information: 763-4186

Your support of Agenda through a pre-paid subscription is crucial to the newspaper's survival. It will insure that at least one-half of the papers will be distributed for free to the general public every month, and that the community organizations covered in Agenda will continue to grow and work for all of us.

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**Saturday, May 10**

**Free White Pine Tree Seedling Giveaway: Ecology Center.** Ecology Center's Recycling Station, 2050 S. Industrial Hwy., Ann Arbor. For information: 761-3186.

**General Meeting: Gray Panthers**

Work session and letter writing to political leaders. 2-4 pm, Ann Arbor Fire Station, second floor conference room, 107 N. Fifth Ave., Ann Arbor. For information: 663-0786.

**Talk on North American Zen Buddhism: Zen Buddhist Temple of Ann Arbor.**

History, philosophy and practice. 7-8 pm, 1214 Packard, Ann Arbor. For information: 761-6520.

**Sunday, May 11****Mother's Day Festival of Peace: Washtenaw County Women's Action for Disarmament, Inc.**

A reinstitution of the more authentic version of Mother's Day, originated by Julia Ward Howe, celebrating a day focused on Mothers and peace. 1-4 pm, West Park, Ann Arbor. For information: 761-1718.

**Sunday Service: Zen Buddhist Temple of Ann Arbor**

(See May 4)

**Monday, May 12****General Meeting: South African Political Prisoner Bracelet Program**

(See May 5)

**General Membership Meeting: Industrial Workers of the World.**

5:45 pm, 42 S. Summit, Ypsilanti. For information: 483-3478.

**General Meeting: Free South Africa Coordinating Committee**

(See May 5)

**Tenant Organizing Workshop: Ann Arbor Tenants Union**

How-to meeting for tenants interested for organizing with their neighbors. 7 pm, Tenants Union office, 4001 Michigan Union, U-M, Ann Arbor. For information: 763-6876.

**Organizational Meeting: World Hunger Education-Action Committee**

Meeting on "Tools for Peace and Justice Campaign." 7 pm, room 4202, Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor. For information: 663-4301.

**Wednesday, May 14**

**Beans and Rice Dinner: Central America Education/Action Committee** (See April 30) Split Pea and Cabbage - India Style.

**Speech by Jose Alas: Interfaith Council for Peace**  
Father Alas, a Salvadoran priest in exile, will speak about his work in El Salvador with Christian communities and Archbishop Oscar Romero, who was assassinated in 1980. He will also talk about what people of faith here can do in response to U.S. policy. A quesadilla and coffee reception will follow with Father Alas and the Celaya family, who live in Sanctuary at the Ann Arbor Friends Meeting. Free. All welcome. 7:30 pm; call the ICP office, 663-1870, for location of the event.

**Committee Meeting: Interfaith Council for Peace Land, Food and Justice**

Meeting on plans for the third annual farm tour in August. 7:30 pm, Pine Room, 602 E. Huron, Ann Arbor. For information: 663-1870.

**General Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee**

(See April 30)

**General Meeting: Farm Labor Organizing Committee**

(See April 30)

**Thursday, May 15****General Meeting: HAP-NICA**

(See May 1)

**Friday, May 16****Committee Meeting: Interfaith Council for Peace-Disarmament Working Group**

Discussion of nuclear testing moratorium and local response to the bombing of Libya. Noon-1 pm, Interfaith Office, 604 E. Huron, Ann Arbor. For information: 663-1870.

**Gay Pride Week Planning Meeting: GLORHYA2**

7 pm, Michigan League, rooms 4 and 5, U-M, Ann Arbor. For information: 763-4186.

**Saturday, May 17**

**General Meeting: Ann Arbor War Tax Dissidents/U.S. Peace Tax Fund**  
Brown bag lunch. Beverages

provided. All welcome. Noon to 3 pm, Pine Room, Wesley Foundation, 602 E. Huron, Ann Arbor. For information: 663-2655.

**Sunday, May 18**

**Sunday Service: Zen Buddhist Temple of Ann Arbor**  
(See May 4)

**Monday, May 19**

**General Meeting: South African Political Prisoner Bracelet Program**  
(See May 5)

**Informal working meeting: Industrial Workers of the World**

5:45 pm, 42 S. Summit, Ypsilanti. For information: 483-3478.

**General Meeting: Free South Africa Coordinating Committee**  
(See May 5)

**Marak Garztecki Speech: Industrial Workers of the World**

7:30 pm, 42 S. Summit, Ypsilanti. For information: 483-3478.

**Wednesday, May 21**

**Beans and Rice Dinner: Central America Education/Action Committee.**  
(See April 30) Tofu and Veggies with Peanut Sauce.

**General Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee**  
(See April 30)

**General Meeting: Farm Labor Organizing Committee**  
(See April 30)

**Friday, May 23**

**Gay Coffee Night: Gay Liberation**  
Socialize and relax. No charge. 8-11 pm, Guild House, 802 Monroe, Ann Arbor. For information: 763-4186.

**Sunday, May 25**

**Sunday Service: Zen Buddhist Temple of Ann Arbor**  
(See May 4)

**Monday, May 26**

**General Meeting: South African Political Prisoner Bracelet Program**  
(See May 5)

**Informal working meeting: Industrial Workers of the World**

5:45 pm, 42 S. Summit, Ypsilanti. For information: 483-3478.

**General Meeting: Free South Africa Coordinating Committee**  
(See May 5)

**Tuesday, May 27****Older Americans Month Celebration: Housing Bureau for Seniors**

Potluck lunch, followed by slide show and housing workshop. Bring a dish to pass. Noon lunch. Slide show 1-2:30 pm, Pittsfield Township Senior Center, 701 W. Ellsworth, Ann Arbor. For information and to register: 763-0970.

**Wednesday, May 28**

**Beans and Rice Dinner: Central America Education/Action Committee.**  
(See April 30) FLOC beans.

**General Meeting: Latin American Solidarity Committee**  
(See April 30)

**General Meeting: Farm Labor Organizing Committee**  
(See April 30)

**Thursday, May 29**

**General Meeting: HAP-NICA**  
(See May 1)

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# Government and Media Directory

The following clip and save piece is a listing of local, state and federal addresses and phone numbers you can use in making your views known to your representatives. It also includes advice and media source information.

## Communicating with Public Officials

**In Person:** Set up appointments by phone or mail. Most meetings of our representatives are open to the public, including committee meetings. Regular meetings have a time for audience participation.

**By Phone:** Offices often keep check lists of constituent opinion.

**By Wire:** Personal Opinion Messages may be sent to State and Federal representatives at a cost of \$4.45 for 20 words or less plus your name and address. Phone Western Union at (800) 325-6000.

**By Letter:** The League of Women Voters advises that you use correct titles, names and addresses, that you address only one issue per letter, that you time the letter to arrive when the issue is current and that you not forget to send letters of commendation when officials do things which meet your approval.

## Ann Arbor Mayor and City Council

### Mayor

Edward C. Pierce (D)  
c/o Mayor's Office  
100 N. Fifth Avenue  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
994-2766

### Ward I

Lowell Peterson (D)  
1594 Jones Drive  
Ann Arbor, MI 48105  
663-9069

Larry Hunter  
217 N. Division  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
485-4300

### Ward II

T. Richard Deem (R)  
1024 Greenhills Drive  
Ann Arbor, MI 48105  
663-6631

Seth Hirshorn  
3382 Bluett  
Ann Arbor, MI 48105  
663-9385

### Ward III

Jeff Epton  
1125 S. Forest  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
761-8283

Jeanette Middleton (R)  
1130 Fair Oaks Parkway  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
663-4723

### Ward IV

Larry Hahn (R)  
2380 S. Seventh Street  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
769-8520

Gerald D. Jernigan (R)  
3252 Alpine Drive  
Ann Arbor, MI 48105  
764-8216

### Ward V

Doris Preston (D)  
1731 Fair Street  
Ann Arbor, MI 48103  
663-6321

Kathy Edgren (D)  
606 Linda Vista  
Ann Arbor, MI 48103  
995-9437

## Governor and State Representatives

Governor James  
Blanchard (D)  
The Capitol, P.O. Box  
30010  
Lansing MI 48909  
(517) 373-3400

Senator Lana Pollack (D)  
18th Senatorial District  
State Senate, Box 30036  
Lansing MI 48909  
(517) 373-2406  
or  
2065 Columbia Avenue  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
663-9151 or 668-6066

State Representative  
Perry Bullard (D)  
53rd House District  
House of Reps.  
State Capitol  
Lansing MI 48909  
(517) 373-2577  
or  
1220 Pontiac Trail  
Ann Arbor MI 48105  
761-9543

## President and Federal Representatives

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington D.C. 20500

U.S. Senator Carl Levin  
(D)  
140 Russell Senate  
Office Building  
Washington D.C. 20510  
or  
1860 McNamara Building  
477 Michigan Avenue  
Detroit, MI 48226  
226-6020

U.S. Senator Donald W.  
Riegle (D)  
Dirksen Senate Office  
Building  
Washington D.C. 20510  
or  
477 Michigan Avenue,  
18th Floor  
Detroit, MI 48226  
226-3188

U.S. Representative, 2nd  
District  
Carl D. Pursell (R)  
1414 Longworth Building  
Washington D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-4401  
or  
361 W. Eisenhower  
Parkway  
Ann Arbor MI 48104  
761-7727

## Via Local Media:

Agenda  
Letters, Agenda  
1209 Birk Street  
Ann Arbor MI 48103

Ann Arbor Observer  
Letters, Ann Arbor  
Observer  
206 S. Main  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
769-3175

The Michigan Daily  
Student Publication  
Building  
420 Maynard Street  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
764-0552

Ann Arbor News  
P.O. Box 1147  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106  
994-6989

Ypsilanti Press  
20 E. Michigan  
Ypsilanti, MI 48197  
482-2000

Jackson Citizen Patriot  
214 S. Jackson Street  
Jackson, MI 49204  
(517) 787-2300

Plymouth Observer  
Suburban  
Communication Corp.  
36251 Schoolcraft Road  
Livonia, MI 48170

Community Crier  
821 Penniman  
Plymouth, MI 43210  
453-6900

The Metro Times  
800 David Whitney  
Building  
Detroit, MI 48226  
961-4060

Detroit News  
615 Lafayette Boulevard  
Detroit, MI 48231  
222-2300

Detroit Free Press  
321 W. Lafayette  
Detroit, MI 48231  
222-6400

WAAM  
4230 Packard Road  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
971-1600

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530 Student Activities  
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University of Michigan  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
763-3501

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King Hall  
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Ypsilanti, MI 48197  
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Southfield, MI 48037  
557-2000

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550 W. Lafayette  
Detroit, MI 48231  
222-0444

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20777 W. 10 Mile Road  
Southfield, MI 48037  
827-7777

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# Community Resource Directory

Agenda created the Community Resource Directory (CRD) in order to give Ann Arbor community organizations a forum in which to publicize their activities and to inform the public about what types of activities and resources are available to them locally.

What you read in the CRD was written by organization members, except for our minor edits. The length and format of the individual listings is reflective of the actual text given to us.

For last month's premier issue of Agenda, approximately fifty Ann Arbor-based organizations were asked to participate in the CRD. About half the groups contacted responded and appeared in April's CRD. This month we have nearly the same number of entries--a couple new listings and a couple deleted listings (due to missing the copy deadline).

There is a great diversity of grassroots organizations in Ann Arbor, as you will see by reading the CRD. And there are many more locally-based community groups than those that appear here. It is important to us that the CRD maintain this representative diversity, so we invite all Ann Arbor grassroots organizations to contact Agenda to find out how to go about being included. Our phone number is 996-8018.

CRD

Arts and Culture

## The Performance Network of Ann Arbor

408 W. Washington Street

Ann Arbor, MI 48103

663-0681

The Performance Network of Ann Arbor is a collectively-run, intimate theatre including shop, storage, and rehearsal space. It is designed to promote the production, presentation, and discussion of politically-committed and experimental theatre, literature, music, video, and cinema through a variety of means, such as workshops, screenings, installations, performances and critiques. The Performance Network of Ann Arbor is available to other arts organizations or individuals to rent at a nominal fee as a shop, workshop, or performance space. We provide resources to the community in the form of space and equipment: a 150-seat theatre with sound and lighting systems, expertise in arts management, outreach programming and education, and creativity in the various media. As our name implies, we function as a liaison for artists, political organizations and the community.

The Performance Network of Ann Arbor is committed to producing alternative work in all media of the arts as well as promoting the active involvement of all members of the community in the arts. To this end, we have housed a young people's theatre company, women's music concerts, an original symphony composed by local musicians, a multi-

(cont. on next page)



cultural theatre festival, a festival of Black independent cinema, a play which toured union locals, and other socially conscious theatre featuring post-performance discussions about social and cultural significance. In addition, our Works in Progress series produces new works by local writers and performers for

discussion and critique by actors, directors, writers and audiences. Besides fostering non-traditional artists and audiences in cinema, theatre, and music, we encourage the production and exhibition of innovative and archival work in video through our tape installations.

The Performance Network is located in a large industrial warehouse space, empty at the time the theatre began, and now itself a network of artists and craftspersons, collectively sharing materials, resources, talent and energy.

In the future, we will continue to present work which confronts crucial issues and develops new forms. We will enhance our workshops and thus encourage active participation in the arts by the community, breaking down the distinction between artist and audience.

## CRD

**The Ecology Center of Ann Arbor**  
417 Detroit Street  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
761-3186

### Statement of Purpose

Environmental issues are manifestations of many of society's most pressing problems, such as the need to manage our dwindling resource base more carefully and the question of how to respond to the pressure for rapid development of complex technologies. These issues range in scope from local to global, from preserving wilderness areas to revitalizing our urban centers. Solutions to these problems will only arise through examining and changing our institutions, our lifestyles, and our attitudes toward the human infrastructure and the environment.

The mission of the Ecology Center is to effectively channel community resources into meaningful action on environmental issues. The Ecology Center is therefore an organization that values diversity in its membership and has deep roots in the surrounding community. The Center offers a unique opportunity for individuals to contribute their time and effort toward a cause that is unquestionably vital.

The Center pursues its broad aims through numerous programs, each of which may have several components: education, advocacy, demonstration,

and service. In all of these programs, the Ecology Center maintains a balance between involvement at the local level and involvement on a broader scale, where these are clearly relevant to the interests of the Center's membership and the surrounding community.

### Meeting Times and Places

Meetings of Ecology Center committees and task forces, including an issues steering committee, pesticides task force, environmental education committee and others, take place at 3 to 5 week intervals, and new volunteers are invited. Informal orientation meetings with a staff person prior to involvement are usually scheduled.

### Membership Profile

The Ecology Center has over 2,000 member households, mostly in the Ann Arbor area. Members include over 150 businesses and approximately 200 volunteers. Membership rates are \$15 per household, \$5 for seniors. Regular volunteers receive a free membership. Member benefits include a year's subscription to *Ecology Reports*, the Center's monthly newsletter, environmental alerts on critical local issues, discounts on Center publications and merchandise, energy visits, voting rights to elect board members, and invitations to member activities. Sponsorships, bequests, and special contributions are welcomed.

### Organizational Structure

The Ecology Center is organized as a non-profit corporation with a board of directors to oversee the operations of the organization. Committees of the board (made up of community members, volunteers, and board members), citizen task forces, and staff at the Center all make recommendations to the Board of Directors on organizational issues. The staff of the Ecology Center are organized democratically, rather than hierarchically, with major decisions of the staff being made by the consensus of the staff. All staff receive the same rate of pay for their work.

Committees of the Board include: a recycling-incentives committee, a personnel committee, a committee on resources, an education committee, an issues steering committee, and a number of ad hoc committees. Current Board members include: president, Barbara Wykes, vice-president, Ken Ludwig, treasurer, Pat Corey, secretary, Susan Morrison, and staff representatives: Frances Bunch, Leroy Cappaert, Joyce Chesbrough, John Edgren, Jim Frey, and Nancy Stone.

The Ecology Center practices affirmative action for minorities, differently abled individuals, and others in its staff hirings.

### Community Services

Environmental information and

## ENVIRONMENT

Referral: Assistance by phone is available Monday through Friday, 9:30 am to 5:00 pm, and Saturday, 9:30 am to 1:00 pm.

Environmental Library and Resource Center: Over 2,000 books, hundreds of topical files, journals and curricula are available for public use, Monday through Friday, 1:00 pm to 5:00 pm and Saturday, 9:30 am to 1:00 pm.

Recycle Ann Arbor Monthly Curbside Pickups: The Center provides set-scheduled monthly pick ups of recyclables on every city street. Trucks pick up newspapers, glass, tin cans, aluminum, used motor oil and batteries. Call the Ecology Center to determine your pickup day.

Commercial Recycling Pickups: Special pickups may be arranged for local businesses and institutions wishing to recycle. Call the Ecology Center for further information.

Recycling Drop-Off Station: The Center also operates a drop-off station for nonresidents and those who just can't wait for their pickup day or have missed it. The station is open Fridays and Saturdays, 9:30 am to 4:30 pm.

Home Energy Works: The Center's Energy Team offers weatherization, energy education, and comprehensive audits to renters, homeowners, and property managers, and is available for community development contracts. Services are often free to low-income households. Call the Ecology Center to see if you qualify for a free home visit.

## CRD

**AIDS Action Alliance (A5)**  
c/o Human Sexuality Advocates Office  
3118 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
763-4186

AIDS Action Alliance (A5) is a non-profit, democratically organized group recognized by the student government of the University of Michigan. We are composed of interested students and staff members at U of M, and are open to members of the Ann Arbor/Washtenaw County community. Our goals are two-fold. First, to educate members of our community about AIDS. We have done this through workshop forums open to the public. Second, to be active

politically to guarantee the rights of people with AIDS (PWAs), ARC (AIDS-related complex), and positive HTLV-III tests, as well as gay men and lesbians who are coming under attack because of the misperception of AIDS as a "gay disease."

Future activities will include working to repeal a communicable disease policy approved by the Ann Arbor School Board, which allows for exclusion of a student or staff member "reasonably suspected" of having a communicable disease, including AIDS, ARC, or a positive HTLV-III test. (This policy is in opposition to the recommendations of the Centers for Disease Control, which states that people with AIDS should be allowed to work and attend school as long as they are physically capable of doing so.) We also hope to network with other political and educational groups in

the area and to make information on AIDS available to their memberships. We hope this networking will allow us to set up a series of small group rap discussions on issues pertaining to AIDS, as well as obtain community-wide support for sound public policy on issues raised by AIDS.

We will be meeting every other Tuesday, starting May 6, in the Michigan League at 7 pm. The room number will be available on a list on the main floor.

**Gay Liberation**  
c/o 4117 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
INFO: 763-4186  
HOTLINE: 662-1977

## GAY RIGHTS

### Statement of Purpose

To provide information, counseling, and related social services for people concerned about sexual orientation: (1) maintain Hotline for crisis intervention, peer counseling, referral; (2) help provide factual information to offset prejudice and misinformation about lesbians and gay men; (3) work to obtain human and civil rights for lesbians and gay men; (4) consult and cooperate with other community groups and agencies; (5) help other lesbian and gay male groups organize.

### Meetings and Membership

Our meetings vary according to purpose (counseling, education, etc.). Call for information. Our organization is made up of students, staff, U of M

(continued on next page)



faculty, and people from the larger community. Currently there are approximately 50 members.

### Organizational Structure

Gay Liberation has the Executive Offices of President, vice-president, secretary, treasurer. We also do a lot of work in Subcommittees: Counseling, Group Workers, Education Workers, and Civil Rights.

### Community Services

Hotline: Crisis intervention, peer

counseling, referral.

Education: Workshops on lesbian and gay male concerns, with an emphasis on how people in helping professions can work positively with lesbian and gay male clients.

Speakers Bureau: Call for information.

### Current News

Gay Liberation is helping plan Lesbian-Gay Pride Week, which is scheduled for June 21-28 in Ann Arbor. Anyone who would like to contribute

time, energy and talent, please call the group organizing alternative planning at 663-3514, or GLOHRYA2 (Gay-Lesbian Organization for Human Rights Ypsilanti/Ann Arbor) at 572-1779. Also, Gay Liberation is cooperating with groups responding to concerns about AIDS. These groups welcome helpers of any sexual orientation. For information, call Jim at 763-4186. We are making preparations for Hotline and groupwork training. If interested, please call Jim at 763-4186. We need sincere, talented, committed volunteers who feel positive about their gay orientation and possess good communication

skills.

### Coming Events

Sunday, May 4, "Positive Gay Identity Conference," Marygrove College, Detroit. Call 763-4186 or 863-7255 for information.

Friday, May 16: Pride Week Planning Meeting, sponsored by GLOHRYA2, 7 PM, Michigan League Rooms 4 and 5.

Memorial Day Weekend: Caving trip to Kentucky. For information, call David at 769-2443.

## CRD

### Ann Arbor Tenants Union (AATU)

4001 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
763-6876

#### Purpose

The AATU provides counseling, tenant organizing and advocacy, and educational activities designed to empower tenants. Most people in the Ann Arbor-Ypsilanti community are tenants, and in general, tenants are a rising percentage of the population in the United States. The "dream" of home ownership is over for most Americans who did not purchase a home before 1973 or who did not survive the foreclosure onslaught of the Reagan years.

Among the problems which tenants report to the AATU are high rents, discrimination (race, age, income, sex), shabby conditions, invasions of privacy, theft of security deposits, threats and intimidation, slow service, and rent increases.

AATU helps tenants deal with these housing and landlord problems as individuals and as organized tenants union locals.

#### Meetings and Membership

"How-to" meetings for tenants interested in organizing with their neighbors will be held on Monday, May

12, and Tuesday, May 27, at 7 pm in the TU office.

Memberships in the Tenants Union are \$7.50 for low-income renters and students, \$15 for working people, \$20 for house membership, and \$50 for sustainers.

AATU is a member organization of the National Tenants Union, the Ann Arbor Community Housing Coalition, the Michigan Ad-Hoc Committee on Housing, the Freedom Charter Coalition, and the National Low-Income Housing Commission.

#### Organizational Structure

Services are provided to individuals and groups through the central service operation located at 4001 Michigan Union.

Tenants who share common building/landlord problems with their neighbors can form local tenants unions at the site where they live in order to bargain collectively with the landlord. The AATU can provide assistance. Locals are the way neighbors get together--through newsletters, door-to-door outreach, and general meetings of all tenants. Members participate in committees (negotiating, newsletter, outreach, etc.) that do the tasks the local needs done.

#### Community Services

Phone counseling is available on Mondays from noon to 5 pm and on

Thursdays from 11 am to 4 pm.

Office counseling is available Wednesdays at 1 pm and 7 pm (other hours by appointment, please). Tenants attending a counseling session should bring photocopies of letters, leases, logs, photographs, etc.

The AATU publishes the booklets "How to Evict Your Landlord" (basic information on obtaining your tenants rights) and "Fight Back" (how-to manual for defending yourself from eviction). The AATU publishes other tenants-rights literature and is also gearing up for publication of a local newsletter called "InSite."

Back up services for tenants locals include research, graphics production, organizational and negotiating assistance, and networking with other tenants.

The AATU has a delegate on an Ann Arbor City Council committee that is revising the city housing code and proposing changes in bureaucratic policies. The final report from this committee is expected in the summer. Input from tenants is welcome.

#### Current News

AATU investigation of the city Housing Inspection Bureau (HIB) over the past year has led to substantive changes in bureaucratic behavior.

Among the changes are:

1. The bureaucracy has agreed to end its long practice of granting so-called "administrative variances" to

landlords. These "variances" were illegal, secret exemptions to the law granted to many landlords throughout town. Politically prominent landlords and campus addresses are prevalent among examples that have been uncovered.

2. The HIB will accept requests for inspections from tenants, as the law says, instead of discouraging tenants from using this city service by imposing improper requirements. The bureau will also stop informing landlords that tenants made complaints when the bureau is at the same time refusing to accept the tenants request for inspection.

3. The HIB will stop ignoring requests to enforce the city's Truth in Renting law, which says landlords must distribute the city-published "Rights and Duties of Tenants" booklet to tenants.

4. HIB officials will no longer order housing inspectors to ignore sections of the law in an attempt to void those sections at landlord request.

Substantiative changes have also occurred on the Housing Board of Appeals (HBA) which is a citizen's review board. In February, local landlord John Swisher, was forced to resign the HBA seat that he had occupied since 1979. AATU member Vickie Wilson was appointed to the vacant seat. To our knowledge, Wilson is the first active tenant to be appointed to the HBA. The AATU believes the next vacant HBA seat should be filled by a student tenant.

## CRD

### Gray Panthers of Huron Valley

1209 Island Drive #103  
Ann Arbor, MI 48105  
663-0786

#### Statement of Purpose

As advocates for social change, Gray Panthers initiate projects or work in coalition to promote peace efforts, a national health service, maintenance of

Social Security benefits for all ages, decent affordable housing, and many similar issues. Emphasis is on intergenerational involvement and cooperation; all ages need to work together for peace and security.

#### Meeting Times and Places

The second Saturday of each month, September through June (no July or August meetings), in the second floor conference room of the main Ann

Arbor Fire Station, at 107 North Fifth Avenue, from 2:00-4:00pm. The public is welcome. Meetings are open. (Monthly newsletter gives program for the upcoming meeting.)

#### Membership Profile

Seventy-plus paid members from different backgrounds and of varying ages, whose common denominator is a concern for abating social, political and economic injustice and oppression.

#### Organizational Structure

A steering committee, in which any member may participate at any meeting, does the planning, and determines actions, projects, and programs. It also establishes necessary financial and communications procedures. The consensus process applies. The committee meets twice a month.

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## INTERGENERATIONAL ISSUES



## Gray Panthers of Huron Valley

### Community Services

Advocacy at public meetings, presence at public rallies, aiding in petition drives. Individual members, either by training or background, serve in agencies dealing with housing, as counselors for assistance in Medicare and tax matters, in coalition with peace

groups, and similar efforts.

### Current News

The Covenant for a World Free of Nuclear Weapons, a campaign initiated by the local Gray Panthers chapter, now has 19 co-sponsoring Michigan organizations. It is also receiving wider national recognition and engendering growing interest. The Covenant concept calls for a boycott of consumer

goods produced by nuclear weapons manufacturers, along with divestiture of stock holdings in those firms. Which manufacturers and which products one wishes to boycott are individual decisions, but all cases also call for letters to those companies' presidents telling them of the action taken and why.

A kit has been prepared for purchase (to help fund the campaign) which covers all ramifications of the

effort, and is available for \$5.00. It includes, among other useful information, a Buyer's Guide listing of the 30 major nuclear firms, the consumer products they turn out, and alternative sources for those products.

### Coming Events

May 10--Monthly meeting, on planning for action. A work session, plus letterwriting to political leaders.

## CRD

## Industrial Workers of the World

### Southeastern Michigan

### General Membership

### Branch

42 S. Summit

Ypsilanti, MI 48197

483-3478

### Statement of Purpose

The I.W.W. Union advocates the ownership and control of all means of production and distribution by the working class. It promotes this purpose through workplace organizing and education. Tactically it differentiates itself from conventional unions through emphasis on direct action rather than reliance on the courts and government to achieve the ends of the working class.

In the short run, the I.W.W. helps workers organize for increased decision-making power in the workplace as well as improved wages and benefits.

### Meeting Times and Places

General membership meetings: Second Monday of every month, 5:45 pm, Room 4304 Michigan Union, 530 S. State, Ann Arbor. Informal working meetings every Monday, same time and place.

### Membership Profile

Area membership includes the majority of the employees at: American Speedy Printing, 525 E. Jefferson, Detroit; Ann Arbor Tenants' Union, in the Michigan Union; People's Warehouse, 727 W. Ellsworth; University Cellar, 341 E. Liberty; and several other workers, both employed and unemployed, homemakers and students who are in agreement with the Union's principles. The I.W.W. has approximately 110 members in this area. The initiation fee is \$5. Dues are \$5 per month for workers making more than \$300 per month, \$2 per month for anyone making less than \$300 per month.

### Organizational Structure

All officers of the I.W.W. are elected annually. Between annual conventions the business of the I.W.W. is conducted by a seven member board of directors. Its only paid official is the General Secretary-Treasurer. The General Membership Branch is an umbrella group for the Job Shops mentioned above plus members who do not work in I.W.W. shops. The General Membership Branch has a secretary-treasurer. I.W.W. shops have a lot of flexibility in determining their organizational structures. Most have a Branch secretary-treasurer, delegates

who are authorized to sign up new members and collect dues, and stewards who process grievances. All decisions are made through democratic processes.

### Community Services

Labor-organizing: Members of the I.W.W. are available to advise and assist anyone engaged in organizing which will promote worker control, regardless of whether the organizers ultimately desire affiliation with the I.W.W.

### Current News

We are presently promoting boycotts of:

Coors beer--for the racist, sexist, homophobic, anti-civil liberties, and anti-union policies, and attitudes of the owners.

Hormel meat products--Hundreds of Hormel workers in Minnesota have been on strike for several months to oppose a concessionary contract. The company refuses to negotiate. The workers have faced attacks from the police and national guard, and have been abandoned by their union, the United Food and Commercial Workers. The Hormel workers' only hope to bring Hormel back to the negotiations table is through economic pressure.

Shell Oil--For corporate policies which abet apartheid in South Africa.

## LABOR

### Coming Events

May 1 - 5: On the 100th anniversary of the Haymarket incident and the campaign for the eight hour day, the I.W.W. is sponsoring an international conference of progressive Unionists, to be held in Chicago. Unions and rank-and-file activists from Canada, Denmark, England, Japan, Poland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, the U.S., and Venezuela are currently expected to participate, with many others expressing strong interest in attending if circumstances and finances permit.

May 19: Marek Garzdecki, editor of "Voice of Solidarnosc," the London based information bulletin of the Polish Solidarnosc labor union in exile, will speak on the state of the labor movement in Poland. Solidarnosc is the Polish Union which excited the world by obtaining extensive freedom for Polish workers from 1980 until 1982 when it was forcibly suppressed by the government. It continues to function underground. Garzdecki was and remains an active participant in the continuing struggle for workers' liberation.

7:30 pm, Pendleton Room, Michigan Union

Admission is free, but donations to help cover Garzdecki's travel expenses will be greatly appreciated.

## CRD

## A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD Construction Brigade

802 Monroe

Ann Arbor, MI 48104

761-7960

### Statement of Purpose

The A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD Construction Brigade is a project of HAP-NICA and thus is oriented to the same general goals given under the HAP-NICA listing. A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD was organized for the specific purpose of carrying through to completion the construction of a structure to house a soil-testing laboratory at the Agriculture School of the Autonomous National University of Nicaragua. This lab will use equipment

donated by the Italian government and will do nutrient analysis of soils to help farmers make their land more productive and enable them to use fertilizers more effectively. A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD sees the soil-testing lab as crucial to their goal of self-sufficiency since so much of the Nicaraguan economy is agriculture based.

Important goals of the project are: Raising \$20-30,000 for the purchase of tools and materials.

Increasing community awareness of the realities of Nicaragua and how the U.S. is involved there.

Establishing ties between Ann Arbor and Managua as a local peace initiative.

Sending a broadly-based community group to Managua to do the

construction of the soil-testing laboratory. Experienced electricians, carpenters, plumbers, and masons will be needed for the brigade, as well as skilled and unskilled construction workers. The brigade will go to Nicaragua in mid-October, 1986 for 6 to 8 weeks.

### Community Services and Coming Events

At present, the A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD Construction Brigade is busy raising the funds it will take to construct the Nicaraguan soil laboratory. Fundraising activities range from selling T-shirts and buttons to contacting foundations for grants. This is hard work, but in light of the overall commitment the Brigade

has made to construct this facility it seems enjoyable. About one hundred people discovered this at the Brigade's last fundraising event, as of this writing, at East Quad's Halfway Inn. Hugh McGuinness and Jim Kirk, both local musicians, each sang and played a set of folk tunes, and then combined their talents in a third set for the world premier of this duet. Thanks to everyone who came and supported A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD that evening. The Brigade raised enough money to raise at least one wall of the laboratory in Managua, next October. Many other interesting and entertaining events are planned for the near future to make supporting A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD easy and enjoyable. Watch for these announcements. One such

## LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES



event will be the big bash the Brigade is planning for Saturday, July 19 to celebrate the anniversary of the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution which, among other things, enabled the agrarian reforms that A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD now seeks to complement by building this soil testing laboratory. Save your fireworks for this one!

Besides fundraising, the Brigade

has myriad other projects started to prepare for the construction of this building. Several new committees were formed within A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD including one dealing with tools and materials, another will be documenting the Brigade's work, and still another will be designing the building. The latter was made possible by acquiring the skills of some local designers with architectural experience.

They are Will Glover, Sabu Mahmood, Rich Ahern and Mark Schuler. The Design Committee invites input from any interested persons in the building trades and sciences.

Recruitment is another area the Brigade is focusing on now. There is an active search for people with building skills, Spanish fluency, and health care experience. Even if people from the

community cannot travel to Nicaragua with the Brigade, members are still needed for organizational and support work here. The Brigade has a slide-documentary on agriculture in revolutionary Nicaragua with a speaker available for presentation to community groups. Call, write, or visit one of A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD's 7:30 pm Sunday meetings at the Michigan Union.

## Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC)

c/o Margaret Reeves  
2142 Stone Dr  
Ann Arbor, MI 48105  
769-0027 or 764-1446

### Statement of Purpose

The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) is devoted to securing collective bargaining agreements between the Campbell Soup Company, the migrant farmworkers of the Midwest, and the growers. FLOC has just recently (February 21, 1986) suspended a seven year old boycott of Campbell's products on the condition that Campbell's

continues improving the deplorable working conditions of the Midwest's migrant farmworkers and facilitating unionization efforts.

### Meetings and Membership

The Ann Arbor chapter of FLOC meets every Wednesday at 5:45 pm in Room 4318 of the Michigan Union. Meetings usually last about one hour. There are currently seven active members of FLOC in Ann Arbor. Most are affiliated with other progressive political organizations on campus.

### Community Services

FLOC holds numerous benefits and bake sales, donating all proceeds to FLOC's headquarters in Toledo,

Ohio. In addition, the organization seeks to inform citizens about the plight of the migrant farmworkers.

### Current News

The big news from FLOC is the recently-announced suspension of the Campbell's boycott, following the signing of unprecedented collective bargaining agreements giving farmworkers a voice over their own affairs. Yes, all you ardent supporters of the boycott can now indulge in Campbell's soup, V-8 juice, Prego spaghetti sauce, ad infinitum. However, FLOC remains concerned with the future of collective bargaining agreements. The fight has just begun; the recently signed agreements cover only 600 workers in Ohio and Michigan.

FLOC shall continue to press for unionization and a recognition of all workers' basic rights, and, if for any reason Campbell's reneges on its pledge, the boycott will be reinstated. FLOC's next goal is to sign up more of the nearly 1 million agricultural workers in the U.S.

FLOC is currently pressuring other large companies, such as Heinz, to secure collective bargaining agreements with growers, farmworkers, and the companies. In addition, FLOC needs people to work in the food booth during the Ann Arbor Art Fair, July 23-26. For information, call Margaret Reeves at 769-0027 or 764-1446, or call Fran DuRivage at 763-1675 or 763-0130. The food booth has traditionally been both a successful fund-raiser and a great time.

## Humanitarian Assistance Project for Independent Agricultural Development in Nicaragua HAP-NICA

802 Monroe  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
761-7960

### Statement of Purpose

HAP-NICA is a non-profit organization conducting a national campaign of aid for Nicaraguan agriculture. We are affiliated with the Guild House Campus Ministry of Ann Arbor, an ecumenical ministry devoted to principles of human justice. HAP-NICA's aid to Nicaraguan agriculture takes three forms:

Material aid: This includes raising money for spare parts for farm

machinery, supplies such as seeds and fertilizer, and educational materials.

Technical assistance: We send professors to teach courses and consultants to offer advice and help design projects.

Research and Development: We cooperate with Nicaraguan scientists in developing sound agricultural practices.

### Organizational Structure

The various chapters across North America of HAP-NICA are currently relatively autonomous. As the founding chapter, Ann Arbor HAP-NICA continues to act as a clearinghouse, both for information on projects from Nicaragua and for contributions (tax-deductible) from across North America.

Ann Arbor HAP-NICA has a three-member steering committee which monitors the progress of various projects and prepares meeting agendas. Ongoing tasks are carried out by individuals or committees of

individuals.

The A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD Construction Brigade (see above) is an autonomous project of HAP-NICA with its own organizational structure and meeting schedule.

### Membership Profile

Ann Arbor membership now consists of about 10-20 people (not including the affiliated A<sup>2</sup>MISTAD Construction Brigade) who are both students and permanent Ann Arbor residents. Five members of Ann Arbor HAP-NICA are now in Nicaragua for an extended period giving technical and research assistance.

### Meeting Times and Places

General meetings are scheduled to coordinate these ongoing activities such as fundraising, bookkeeping, newsletter production, procurement and shipment of materials and money,

mail-order sales of our slide show and T-shirts, educational outreach, and speaking engagements. Meetings are held on alternate Thursdays at 5:30 pm at the Michigan Union. Committee meetings are scheduled informally between the general meetings. General meetings in May will be held on May 1, May 15 and May 29. Those interested in becoming involved are welcome to attend or to contact our office by phone at 761-7960.

### Current News

HAP-NICA has an excellent, professionally designed sound-and-slide show called "Seeds of Hope," produced by Joseph Pelava, which provides an introduction to the Nicaraguan revolution and the effects of the U.S.-sponsored war there, with particular reference to agriculture. It is available for showing along with speakers from HAP-NICA. There are also copies for rent or for sale.

## Latin American Solidarity Committee (LASC)

4120 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor MI 48109  
665-8438

### Statement of Purpose

LASC is a nonprofit group dedicated to supporting the legitimate aspirations of Latin American peoples to self-determination. Our goals are to

increase awareness here about contemporary realities in Latin America and the U.S. role in perpetuating these, and to pressure our government to change its military, political, and economic policies toward Latin America.

### Meeting and Membership

We meet every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. in the Michigan Union. Stop at the information desk for the room location. Occasionally we will meet nearby when rooms in the Union are unavailable; in this case the information desk at the

Union will tell you the building and room number. The latest information on meetings and events can also be obtained by calling the LASC office at 665-8438. The office is normally staffed from 12-2 pm on weekdays, and messages can be left on the answering machine at all other times.

Our members are students, faculty, staff, and members of the Ann Arbor community. Weekly meetings attract about 60-100 members. Sometimes we break up into discussion groups, since these are large meetings. It's a friendly group and a good number of

members often go out for beer after the meetings.

### Organizational Structure

LASC has four main committees: Fund-raising, publicity, newsletter, and outreach. Most of the work gets done in these committees or in temporary groups that form around particular events. So it's easy to get involved even if you can't make the Wednesday night meetings.

(continued on next page)



## Latin American Solidarity Committee

There is also a steering committee of five members, elected for staggered four month terms. They are responsible for making sure that things get done and making decisions that must be made between meetings. LASC is a very democratic organization, and since the steering committee has very little power, there are no power struggles or factions. Differences of opinion arise but most decisions end up being made by a consensus or something very close to it.

### Community Services

LASC sponsors educational events such as films and speakers. Our outreach committee also sends people to University or high school classes or any place else we're invited to talk about the issues. Our newsletter, La Palabra, is sent to about 800 subscribers and contains a summary of local activity, upcoming events, and some national and international news.

We also organize public demonstrations, such as the recent protest at our U.S. Representative Carl Purcell's office, in which 118 people were arrested for acts of non-violent civil disobedience (see article in this issue of *Agenda*).

### Recent LASC Events

In response to the United States' bombing of Libya, LASC helped organize a protest on the Diag at noon on April 16. Speakers included representatives from the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, the November 29th Committee for Palestine, and LASC.

About 100 protesters gathered in the cold rain as the speakers denounced the attack as well as the hypocrisy of the Reagan administration's supposed "fight against terrorism." Our government is currently supporting what is perhaps the largest terrorist force in the world--the Nicaraguan contras--as well as supplying the planes and bombs that are used to terrorize the civilian population of El Salvador.

LASC members felt that it was particularly important to protest the attack on Libya, since it presents a very menacing example of our government's brutality towards the people of Third World nations in general. The complete spinelessness of almost all of Congress, as well as the media, in going along with this senseless violence made it even more important that our voices be heard. U.S. Senators Don Riegle and Carl Levin from Michigan were

among those who appeared on the TV news the night of the bombing, praising the attack.

The Reagan administration has previously threatened to carry out "surgical air strikes" against Nicaragua if the Salvadoran guerillas were seen to be using anti-aircraft missiles against the U.S.-supplied air force. We can only speculate as to whether the attack on Libya was a trial run for such an action, or whether anyone would want to see Reagan's "irrefutable evidence" that Nicaragua has anything to do with what goes on in El Salvador.

LASC also organized a march of about 100 people on April 10 to protest U.S. aid to the Contras. The march proceeded from the Diag to the Federal Building. In keeping with their tradition, The Ann Arbor News did not report either of these two events. NBC News from Detroit (Channel 4) covered the April 16th protest, although it was eliminated from the 11 pm news and was so badly misrepresented (as a demonstration of "support for Khadafy") on the 6 pm news, that we are demanding a correction.

### Current Happenings

LASC will hold a demonstration as planned, along with other local peace groups, at

the Federal Building (Fifth and Liberty), the day after any form of aid to the contras is passed by the House. The demonstration will begin at 5:00 pm. However, it is not clear at this point when this might happen (we hope never!).

The vote on contra aid was postponed indefinitely after it was first tied to a 1.7 billion dollar spending bill which Reagan opposed. The House Republicans then decided to scuttle the contra aid package when it looked like all they could get was a "compromise" which would have required Reagan to negotiate with Nicaragua before all of the money was released. They hope to re-introduce the administration's proposal as a separate bill by May 12, but it is not clear that they will be able to do so. Even if they succeed, the bill would probably then have to go to the Senate, since it will most likely differ from the version that the Senate has already passed.

This temporary defeat of aid to the contras is a significant achievement and must be attributed to the organized efforts of solidarity groups across the country. LASC is currently considering the various options we can pursue to help defeat contra aid again. Stop by a meeting if you want to help or call us at 665-8438.

## Nicaragua Medical Aid Project (NMAP)

2007 Washtenaw

Ann Arbor, MI 48104

764-7442 or 769-1442

### Statement of Purpose

In January, 1984 a group of Ann Arbor people formed the Nicaragua Medical Aid Project to support the Nicaraguan government's efforts to improve the health of its people. Since the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, health care has been a fundamental commitment in Nicaragua. Dramatic changes occurred, especially for the 90% of the population which under Somoza received only 10% of health services. Nicaragua's efforts have been commended by the World Health Organization and UNICEF as a "model for primary health care in other Third World countries."

These advances are increasingly threatened by a combination of military aggression and economic pressure. U.S.-sponsored contras have specifically targeted medical supplies, buildings, and personnel. The murders of a West German and a French physician forced the withdrawal of all foreign health workers from the border. Contras destroyed 41 newly built rural house centers and a warehouse containing over a million dollars worth of medicine. U.S. economic sanctions, which imposed a trade embargo and cut off credit from international agencies, greatly increased Nicaragua's difficulty in obtaining medical supplies.

NMAP collects medical supplies and money to meet specific requests by health care facilities in Nicaragua. We believe that mobilizing public opinion against further funding of the contras, whether governmental or private, is as important as providing material aid. U.S. citizens who truly desire to benefit the Nicaraguan people must not only provide material support, but also work to reverse our government's policies which undermine the health and violate the human rights of Nicaragua's people.

### Meeting and Membership

Our meetings are informal. Meetings are small, held in homes. Work focuses on activities outside meetings. We get help from other organizations on specific projects. Call NMAP for times and places.

NMAP's membership is made up of public health and health care professionals, students, and concerned community people. Membership in NMAP (\$20/year regular, \$10 low income) includes subscription to LINKS, a national journal on Central American health rights.

### Community Services

In Nicaragua: Delivering requested medical supplies to the Hospital Infantil in Managua and to rural health centers...repairing microscopes throughout Nicaragua and providing spare parts...buying pharmaceuticals at 3% of cost through the Medicines for Central America Fund...sending emergency medical kits for use in war

zones and rural health posts...contributing to the purchase of generators for health care facilities needing electric power...supplying repair parts for U.S. made medical equipment.

In the United States: Speaking and showing slides about health care in Nicaragua...working with the National Central America Health Rights Network (NCAHRN) to coordinate our efforts with those of more than 50 local medical aid groups across the United States...participating in attempts to stop U.S. aggression against Nicaragua such as Ann Arbor's ballot Proposal A for Peace in Central America.

To host a speaker/slide presentation in your home, classroom, place of worship, club, etc., call Rev. Robert Hauert at 764-7442.

### Current News

Groups and individuals across the state have been busy this past month in final efforts to box up and label medical supplies and equipment for transport to Milwaukee, Wisconsin on April 25. They have all participated in CARAVAN, a medical aid project initiated by Midwest groups affiliated with the National Central America Health Rights Network (NCAHRN).

CARAVAN is being coordinated in Southeastern Michigan by NMAP. A 24-foot truck left Ann Arbor for Milwaukee on April 25. There it joined other vehicles with materials collected from Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois. This material aid was then loaded into a 20-ton shipping container which should

arrive in Nicaragua in June.

The following list catalogues items collected in Michigan for the CARAVAN project:

\* NMAP members collected about 1200 cubic feet of medical supplies and equipment valued at an estimated \$55,000.

\* Close to \$3,000 was donated to fund transport and shipping costs.

\* A local truck-packing union has donated labor.

\* Equipment and money have come from Detroit-area Central America solidarity groups, as well as groups and individuals in East Lansing, Adrian, Hillsdale, Flint, Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo.

\* In the Ann Arbor-Ypsilanti area donations have come from local hospitals, medical centers, private medical equipment supply houses and local clinics as well as private individuals.

Specific items donated include:

—200 boxes of miscellaneous medical supplies and equipment including children's vitamins, sutures, syringes, IV tubing, gauze, petri dishes, bandage material, walkers and crutches.

—2 kidney dialysis machines.

—EKG machines.

—40 intensive care unit heart monitor devices.

—an incubator.

—50 blood pressure measuring devices.

—stethoscopes from students at the U of M, WSU, and MSU to address a special request from the University of Nicaragua School of Medicine in León.



## CRD

## Ann Arbor War Tax Dissidents/U.S. Peace Tax Fund

c/o Mary Lou Kerwin  
1427 Broadway  
Ann Arbor, MI 48105  
662-2838

### Statement of Purpose

Ann Arbor War Tax Dissidents (AAWTD) works for passage of the U.S. Peace Tax Fund bill (a law permitting people morally opposed to war to have the military portion of their taxes allocated to peacemaking), and provides counseling and information resources for persons conscientiously

opposed to payment of war taxes.

### Meeting Time and Place

AAWTD generally meets the third Saturday of each month in the Pine Room of the Wesley Foundation, 602 East Huron, Ann Arbor. AAWTD is affiliated with the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee (NWTRCC) and with the National Campaign For a Peace Tax Fund (NCPTF). AAWTD is of an informal nature with a diverse membership and a volunteer coordinator.

### Community Services

AAWTD provides the community with a Speakers Bureau, workshops,

forums, information hotlines (contact appropriate number listed below), and Taxes for Peace (a slide show). For information, contact:

Mary Lou Kerwin at 662-2838 for general information about AAWTD.

David Bassett at 662-1373 about the U.S. Peace Tax Fund bill.

Fran Elliot at 663-2655 about war tax resistance.

### Current News and Events

The regular May meeting of Ann Arbor War Tax Dissidents will be in the Pine Room of the Wesley Foundation, 602 East Huron, Ann Arbor, from 12 noon to 3:00 pm, Saturday, May 17,

1986. Agenda:

(1) Report from David Bassett on the annual National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund Membership Meeting, Seminar, and Lobbying Day in Washington, D.C., status of Bill H.R. 3032, S.1468, and local lobbying strategies.

(2) Planning and arrangements for our booth at the Engineering Arch corner of the Ann Arbor Street Art Fair (July 23-26).

(3) War-tax resistance information, manuals and counseling available.

Brown bag lunch; beverages provided; all welcome. For information: 663-2655.

## Campuses Against Weapons in Space (CAWS)

4101 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
763-3241

### Meeting Times and Places

We are trying to set up a new schedule for the spring and summer. Anyone staying over this period, please contact Robyn at 662-8607 or 996-5973.

### Statement of Purpose

In April of 1985, the Division of Research and Development Administration (DRDA) advertised in the University Record for professors to submit Strategic Defense Initiative (S.D.I.) proposals to the government. Some students responded with a sit-in at the DRDA. They demanded that the University research the implications of the controversial "Star Wars" defense shield before making any official endorsement. Since these demands were left unmet, the students formed Campuses Against Weapons in Space in June of 1985. If the administration was unwilling to investigate S.D.I., we would!

Thus, CAWS organized the successful "S.D.I. and Universities Conference" in early October of 1985. Almost 1500 students, faculty, and concerned citizens came to hear such

renowned speakers as James Ineson, a Director of the S.D.I. Organization, and Edith Ballantyne, Secretary General of the Women's International League for Peace, debate the pros and cons of "Star Wars."

Since then, CAWS has been involved in many activities, including guerilla theater on the Diag, vigils, marches, and protests. Overall, our purpose is to educate the University and Ann Arbor community about the dangers of "Star Wars" and the general increasing militarization of our university and our nation. Moreover, our goal is to effect legislative change to decrease the possibility of nuclear war.

### Membership Profile

CAWS has a core membership of approximately fifteen people, which includes students, faculty, and staff from the University, as well as concerned Ann Arbor residents. Our meetings are informal, with decisions arrived at by consensus of the members. We have no executive offices. Instead, all members share equally in the work, responsibilities, and benefits. However, for our planned activities we are able to mobilize large numbers of supporters because of our affiliations with groups from the Freedom Charter (Latin American Solidarity Committee, Free South Africa Coordinating Committee), Campus Ministries, and other peace groups (Michigan Alliance for Disarmament and Beyond War).

### Community Services

Speakers from CAWS are available for any group upon request. We also have a hotline (763-3241) to answer questions during office hours (9 AM to 5 PM).

### Current News

Our main concern at present is the review of the guidelines on classified research at the University of Michigan. The current guidelines were enacted in 1972 in response to the Vietnam War. They are as follows:

1) "The University will not enter into or renew any agreement or contract, or accept any grant, the clearly foreseeable and probable result of which, or any specific purpose of which is to destroy human life or to incapacitate human beings."

2) "The University will not enter into or renew any agreement or contract, or accept any grant, that limits open publication of the results of research beyond one year."

However, in August of 1985, the University Regents passed a resolution calling for an executive committee to review the guidelines. In an *Ann Arbor News* article on July 8, 1985, Regent Roach stated: "Maybe we will discover that the guidelines are a product of their time and that they have outlived their usefulness."

In response to this threat to the guidelines, CAWS has continually

pressed the ad-hoc review committee to keep the present guidelines, as well as abolish all classified research, and all research, classified and unclassified, that is destructive to human life. We will continue to work towards these ends up to the time that the Regents make their decision, due either in late April or early next fall.

Included with our concern over the guidelines is the overall increasing militarization of our University. This is evident in Vice-President for Research Linda Wilson's pledge to double Department of Defense research at the University by 1990. Steps have already been taken in this direction. Currently, five S.D.I. projects are being performed at U of M, worth \$577 million. Still pending acceptance are proposals totaling another \$5 million. It is the opinion of CAWS that the University ceases to be a free functioning, independent institution for an unbiased education when it persists in allying itself to the government by becoming an appendage to its Defense Department. CAWS is working for a free University and a free society, free from government manipulation and militarization, and free from fear of nuclear war.

### Coming Events

CAWS is planning a demonstration against Star Wars research at the graduation ceremony on May 3. You do not need a ticket to join in the fun at the front of Michigan Stadium at 1 pm.

## SANE National Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy

1416 Hill Street  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
663-3913

### Statement of Goals and Policies

SANE's goals are the reversal of the nuclear arms race and conversion from a military to a civilian economy.

We condemn the nuclear arms race as a threat to the survival of humanity and urge sharp cutbacks and reductions of nuclear armaments. Our ultimate objective is the complete elimination of all nuclear war threats. To this end we support a bilateral United

States-Soviet Union nuclear weapons freeze as the first step toward strategic arms reduction agreements. We also urge the consideration of independent national initiatives to reduce tensions and lower nuclear arms stockpiles.

While SANE supports the need for a legitimate national defense, we oppose policies of increased military spending and overseas interventionism as a threat to world peace and a detriment to American security. We

urge a new, more peacefully oriented U.S. foreign policy and call for the elimination of support for corrupt foreign dictatorships. America should advance economic and political progress in the world, not militarism and repression.

We believe that national security rests as much on a strong economy and just society as on military preparedness. Excessive arms spending actually weakens civilian industry and



## CRD

## PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

## SANE National Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy

(cont. from previous page)

undermines our economic competitiveness in the world. We believe that conversion from military to civilian industry is essential for the economic well-being of America and its citizens. The millions of workers who now depend on the arms race for their livelihood should be entitled to job security through planned economic conversion. To this end SANE works with the International Association of Machinists and other unions to urge alternatives to the military budget and prepare plans for converting military facilities and workers to civilian purposes.

As a citizen's lobby, SANE promotes real democracy in U.S. foreign and military policy decision making. This country's state, defense and intelligence bureaucracies are rife with corruption and incompetence. They operate within a shroud of secrecy, removed from the concerns and needs of the country's citizens. If this is to change, the public must have accurate, unbiased information about foreign policy and legitimate defense needs. SANE is committed to providing such information to as many people as possible through a year-round national community outreach program. Since 1982 the organization's field representatives have contacted millions

of average citizens in towns and cities coast-to-coast. It is a top priority for SANE to expand this program.

### Meeting Time and Places

The Ann Arbor SANE office is in the Friends Center at 1416 Hill Street. Our group is somewhat distinct in that our operations are conducted primarily by paid staff rather than member-volunteers. The staff size varies from a low of about 15 to as many as 30, depending on the time of year, political need, and the availability of Ann Arbor's student community for full-time employment. We meet daily to review our work and plan for the future. SANE members and interested individuals are always welcome in the office to discuss the issues, and participate in organizing projects. We can set up regular meeting times for volunteer corps at the convenience of those who wish to participate.

### Membership Profile

From its founding in the late fifties until the late seventies, SANE was known as a small organization of prominent statespeople and philanthropists with reliable backing by liberal citizens. Today, SANE is the largest peace organization in the United States with a grassroots membership of about 150,000 and doubling every year. Most of the membership has been recruited recently through an ambitious community outreach program. They are representative of the great diversity of American society--rich and poor, people

of all races and ethnic backgrounds, politically conservative and radical, from high school students to great-great-grandmothers, from navy admirals and congressional leaders to pacifists and homemakers.

That's the key to SANE's effectiveness as a congressional lobby; we cannot be labelled except as "American."

### Organizational Structure and Community Services

SANE is organized as a citizen's lobby. The members are represented by an expert lobbying staff that has direct access to Congress. The field offices are headed by a state director who coordinates the activities of a program and canvass staff. The Ann Arbor office has four committees or task forces devoted to membership development, political or electoral action, fundraising and field operations. Through the work of these committees, we keep our members informed of congressional action on foreign and military policy, build our volunteer corps, train potential activists, participate in electoral campaigns by petitioning and running public ad campaigns and phone banks before votes, raise funds for SANE activities for local movement work and to increase the peace community's resource base, and conduct a door-to-door canvass throughout the state.

The Ann Arbor Office can provide speakers for community groups, and when time and energy permit, trained activists for local campaigns.

### Current News

At the moment we are savoring the success of Proposal A. The benefit for the Coalition for Peace in Central America, which SANE hosted at the Nectarine Ballroom, was the place to be on March 27. Over 500 people turned out, and we were able to turn over \$1,100 to the Proposal A campaign. Thanks to all for helping us make it a great time and a great fund raiser. A special thanks to Mike Bender, co-owner of the Nectarine, for all his cooperation, help, and donation of \$250.

Our expert training staff is gearing up for the summer explosion of students and teachers who want to work for peace. We can accommodate an almost unlimited number of committed people. Please contact us!

(See the employment ad in *Agenda* or *The Ann Arbor News*.)

### Coming Events and Activities

Locally and nationally, SANE will be working on legislation to effect the following goals: elimination of military assistance to the contra's in and out of Nicaragua, a drastic reduction in military funding for the government of El Salvador, the promotion of U.S. participation in the Contadora Peace Process, a congressionally mandated moratorium on funding for nuclear warhead testing, pursuant to an international Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and the elimination of funds for the Star Wars program that would violate existing arms control agreements.

## Washtenaw County Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Inc. (WAND) P. O. Box 1815 Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1815 761-1718

### Statement of Purpose

Washtenaw County WAND was formed in December of 1984 by a core group of 12 individuals, and became an affiliate of the national WAND organization, which was formed in 1980 by Dr. Helen Caldicott.

The primary purpose of our local organization is to empower women personally and politically, and to broaden the constituency of individuals who are working towards the elimination of nuclear weapons. We subscribe to the national WAND organization's objectives of educating ourselves and the public about the dangers of continued weapons production and influencing our congressional representatives by informed lobbying. To this end, during 1985, a fully functional organization which does lobbying, coalition-building, fundraising, public speaking, publicity,

and monthly educational presentations was established.

### Meeting Times and Places

Meetings are open to the general public on the second Sunday of the month at St. Aidan's Episcopal/Northside Presbyterian Churches, 1679 Broadway, Ann Arbor. Doors open at 7:00 pm for coffee, conversation and material displays. The meeting begins at 7:30 pm with the program or speaker at 8:30 pm and audience reaction at 9:00 pm. The meeting concludes at 9:30 pm. Babysitting is available in the church nursery during the meeting.

### Membership Profile

Membership is open to all. Current membership is approximately 175, most of these being women ranging in age from 17 to 70 with the majority in the age range of 25 to 45. Men are welcome and encouraged to join. Membership fees are \$25 per year with scholarships available for low income persons. Membership benefits include a subscription to our local monthly newsletter, copies of the national WAND bulletin, and discounts on books and other materials.

### Organizational Structure

The organization is formally incorporated as a 501 (c) (4) not-for-profit corporation. Designation as a charitable 501 (c) (3) organization has been applied for. The structure is that of a paid general membership with a Coordinating Committee consisting of the Chairs of all of the Committees plus the Officers. The Officers are President, Vice President and two Members-at-Large.

The Officers constitute the Executive Committee which is responsible for translating policy and making more specific day-to-day decisions. The Executive Committee is also legally and financially responsible for the organization. The Coordinating Committee makes the broad policy decisions and guidelines. Elections of the Executive Committee are held once a year at the annual meeting.

The active work of the organization takes place through the committee structure. Committees include Education, Lobbying, Speakers Bureau, Political Strategies, Membership/Welcoming, Publicity, Fundraising, Publications, Sales and Newsletter.

### Community Services

Information Hotline: 761-1718. The hotline delivers a 3 minute taped message which announces important lobbying information, WAND meetings scheduled for the month plus the times of other community events.

Speakers Bureau: Speakers are available to speak on a wide range of topics for small informal groups, classes, public forums, rallies, etc. Contact Nancy Hanke at 973-6925.

### Current Events

Sunday, May 11: In lieu of the general meeting a Mother's Day Festival of Peace will be held at West Park from 1:00 pm to 4:00 pm. Even though the credit for founding Mother's Day is usually given to Anna Jarvis, history shows that Julia Ward Howe of Boston was an early originator of the idea of celebrating a day focused on mothers and peace. Acutely aware of the losses women and the nation suffered during the Civil War and distressed by the carnage of the Franco-Prussian War, she conceived of the day as a time when everyone should dedicate themselves anew to the task of bringing about world peace. (See article elsewhere in this issue.)



## CRD

### World Hunger Education-Action Committee (WHE-AC)

4202 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
663-4301

WHE-AC's work focuses on the causes of, and solutions to, world hunger. Our objectives include educating ourselves and the campus community through reading groups, films, speakers, presentations, research, and group actions. We are dedicated to understanding the complex social, political, economic, and environmental forces that both

create and promote world hunger. We advocate self-determinism and long-term development as viable solutions. Thus we support and work closely with Oxfam America and the Institute for Food and Development Policy.

#### Meetings and Membership

We are a small group of ten to twenty U of M students, staff, and Ann Arbor community members. Our structure is non-hierarchical. We organize ourselves to meet the needs of each specific project. We meet every Monday at 7 pm in 4202 Michigan Union. We have various resources including newsletters from Food First

and Oxfam America available in our office.

#### Coming Events

The major project WHE-AC is currently working on is Oxfam America's "Tools for Peace and Justice in Central America and the Eastern Caribbean Campaign." Oxfam America is a development agency funding self-help projects throughout Central America, Asia, and Africa. This will be Oxfam's third "Tools" campaign. Last year we raised over \$800 which we used to purchase tools that were sent to Nicaragua. There are two goals of this campaign: first, to raise funds to

support and expand the development work on Oxfam in these areas; second, to raise awareness of the situations in these countries and how U.S. policy affects them.

WHE-AC will hold our organizational meeting for the "Tools for Peace and Justice Campaign" at 7 pm on Monday, May 12 in the Michigan Union. Please join us and bring your thoughts and ideas. We are hoping that this year's campaign will be a broad based community effort.

For those of you leaving for the summer, we hope you have an enjoyable one. Look for WHE-AC in September at Festifall.

## CRD

### Guild House

802 Monroe  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
662-5189

#### The Guild House is a United Campus Ministry

Guild House is dedicated to engaging in the struggles for justice and liberation at the University of Michigan and in our world. It is a campus ministry deeply rooted in the life and work of the Christian faith and of other traditions and groups that share a ministry of concern for human fulfillment and a just and

humane society. Exodus and resurrection, liberation and transformation, empowerment and change are important paradigms that inform our several religious and spiritual perspectives and serve to guide our common ministry. We share with sisters and brothers everywhere a commitment to non-violent action for the rights to a more meaningful and spiritual existence for the oppressed. Like all people and institutions we are not neutral, we stand with those who struggle for human justice and decency.

Guild house staff meets with students, faculty and staff on personal issues as well as systemic concerns like

racism, sexism and homophobia. We work in coalition with other groups and individuals, among them LASC (Latin American Solidarity Committee) and CAWS (Campuses Against Weapons in Space). Guild house also supports groups and individuals by providing space for meetings and staff time for projects and groups.

#### May Events

Beans and Rice Dinner: Dinners are held every Wednesday from 6:00 pm to 7:30 pm. A \$2 donation is requested ( \$1 for children from 6-12 years). Proceeds from the dinner go to

direct aid projects in Central America.

#### RICE AND BEAN DINNERS

May 7: Spicy Chicano Pintos (FLOC Beans)

May 14: Split Pea and Cabbage-India Style

May 21: Tofu and Veggies with Peanut Sauce

May 28: FLOC Beans

### Interfaith Council for Peace

604 E. Huron  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
663-1870

Office Hours: 9:30 am to 5:00 pm  
Monday through Friday

#### Statement of Purpose

Interfaith Council for Peace, a non-profit educational organization, believes in the possibility of a world where every woman, man and child has the opportunity to live in freedom, peace and without fear. Begun in 1965 by a small group of area clergy and lay persons, Interfaith Council for Peace focused on protesting U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Over the past twenty years, Interfaith's work has expanded to address justice concerns related to hunger and agriculture in addition to the on-going work for peace.

Since 1965, the Interfaith Council for Peace, a local chapter of the national Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), has worked to educate and promote action on these issues. We act as a clearinghouse for peace and justice activities in local religious congregations and in the community at large. Interfaith raises moral questions about

disarmament, hunger, the U.S. food system, economic justice, and Central America. Donations are gratefully accepted and can be sent to the above address.

#### Meetings and Membership

Hunger Task Force: Wednesday, May 7, 7:30 pm in the Pine Room of First United Methodist Church (corner of State and Huron).

Disarmament Working Group: Friday, May 16, noon to 1 pm at the Interfaith Office. Agenda for this meeting includes discussion of Testing Moratorium and local response to the bombing of Libya.

Land, Food, and Justice Committee: Wednesday, May 14, 7:30 pm in the Pine Room of First United Methodist Church. This meeting will be devoted to plans for the third annual Farm Tour in August.

ICP's membership includes 60 area congregations and approximately 3,100 individuals.

#### Organizational Structure

The work of Interfaith Council for Peace is accomplished by three task forces: The Land, Food, and Justice Committee, the Hunger Task Force, and the Disarmament Working Group. In addition there is a Steering Committee

which oversees the work of the staff and task forces. Officers are: the Rev. Peter Boeve (President), Barbara S. Hall (Secretary), and Robert Heald (Treasurer).

The work of the Disarmament Working Group includes: educational presentations to interested groups, sponsorship of speakers and public events, suggestions for lifestyle changes which will help to make our society a less violent one (e.g., boycotting war toys and examining issues related to parenting), discussion with the University community on the impacts of defense-related research on campus, and support for arms control legislation.

The work of the Hunger Task Force includes: the annual CROP/Hunger Walk, educational presentations to schools and other groups on domestic and international hunger, support of local free meal programs, and exploration of related economic justice issues and legislation.

Programs and projects of the Land, Food, and Justice Committee include: presentations to concerned groups, public tours of local farms, support of direct-marketing projects (e.g., farmers' markets and pick-your-own operations), and production of a seasonal/regional cookbook. The committee also works with groups involved in preserving agricultural land near urban areas,

encourages support of local farmers through more seasonal eating, and supports legislation favoring small and moderate size farms and sustainable agricultural practices.

#### Community Services

ICP publishes a monthly newsletter which contains suggestions on how individuals can help on the various issues, maintains a lending library of both written and audio-visual materials on peace and justice concerns, and has a speakers bureau which includes both staff and task force members.

#### Current News

Covenant for a World Free of Nuclear Weapons kits are available from the ICP office for \$5. The kit lists nuclear weapons contractors, the consumer products they manufacture and non-nuclear alternatives. *There is a Season*, a 117 page seasonal cookbook is available from the ICP office for \$6. Drop in and visit us soon. The ICP office is located in the basement of the First United Methodist Church (corner of State and Huron).

#### Coming Events

May 4, Sunday: Children's Concert at The Ark featuring Trees, a local



## CRD

## PROGRESSIVE CHURCH

## Interfaith Council for Peace

(cont. from previous page)

musical duo. The concert is appropriate for children ages 3-11 and is a benefit for ICP. Tickets are \$2/child and \$4/adult and are available at the door or in advance from the ICP office. There will be two performances, at 1:30 and 3:30 pm.

May 14, Wednesday, 7:30 pm: Fr. Jose Alas, a Salvadoran Catholic priest in exile, will speak about his work in El Salvador with the base Christian communities and Archbishop Oscar Romero (who was assassinated in 1980) as well as what people of faith here in the U.S. can do in response to U.S. policy. A quesadilla and coffee reception will follow with both Fr. Alas and the Celaya family (the family living in Sanctuary at the Ann Arbor Friends Meeting) available for discussion and questions about conditions in El Salvador (and whatever else you'd like to talk about!). Free; all welcome. Call the ICP office, 663-1870, for location of the event.

**Central America Education/Action Committee**  
(Informal committee of Interfaith Council for Peace)

### Community Services

Phone tree to lobby Congressman Carl Pursell and others against the continued militarization of Central America. (Leave name, address and phone number at the CP office: 663-1870.)

Speaker's Bureau and slide shows relating to Central America. (Call Barbara Francisco at 668-0249 to schedule.)

Beans and Rice Dinners every Wednesday, 6:00 pm-7:30 pm at Guild House, 802 Monroe. A donation of \$2 for adults and \$1 for children 6-12 suggested. (See the Beans and Rice Dinners listing below.)

We are still collecting materials for

Betania Refugee Camp in El Salvador, the mission of Fr. Jim Feltz in Paiwas, Nicaragua, and the Border Witness: blue jeans, T-shirts, cotton clothing, and shoes for children, tennis balls, frisbees, garden trowels, sewing scissors, sewing machines, hammers and drills, all in good condition and not in need of mending, can be dropped off at the ICP office (labeled "MADRE").

The Border Witness program offers volunteers a 10 day-2 week experience along the Texas-Mexico border learning about the conditions that refugees fleeing oppression in El Salvador and Guatemala face upon entering the U.S. If you would be interested in participating in the Border Witness program and would be willing to speak to groups about your experience when you return, contact Kim Groome at the ICP office (663-1870) or Shirley McRae at Friends Meeting (761-7435) for more information. The organizers of the Beans and Rice Dinners are offering a partial "scholarship" to help with the expenses involved in volunteering for the Border Witness program.

**Beans and Rice Dinner**  
Guild House  
802 Monroe  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
668-0249

The dinners were started to raise funds for Central American aid projects, to be a place for similarly-minded activists to break bread together, to share information, and to raise consciousness about supporting local farmers and in-season eating.

The sponsors, the Central American Education Action Committee (an Interfaith ad hoc taskforce), L.A.S.C., and Guild House served their first dinner on 1/23/85. Almost every Wednesday since, coordinators and cooks, Barb Francisco and Thea Lee, with occasional guest cooks, have served up delicious meals for local activists.

As of 3/26/86, the Rice and Beans

dinners have donated \$3,750 to a wide variety of projects. Of the \$1,765 which was sent to Nicaragua, \$1,000 went toward a nature center for children who have been psychologically damaged by the contra war. Another \$100 went toward developing rural fish farms. Camp Betania, a camp for refugees from the air war, which is located south of San Salvador, El Salvador, received \$200 in aid. Human rights groups called Mothers of the Disappeared in El Salvador and Guatemala, received \$350. The San Jose, Costa Rica, Quaker Peace Center received \$250 to help with its Peace education work.

The above partial list of donations shows that the money collected at the dinners has gone to worthwhile causes. However, in order to be able to help more aid projects, the Beans and Rice dinners needs your help. We need more activists and caring people to partake of the food, information sharing, and communal atmosphere. More plates, glasses, and cloth napkins are also needed. We also need donations for rice, beans, spices, apple cider, and Nicaraguan coffee.

For information, call Barb Francisco at 668-0249 or show up at Guild House for the Wednesday dinner.

**Coalition for Arms Control -- 2nd District**  
1015 Church Street #5  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
663-4897

### Statement of Purpose

After working together on an informal basis on arms control lobbying (the MX, Star Wars, chemical weapons) for the past 3 years, a number of groups have formally coalesced. It is hoped that the coalition effort will make weapons issues more visible in the media locally and will increase our ability to educate the public on these issues.

The current focus of the Coalition for Arms Control is on the need for a nuclear warhead testing moratorium and

a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. There are bills in both the House of Representatives and the Senate which would cut off funds for testing of nuclear warheads for 6 months as long as the USSR does not test. We urge you to contact your Representative and Senators to encourage them to co-sponsor this legislation for a 6 month or longer testing moratorium (in the House it is called the Schroeder bill, HR 3442, and in the Senate it is called SR 2220. Addresses are: Rep. \_\_\_\_\_, House Office Building, Washinton, D.C. 20515 and Sen. \_\_\_\_\_, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

### Meeting Times and Places

The Coalition for Arms Control meets once every 3-4 weeks on Saturdays at 9:30 am at 310 S. Ashley. If your organization is interested in joining the Coalition, please call 663-4897 or come to the next Coalition meeting on Saturday, May 3, 9:30 am, at 310 S. Ashley. If you are an individual interested in working on arms control lobbying efforts, please join one or more of the organizations involved in the Coalition (see below) or join one of the working committees of the Coalition: Events Committee, Publicity Committee, Computerization Committee (you will be greatly appreciated!).

### Membership Profile

The Coalition for Arms Control includes the following organizations: Hillsdale Center for Peace Awareness, Common Cause, Gray Panthers, Guild House, Interfaith Council for Peace, Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Michigan Alliance for Disarmament, 1000 Cranes, Physicians for Social Responsibility, SANE, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Western Wayne Peace Resource Center.

## New Jewish Agenda (NJA)

2208 Packard  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104

### Statement of Purpose

We are Jews from a variety of backgrounds and affiliations committed to progressive human values and the building of a shared vision of Jewish life.

Our history and tradition inspire us. Jewish experience and reachings can address the social, economic, and political issues of our time. Many of us find our inspiration in our people's historical resistance to oppression and from the Jewish presence at the forefront of movements for social change. Many of us base our convictions on the Jewish religious

concept of *tikun olam* \* (the just ordering of human society and the world), and the prophetic tradition of social justice.

We are dedicated to ensuring the survival and flourishing of the Jewish people. Jews must have the rights to which all people are entitled. But survival is only a precondition of Jewish life, not its purpose. Our agenda must be determined by our ethics, not our enemies. We need creative and vital Jewish institutions and practices that affirm the best of our traditions and involve members of our community who historically have been excluded.

We call on all Jews who share our vision to join us in working to achieve our goals in the Jewish and wider communities. To those whose visions differ from ours--let us discuss those differences. Authentic Jewish unity

grows from respect for and understanding of diversity.

Society can be changed, and human cooperation can be achieved. Working for social progress not only reflects Jewish ideals, but enhances Jewish security. New Jewish Agenda upholds progressive Jewish values and affirms that the goals of peace and justice are attainable.

\**Tikun Olam* (Talmud, Mishnah Gittin 4:3, also appears in the Aleynu prayer).

### General Information

The Ann Arbor New Jewish Agenda chapter, active since 1979, welcomes you to join with us. Some of you may have participated in our national NJA convention that was held in Ann Arbor last summer. At the local level, we are

quite active with monthly membership meetings, Shabbat potlucks, and interest-group meetings. This year we've sponsored speakers addressing the issues of the sanctuary movement, the feminist movement, and the threat of Kahane to Israeli democracy. If you would like to receive our newsletter, become a member, or attend one of our events--or if you simply want more information--please call one of the following members:

**Steering Committee** -- Rebecca Kanner 994-5717  
**Membership Committee** -- Evelyn Neuhaus 994-5171  
**Central America Interest Group** -- Judy Lipshitz 995-5210  
**Middle East Interest Group** -- Benjy Ben-Baruch 662-9217  
**Feminism Interest Group** -- Laurie White 665-7371



## CRD

### New World Agriculture Group (NWAG)

4096 Natural Science Bldg.  
University of Michigan  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
764-1446

Arising in the late seventies from a local group of socially-concerned scientists, the New World Agriculture Group has developed into an international organization of about 100 ecologists, social scientists, and people interested in agriculture who seek alternatives to socially and ecologically destructive methods of contemporary agricultural production. Recognizing the interrelatedness of technical, social,

and political concerns underlying larger problems in modern agriculture, NWAG members attempt to approach their study of agricultural problems and possible solutions in an interdisciplinary manner.

Exemplifying past research programs conducted by NWAG is its study of the potential use of intercropping techniques on midwestern tomato farms that would enable farmers to increase production without resorting to mechanization, which has the effect of displacing farmworkers from their jobs.

Presently, NWAG is working with the National University (UNAN) and the Union of Small and Medium-sized Farmers (UNAG) in Nicaragua. Nicaraguan agriculturalists hope to

develop ways of reducing the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides which are expensive and bad for the environment, and so increase food production and become less dependent upon foreign inputs. There are several projects, for example, that are focused on the biological control of insect pests through the use of natural predators and parasites of the pests.

NWAG scientists are dispersed throughout the United States. The largest chapters exist on the Cornell, University of Michigan and University of Illinois campuses, although there are many active members located in Vermont, North Carolina, California, Kentucky, Minnesota, throughout Canada, and in Nicaragua.

NWAG has a steering committee

consisting of a member from each of three regions: East, Midwest and West. There is also a Nicaragua Coordinating Committee. Beyond this there is relatively little structure, although regional and international meetings are conducted in a formal manner.

Here in Ann Arbor, NWAG members are presently researching the U.S. farm crisis, in an attempt to define it, discover its root causes, and understand approaches necessary for its resolution. Interested persons are welcome to attend our meetings and should call the NWAG-Ann Arbor office (764-1446) to express their interest and find out the place and time meetings occur.

## CRD

### Housing Bureau for Seniors, Inc.

1010 Wall Street  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
763-0970

#### Community Services

The Housing Bureau for Seniors provides peer counseling to senior citizens and their families about housing choices in Washtenaw County. Volunteers are recruited from across the county to work as housing counselors at the Bureau, or in one of the Bureau's Outreach sites in Ypsilanti, Ypsilanti Township, Saline, Chelsea or Whitmore Lake.

The Bureau's services are free, though donations are always happily accepted. All of the activities of the Bureau are funded through community contributions.

#### Coming Events

Training for new volunteer housing counselors begins in May. Because so much of the work at the Bureau requires detailed information about a wide variety of housing choices, as well as skillful counseling, the Bureau provides regular training for new as well as continuing counselors.

Listening skills, needs assessments and effective interviewing techniques are all important to Bureau counselors. Often it is difficult when counseling seniors and their adult families to know who is the real client--the senior or the adult child involved. Housing Bureau counselors learn to find ways to resolve these and other potential conflicts.

Helping an individual senior to find suitable housing can be a challenging task. Not all seniors need to go directly from the family home into a nursing home. There may be a variety of alternatives of which seniors and their families are not aware.

Retirement homes may be suitable

for some. They tend to be costly, though they offer services which may not be found elsewhere: meals, housekeeping, laundry services, medical supervision, transportation, and special recreation or activity for seniors.

Financial considerations may mean that seniors wish to look into low cost housing. With an increasing senior population and decreasing housing resources available, finding subsidized housing is more and more difficult. There are often long waiting lists and complicated income parameters to consider. Housing counselors learn to assist Bureau clients with these difficulties.

Housing counselors at the Bureau volunteer to work two half-days each week. If you would like to learn more about becoming affiliated with the Housing Bureau for Seniors, contact Carole Lapidus, Volunteer Coordinator, 763-6642, or Carolyn Hastings, Executive Director of the Bureau, at 763-0970.

The offices of the Housing Bureau

are located in the Turner Clinic; volunteers with the Bureau are affiliated with the volunteer programs with the University of Michigan hospitals.

May is Older Americans Month. Celebrate it by becoming involved with a program designed for and by our area's Older Americans!

#### Current Events

May is Older Americans Month. In celebration, The Housing Bureau for Seniors will present a slide show and housing workshop for senior citizens and their adult children Tuesday, May 27, from 1 to 2:30 pm at the Pittsfield Township Senior Center, 701 W. Ellsworth Road.

A potluck luncheon beginning at noon will precede the workshop; bring a dish to pass.

The workshop is free. To register, call 763-0970.

## CRD

### Free South Africa Coordinating Committee (FSACC)

c/o M.S.A.  
3909 Michigan Union  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109  
Information:  
Hector Delgado 971-7994  
Barbara Ransby 769-8549

#### Statement of Purpose

Free South Africa Coordinating Committee (FSACC), formed in the spring of 1985, is committed to opposing the brutal system of apartheid in South Africa and to contributing in every way possible to the liberation movement there. FSACC produces literature and sponsors events to

educate people about the crimes of apartheid and the ways in which the U.S. Government, U.S. corporations, and the University of Michigan help to underwrite that system. FSACC also pressures the University of Michigan to sever all economic ties with corporations doing business in South Africa, as part of a worldwide movement to isolate the South African government; and seeks to provide material aid to those engaged in the resistance movement and their families.

FSACC believes that in order to build an effective anti-apartheid movement in the United States, the link must be made between racism here and apartheid in South Africa. Finally, we condemn a foreign policy which fails to reflect a genuine concern for human rights and true democracy, clearly evidenced in the Reagan

administration's terrorist attacks against the people of Nicaragua contrasted with his support of the white supremacist minority government in South Africa.

#### Meetings and Membership

Membership meetings are held every other Monday at 7 pm in the Center for Afro-American and African Studies Lounge, on the first floor of the West Engineering building. The steering committee meets every week at 6 pm in the same location.

FSACC membership is mainly undergraduate and graduate students at the University of Michigan. Meetings have been attended by as many as 200, but the average attendance at meetings and the number of people forming the core of the membership is 35 to 45.

## SOUTH AFRICA

#### Community Services

FSACC distributes literature and provides speakers on South Africa and apartheid. It also sponsors films, protests, and various outreach activities like the 3-Day Teach-In in the fall of 1985.

#### Organizational Structure

There is a Steering Committee of 8 to 10 individuals, elected each year at a full membership meeting. This body coordinates the work of the organization and proposes policies for consideration by the membership.

There are four Project Committees responsible for specific activities. The Regents/Mandela Committee is responsible for finding ways to persuade the University to give Nelson

(cont. on next page)



## CRD

## SOUTH AFRICA

## Free South Africa Coordinating Committee (FSACC)

(continued from previous page)

Mandela an honorary degree, to sell the rest of the stock that it owns in companies doing business in South Africa, and to take a stronger public stand against apartheid. The April 4th Committee is coordinating two weeks of anti-apartheid action starting March 20. The Liaison Committee is responsible for making and maintaining links with other groups whose activities are compatible with FSACC's and publishing a newsletter to inform the Ann Arbor community of FSACC and related activities. And finally, the Material Aid/Fundraising Committee is working on ways to provide direct material aid to groups and people in South Africa trying to dismantle apartheid and is also responsible for general fundraising for FSACC. At least one member from each committee is a member of the Steering Committee.

### Current News

1. On March 20th FSACC built a shanty on the Diag to call attention to the situation in South Africa. It also kicked off a national two weeks of action against apartheid. The shanty was staffed 24 hours a day for the next two weeks. Many people asked questions and received literature on South Africa.

We decided not to staff it after April 4th, and since then it has been destroyed three times by vandals, but each time we rebuilt it. On at least three different occasions people have tried to burn it down.

2. On March 24th over 300 people participated in a candlelight vigil for the victims of political violence in Central America and South Africa. March 24th is the day Archbishop Romero was murdered in El Salvador.

3. On April 3rd representatives from the ANC and SWAPO addressed a large group of students in the Michigan Union.

4. On April 4th there was a Freedom March against racism and apartheid through Ann Arbor. Over 500 people marched and participated in a rally. The ANC and SWAPO representatives spoke, as did several student organization leaders. April 4th was the day the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated 18 years ago. A plaque was placed on the shanty that day in memory of his assassination and to express hope that our brothers and sisters in South Africa will be free soon.

5. During the two weeks of action there were also films shown. FSACC was joined by several other organizations in planning and coordinating the two weeks of action.

6. FSACC also organized a call-in to President Shapiro's and Vice-President Kennedy's offices to inquire about the

progress of the nomination of Nelson Mandela, by Professor Thomas Holt, for an honorary degree. Beginning April 4th we began to make daily visits to President Shapiro's office to discuss the nomination. He did not meet with us until April 16th. Meanwhile, we met with Vice-President Kennedy several times, and it was he who informed us for the first time that the University did not award honorary degrees in absentia. The policy statement on honorary degrees we had received from the University in November of 1985 did not include any reference to this. It was obvious that the University had been dealing with us in bad faith, especially because at every Regents' meeting we had addressed them on the nomination and not once did they inform us of this provision in the Regents' by-laws.

7. On April 17th five individuals spoke before the Regents on the Nelson Mandela nomination and at the end of the public comments section of their meeting, we informed them that we were occupying the Regents' conference room to protest their refusal to grant Nelson Mandela an honorary degree and to hold a vigil to express concern for the life of Mr. Mandela, who is in ill health after serving his 24th year in prison. We asked the Regents to have a dialogue with us, but they instead chose to walk out of the room. That evening two Regents spoke with representatives of the group, but while they were sympathetic in some

respects, they were not prepared to move to give Mr. Mandela an honorary degree the next day. They did agree that the by-laws needed to be reviewed.

8. Over 50 students spent the night in the building, though there were as many as 150 students in the building on several occasions. They next day, Friday, April 18, we allowed the Regents to meet in the room, but had to interrupt them when it became obvious that they were not going to award Mr. Mandela an honorary degree. They were forced to adjourn and leave the room. We then moved to the table and someone moved to give Nelson Mandela an honorary degree. The motion was approved unanimously.

### Coming Events

FSACC meetings are held Monday nights at 7:00 pm in the Center for Afro-American and African Studies lounge on the 1st floor of the West Engineering Building.

On May 3rd there will be an alternative commencement at 10:00 am in the Rackham Amphitheatre to honor Mr. Mandela. We hope to have a well-known keynote speaker and a representative from the ANC to accept the honorary degree for Mr. Mandela. The event will not conflict with the regular 1:00 pm commencement, out of respect to families of this year's graduates.

## South African Political Prisoner Bracelet Program

P. O. Box 2542

Ann Arbor, MI 48106

973-2016

### Statement of Purpose

International Possibilities Unlimited (IPU) seeks to find creative and innovative approaches to address problems faced by people of color in the African diaspora. IPU is a multi-racial group which consists mostly of students at the University of Michigan. The purpose of our first project, the South African Political Prisoner Bracelet Program, is to educate the public about the plight of political prisoners in South Africa, and in particular to increase the public's awareness of the continued racial and socio-economic oppression of the people of Southern Africa.

Each of the bracelets bears the name of a South African political prisoner serving a life sentence. The bracelet should facilitate the development of a personal bond between the wearer and the prisoner named thereon and his family. In that vein, we provide addresses where participants can write a particular prisoner. In addition, a portion of the funds generated through the sale of the bracelets is contributed to other

organizations whose central goals are consistent with IPU's. The organizations that we have consequently identified to receive IPU contributions include International Defense and Aid Fund for its international efforts over the past thirty years to free political prisoners, the National Free South Africa Movement, and Washington Office on Africa, for its work in raising people's consciousness and pressuring the United States government to place sanctions on the South African government.

### Meetings and Membership

Meetings are held every Monday at 5:00 pm at 2501 Braeburn Circle. Please call 973-2016 to confirm the location.

IPU presently has seven working members. We carry out all aspects of the bracelet program and therefore we are a task-oriented organization. We invite all people who are interested in our program to attend the meetings, especially those with personal contacts or experience in marketing, accounting, computers, or graphic arts.

### Organizational Structure

IPU is a non-profit corporation with staff workers and a board of directors. The South African Political Prisoner Bracelet Program staff operates in four

committees:

The Orders Committee processes mail orders, records sales, oversees stock of bracelets and brochures, and computerizes bookkeeping.

The Network Committee is responsible for contacting other student organizations, churches, and coordinating regional IPU representatives.

The Publicity Committee keeps track of and sends material to upcoming conferences, and is in charge of advertising.

The Education Committee is responsible for updating the informational brochure and newsletters sent to participants. In addition, it maintains current information on South Africa and political prisoners, and writes proposals for money to support these efforts.

### Community Services

IPU has a speakers bureau. We are available to speak on South Africa, Namibia, and political prisoners, and to network or assist other organizations to develop anti-apartheid activities.

IPU is promoting the participation of churches in the Political Prisoner Bracelet Program in order to provide an opportunity for the people to contribute en masse to the liberation of South Africans. Churches are asked to adopt a political prisoner, buy bracelets, and

generate funds to assist the political prisoners' families. Churches are also asked to identify a liaison person who is provided training on Southern Africa socio-political issues.

The bracelets cost \$6.50 each plus tax for Michigan residents. To order, please send a check to:

IPU  
P.O. Box 2542  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

### Current News

To date, IPU has sold over 1300 bracelets. Among the people who have been presented bracelets are Mayors Coleman Young of Detroit, Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, and Edward Pierce of Ann Arbor; also Ann Arbor City Councilman Larry Hunter, State Representatives Virgil Smith and Perry Bullard, and Michigan State Senator Lana Pollack, who have all sponsored divestiture legislation. On the national level, Senator Edward Kennedy, and Congressmen Howard Wolpe, John Conyers, Ronald Dellums, Steven Solarz, and William Gray, who co-sponsored the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, were given complimentary bracelets. Former U.S. Civil Rights Commissioner Dr. Mary Francis Berry, and many entertainers including Gil Scott-Heron, Harry Belafonte, Lou Rawls, Clifton Davis, and Steve Van Zandt, who produced and recorded the



## South African Political Prisoners Bracelet Program

Sun City record project, are other recipients of the bracelets.

Political prisoners included in the South African Political Prisoner Bracelet Program are only those serving life sentences, and are used as symbols of all political prisoners in South Africa. To date, all political prisoners who have

been given life sentences are males; consequently our bracelets only bear the names of men. Due to many requests for female prisoner bracelets and given the integral role women have

played in the liberation of South Africa, we now include Thandi Modise, who is a woman currently serving a 16 year sentence in South Africa. She is serving the longest sentence for a woman.

## CRD

### Michigan Student Assembly University of Michigan 3909 Michigan Union Ann Arbor, MI 48109 763-3241

The Michigan Student Assembly is the campus-wide student government at the University of Michigan. "Campus-wide" means that MSA represents students in every U of M college and school. Since students in each college are represented by their own specific student governments, MSA focuses almost exclusively on matters of concern to all students such as the proposed Code of Non-Academic Conduct.

MSA is funded through a mandatory student fee of \$5.07 per term, giving it total revenues of about \$375,500. This money, however, is well accounted for and used primarily to fund Student Legal Services, the Ann Arbor Tenant Union, *Advice* magazine (which lists student course evaluations) and allocations to student organizations for campus events or projects that are deemed to have educational, cultural, or social significance. Some of the events that MSA has sponsored recently

include forums concerning racism, sexism, and women's safety, and weapons research (such as "Star Wars and Universities"). MSA also staged a "summit meeting" between former MSA President Paul Josephson and U of M

President Harold Shapiro and provided services such as free income-tax assistance and a "76-GRIFE" evening telephone line for students to voice their University-related concerns to MSA representatives.

The composition of MSA can be broken into two parts. First, the elected or appointed body, which consists of a president, vice-president, treasurer and 50 representatives from the various schools and colleges. (Incidentally, the current number of representatives was just raised to 50 from 32 with the completion of elections in March, giving significantly more representation to each school.) The other part of MSA is an administrative body, which is hired by the assembly at large. This administrative body usually consists of an administrative coordinator, numerous work-study assistants, a military research advisor, and a minority-affairs researcher. Others are hired as needed.

The elected assembly itself is broken into ten committees. Those committees are chaired by a member of the assembly and filled by both members of the assembly and, in most cases, by interested parties outside MSA. The standing committees are: Rules and Elections which coordinates the MSA elections in March and November and is responsible for the authorship and interpretation of MSA Constitution and Compiled Code; Legislative Relations, which monitors all federal, state, local, and University legislation and reports its findings to the

Assembly; Women's Issues, which lobbies in support of women's concerns and campus safety; Students' Rights, which ensures that students are treated fairly and leads the battle against the Code of Non-Academic Conduct; Student Organizations, which administrates the student groups that are MSA recognized; Budget Priorities, which allocates "free money" to MSA groups; Minority Affairs, which lobbies on behalf of all minorities and concentrates on increasing R, R, & G (Recruitment, Retention, and Graduation) on campus; Personnel, which hires and fires all Assembly employees, Communications, which oversees all MSA publications and publicity; and Academic Affairs, which monitors academic events or problems as they arise. Each of these committees, whether they address problems, projects, or new ideas, report at each Tuesday night General Assembly meeting.

What MSA ultimately boils down to is a lobbying group because it has little legislative power. It represents the voice of the majority of Michigan students and, with its financial and human resources, successfully lobbies the University administration, regents, faculty, city, state, and federal governments in the interests of students. It has been very successful in preventing the passage of the Code, getting a student seat on the all-new Computer Policy Committee, increasing the awareness of the administration towards students' needs and

complaints, and it is constantly applying pressure for the establishment of a Student Regent.

MSA is also a service organization. It provides office space and equipment such as copiers, typewriters, a computer, an art studio, and conference rooms for over 400 student organizations for free or at very nominal costs. Also, it is constantly working on behalf of these student groups in their efforts to promote their projects or events.

In summary, MSA is a group of students with resources, a core of common interests, and institutional legitimacy that lobbies various other representative groups to improve the quality of student life on campus. MSA is also a student organization that provides services to other students and student organizations and a place where students can learn organizational skills and pursue their issue interests. MSA has open assembly meetings every Tuesday night during the regular school year at 7:30 pm. MSA is glad to accept volunteers to work with any of the committees, or it can provide information on any of the over 400 student groups it represents. Also, this is a very good time to get involved because the summer months tend to leave MSA somewhat shorthanded, making a lot of room for enthusiastic and motivated people to become involved in any number of the things mentioned above. For further information, contact David Lovinger at 763-3241.

## CRD

### The Women's Crisis Center P. O. Box 7413 Ann Arbor, MI 48107

Office: 306 N. Division  
Business: 761-9475  
Crisis Line: 994-9100

#### Community Services

The Women's Crisis Center offers peer counseling and crisis intervention for all women in Washtenaw and surrounding counties.

The *Crisis Line*, 994-9100,

operates Monday through Friday, 10 am to 10 pm. Callers are guaranteed anonymity and can talk to a peer counsellor who is there to provide non-judgemental support.

We sell low-cost, do-it-yourself divorce kits. Call 761-9475 for more information.

The Women's Crisis Center also offers referrals to hundreds of agencies and individuals in and around Washtenaw County.

Substance Abuse Support Group: For women in a substance abuse situation involving themselves or family and friends. The program is for 8 weeks, with a \$25 donation to WCC/sliding

scale. Call for more information.

Compulsive Eating Support Group: Evenings; donation; call WCC for more information.

#### Meetings and Membership

We hold meetings on the last Sunday of every month, from noon to 2 pm at St. Andrew's Church, 306 N. Division at Lawrence. Our next scheduled meeting is May 25.

The Women's Crisis Center is a non-profit, grassroots, collectively-run organization made up of community women concerned with the needs of other women. There are currently 40

volunteers, all women, who are members of the Ann Arbor community and students.

We have one full-time Coordinator, a Board of Directors, volunteer peer phone counselors, and administrative volunteers.

#### Coming Events

Friday, May 2 to Sunday, May 11: WCC Peer Counselor Training. The training involves 30 hours over two weekends, a 6 month commitment, and 4 hours per week after training. The fee is \$20. Call 761-9475 for a screening interview.

## STUDENT RIGHTS

## WOMEN'S ISSUES

**Don't forget! The deadline for inclusion in the CRD is the 19th.**



# Food, Politics and Hunger

(cont. from page 19)

profound change in the countryside?"

Let me just outline for you the basic principles of the Nicaraguan agrarian reform and what distinguishes it from others that we have studied. Well, Nicaragua is a very fortunate country. It's a land-rich country. It has ten-times more land per person than El Salvador does and it has more acres per person than we enjoy here in the United States. The Nicaraguan reform did not initiate a massive redistribution of land but simply attached to the right of ownership of productive land the obligation to produce. In other words, if you know about the Third World, you know that in many areas, particularly Central America, the big land owners historically have left most of their land unplanted. A study in the mid-70's showed that in Central America only 14% of the land of the big land owners was actually planted. The Nicaraguan reform says, "Wait. We all need this land to produce so that we can eat. So, if you are making your land produce you have nothing to worry about. Your land will not be confiscated. But if it is lying idle it will be subject to confiscation." "Idle lands to working hands" was the slogan of the land reform.

In this process of deciding what land was underused or open to redistribution, there were land reform councils in each of the regions that reviewed the evidence. I think it's very important that in at least one-fourth of the cases brought before the agrarian reform council, the decision has gone with the original owner. In other words, the evidence of underutilization of land was not sufficient. The council would say, "You have a right to retain all of that land because you are producing on it." This shows that these were not and are not kangaroo courts. It hasn't been a situation where anybody with a grudge against their neighbor can simply go into the council and say, "They're not using their land. I want it." That's not what has been happening.

In this process, then, of redistribution of underused and unused land, Nicaragua has made great achievements. By the beginning of 1986 60% of the campesinos in Nicaragua have received title to land and 60% of those who had too little land or no land at all have received title to land. Fifteen times more land is now in the food producing sector representing about one third of Nicaraguan farm land. This is a very substantial movement in the direction of greater equity in the countryside and capacity of people to grow the foods of the people.

I want to make just a couple more points here about the distinguishing features of the agrarian reform in Nicaragua. One is that the land owners whose land is being

taken away are being compensated for that land. This, again, is not always true in agrarian reform. Another point is that the Nicaraguan Agricultural ministry has focused on supporting agricultural cooperatives. With limited resources, the government feels that it is much more likely to meet peoples' needs if it services cooperatives instead of depending on individuals or individual families to supply technical advice and credit and inputs and that sort of thing. Unlike the agrarian reforms in Tanzania and Eastern Europe, for example, Nicaraguan cooperatives have been completely voluntary. The incentive is that the cooperative gets a better interest rate on the agricultural credit it needs and that is the only level of incentive. These are important distinguishing features.

I want to take a moment to focus in on one area of the Nicaraguan countryside and how agrarian reform has gone there because I think that it so contradicts the image that we are getting about how decisions are being made in Nicaragua. This is an area of Missiah, a very land-poor area of Nicaragua in the sense that it is very densely populated. There is only one acre per person of farmland in the area. These people in this region of Nicaragua were very active in supporting the Sandinista Liberation Front during the period of combat, very strongly supportive, and they expected to get land as a result of the Sandinista victory. But, in this area, the large land owners are very productive. They are not like those whom I described earlier who leave most of their land unplanted. They are, indeed, very productive and so, the agrarian reform that I just outlined. It did not allow for the confiscation of the land of these very large estates in this heavily populated area. So the government was put in a difficult situation where over all these years the citizens of Missiah continued to petition, to demonstrate against the government, extremely angry that the promises of the revolution were not being met. And during the elections of 1984, only 40% of the people in this area voted for the FSLN. In other words, there was a great deal of disaffection away from the Sandinistas because they did not follow through, because they wanted to protect the rights of the big land owners for the sake of national unity, as they described it, and to follow the letter of agrarian reform law.

Now, what has happened in the last few months is the pressure became more and more intense from the peasants and, ultimately, the government decided that it had to choose between the big land owners, a few of them, and thousands and thousands of peasants who needed the land. They decided that they would use a special provision in the agrarian reform law that does allow, in special cases, for there to be confiscation of land, even land that is well used. So they offered to one of the biggest growers there, Enrique Bolanos, they offered him twice as much land as he was farming in Missiah in another area if he would be willing to move. He would lose some wealth. It certainly wouldn't be a great deal that he would lose because he still had other farms there in this area that wouldn't be touched. He was offered twice as much land elsewhere. Well, I don't know, some of you may have heard about this story on National Public Radio, he was quoted as saying this

was proof of the intent of the Sandinista government to abolish private property and the intent of the Sandinista government finally making itself evident--to go down the state-controlled Marxist-Leninist path. I think it is very important that we go into this kind of depth on these specific cases because what are the lessons here? What we see is not government, by fiat, pushing the peasants in a radical direction. It is the peasants demanding the basic right to have land to feed their families. Ultimately, well, the government resisted for a long time because of outside pressure, fearing that internationally they would be discredited if they confiscated this land and wanting to have national unity and to keep the big producers producing. But it is such a different reality because the pressure, then, came from the bottom and ultimately the government did say, "Yes, we have to choose between eight thousand peasants and Enrique Bolanos and it's clear to us whom we will choose."

I think it is worthwhile to give a very cursory comparison between the agrarian reform in Nicaragua and agrarian reform in El Salvador. There's a very profound lesson to be learned by this.

Let me describe El Salvador's reform in a few paragraphs. This reform, designed by the Agency for International Development--that's on record--this reform managed to bypass the most powerful in the countryside, that is the large coffee estates, and it bypassed the most powerless in the countryside, the landless who are 50% or more of the rural population in El Salvador. So it bypassed the most powerful and the most powerless and what did it do? It accomplished the selling of land to tenant families who were farming plots too small and too infertile to support them over time. In fact, they had been used to moving as the land became infertile. Now they were locked into place buying, over time, plots that could not sustain them. A study that our institute has published shows that there has been no economic gain for them to now be paying to the government, instead of to a landlord. So, the supposed beneficiaries of this reform have not gained. Now how is this so different from Nicaraguan reform where peasants have now fifteen times more land than they did under the Somoza dictatorship? Clearly, to answer that question, we must move to the second value that I introduced earlier: democracy. The difference is that in El Salvador, the government knows that it does not have to be accountable to the majority of the people in the countryside, whereas in Nicaragua, the government knows that it must be accountable to those people because they are the people who brought them to power and they can vote them out as, indeed, the majority of the people of Missiah voted against the Sandinistas in the last election.

Let me move to the question, then, of democracy. I've suggested that democracy must include vehicles through which people can make their needs felt. It must include, then, ways to shape the solutions to meet those needs and it must include a way to keep leadership accountable. Turning to Nicaragua, what can we say about people being able to make their needs felt, heard, their needs visible to express them? A key part of this is freedom of speech, a very important part of democracy. In Nicaragua

there is a very mixed evaluation that I can give you. Certainly there is periodic censorship of the press in Nicaragua that is often arbitrary, but real. Certainly it has been more consistent censorship as the counter-revolutionary war has intensified. I want to underline that this definitely limits the possibility for democracy. I also want to point out that it does not mean that within the Nicaraguan press today there is not a considerable amount of debate, a considerable amount of attack on the government. Our close friend who is head of a research institute in Nicaragua whom I saw several weeks ago, told us that his organization had published a direct attack on the government's provisions of a state of emergency, called them unnecessary and calling for their repeal. That has been distributed widely in Nicaragua, so there is still the possibility for a lot of criticism.

I also want to point out another unfortunate fact about the possibility for democracy related to the question of the freedom of the press in Nicaragua. It is that the opposition press in Nicaragua doesn't believe in freedom of expression. The opposition press, you probably know the name "La Prensa," which is the opposition newspaper, doesn't fundamentally share the notion that the press is there to cover the news, whatever the news is. In other words, it would choose, it did choose during the elections, because it wanted to discredit the government, it chose not to give any credibility to the elections by covering the participation in the elections of the opposition parties. The opposition press just doesn't believe in freedom of information. As an example, the day I arrived in Managua for the elections one of the headlines of the opposition newspaper said, "No Secret Ballot." They were trying to frighten Nicaraguans into believing that during the election, their ballots would be read and so their votes could be used against them. But, if you read the article what you learned was that if you were blind you had to tell somebody what your vote was. And so they came out with this headline, "No Secret Ballot."

I also want to underline that although there isn't an uncensored press in Nicaragua today, still to a considerable extent, there is freedom of speech, literal speech. By this I mean that everytime that I've been there--three times--every time that I've been there the thing that most strikes me is how talkative people are about the political situation from all sides. I remember being in the home of someone who voted against the Sandinistas in the election. He was quite vociferous and, even though he was strongly anti-government he said, quote, "We don't have to zipper our mouths anymore." So there still is a great deal of debate.

I want to move on to the second aspect that I mentioned, the aspect of democracy of keeping leadership accountable. This, then, focuses on the reality of elections. What I have wondered, and I'm sure some of you have who follow the Nicaraguan situation, how is it that, if there were, indeed, seven political parties that participated in the election, that the electoral law went out of its way to guarantee minority participation in the National Assembly as we see that minority participation today. That, if indeed the government, as it did, had made funds



available, equal amounts to every party participating to defray their election expenses, if there were international observers as there were at the election and they could find no grounds for fraud, if all of this seems true to us, then how can it be that in the press in this country it almost goes without saying that this election never counted at all and that what Nicaragua must now do if it is to be taken seriously is to have a "free" election to replace its "sham" election. How did this happen? I don't have the answer to that question, unfortunately. It's a multitude of things but I want to offer one very important example of how that has happened. Some of you may have seen the recent *New York Review of Books* article by Robert Likien. It is very important to focus on this. This is a prime example. Here you have a very credible journal, *The New York Review of Books*, a very long piece by someone who really sounds as if he knows the ins-and-outs of the Nicaraguan situation, and one of the points he makes, reinforcing the notion of a sham election, is that the Sandinistas, in the election, coerced and forced the opposition parties to participate in the election to give it the appearance of a democratic fact.

I have with me a letter that was written by a leader in the Democratic Conservative Party to *The New York Review of Books* saying that this article was the most dishonest piece of journalism he has ever seen. He is not a Sandinista. The author of this letter is an opposition leader who is saying that the Likien article is completely dishonest because the pressure to stay in the elections, the pressure to do with that, was not coming from the Sandinistas, it was coming from bribes from the U. S. government. He reports, and again, he is a leader in the Democratic Conservative Party, he reports that it is well established that the U. S. government offered \$50,000 to candidates in his party to withdraw from the election. They were exposed by others, including the author of this letter, exposed and removed for going along with this. Now I bring this to you, this kind of detail, because this is a credible journal. This author, Robert Likien, is someone who has influenced a lot of legislators. I know that, certainly, he influenced me by his piece in *The New Republic* right before the elections called, "The Sins of the Sandinistas." This is the kind of not half-truth but falsehood that has led to the notion that we have to discount this election and that they should have a real one.

I want to move on to something more current and equally not reported here in the United States, namely the constitution-building process in Nicaragua. Today, underway in Nicaragua, is the drafting of a new constitution for that country. There is a special commission established with 22 members to draft a constitution which will then be debated in at least 84 community meetings throughout the country. The government is allocating over two million dollars to help organize these meetings. I noted that in this drafting process the votes on particular points in the draft have not always followed party alignments. In other words, some opposition parties have voted with the Sandinistas on some points and not on others and, in some cases the Sandinistas' representatives have not voted as a block. In this commission the Sandinista representation is smaller than

their two-thirds representation in the National Assembly as a whole. I want to focus on that because it is an aspect of life going on in Nicaragua today that we rarely hear about.

The other aspects of democracy we should not forget are just having institutions that keep governments accountable--the constitution, the electoral process-- but also citizen participation in the molding of policy such as the agrarian reform I've already mentioned and in other things. For example, very recently the farm workers' organization has been very much involved in coming up with a new wage policy for coffee pickers and a new bonus system. This is just one example of participation at the level of the economy.

I want to make one final point about democracy before I move to the conclusion of my talk that another key aspect of democracy is the capacity of a government to be accountable to its own people instead of to a foreign power. This is fundamental, the capacity of a government to respond to the needs of its own people and not be so dependent that it must kowtow to a foreign power. When a government is dependent for its economic survival on a foreign power, it cannot be truly democratic. The Nicaraguan government has appreciated this and has sought what it has called "mixed dependency." It knew it was too poor to be a truly independent country but its goal had been to diversify its dependency to get help from the non-aligned Third World countries,

from Western European countries, from OPEC countries, from the Socialist Block, and from the United States, so that it would not have to answer to one super power anymore. Now, for a while Nicaragua has been successful. In fact, overall, if you look at the entire period since 1979, less than 30% of its aid and trade has been with the Socialist Block. In other words, more than two-thirds or almost three-quarters has been, over the whole period, with these other elements, other segments of the international economy. Increasingly, though, the United States has attempted and succeeded, in part anyway, in so isolating Nicaragua in terms of loans from the World Bank and support from our allies, (although it's still getting support from France, for example, the Netherlands, Canada, etc.), so that presently, about 60% of the loans going to Nicaragua are from the Socialist Block. Still, I would point out that in terms of imports, three-quarters of the imports going to Nicaragua are not from the Socialist Block. But my point here is, to return to the theme of democracy, that to the degree that the United States tries to isolate Nicaragua and make it dependent on one super power, it is undercutting the potential for democracy in Nicaragua. That what will happen, as you see today in many Sandinista statements in coverage of the news, that the Sandinista newspaper is reluctant, unwilling to cross the Soviet Union because it becomes dependent on its friendliness. So I'm suggesting that this is a way that we are undercutting democracy, just as when we make countries who are dependent on our largesse, tow the line as we do in the United Nations.

It is on record that if a government votes against us in the United Nations their foreign aid will be in jeopardy. For example, after the Grenada vote, we cut aid to Zimbabwe. I'm saying that this is,

extremely important.

Now, I'd like to move to the end of my talk with a few reflections. Why is it that we hear this term "the betrayal of the revolution"? Is what I said tonight, is this a betrayal? Who has been betrayed? I think that what we have to realize, to go back to the beginning of my talk, is that something that Americans often forget, and want to forget, is that whenever there is a shifting, a real or genuine shifting of power, there are winners and there are losers. It is inevitable. There are going to be some unhappy people. Indeed there will be the Enrique Bolanas who lose. In his case I don't think he lost wealth. He's still a wealthy man. He can still have twice as much land somewhere else. What did he lose? He lost the power to call the shots. That is what this minority of privileged people had gotten very used to doing and they're very unhappy and they have been betrayed.

So I think that, to answer the question then, "What is our responsibility to the hungry in the Third World and in Central America?", the questions and the clarifications go this way: We have to appreciate that, indeed, there must be such a far reaching shift in power that the definition, the very definition of development, is put in terms of the vast majority of the people in the way that we discussed tonight, in the meeting of their basic needs. We have to understand that pressure for change of that nature is inevitable. It is inevitable because people do not go on watching their children die. A Nicaraguan peasant said to me, looking me straight in the face he said, "What would you do if you lived on a plantation and watched your children die of simple childhood

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diseases because they were so weakened by malnutrition at the same time that the only medical help that came to the plantation was to treat the dogs. So what would you do?"

Certainly people protest peaceably because nobody wants to risk their lives if they don't have to. But if that peaceful protest is met with violence, people do choose to risk their lives, if not for themselves, for their children. So we don't have to go in and set things straight for other people. Our responsibility is clear. It is to remove the obstacles in their path, to insure that our tax dollars and our good name aren't shoring up the privileged group that is blocking the changes. It could be summed up as giving change a chance. This is our obligation. It is not to approve. I don't care if you don't agree or don't believe a word I've said about Nicaragua tonight. It is not our obligation to approve or to disapprove. I've shared this with you because I think it is something we can learn from, not because I'm asking you to approve.

(see June issue for conclusion)





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# Agenda

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**Agenda**

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